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American Zionist Emergency Council, communications to local
emergency committee chairmen, 1945.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-1160

January 11, 1945

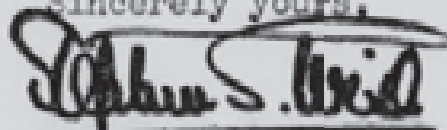
The last conference of representatives of local Emergency Committees took place in May of 1944. It is obviously desirable, in view of recent developments both here and abroad, for the leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council to meet with the representatives of the local Emergency Committees in order to take stock of the present situation, to consider the tasks which lie before us, and to give direction and content to our work. We would naturally have preferred to arrange a single meeting at which local chairmen from all over the country could have been present. The recent ban imposed by the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion on meetings of more than fifty persons unfortunately precludes such a gathering. In place thereof, however, we hope to arrange smaller regional meetings which will comply with the Government's ruling.

The first of these meetings will take place in Atlantic City, N. J. at the St. Charles Hotel, Saturday evening, February 3, and Sunday, February 4. Emergency Committee Chairmen from the states along the eastern seaboard will be invited to this meeting. We are anxious to know without delay whether you will be able to attend, so that all necessary arrangements can be made.

The Jewish people are facing crucial decisions with regard to Palestine. In these decisions the voice of America may be decisive. The responsibilities which rest on American Jewry call for coordinated planning and action on our part. Much has been achieved in the course of the past year. It remains to make sure that our work will go ahead with all energy until we have reached our goal of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

You are the only person in your community invited to meet with us. Please let us hear from you within the next day or two at the latest that we may count on your presence.

Sincerely yours,



Stephen S. Wise
Chairman

SSW:LCK
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** January 17, 1945

From Arthur Lourie

This is a call to our Local Emergency Committees throughout the country for immediate action.

The long awaited conference between President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin is likely to take place in the nearest future, possibly within the next ten days. Among the crucial matters which will come up for discussion will probably be the future of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The decisive hour to which all our work during the past months and years has been directed is now approaching.

We must let the President know how American Jewry in its overwhelming majority feels on this issue. We must act and act quickly, for decisions are being made at this very hour. The time has passed for half-measures as far as the tragic problem of the uprooted Jews of Europe is concerned. The doors of Palestine must be opened wide to Jewish immigration and every Jew who wishes to do so must be entitled to enter and settle in Palestine as of right.

WRITE OR WIRE IMMEDIATELY THEREFORE TO: THE PRESIDENT, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Prepare the letter in your own style and make a personal plea that the gates of Palestine be opened to free Jewish immigration to the end that in accordance with undertakings originally given Palestine shall be reconstituted as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. In addition to personal messages, as many telegrams as possible should be sent on behalf of Jewish communal and other organized bodies.

We cannot exaggerate the need for speed in this matter and ask you to spare no effort in complying with this urgent request.

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REQUESTS SIMILAR TO THAT ADDRESSED TO YOU ABOVE HAVE ALSO GONE OUT TO MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL AND OF THE AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. Copies of the letters are herewith enclosed. In order to follow up the matter and to ensure the dispatch of a maximum number of messages also from non-Jews in your community, we would ask you to get into touch with these individuals and urge upon them the importance of acting on the request already addressed to them, and of getting others to send appropriate communications to the White House. A special effort should be made to get messages to the President from the central labor organizations in your community, in line with the favorable resolutions adopted by both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O.

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(over)

DAY OF PRAYER

In addition to communications to the President, it is proposed to give expression to our sense of the historic importance which attaches to the forthcoming meeting of the leaders of the United Nations by devoting the services and the sermon on Saturday, January 27th to this problem. A special call will be issued on this subject by the Synagogue Council of America. It is important that immediate arrangements be made in communities all over the country. Special prayers will be offered for the success of the forthcoming meeting, so vital to the future peace and welfare of all humanity. Emphasis will be placed on the anxiety with which these deliberations are viewed by Jews everywhere and their hopes that from them will emerge a new era in Jewish history through the reconstitution of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

It is essential that the utmost publicity be given on press and radio to the importance and solemnity which Jews attach to this occasion.

We rely on every one of our constituent committees throughout the country to make of this an impressive and moving demonstration.

Please let us know what plans you are making and do not hesitate to call on us for any assistance we can render.

AL:CK
Encs.



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date January 19, 1945

From Arthur Lourie

In our memorandum of January 17 we informed you that a special call for a day of prayer on Saturday, January 27, was to be issued by the Synagogue Council of America. This call was sent out; and additional appeals were issued by both the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the Rabbinical Council of America, as well as by the United Synagogue of America, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, the Women's League of the United Synagogue of America and other national bodies.

By this time, the rabbis all over the country have received an appeal to devote Saturday, January 27, to services and sermons, emphasizing the vital stake which Jews all over the world have in the forthcoming meeting of the President of the United States with the leaders of our allied nations.

We indicated in our previous memorandum that emphasis should be placed on the anxiety with which these deliberations are viewed by Jews everywhere and their hopes that from them will emerge a new era in Jewish history through the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

It is our fervent hope that steps have been taken by your Committee to insure the carrying out of the directive and that contact has been established with the rabbis of your community.

We enclose a form of prayer which has been submitted to the rabbis over the signatures of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Israel Goldstein, and Rabbi Wolf Gold. It would be very helpful if you were to follow up this direct contact with the rabbis and help to insure the successful culmination of the plan for the day of prayer.

We shall look forward eagerly for word from you with regard to the outcome of this effort, as well as information about what has been done with reference to having telegrams and messages sent to the President by Christians and Jews alike. Again we impress upon you the urgency of having these messages sent before the President leaves for his conference with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin.

AL:TLF
Enc.

רכוננו של עולם הרם קרנו של נשיא ארצות הברית ותרש עליו את

נשיאותו לטובה להצלחה לחיים ולשלום.

חייז לו למחסה בלכתו אל מועצת מנהיגי עמי הסדות לקרב את הנצחון
ולחשלים צדק וישר בעולם. חזקתו ואמצתו בדרכו, נחלתו בחסדך, הסר ממנו
מכשול. שסור צאתו ובואו שלא תאנה אליו רעה, ושלח ברכה והצלחה במפעליו.

אנא מלך רחום וחנון פקר רוחך במועצת דברי העמים המאוחדים. חזק
את רצונם ומרצם לדכא עריצות ולהעביר זרון מן הארץ, לרפא את פצעי הסין
האנושי, לחקן את מעשי העול שנעשו לעמים המשווערים ולחדש את כל חברת
:י האדם על יסודות החפש והאמת.

אבינו שבשמים האר עיני הנשיא שיראה בענינו ואמן לבנו שיריב את
ריבנו במועצת ראשי מדינות הסדות. הער את לבות דברי החפש למצוקת בני
ישראל האומללים בקרבנות האדם. כי נפשנו קצרה מחרב ומשכי ומדבר ומכל
צרה ויגון, ונשארו מעט מהרבה. פתח את אזני המנהיגים שישמעו את קול
דמי אחינו המומחים, את זעקת השכולים ואת נאקת המופקרים להרג, למען
נעור לבם לבקע דרכי הצלה. פקח עיניהם לראות ולבב לחבין שהעולם לא
ידע שלום ערי ופתח הרצונות רשע ויחרו אגודות מוטה וישלחו רצוצים
חששים וכלה זרון מן הארץ.

אבינו מלכנו מסננו חזק את רוח הישר כלב מנהיגי ארבות הדרור,
שיאשרו לחדש את ברית האמנה שנחתנו עמי העולם לישראל להשיב את שבות
ציון. פקח עיניהם לראות ולחמך בזכותנו להקים מדינה עברית בארץ ישראל
מדין ועד באר שבע, שינחמו שמה בלי מכשל ופגע אחינו הגולים לבנות שם
את חייהם ולחדש את מורשתם הישנה של חיי אמונה צדק ודרור.

לסען הרבבות שפתו על קדוש שמך, אשר קברו חיהם לא נידעו ואפרם
לא נקבץ, חן חסדך על המנהיגים הנאורים שיביאו פדות לבני אדם ולבני
ישראל ויקרבו מלכותך בארץ. ברוך אתה ה' שומע תפלה. אמן.

SUGGESTED PRAYER FOR THE SABBATH OF JANUARY 26-27

O God, Thou great governor of all the world and guardian of nations, we invoke Thy blessing upon the President of the United States and pray Thee that his re-inauguration into office may be the harbinger of a wise and fruitful administration and mark the beginning of an era of enduring peace. Be Thou with him as he embarks upon his sacred mission to confer with the other leaders of the great liberating nations, to aid in the achievement of speedy victory and in the planning and establishment of a world order of justice and righteousness. Grant him fortitude and vigor, sustain him in health, guard him from danger and protect him in hardship in his going forth and in his coming back, and glorify his endeavors with noble accomplishments.

O Champion of the oppressed, bestow Thy spirit upon the councils of the great leaders of the United Nations. Strengthen within them the resolves to vanquish tyranny and eradicate oppression, to heal the wounds of mankind, to right the wrongs wrought on the enslaved peoples and to rebuild human society on the four-fold cornerstones of freedom everywhere on earth.

O Heavenly Father, we pray Thee to grant vision and courage to the President of our great republic that he may espouse the cause of the oppressed of all nations and remember the oft-forgotten people of Israel. Awaken Thou the hearts of the spokesmen of freedom to the plight of the most grievously stricken victims of the foe of humanity. Behold, they are banished from their homes, driven without food, shelter or hope to the hiding places of the earth, tortured and massacred. May the blood of the dead, the lament of the bereaved and the wail of the doomed stir the souls of the great leaders to open every avenue of rescue to the captive children of Israel. May they realize that the world will know no peace until all who are enslaved are set free, until all who are homeless are given refuge and until all who are downtrodden are restored to human dignity, and iniquity has vanished from the face of the earth.

(more)

O Lord God, strengthen the sense of justice in the hearts of those who are charged with the fashioning of a new world, that they may reaffirm the pledge of the restoration of Zion made to the people of Israel by the nations of the world, that they may see and espouse our right to establish a Jewish Commonwealth in a free and undivided land of Israel, whither our uprooted and homeless brethren may go unhindered and unafraid, to rebuild their lives and to restore their ancient heritage of faith, freedom and righteousness.

In the name of the multitudes who have died for the sanctification of Thy Name, whose graves are not marked and whose ashes not gathered, we implore Thy grace upon the great spokesmen of freedom. Gird them with fortitude and steadfastness to achieve the deliverance of humanity and Israel and to enhance the establishment of Thy kingdom on earth. Praised art Thou, O God, Who hearest our prayers. Amen.



American Zionist Emergency Council

INSTRUMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi, Organization of America
Poale Zion, Organization of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-1160

January 19, 1945

Dear Rabbi:

It is generally believed that the President will leave shortly after the Inauguration on January 20 for the long-anticipated conference with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin. There are many good reasons to believe that one of the most important items on the agenda at this historic gathering will be that of the immediate rescue of surviving Jews in war-torn Europe and the future status of Jewish Palestine.

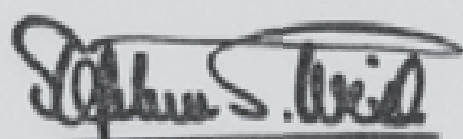
In order that the President, on the eve of these deliberations, may once again be impressed with the vital concern of the vast majority of the American public, both Jewish and Christian, with the primacy of Palestine as the solution to the problems of immediate rescue and permanent rehabilitation, the American Zionist Emergency Council has undertaken several steps in which it has enlisted the cooperation of numerous other bodies. You probably have already received the special call from the Synagogue Council of America on this subject.

We now urgently appeal to you to help this great and urgent effort by devoting your sermon on the Sabbath of January 26-27 to the theme set forth in the attached text of a suggested prayer. May we also recommend that you make reference to the following: Ezekiel 37, Psalms 126, 137. We urge also that announcements be inserted in the local newspapers on the nature of your sermon and the text of the special prayer which will be recited.

In addition, it is suggested that appropriate telegraphic messages, in accord with the spirit of the special prayer enclosed herewith be addressed to President Roosevelt by your congregation, as well as by all men's, women's, youth and other groups and the religious school affiliated with your congregation. Such messages should be sent addressed to the President, The White House, Washington, D.C., not later than Monday, January 29.

We would profoundly appreciate your cooperation in this endeavor which we regard as of utmost importance at this time.

Will you be good enough to indicate on the enclosed card that we may count on your assistance in this program?



Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
Chairman,
American Zionist
Emergency Council



Rabbi Israel Goldstein
Chairman,
Committee on Synagogue
Petitions

Fraternally yours,



Rabbi Wolf Gold
Chairman,
Committee on
Religious Forces

רכוננו של עולם הרם קרנו של נשיא ארצות הברית וחדש עלינו את

נשיאותו לטובה להצלחה לחיים ולשלום.

היה לנו למחסה בלכתו אל מועצת מנהיגי עמי הפדות לקרב את הנצחון
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O Heavenly Father, we pray Thee to grant vision and courage to the President of our great republic that he may espouse the cause of the oppressed of all nations and remember the oft-forgotten people of Israel. Awaken Thou the hearts of the spokesmen of freedom to the plight of the most grievously stricken victims of the fee of humanity. Behold, they are banished from their homes, driven without food, shelter or hope to the hiding places of the earth, tortured and massacred. May the blood of the dead, the lament of the bereaved and the wail of the doomed stir the souls of the great leaders to open every avenue of rescue to the captive children of Israel. May they realize that the world will know no peace until all who are enslaved are set free, until all who are homeless are given refuge and until all who are downtrodden are restored to human dignity, and iniquity has vanished from the face of the earth.

(more)

O Lord God, strengthen the sense of justice in the hearts of those who are charged with the fashioning of a new world, that they may reaffirm the pledge of the restoration of Zion made to the people of Israel by the nations of the world, that they may see and espouse our right to establish a Jewish Commonwealth in a free and undivided land of Israel, whither our uprooted and homeless brethren may go unhindered and unafraid, to rebuild their lives and to restore their ancient heritage of faith, freedom and righteousness.

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* January 19, 1945

From Arthur Lourie

Please note on Page 1 of the Memorandum dated January 16, 1945 dealing with the reorganization of the Council, the last two sentences of paragraph 3 should read: "Moreover it was the opinion of many on the Council that we had reached a stage in our political affairs when it was more important to seek implementation of the President's announced policy and imperative to meet with the President prior to his attendance at the meeting of the "Big Three".

AL:CK

Dear Colleague:

I (shall) use the suggested prayer sent me.
(shall not)

I (shall) preach on Palestine at Sabbath services
(shall not) during the weekend of January 27th.

My sermon topic will be _____

Messages to the President are being sent by our

Congregation_____ Sisterhood_____ Men's Club_____
Parents' Association_____ Others_____

SIGNED_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

WITHIN

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To . Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 9, 1945

From. Arthur Lourie

At the meeting of Zionist Emergency Committee Chairmen from several of the eastern states held recently at Atlantic City, a comprehensive review of the present situation and of the tasks which confront us was presented by Dr. Hayim Greenberg, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council. Dr. Greenberg's statement was very warmly received by those present, and it was agreed to circulate this statement to Local Emergency Committees throughout the country for their information and as a guide to action in the immediate future.

You will receive within the course of the next few days additional information on the present situation, together with certain specific directives for immediate action, in regard to which we look forward to your continued cooperation.

Owing to the regulations laid down by the War Mobilization Board limiting gatherings to a maximum of fifty persons, it has not been possible to arrange for a large single meeting of Local Emergency Committee Chairmen throughout the country. The Atlantic City conference was the first of two or three small regional meetings which we intend to hold in different parts of the country. You will be informed in due course of the time and place of such a meeting which it is hoped that you may be able to attend.

AL:CK
Enc.

STATEMENT BY DR. HAYIM GREENBERG AT
ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 4, 1945

DR. HAYIM GREENBERG: I would like, first of all, to apologize. I should have been here last night but was delayed because I had to be present at an all-day conference of the Central Committee of the organization to which I have the honor to belong, and where I had to be present to speak frankly, in order to clear my status with my own people. My organization decided by a vote of 21 against 6 that whatever its past attitude, it would stand whole-heartedly and loyally behind this reconstituted Emergency Council (applause) and I have been instructed to tell you that all sections of our Movement in the United States will do nothing in the coming months except cooperate sincerely and devotedly with the constructive work undertaken, and still to be undertaken by this Emergency Council.

I was asked yesterday at that conference, a legitimate question: what policy are you going to pursue now? Will it be - and I quote one of my comrades - "A policy of militancy, or a rather passive policy?" and I tell you what I told them yesterday, "Neither a policy of baseless, inflated militancy, or verbal aggressiveness, nor a policy of disgraceful timidity and submissiveness, but a carefully mapped-out and energetically carried-out policy of realism and effectiveness."

I will tell you now, what I mean by that, and what I meant yesterday when we adopted that formula.

During the last fifteen or sixteen months in American Zionism, a lot of very good and in my opinion effective work has been done. Public opinion in this country has been aroused; Zionism was on the order of the day in American political life, and I would be the last one to minimize the importance that work. But our policy and most of our activities in that period, were, if I may use that expression, fixated on a certain plan, or design. It was, I would say, a kind of fixation. A fixation may at times be a very very valuable instrument; it may also, if carried too far, become dangerous - dangerous in the sense that people sometimes confuse means and ends. By this I mean something very concrete. The passage for instance of a congressional resolution favorable to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is not and should not be considered as an end in itself. It is a means; maybe at a certain moment a very important means; but it is not if we think in long-range terms the whole of Zionist policy or Zionist strategy. There is, as Sigmund Freud has shown, such a thing as a compulsion to symbolize, a "symbolisierungszwang", and to get lost sometimes in a symbol, to forget how that symbol was created, to forget that man created that symbol, and that it did not come from above, from the sky. And we must beware of such a state of mind. I shall tell you in a moment what I mean by this.

I am the last one, my friends, to pass judgment on the merits or demerits of the American Constitution under which we live. But I do propose that certain elements of the American Constitution, of the constitutional structure of this Union, should be registered in our consciousness. Whether we like it or not a tremendous power, particularly where foreign affairs are concerned, is concentrated in the hands of the Administration of this country, and in particular of the Chief Executive of that Administration, the President of the United States. Whether we like it or not, Congress has no power of initiative in foreign matters the Executive alone has the power of initiative. And in addition as things stand today, whether, as a citizen of the world, I like it or I dislike it, a tremendous power is concentrated in the hands of three men in this world, three men who may settle the most essential affairs of our planet for a period to come.

What are the conclusions I am inclined to draw from this analysis, if it is as I believe, a correct analysis? It was very desirable, it is still very desirable to have a good congressional resolution on Palestine. But I never thought, and I do not think today, that the adoption of such a resolution in Congress, the best resolution in the world, would amount to the solution of our problem, and that after such a resolution Palestine would be offered to us on a silver platter. Such a resolution is not legislation in the concrete and binding sense of the word. A resolution of that kind, on a question of foreign affairs is - I won't say a pious wish - but it is an expression of crystallized public opinion in this country; there is fluid public opinion and there is crystallized, more rigid public opinion, more official public opinion. This is the essence of a congressional resolution. If we had to suppose that, for instance, the President of the United States is, as I was told by some of my Zionist friends, anti-Zionist - a thing which I do not for a single moment believe, but if it were true - no congressional resolution would force the President to take up our case and to fight for our cause. Nor would a single voice in this country come after the war and demand the impeachment of the President because he did not fight for our cause.

The resolution has not been adopted, unfortunately, and I am not going at this moment to dwell on the history of our efforts to have the resolution adopted. But it is clear at least to me, that within the nearest few months - I do not undertake to prophesy anything about the situation, or about decisions to be taken by us in May or in June or in August or next September, but within the next period of time that it would not be wise to have a new resolution introduced in either the House or the Senate. That does not mean that our program for the coming months should be a negative one. For one thing we will of course have to continue to cultivate the friendships we have already acquired in some quarters we will have to make new contacts, and to cultivate those contacts; but at the same time it would be a great mistake on our part to limit ourselves merely to official negotiations with governmental bodies or with men in responsible position in Washington, and do nothing as far as the country as a whole is concerned and as far as American public opinion is concerned. What we purpose to do at this moment is to launch a nation-wide campaign, over the length and breadth of the country, among various sections of the non-Jewish population in the United States, in order to impress, not once, not twice, but from time to time as the occasion or the opportunity emerges, and as needs, concrete practical needs, are clarified, in order to bring to the attention of the Administration, of the President, the sentiments of the people of America in regard to Palestine and the solution of the Jewish problem. To a certain extent it is a question of slogans to be employed; it is a question of the kind of propaganda we will now have to conduct in the country.

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of Jews was a great source of political power for the Zionist Movement. That source does not exist today to the extent it did exist only a few years ago. I don't know how many Jews have survived or will survive the deluge of blood on the European continent; we hope that substantial numbers will survive, but we have no illusions as to the fact that the majority of European Jews on the Continent have already been annihilated. I think it would be impossible today to convince the powers that be, that a Jewish Commonwealth should be established in Palestine only on the strength of those hundreds of thousands of Jews who are, or may be ready today to go to Palestine. In this respect we will have to return, in a sense, to classical Zionism, in the sense that it is not a matter of solving the problem of a definite number of individuals, but of solving the perennial problem of a homeless people as a whole. That means to think again in long-range terms and not only in terms of the coming decade. On the strength of this we must demand that Palestine should be designated as a zone for Jewish mass settlement, where all Jews who so choose may go - Jews from all kinds of countries including even the United States.

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people and redeem himself among his people, and after the crisis, when he saw that nothing had been achieved, that nothing could have been achieved, in a state of utter despair he proclaimed himself a Moslem. I am afraid that too many Jews, thousands of them now in France, in Belgium, perhaps in Hungary and some other countries, just because they don't see any ray of hope in their life, any hope of redemption, because the doors of Palestine are closed to them, because they don't see their way as Jews in their countries of birth or origin, to continue their life, are today in despair. And despair is sometimes the worst counsel in the world, it is a counsel of suicide, and many of them commit, or are ready to commit moral suicide in their life. That is why, parallel with our political activities, and nation-wide propaganda about the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine (and no one among us should think for a moment that we are in a position to renounce even for a single day those political demands) parallel with, and simultaneously with these political activities and propaganda, we ought to raise at this moment specific and concrete demands prior to the ultimate solution. This does not necessarily mean a fight against the White Paper, and I will tell you in a minute why I would not call it a fight against the White Paper. Because I can conceive of a situation when the White Paper has been officially annulled - I don't see it yet, but I can conceive of such a situation - and that not a single Jew should be admitted to Palestine. There were times, without a White Paper of that kind, when on the strength of purely administrative regulations, without any legal or pseudo-legal basis, Jews were not admitted to Palestine under British administration in past years. What we are concerned with is not the official annulment of the White Paper, not a de jure annulment, but a de facto abrogation, and the de facto abrogation means to open the doors of Palestine for tens of thousands and for hundreds of thousands, forthwith, and without waiting for the general political solution. The doors of Palestine must be opened to them and all unnecessary restrictions removed, including restrictions on the purchase of land.

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These two parallel methods of propaganda, which is not propaganda alone, but amounts to practical political activity, should be expressed as I said before, in a nation-wide campaign in the country to arouse as far as possible and to mobilize and to crystallize public opinion. Our local Emergency Committees

everywhere in the country can and must become the instruments, assisting the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council, in creating in every worthwhile community, and every community large and small is worthwhile, nuclei of Christian friends, and more than nuclei. Thousands and tens of thousands of non-Jews must be enlisted in these two non-Jewish organizations; they must arrange local conferences - we are not in a position, because of war restrictions, to arrange big regional or national conferences - and the State Department and the President should, by these conferences, be reminded not once, but every few weeks, and not only about the final goal, of Zionism, not only about the Commonwealth, but about the specific tasks to be performed within the next few months.

Perhaps further we will have to try to bring pressure to bear, or through our Government and otherwise upon certain countries which formally have nothing to do with Palestine. Take for instance the case of Bulgaria. From Bulgaria we heard two weeks ago, - that a new democratic Bulgarian Government is not opposed to Jewish immigration from Bulgaria to Palestine, but - and that but is very typical, very characteristic of the situation in that country, - those Jews who opt today for settlement in Palestine, must sign a document in terms of which they waive any claim they had in the past or that they may have tomorrow, to their property in Bulgaria or to the restoration of their property confiscated or Aryanized under the Hitler occupation. Here is a matter on which the American Government could be helpful. With the good offices of our Government, it could be impressed upon the Russians, who are factually in control of Bulgaria militarily and to a certain extent politically, that you cannot authorize people to leave the country yet on the eve of their departure rob them of whatever they possess.

I think that by mobilizing Christian friends now in the various communities, by appealing let us say, to Chambers of Commerce, American Federation of Labor and CIO units, church organizations, teachers associations, bar associations, the various post-war commissions in America dealing with problems of settlement of foreign affairs, fraternal organizations, colleges and universities, women's clubs, democratic clubs, republican clubs in the various communities, it would be possible within the next few months to bring to the attention of our Government not only our case in the sense of a great historical ideal, but our cases, our every-day worries, and every-day tasks to be performed in connection with Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Only one thing is required now for conducting this kind of ramified political and propaganda work in the country a sense of solidarity in the Zionist Movement, and wholehearted cooperation on the part of all the constituent bodies of the Zionist Movement.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

File

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council

Date February 12, 1945

From Arthur Lourie

For your information there is attached hereto a copy of a memorandum dated February 9 which was sent to Local Emergency Committee Chairmen.

Regards.

AL:CLD
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To . Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 9, 1945

From - Arthur Lourie

At the meeting of Zionist Emergency Committee Chairmen from several of the eastern states held recently at Atlantic City, a comprehensive review of the present situation and of the tasks which confront us was presented by Dr. Hayim Greenberg, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council. Dr. Greenberg's statement was very warmly received by those present, and it was agreed to circulate this statement to Local Emergency Committees throughout the country for their information and as a guide to action in the immediate future.

You will receive within the course of the next few days additional information on the present situation, together with certain specific directives for immediate action, in regard to which we look forward to your continued cooperation.

Owing to the regulations laid down by the War Mobilization Board limiting gatherings to a maximum of fifty persons, it has not been possible to arrange for a large single meeting of Local Emergency Committee Chairmen throughout the country. The Atlantic City conference was the first of two or three small regional meetings which we intend to hold in different parts of the country. You will be informed in due course of the time and place of such a meeting which it is hoped that you may be able to attend.

AL:CK
Enc.

STATEMENT BY DR. HAYIM GREENBERG AT
ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 4, 1945

DR. HAYIM GREENBERG: I would like, first of all, to apologize. I should have been here last night but was delayed because I had to be present at an all-day conference of the Central Committee of the organization to which I have the honor to belong, and where I had to be present to speak frankly, in order to clear my status with my own people. My organization decided by a vote of 21 against 6 that whatever its past attitude, it would stand whole-heartedly and loyally behind this reconstituted Emergency Council (applause) and I have been instructed to tell you that all sections of our Movement in the United States will do nothing in the coming months except cooperate sincerely and devotedly with the constructive work undertaken, and still to be undertaken by this Emergency Council.

I was asked yesterday at that conference, a legitimate question: what policy are you going to pursue now? Will it be - and I quote one of my comrades - "A policy of militancy, or a rather passive policy?" and I tell you what I told them yesterday, "Neither a policy of baseless, inflated militancy, or verbal aggressiveness, nor a policy of disgraceful timidity and submissiveness, but a carefully mapped-out and energetically carried-out policy of realism and effectiveness."

I will tell you now, what I mean by that, and what I meant yesterday when we adopted that formula.

During the last fifteen or sixteen months in American Zionism, a lot of very good and in my opinion effective work has been done. Public opinion in this country has been aroused; Zionism was on the order of the day in American political life, and I would be the last one to minimize the importance that work. But our policy and most of our activities in that period, were, if I may use that expression, fixated on a certain plan, or design. It was, I would say, a kind of fixation. A fixation may at times be a very very valuable instrument; it may also, if carried too far, become dangerous - dangerous in the sense that people sometimes confuse means and ends. By this I mean something very concrete. The passage for instance of a congressional resolution favorable to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is not and should not be considered as an end in itself. It is a means; maybe at a certain moment a very important means; but it is not if we think in long-range terms the whole of Zionist policy or Zionist strategy. There is, as Sigmund Freud has shown, such a thing as a compulsion to symbolize, a "symbolizierungszwang", and to get lost sometimes in a symbol, to forget how that symbol was created, to forget that man created that symbol, and that it did not come from above, from the sky. And we must beware of such a state of mind. I shall tell you in a moment what I mean by this.

I am the last one, my friends, to pass judgment on the merits or demerits of the American Constitution under which we live. But I do propose that certain elements of the American Constitution, of the constitutional structure of this Union, should be registered in our consciousness. Whether we like it or not a tremendous power, particularly where foreign affairs are concerned, is concentrated in the hands of the Administration of this country, and in particular of the Chief Executive of that Administration, the President of the United States. Whether we like it or not, Congress has no power of initiative in foreign matters, the Executive alone has the power of initiative. And in addition as things stand today, whether, as a citizen of the world, I like it or I dislike it, a tremendous power is concentrated in the hands of three men in this world, three men who may settle the most essential affairs of our planet for a period to come.

What are the conclusions I am inclined to draw from this analysis, if it is a I believe, a correct analysis? It was very desirable, it is still very desirable to have a good congressional resolution on Palestine. But I never thought, and I do not think today, that the adoption of such a resolution in Congress, the best resolution in the world, would amount to the solution of our problem, and that after such a resolution Palestine would be offered to us on a silver platter. Such a resolution is not legislation in the concrete and binding sense of the word. A resolution of that kind, on a question of foreign affairs ~~is~~ I won't say a pious wish - but it is an expression of crystallized public opinion in this country; there is fluid public opinion and there is crystallized, more rigid public opinion, more official public opinion. This is the essence of a congressional resolution. If we had to suppose that, for instance, the President of the United States is, as I was told by some of my Zionist friends, anti-Zionist - a thing which I do not for a single moment believe, but if it were true - no congressional resolution would force the President to take up our case and to fight for our cause. Nor would a single voice in this country come after the war and demand the impeachment of the President because he did not fight for our cause.

The resolution has not been adopted, unfortunately, and I am not going at this moment to dwell on the history of our efforts to have the resolution adopted. But it is clear at least to me, that within the nearest few months - I do not undertake to prophecy anything about the situation, or about decisions to be taken by us in May or in June or in August or next September, but within the next period of time that it would not be wise to have a new resolution introduced in either the House or the Senate. That does not mean that our program for the coming months should be a negative one. For one thing we will of course have to continue to cultivate the friendships we have already acquired in some quarters we will have to make new contacts, and to cultivate those contacts; but at the same time it would be a great mistake on our part to limit ourselves merely to official negotiations with governmental bodies or with men in responsible position in Washington, and do nothing as far as the country as a whole is concerned and as far as American public opinion is concerned. What we purpose to do at this moment is to launch a nation-wide campaign, over the length and breadth of the country, among various sections of the non-Jewish population in the United States, in order to impress, not once, not twice, but from time to time as the occasion or the opportunity emerges, and as needs, concrete practical needs, are clarified, in order to bring to the attention of the Administration, of the President, the sentiments of the people of America in regard to Palestine and the solution of the Jewish problem. To a certain extent it is a question of slogans to be employed; it is a question of the kind of propaganda we will now have to conduct in the country.

I personally think that the time has come to present our needs, and our ultimate goal in Palestine, to American public opinion, not merely in terms of the solution of a problem of let us say some hundreds of thousands or of a million Jewish individuals. It would be a mistake on our part to reduce Zionism to the non-Jewish world in America as merely a problem of resettling refugees or removing refugees from one part of the world to another. Of course we must not omit to keep American public opinion informed about the situation of hundreds of thousands of Jews in countries economically devastated, of hundreds of thousands of pauperized Jews, but it would be dangerous as I see it to have Zionism reduced merely to this topic. We know unfortunately how the population pressures, Jewish population pressures in Europe today have become much weaker than they were three and four and five and six years ago. Only a few years ago we were in a position to speak of millions of Jews clamoring for admission to Palestine. That was a great source of power. Those millions of poor Jews were in some countries un-integrated Jews without civil rights; but the very existence of those millions

of Jews was a great source of political power for the Zionist Movement. That source does not exist today to the extent it did exist only a few years ago. I don't know how many Jews have survived or will survive the deluge of blood on the European continent; we hope that substantial numbers will survive, but we have no illusions as to the fact that the majority of European Jews on the Continent have already been annihilated. I think it would be impossible today to convince the powers that be, that a Jewish Commonwealth should be established in Palestine only on the strength of those hundreds of thousands of Jews who are, or may be ready today to go to Palestine. In this respect we will have to return, in a sense, to classical Zionism, in the sense that it is not a matter of solving the problem of a definite number of individuals, but of solving the perennial problem of a homeless people as a whole. That means to think again in long-range terms and not only in terms of the coming decade. On the strength of this we must demand that Palestine should be designated as a zone for Jewish mass settlement, where all Jews who so choose may go - Jews from all kinds of countries including even the United States.

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** February 21, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

Momentous decisions are in the making with regard to Palestine. Many rumors will be afloat during the period immediately ahead as to the precise decisions, if any, that were made in the recent conferences in the Middle East.

In judging the value of these reports it should be borne in mind that in many cases they may be based on little more than conjecture. No official word has as yet reached us on the Cairo conversations though we are hopeful that before long some reliable information on what occurred may be available. One thing is clear, namely that statements made in high quarters to the Zionist leadership both here and in London that the matter of Palestine would be discussed, have been implemented.

In these anxious moments we would request our Emergency Councils throughout the country to reserve judgment and to withhold public pronouncements on any reports that may appear in the newspapers. We shall keep you informed of events as they transpire and give you such information as we can without delay.

AL:CK

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees ^{Date} March 13, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

Since our preceding memorandum of March 6, two items in the New York Times, dealing with Palestine, have attracted wide attention (see copies attached). The following will clarify, for your information and guidance, the attitude of the Zionist Emergency Council in regard to these reports.

The essential need of the Jewish people remains the establishment of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth. Only the Commonwealth would put an end to the basic problem of the homelessness of the Jews as a people and would make possible the rehabilitation of the more than a million Jews in various countries of the Old World, shaken by tragedy and facing a future without hope.

As concerns the position of the Arabs in the Jewish Commonwealth, full equality of civic and religious rights for all the non-Jewish inhabitants of the Jewish Commonwealth, irrespective of their numbers at any given time, has been reiterated by Zionist spokesmen over and over again as an integral part of the Zionist program. Full communal autonomy in regard to religious, educational and social institutions would also be assured. This is fundamental in our thinking and needs no further emphasis.

It is obvious that the achievement of the Jewish Commonwealth connotes large Jewish immigration and such preparatory steps in Palestine, including the necessary administrative conditions as will make possible speedy progress in the desired direction. In order to initiate without delay the rescue of the trapped Jewish masses, to contribute to the relief of racial tension in the Old World, and to cut as short as possible the present state of uncertainty in Palestine, these measures must be inaugurated immediately.

This fundamental position of Zionism remains unchanged, and should be our answer to any rumors, suggestions, or proposals with which we may be confronted. It remains the basis of our demands and should govern our appeals to public opinion and our negotiations with the Powers of the world.

It is impossible to say, for the moment, to what extent the attached report from Jerusalem is based on fact or, if it be correct, to gauge the motives of those promoting the reported plan. Speculation on either point would be futile. What is important is for us to realize that many such schemes will be proposed from various sides with a view to sidetracking our integral Zionist program, and we must be prepared to maintain our position vis-a-vis all such schemes.

It should be specifically emphasized that insofar as the alleged scheme of the Foreign Ministers of Arab-speaking States contemplates an arbitrary limitation on Jewish immigration or abandonment of the hope for a Jewish Commonwealth, it is completely unacceptable. It ignores the essential needs of the Jewish people and therefore flies in the face of a basic reality.

On the other hand, the very appearance of the report indicates that even the most intransigent opponents of Zionism can no longer close their eyes to the need for speedy large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine. Insofar as British opposition to the immediate opening of Palestine to Jewish immigrants was explained by the fear of Arab revolt, this report shows, as we have always maintained, that such fear is utterly baseless. For the Foreign Ministers of the Arab countries are here stated to be ready to agree to the entry of another 300,000 Jewish immigrants. Our only reaction to the report should therefore be that no shred of an excuse remains for keeping Palestine closed to further immigration pending a decision as to the country's political future; and that while discussions are continuing with reference to the future status of Palestine, large-scale immigration of Jews should be resumed at once.

In the light of the above outline our action remains unchanged and is directed to: the Jewish Commonwealth, immediate mass immigration and a decision at the earliest possible moment. We repeat from our last memorandum the action on which your cooperation is requested.

- (a) A number of mass demonstrations are being planned by the Council in conjunction with the American Jewish Conference in major cities throughout the country. If your city is one in which such a demonstration is to take place, you will be receiving further instructions shortly.
- (b) A statement to be signed by as many State Governors as possible is being prepared and will be sent out to key chairmen in the respective states for action.
- (c) The American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council for Palestine are to be mobilized in support of the above objectives.
- (d) Newspaper and radio commentators must be seen and given the necessary information so as to obtain all possible publicity for our demands.

AL:CK
Encs.

From New York Times, Sunday, March 11, 1945

ARAB COMPROMISE ON JEWS REPORTED

Christians Would Hold Balance of Power Under Plan for Equal Palestine Populations

By Julian Louis Meltzer

Jerusalem, March 10 - The Foreign Ministers of Arab States, who drafted the constitution of the proposed Arab league at their recent Cairo conference, are understood to have decided to recommend a compromise solution on Palestine for acceptance by the Palestinian Arabs, according to a well-informed Arab source here.

The compromise is said to include the principle of equal political and civil rights for Jews and Moslems, leaving to Christian Arab residents of Palestine the power of veto. The Arab Foreign Ministers would be prepared under this plan to obtain agreement from Palestine Moslems to early Jewish immigration of 200,000 to 300,000 persons. This, they feel, would provide some relief for Jewish refugees.

Under such a plan, Moslem leaders argue, the 700,000 Jewish inhabitants would be increased to 1,000,000 within a short period, equal to the Moslem population. There are about 150,000 Christian Arabs, who would thus hold the balance of power.

A local Arab political observer said the Arab reaction might at first be acrimonious, especially among younger elements who hold violent nationalistic views, but that the general feeling ultimately would be to accept the plan.

Britain then, he said, would turn over its Palestine mandate to a permanent United Nations authority that would emerge from the San Francisco talks.

The main Zionist complaint against the compromise plan is that it is designed solely to meet the Palestine problem without remedying the world Jewish situation. While some Zionists believe that surviving Jewish communities in Europe will improve after the war and the urgency of Jewish migration problems will be removed, Zionist leaders like David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency executive here, assert that the need for Jewish migration will persist.

While accepting the principle of political parity with the Arabs, the Zionists insist that Jewish immigration into Palestine must be unconditional and unlimited. They declare the Jews need Palestine as a rehabilitation center and as an area in which to regain political statchood.

From New York Times, Monday, March 12, 1945

ABROAD

Arabs Propose Compromise on Palestine

By Anne O'Hare McCormick

The New York Times correspondent in Jerusalem reports that at the meeting held recently in Cairo to draft a constitution for the proposed league of Arab states the Foreign Ministers recommended a compromise solution on Palestine to the Palestinian Arabs. The first point of interest in this recommendation is that it comes from the Arabs. Before the Cairo meeting there was no evidence that the Arab leaders were ready to offer any positive suggestion for the settlement of one of the thorniest of post-war problems. Their uncompromising opposition to any extension of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the uncompromising stand of the Zionists for unrestricted immigration and a Jewish state combined to create a deadlock from which there seemed to be no way out.

The second point of interest is that the suggestion is made by the Arabs at the very moment when they are getting down to business in organizing a united Arab front. Until now seasoned observers in the Middle East never believed that the Arab states could get together, even in the loosest form of federation. And it will be loose; in discussing the prospects in January, members of Arab governments made it very clear that their separate "independence" was their first concern.

Nevertheless, the project is going forward. The Arab nations are closer now than they have been in modern history. There will certainly be some form of Arab union. Pan-Arabia is set to be a political factor in the new world. Former doubters finally admitted this, but added that only one tie binds these disparate nations, and that is their common opposition to Zionist expansion.

Yet the first thing the Arab Ministers do when they begin to organize is to offer the only constructive suggestion they have ever publicly put forth on the Palestine question. A month ago the Palestinian Arabs were standing firmly on the British White Paper and declaring they would fight any extension of the immigration quota when it expired in June. Now the Foreign Ministers propose that up to 300,000 more Jews be admitted at the earliest possible date.

This is news, indeed, and news of great significance. Not only does it indicate a change in Arab policy inside Palestine, for when the Ministers say they "would be prepared to obtain agreement" from Palestine Moslems, it means that agreement has been secured. It follows too closely on the meetings of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill with the Arab leaders not to be a sequel to those talks, especially since it fits in with the British desire—not so evident in times past but pushed hard lately by Lord Gort and Sir Edward Grigg—to get Jews and Arabs to settle the question among themselves. And since the United States, in pledges from both parties, has assumed direct responsibility in the settlement, the President is also anxious for a solution that might satisfy the Zionists without antagonizing the Arabs.

The proposed plan won't do that. According to Mr. Meltzer's report, it provides for equal political and civil rights for Jews and Moslems by bringing the Jewish population up to 1,000,000, to match the Moslems. It would establish the parity advocated by Dr. Judah Magnes, though whether parity is to be maintained by his formula of balancing the higher Arab birth rate by more Jewish

immigration is not disclosed. The Christian Arabs, about 150,000 in number, are not included in the equation, which gives them the balance of power. In the event of a solution on these lines, or presumably any lines that could be agreed upon, the British are said to be ready to turn over the Palestine mandate to a permanent United Nations Authority.

The Zionists will undoubtedly reject the plan as it stands. It denies their demand for unlimited immigration, prevents them from ever becoming a majority, and blocks their central aim of setting up a Jewish nation and making Palestine a Jewish state. For this aim they have planned, toiled, agitated, invested vast sums and vaster energy to transform the stony hills of their Promised Land into a garden. Hitler helped them by making Europe into something worse than hell for Jews; but aside from the victims of Hitler, the settlers in Palestine constitute perhaps the happiest and most satisfied colony on this sad and war-weary earth.

But the elements of the situation are changing. The Arabs are changing, as this initiative signifies. So are the relations between the Middle East and the western world. In no foreseeable time will the lot of the Jews surviving in Europe, and those who elect to go back, be what it was in the last hideous decade. The victors will see to that as sternly as they see to the disarmament of Germany. If we are going back into such conditions and such a world, the war will be lost and Palestine will be no safer than Czechoslovakia was, or the United States would be. Moreover, the Jews from eastern Europe will not be permitted to emigrate to Palestine.

These considerations have nothing to do with the Zionist case, one way or the other, but they might induce the wiser leaders to study the Arab proposals as a basis for discussion. The Arabs have strengthened their position by taking the initiative, and the plan gives them a permanent majority by putting the Christian Arabs into a special category. But if the principle of compromise is accepted, and the problem can be solved by direct negotiations between Arabs and Jews, the terms can be changed. The crux of the matter is that the cards are evidently stacked for a compromise, and this alters the position of all the parties to the dispute.

MASS MEETING TO DEMAND HEARING FOR JEWS

AT SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

TO URGE IMMEDIATE OPENING OF PALESTINE TO EUROPE'S SURVIVING JEWS

- - - - -

Declaring that spokesmen for the Jewish people must be given an opportunity to submit their case for the postwar reconstruction of the Jewish people at the forthcoming San Francisco Conference on April 25th, Mr. _____, leading member of the (name of community) Jewish Community, today announced a mass meeting to be held April ____, under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference, and the (name of community) Zionist Emergency Committee.

Mr. _____, who is Chairman of the Committee arranging the meeting which will be held in (name of hall), said that the assembly will call for the resettlement of Europe's dispossessed Jews in Palestine and the reconstitution of that country as the Jewish Commonwealth.

"Beginning next month, no more Jews will be permitted to reach a haven in Palestine because of the infamous Chamberlain White Paper," Mr. _____ explained. "In simple justice to the Jewish people, first victims in the struggle for democracy, the doors of Palestine must be kept open for those Jews who have survived the horrors of Nazism. All that keeps them alive now is the hope of reaching Palestine."

He declared that the meeting, which will be addressed by outstanding national figures and spokesmen of all faiths, will stress the fact that the question of moving Europe's dispossessed Jews to Palestine is an integral part of the entire problem of rehabilitation of peoples.

At the San Francisco Conference, it is planned to present an overall program to meet the needs of the war-ravaged people. This program, which has been formulated by the American Jewish Conference, a body representing the great majority of

(more)

the Jews of the United States, in addition to the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, calls for a Bill of Rights to safeguard minorities everywhere, measures for rehabilitation, indemnification of victims of Nazism and punishment of war criminals.

"It is ironic that the Jews, who were the first victims of Nazi aggression and whose casualties proportionately are greater than any other people, will not have an official place at the San Francisco Conference while last minute Allies who had never been distinguished for their loyalty to the United Nations are invited participants at the world parley."

Local delegates of the American Jewish Conference are:

Members of the (name of community) Zionist Emergency Committee are:



3/16/45

Suggested follow-up release to local newspapers
after first release has been turned in.

#2

THIS IS FOR YOUR GUIDANCE AND
SHOULD NOT BE USED VERBATIM.

(name of speaker) TO ADDRESS RALLY

DEMANDING THAT JEWS SHOULD BE HEARD AT SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

- - - - -

Mr. _____ will head a list of distinguished speakers who will address a giant mass meeting, (day and date) at (name of hall), demanding Jewish representation at the San Francisco Conference, it was announced today. His subject will be _____ Earlier, he will speak over Station _____ on _____.

In disclosing Mr. _____'s acceptance as principal speaker, Mr. _____, Chairman of the Arrangements Committee, stated that the meeting will be held under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference and the (name of community) Zionist Emergency Committee. He declared:

"Mr. _____ has long made clear his sympathy with the plight of the Jewish victims of Hitlerism in Europe, and his conviction that the doors of Palestine must be opened and Palestine itself reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth."

Other speakers, as announced by Mr. _____ will include:

_____, _____, _____, _____, _____.

A resolution will be introduced at the meeting demanding that the Jewish people, greatest sufferers of Nazism, be given the right to present their case in the same manner given other peoples at San Francisco. Mr. _____ added.

"The point here seems to me to be one of simple fair play," he asserted. "Forty-five nations will meet in San Francisco. They are establishing the basis for an international organization that will shape the future.

"Nations which declared war against the Axis only within the last fortnight have been invited to attend. They will take part in the proceedings. They will

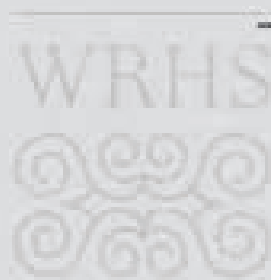
(more)

be on hand to protect their interests.

"Even the Arab nations, which at best were grudgingly neutral and at worst literally had to be coerced to remain 'neutral,' have been invited. But the Jewish people have been ignored. Any discussions that may take place about Palestine and post-war reconstruction of devastated Europe will apparently be unilateral discussions -- with the Jews told later what will happen to them.

"In the name of ordinary justice, we demand a chance to be heard at San Francisco, to present our case for the rehabilitation of the Jewish people, the opening of the doors of Palestine to the remnants of European Jewry and the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

3/16/45



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THIS IS FOR YOUR GUIDANCE AND
SHOULD NOT BE TURNED IN VERBATIM.

EDITORIAL

On the evening of _____, a mass meeting dedicated to one of the great humanitarian projects of our time will be held at _____ under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference, and the (name of community) Zionist Emergency Committee.

Men and women of all faiths and creeds will join in urging that the Jewish people have a voice at the United Nations parley at San Francisco, April 25. They will plead, as they have done so often before, that the gates of Palestine be open to the pauperized Jews of Europe and that Palestine, so long the spiritual haven of a tragic race, be reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth in accord with the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration has been endorsed by 53 nations of the world. It had been affirmed and re-affirmed by every President of the United States since its promulgation.

If ever there was desperate need for Palestine to be open to the victims of the world's monstrous cruelty, it is now. If ever there was a time when this plea should be heard, it is now when the first of the peace table meetings takes place at San Francisco, and a blueprint of the world of tomorrow -- a world in which all minorities will be given the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness -- will be drafted.

The justice of the Jewish case is underlined by the ironic fact that delegates of the Arab nations will be present in San Francisco to protect their interests in the Middle East and Palestine. In the name of ordinary decency and fairness, the Jews should be permitted equally to be heard and to protect their interests.

Justice, after all, is indivisible.

* * *

THIS IS FOR YOUR GUIDANCE AND
SHOULD NOT BE TURNED IN VERBATIM.

EDITORIAL

One of the great tragedies of our time has been the brutal, calculated and almost incredible mass extermination of the Jewish people. It is a tragedy of such enormity that the human mind finds it difficult to encompass it.

Throughout this terrible war, all men of goodwill have looked forward to the day when the victors will gather around the peace table and forge a new world, dispensing justice to all peoples. All this simply heightens the fact that representatives of the Jewish people -- the same people that has been almost decimated in the last ten years -- have not been invited to present their case before this preliminary peace tribunal.

While it is true that actual details of the peace will not be settled at San Francisco, decisions of far-reaching importance will be taken. If mandates are discussed, it is hard to believe that the subject of Palestine will not be discussed. Whatever the case, the Arab states have been invited to attend and thus be present to protect their interests in the Middle East.

In common decency, the Jews should be given the opportunity to have their voice heard as well. Their case is made the stronger by the fact that next month Jewish immigration into Palestine will cease under the terms of the British White Paper issued by Chamberlain in an era of appeasement. How can one look on unmoved at the spectacle of the remnants of a tortured and pauperized European Jewry pleading to enter the Promised Land, and watch the gates of Palestine clang shut at the moment of their greatest need?

To protest this conspiracy of silence, a mass meeting is being held at

_____ on _____.

We hope that the Powers-that-be will at long last recognize that the Jews who have been attacked and murdered as Jews have the right to speak and be heard as Jews when decisions are taken affecting their future.

* * *

THIS IS FOR YOUR GUIDANCE AND
SHOULD NOT BE TURNED IN VERBATIM.

EDITORIAL

Among the profound problems of the world today is the rehabilitation of peoples. No pen could paint the sum total of mass horror and agony visited upon the little peoples of the world by Hitler and Japanese fascism. Particularly singled out for a Calvary of their own have been the Jews of Europe. Their casualty lists of 5,000,000 exceed that of any other people.

Today, small Palestine has contributed more than 30,000 Jewish soldiers to the Allied cause -- fighting in the Jewish Brigade and in units of the British Army -- a voluntary enrollment (for there is no conscription in Palestine) equivalent to an enlistment of 8,000,000 Americans. Jews are fighting on every democratic forefront of the world.

All this makes even more hard to understand why the Jewish people have not been invited to the April 25th San Francisco Conference to which, ironically enough, delegates of the Arab nations have been invited. In all fairness, if it is deemed advisable to have Arabs present to protect their interests in the Middle East and Palestine, it should also be deemed advisable to have spokesmen for the Jews present.

A mass meeting to ask that this simple right be accorded the Jewish people -- as has been accorded other peoples -- will be held the night of _____ under the joint auspices of the American Jewish Conference and the (name of community) Zionist Emergency Committee.

Speakers of all faiths will urge that justice be done to a sorely tried people. We join with the Jewish community in demanding that in the name of common decency, the Jews should be permitted spokesmen at San Francisco, that the doors of Palestine be open to the survivors of European Jewry, and that Palestine, in accordance with the terms of the mighty Balfour pledge of Great Britain, be reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth.

* * *

3/16/45

SAMPLE MATERIAL TO BE SENT TO
EDITORIAL WRITERS, COLUMNISTS AND RADIO COMMENTATORS

In connection with the mass meeting to be held April _____ under auspices of the American Jewish Conference and the (name of community) Zionist Emergency Committee at _____, we are submitting below some facts and general material on Palestine and the Jewish question. We trust that they may be of interest to you and that you may find it possible to make some use of them.

Sponsored by organizations which represent the vast majority of the Jewish people of the United States, this meeting is being held for a three-fold purpose:

1. To demand a hearing for the Jewish people at the San Francisco Conference April 25.
2. To plead that the doors of Palestine be open to the remnants of European Jewry who are now in an appalling condition.
3. To demand the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth in accord with the Balfour Declaration.

As you know, the San Francisco Conference will devote itself to the formulation of an international organization to deal with post-war problems. Among the forty-five governments which have been invited are included several Arab states. Certain of these are noteworthy not only for their systematic failure to cooperate with the United Nations in the war effort, but also for their long standing pro-Axis sympathies.

Although the agenda of the San Francisco Conference has not been announced, indications are that the question of mandates -- and thus directly and indirectly that of Palestine -- will be raised. It seems to us, therefore, both as a matter of logic and a matter of elementary justice, that spokesmen for the Jewish people should be there to submit their case.

The Jewish people feel that having been an ally of the United Nations de facto, if not de jure, it should be afforded the opportunity to be heard at San Francisco and thus be given the same right to protect its interests as other nations.

At the San Francisco Conference, the Jewish people plan to present an overall program to meet the needs of war-ravaged nations. In addition to the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, the program calls for a Bill of Rights to safeguard minorities everywhere, measures for rehabilitation, indemnification of victims of Nazism and punishment of war criminals.

Under the terms of the White Paper, the last immigration certificates will be used up next month and the doors of Palestine will shut completely upon the Jews. Palestine, in which more than \$500,000,000 has been poured by the Jews and which has been watered by the blood and sweat of millions of their brethren, becomes the one land in the world which they are not permitted to enter.

* * * * *

The existence of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will not only provide a permanent home and security for hundreds of thousands of homeless and uprooted Jews, but will also serve to remove the stigma of "wanderers" from the Jewish people and eliminate the fundamental disability under which they live as compared with other peoples.

* * * * *

The defeat of the Axis will not normalize Jewish life in Europe. Today, liberated European Jewry has been pauperized and in many countries will have little chance of returning to social and economic equality. Palestine alone offers them the possibility of a normal existence. Palestine alone will welcome them not as aliens, not as transients, not as refugees, but as incoming citizens.

* * * * *

At least 4,000,000 additional immigrants can be absorbed by Palestine without disturbing the present inhabitants, according to Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, U.S. Department of Agriculture authority. Palestine today has a population of 1,800,000. It is interesting to note that Massachusetts, considerably smaller in area, supports a population of more than 4,000,000.

* * * * *

As a result of the Allied victory in World War I, the Arabs received sovereignty over more than 1,200,000 sq. mi. The Jews have only tiny Palestine to claim as their own: in area less than 1/100 of the Arab lands.

* * * * *

The story of Jewish Palestine's contribution to the war effort is still one of the best kept secrets of the war. Thousands of Jewish soldiers have died on the battlefields of Greece, Crete, Libya, Ethiopia and Egypt, and today 30,000 Palestinian Jewish soldiers -- equivalent to a voluntary enrollment of 8,000,000 Americans -- are fighting in the Jewish Brigade and in British units.

* * * * *

As a result of Jewish medical and sanitation efforts, the Arabs in Palestine enjoy the lowest mortality rate in the entire Middle East, and the Arabs of Palestine are the best paid in the Middle East.

* * * * *

Agriculture and food production has been expanded to an extent that Palestine now constitutes a major source of supply for military and civilian needs in the entire Middle East.

* * * * *

Auspices of
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

and
(name of community) ZIONIST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

SAMPLE COPY

PROGRAM:

(CHAIRMAN)
SPEAKER
SPEAKER
SPEAKER

MASS MEETING

WE ASK

I -- That the Jews be heard at the San Francisco United Nations Conference April 28, to present the case for a people who have suffered 5,000,000 dead and who were the first victims of Nazism.

II -- That the gates of Palestine be opened to the survivors of European Jewry who have no other haven.

III -- That Palestine be reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth, in accord with the mighty pledge of Great Britain endorsed by 52 nations of the world and re-affirmed by every President of the United States since its promulgation.

"I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim." - President Roosevelt

at _____ (name of meeting place) H A L L

Wednesday, A P R I L (4) 1945 (you set the date)

8:00 P. M.

A D M I S S I O N F R E E F R E E A D M I S S I O N

OBTAIN YOUR TICKETS (If you print tickets)
at

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* April 6, 1945

From Arthur Lourie

Enclosed for your information are copies of two memoranda dated April 3, which were sent to Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

AL:CSS
Encls.

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date April 3, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

COPY

You have no doubt read the shocking statement of the Duke of Devonshire, Colonial Under-Secretary, made in the House of Lords, declaring that many European Jewish survivors do not wish to go to Palestine and that the Colonial Office has rejected a demand of the Jewish Agency for extra immigration certificates into Palestine.

We attach hereto a copy of a cable just received by us from Mr. Moshe Shertok, chief of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, which we urge you to read with the utmost attention.

It is not necessary for us to emphasize the urgency of the situation as described by Mr. Shertok and the plea he makes that we "undertake a major effort to prevail upon the British Government to fundamentally change its immigration policy by enabling immediate large-scale admission" so that the surviving remnant of European Jewry be spared and the rise of tension in Palestine, resentment in America and despair in Europe be prevented.

We are faced with a crisis: Now, finally, we must organize all our resources, all our facilities and power to make this "major effort" begged of us. Therefore, this is a renewed call to action. If you have already organized mass meetings, proceed with your plans with the greatest vigor. If you have not organized them, begin to do so at once. A meeting in every community is imperative.

WE MUST HOLD AS MANY MEETINGS AS WE CAN. EACH MEETING MUST ADD ITS VOICE TO AN APPEAL WHICH THE WORLD DARE NOT DENY. NOW MORE THAN EVER WE MUST BE HEARD AT SAN FRANCISCO. WE MUST OPEN THE DOORS OF PALESTINE NOW. WE MUST FIGHT FOR A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH NOW.

Don't wait for us to supply you with speakers. Get your own Congressmen, your own Senators, your own Mayors and your own churchmen.

We are launching a nation-wide advertising campaign. At this moment one of the country's largest advertising agencies has prepared for us and for you a number of half-page and full-page newspaper advertisements dramatizing our campaign and our cause, as no other means could. These will be forwarded to you for insertion in your local papers within the next few days.

This fight is the fight of all of us.

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"COLONIAL OFFICE REFUSAL GRANT IMMIGRATION PERMITS FOR BERGHEBELSEN SURVIVORS WHO ESCAPED TO SWITZERLAND INDICATES IMPLACABLE RIGOR PRESENT RESTRICTIVE POLICY. SINCE OUR APPLICATION FOR BERGHEBELSEN REFUGEES FURTHER TRANSPORTS OF SURVIVORS FROM THERESIENSTADT OTHERS ARRIVED SWITZERLAND, ALL PRESSING ADMISSION PALESTINE. PRIOR ARRIVAL THESE GROUPS WE HAD ALLOCATED FROM REMAINING BALANCE OF CERTIFICATES STILL AVAILABLE UNDER WHITE PAPER A THOUSAND CERTIFICATES FOR DISTRIBUTION AMONG TWENTYSIX THOUSAND REFUGEES IN SWITZERLAND. THIS THOUSAND REDUCED TO SIX HUNDRED AS PART OF GENERAL REDUCTION TO MAKE PROVISION FOR ENTRY REFUGEES FROM MAURITIUS WHOSE RETURN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALLY APPROVED BUT INSISTED MUST BE DEDUCTED FROM WHITE PAPER BALANCE. WHEN THIS COMMUNICATED TO PALESTINE OFFICE GENEVA ITS REACTION BY CABLE 3/14 WAS FOLLOWING QUOTE YOURS 3/9 CAUSED US TERRIBLE CONSTERNATION STOP AFTER INDESCRIBABLY HARD WORK OVER MANY WEEKS WE COMPLETED DISTRIBUTION CERTIFICATES AND UNDERTOOK ALL STEPS TO OBTAIN TRANSIT VISAS STOP SWISS AUTHORITIES FULLY SUPPORTED OUR EFFORTS STOP PRESENT REDUCTION OF ALREADY SMALL ALLOCATION WILL VERY GRAVELY PREJUDICE POSITION REFUGEES HERE STOP WE DECLINE ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM REDUCTION QUOTA UNQUOTE THIS REACTION ILLUSTRATES INHUMAN EFFECTS PRESENT PROCEDURE OF TRYING MAKE DWINDLING BALANCE OF WHITE PAPER CERTIFICATES WHICH ON APRIL FIRST

PROBABLY ONLY 4000 GO ROUND ALL COUNTRIES STOP OUR APPLICATION FOR 10300 ORIGINALLY INTENDED AS INITIAL SYMBOLIC MEASURE IMMEDIATELY RELIEF NOW FIGURE LUDICROUSLY ANACHRONISTIC STOP OUTCRY FOR CERTIFICATES INCREASING WEEKLY IN SCOPE AND INTENSITY STOP WITH ARRIVAL YESTERDAYS TRANSPORT LID PUT ON EMIGRATION FROM ITALY WHERE NO SINGLE PERMIT LEFT FOR DISTRIBUTION STOP YOU FULLY AWARE POSITION BALCANIAN WESTERN EUROPE STOP SINCE DAVID BEN-GURION'S DEPARTURE RECEIVED AUTHENTIC REPORTS POSITION POLISH REMNANT FROM ZIONIST ENVOIES LUBLIN WHO REACHED BUCHAREST INDESCRIBABLE DESTITUTION WHILE FIERCENESS OF RAGING ANTISEMITISM INDICATED BY FACT FEW GENTILES WHO UNDER NAZIS WERE INSTRUMENTAL SAVING JEWS NOW BEGGING THEIR PROTEGES KEEP THIS SECRET LEST THEY BE EXPOSED PUBLIC WRATH STOP MURDERS SURVIVING JEWS BY NAZIFIED POLES OCCURRING FREQUENTLY STOP OUR REPRESENTATIVE ERUD UEBERALL BROUGHT FROM ISTANBUL REPORTS POSITION BUDAPEST APPALLING DESTITUTION CHILD MORTALITY STOP BUDAPEST ONLY PLACE WHERE HUNGARIAN JEWS SAFE BECAUSE CONCENTRATED BUT STRAY SURVIVORS EMERGING FROM HIDEOUTS IN PROVINCES BEING KILLED BY ANTISEMITES BROAD DAYLIGHT STOP OUR UNABILITY PROVIDE CERTIFICATES EVEN IN SMALL PART MAKES STRAIN HUMANLY UNBEARABLE STOP ON OTHER HAND PALESTINE CONTINUING IN FULL EMPLOYMENT PRODUCTION BADLY NEEDS ADDITIONAL LABOUR FORCE WHICH UNAVAILABLE. EVEN CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATES SHOW TENS THOUSANDS EARNERS ABSORBABLE IN INDUSTRY MIXED FARMING REVIVING CITRUS BUILDING INDUSTRIES ALSO SCHEMES READY FOR ACCOMMODATION 20000 CHILDREN STOP HOUSING PROBLEM PRESENTS NO INSUPERABLE DIFFICULTIES IF GOVERNMENT ASSISTS ADEQUATELY BY AUTHORISING IMPORTS STOP EVEN UNDER DIFFICULTEST CONDITIONS POSITION REFUGEES PALESTINE INFINITELY PREFERABLE PRESENT STATE CONGESTION OR HOMELESSNESS EUROPE STOP EXECUTIVE JEWISH AGENCY AFTER FULLY CONSIDERING POSITION ALL ASPECTS URGES MAJOR EFFORT PREVAIL GOVERNMENT FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGE EMIGRATION POLICY BY ENABLING IMMEDIATE LARGE SCALE ADMISSION VIEW SPARING FURTHER DETERIORATION REMNANTS JEWRY PREVENTING RISE TENSION PALESTINE DESPAIR EUROPE.

"EXECUTIVE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE"

4/3/45

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 3, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

COPY

We are enclosing a suggested resolution drawn up in collaboration with the American Jewish Conference, to be presented at your community meeting. We suggest that you do not use this resolution verbatim. Use it simply as a guide, bearing in mind our demand to be heard at San Francisco in connection with our plea that the gates of Palestine be opened to survivors of the European tragedy and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Resolutions similar to this should be adopted by as many Jewish and non-Jewish organizations in your community as possible. We urge you to publicize as fully as possible these resolutions, and when passed the text should be sent to The President, The White House, Washington, D. C. and to Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

AL:FBP
Enc.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Draft of Resolution

I

As Americans and as Jews, we greet the Conference of the United Nations about to assemble in San Francisco to lay the foundations of a lasting peace and we join in prayer with all liberty loving Americans that a new world order will realize the aspirations of civilized men everywhere for a world society that shall respect the dignity of man and assure to all peoples the right to live in peace and security.

In view of the fact that in the peaceful and orderly reconstruction of the world and its organization for peace and security all peoples are to have a voice in the determination of their own future, we ask that that right be granted also to the Jewish people so that they, like all others, shall be heard in the councils of the nations through their accredited representatives.

II

In order to protect individual human rights against arbitrary violation, we ask that the nations of the world embody in the charter of the new society to be formed an International Bill of Rights which shall guarantee:

- 1 - Full and complete protection of life and liberty for the inhabitants of all countries, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.
- 2 - Unequivocal equality of rights in law and in fact for all the citizens of every country.
- 3 - The inalienable right of all religious, ethnic and cultural groups to maintain and foster their respective group identities on the basis of equality.

III

We ask that all the rights formerly granted to the Jewish people in Europe be restored to them, that all discriminatory laws and practices be abrogated and that destitute Jewish survivors be aided to rehabilitation and resettlement by the United Nations.

We ask that an end be put to the unbearable status of statelessness; that all property confiscated and stolen by the Nazis and their collaborators be returned to their original owners; that war criminals be punished for all misdeeds committed in their own countries and against their own nationals and against the peoples subjugated and enslaved in occupied lands.

IV

The homelessness of the Jewish people, its lack of a territory where it may live as a matter of right and not on sufferance, must come to an end; and for that purpose and to achieve that end, the reconstruction of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth is imperative.

After the First World War, the solution of the problem of the homelessness of the Jewish people through the reconstruction of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth was recognized and approved by 53 nations of the world, including the United States. On the basis of the covenant entered into with the Jewish people by the League of Nations, the Jewish people set itself to the task of recreating and rebuilding its historic homeland. That undertaking was illegally interrupted and the efforts of the Jewish people thwarted by the trustee appointed under the Mandate for Palestine. Today there is presented to the world the bewildering spectacle of a people persecuted and hunted, denied entrance into its own country and forced to become wanderers, stateless and homeless.

Under the terms of the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939, the doors of Palestine are now swinging shut to all Jewish immigration and a policy of appeasement promulgated at a time when the democracies were yielding to aggression, now comes to a shocking climax precisely when the democracies advance to triumph over aggression.

We ask that the doors of Palestine be opened at once to the hundreds of thousands of Jewish wanderers who are striving to reach a haven of peace and security and a sanctuary for national reconstruction.

V

Heartened by the assurances given to the Jewish people by the leaders of the United Nations and the wide-spread endorsement of Jewish aims expressed by leaders of religious and labor and liberal men everywhere, we ask that these assurances be translated without delay into terms of reality.

At this moment of decision, when a world of freedom and justice is being constructed by the architects of the peace, a just solution of the Jewish problem cannot again be postponed. Its deferment cruelly and needlessly prolongs the sufferings of the Jewish people, prejudices the achievement of their moral aspirations, violates the pledges given to them and stands in crass contradiction to the universal striving for justice and humanity which is to be the basis of the international organization to be founded in San Francisco.



6/3/45

MEMORANDUM

To Chairman of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 27, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

We have received requests from a number of Local Emergency Committees in connection with their scheduled Mass Meetings for the text of a new Resolution which shall deal specifically with our Zionist objectives, and a draft text is enclosed for your information and use if so desired.

If your meeting is under joint auspices with the American Jewish Conference, you will at the same time wish to pass an additional Resolution which will deal specifically with the Conference objectives. (Text of this resolution was sent to you with my memorandum of April 3rd).

Copies of the Resolutions should be sent to: The President, The White House, Washington, D. C.; The Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D. C.; and The British Ambassador, The British Embassy, Washington, D. C.

AL:LD
Enc.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED AT RALLY FOR JEWISH RIGHTS
LEWISOHN STADIUM, NEW YORK CITY
SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1945

We greet the Conference of the United Nations about to assemble in San Francisco to lay the foundations of a lasting peace; we join in prayer with all liberty-loving Americans that the aspirations of civilized mankind for a new world order that shall respect the dignity of man and assure to all peoples the right to live in peace and security may be realized.

WHEREAS, the solution of the problem of the homelessness of the Jews as a people is integral to the establishment of a just and durable peace and the nations of the world gave international recognition at the end of the last war through the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine to the right of the Jewish people to re-establish their national home in Palestine.

WHEREAS, the situation of the survivors of European Jewry whose full tragedy has been revealed by our liberating forces continues calamitous, and

WHEREAS, great numbers of these survivors, homeless and uprooted, and living under conditions of physical and moral degradation seek the right and opportunity to begin life again among their own people in their own land, and

WHEREAS, ignoring the humanitarian needs of the situation as well as the rights internationally guaranteed to the Jewish people and these survivors of the Nazi holocaust are still today prohibited entry into Palestine, and groups of them are even being transferred to new detention camps in North Africa, and

WHEREAS, the recent request of the Jewish Agency for Palestine for additional immigration certificates has been rejected by the British Government thus prolonging unnecessarily the individual tragedy of every one of these persons.

(more)

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this gathering urges:

1. The abolition forthwith of all present restrictions and limitations on free Jewish immigration into Palestine and on the right of Jews to purchase and settle on the land there.
2. The immediate announcement by the responsible Powers of their determination to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in consonance with the underlying intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine.
3. The grant to the Jewish Agency for Palestine of representation and a voice in all international conferences, including that at San Francisco, in all matters which may affect the future status of Palestine and Jewish rights or interests there.

We also urge that the Jews in liberated areas who desire to emigrate to Palestine and to rebuild their lives in the Jewish National Home be given all possible assistance to that end by the Great Powers.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution shall be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, and to the Embassies in Washington of Great Britain, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of France.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 27, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

In connection with the San Francisco Conference, many official delegations representing the Arab states have come to this country and are likely, both during and after the San Francisco Conference, to visit different cities for purposes of anti-Zionist propaganda. We would ask you to watch out for any meeting that might be organized on their behalf in your own community and to take appropriate action with a view to having the Zionist side adequately represented. Please keep us informed of any such activity.

Apart from the Arab delegations, American propagandists on their behalf have been more active of late. In particular, Dr. John Badeau of Cairo University, has been addressing audiences in different centers. To quote one report which we have received, "Dr. Badeau is adroit and unusually adept at dodging and twisting questions and facts." Please be prepared for him if he comes to your community and let us have a report of his address.

For your guidance I enclose a copy of a letter sent on behalf of the American Palestine Committee to the secretary of a club in Pittsburgh which had been addressed by Dr. Badeau.

AL:CK
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April 19, 1945

Dear Mr. _____:

Mrs. Blanche Shepard, Director of the Club Program Service, has passed on to me your letter to her of April 5th with reference to the address by Dr. John S. Badeau and I hope I may be permitted to reply.

May I deal first with your concluding paragraph with reference to promoting freer migration into our own as well as other countries. So far as the United States is concerned, however regrettable, it remains a fact that the prospect of obtaining an amendment of our immigration laws such as would permit a substantial immigration of Jews into this country is so remote as to make the proposal meaningless as a realistic contribution to the problem. You are possibly aware of the very emphatic resolution on this subject of the Veterans' Organization and there is no doubt that their view is shared also by large sections of opinion in this country. Even the great labor organizations, which have been warmly sympathetic to the re-establishment of the Jewish National Home are strongly opposed to immigration into this country. Indeed, on the basis of a nationwide tour which I have recently made, I believe that a propaganda campaign directed towards liberalizing the immigration laws would have as its first result a strong reaction by way of a widespread increase in anti-Semitism here.

As to immigration to other countries, as you no doubt know, President Roosevelt was responsible in 1933 and also in 1943 for two international conferences, at Evian and Bermuda, which scoured the map in the hope of finding places of refuge for the tortured Jews of Europe. These conferences created a good deal of fanfare but their practical achievement was absolutely nil. Only the other day a South African friend of mine was telling me how in 1937 a boatload of 500 Jews from Germany arriving in that large and under-populated country was received with such hostility that the government forthwith enacted legislation virtually prohibiting further Jewish immigration. The position in the South American countries is not much better. It is impossible therefore to lull one's conscience any longer with vague hopes of finding territories to which Jews may emigrate. One is driven to the inescapable conclusion that the undertaking at the end of the last war to establish a national home for the Jewish people to which such of them as may wish to go shall be entitled to enter as of right, is the only answer.

The Jews in Palestine have shown what, if given the opportunity, they are able to do. Their colonizing achievement there is unique in the history of migrations and settlement. Nor has this been done at the expense of injustice to the local Arab population. The latter have benefited greatly from Jewish development, and their standards of living today are vastly superior to those of the fellahin in Egypt where, as Dr. Badeau will know, last year in the upper Nile Valley alone 175,000 died from a combination of malnutrition and malaria.

Coming to what Dr. Badeau described as the "actual political and psychological situation," it is of vital importance to remember that while anti-Zionist Arab leaders led by the notorious Mufti of Jerusalem have, ever since the last war, held out dire threats of what would happen if Jewish settlement should continue, the Arabs today accept as an accomplished fact the 600,000 Jews now in Palestine, as against the 80,000 in 1920, even though they opposed at each successive stage the increase to the present numbers. If the proposal for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth were carried through with determination and speed, the Arabs would in the end likewise accept the accomplished fact of the existence of that Commonwealth. The Arab countries of the Middle East are for the most part sparsely populated and greatly underdeveloped. Their governments are unstable and the masses of their population live in backwardness and poverty. The Jews in Palestine can serve, and have already begun to do so, as a creative and civilizing influence for the whole of that region. Any solution, however, can be premised only on a strong firmly rooted Jewish national entity in Palestine.

Civilization owes it to the Jewish people to see that the great work initiated at the end of the last war with the endorsement not only of the League of Nations but also of our Government and people, is brought to a successful conclusion.

May I say in conclusion that I understand Dr. Badeau, who is making speeches in many centers in opposition to Zionism, in all the years that he was in Egypt did not feel it necessary to see something of the remarkable work of Jewish Palestine next door. Had he done so, I feel he would have found there a useful corrective to the threatening words to which he apparently gave heed in Cairo. He would have seen the splendid constructive achievement of people who, but for the support given the Zionist idea by the nations of the world twenty-five years ago, would certainly have fallen victim to Hitler's concentration camps. Would that it had been millions and not hundreds of thousands who had thus been saved.

Yours sincerely,

HEL:LCK

Howard M. LeSourd

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date May 1, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: Basic Memorandum Organizing Christian Action on Behalf of Palestine.

IMPORTANT -- NOT FOR PUBLICATION

- I. Recent events have demonstrated beyond question that we must greatly increase our efforts to secure the understanding and active support of Christian America on behalf of the Zionist program.

Reasons:

- A. British propaganda activities are being inaugurated designed to convince American public opinion
1. That Palestine cannot take in any more Jews than a severely limited number.
 2. That the Jews of Europe are themselves opposed to migration to Palestine.
 3. That to enforce the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth will cause bloodshed in which the lives of many American soldiers will be lost.
- B. Arab propaganda activities (through Bedeen and other emissaries) are being launched; and large sums have been made available to the Arab delegation attending the San Francisco Conference for "education and entertainment." Arab propaganda offices are to be opened in a number of American cities.
- C. Government officials in high places have indicated that strong Christian pressure for a Jewish Commonwealth is needed to spur Federal action on behalf of a Jewish Palestine.

Unless the Zionists are first to organize, win and maintain the sympathy and activity of the leaders of American Christendom for our cause, our work will become greatly complicated, and an attempt will be made, through clever but insidious and vicious attacks which will be levelled against us, to render our aims suspect.

II. In Every American Community an American Christian Palestine Committee Must be Immediately Organized.

- A. Purposes: These committees shall be the instrument through which we will --

1. Educate and win Christian religious and lay leaders to the cause of a Jewish Commonwealth; and --
2. Assist in activities designed to help achieve both our immediate and long-term goal.

III. Your first job is to appoint a special chairman in your local Emergency Council to head up this work. By return mail, on the card enclosed for your convenience, send us the name of this man. Choose your best representative who can do the job.

As soon as we get the name of your chairman, he will be sent a Manual on Organization for American Christian Palestine Committee work.

AL:GEW
Enc.



MEMORANDUM

To . . . Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date May 31, 1948

From . Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

IMPORTANT -- NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Following our memorandum of May 1st entitled "Basic Memorandum Organizing Christian Action on Behalf of Palestine," we present a report of what was done in Boston, culminating in the American Christian Palestine Conference held there on April 9th. We submit it as an example for your information of what excellent work can be done in this field.

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Immediate opening of the gates of Palestine, its reconstitution as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and a demand that the Jewish case be heard at San Francisco, were urged by more than 800 outstanding leaders of the Christian community of Boston at the American Christian Palestine Conference held April 9th at Hotel Statler. The Conference, called by the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, took place under the sponsorship of Governor Maurice J. Tobin of Massachusetts; Senators Leverett M. Saltonstall and David I. Walsh of Massachusetts; Congressman John W. McCormack, Majority Leader of the U. S. House of Representatives; Archbishop Richard B. Cushing (Catholic); Bishop Lewis O. Hartman (Methodist); Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence (Episcopalian) and Charles Francis Adams.

The Conference was divided into three sessions: an afternoon forum which began at 2:30 P.M., a women's forum and tea which began at 3:00 P.M., and a dinner meeting which began at 6:30 P.M. More than 40% of the Conference participants attended all three sessions.

Speakers at the Conference were Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, Professor of Government, Harvard University; Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, author and assistant of the Soil Conservation Bureau, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Dr. Wendell Phillips, Pastor of Christ Church, Rye, N. Y.; Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Executive Secretary, Christian Council on Palestine; Mrs. Walter Clay Lowdermilk; Mrs. Charles E. Wyzansky, an organizer of the Youth Aliyah movement; Congressman John M. Coffee of Washington; Dean Howard M. LeSourd, Director, American Palestine Committee; and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Director, Commission on Palestine Surveys.

The interest in the Conference and the response of the community itself was remarkable, in view of the fact that the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine concentrated their efforts on a selected cross-section of less than 2,000 Boston Christian leaders. The attached resolution was adopted and copies were sent to President Truman, Secretary of State Stettinius, all members of the delegation at San Francisco, and to Senators and Representatives from Massachusetts.

Newspaper coverage was excellent. In some newspapers the Conference and its demands made the front page against the competition of war news from Europe.

At the close of the Conference, the entire attendance constituted themselves into the American Christian Palestine Committee and a slate of officers was elected to

follow the program adopted by the Conference. Governor Tobin of Massachusetts accepted the chairmanship of this committee.

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The reaction of the Jewish community of Boston to the Conference was splendid. The prestige of the Zionist movement was considerably heightened in Boston as a result, and a few of the Jewish guests at the Conference (they were limited to 20 in number) later offered to finance completely any meetings that might be held in the future under the sponsorship of Christian and non-sectarian groups, so that our program could be carried out as widely as possible.

AL:YEP
Enc.



American Christian Palestine Committee
85 Devonshire Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts

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Declaration Adopted by the American Christian Palestine Conference
of Boston Meeting at Hotel Statler, Boston, April 9, 1945.

Presented by the Rev. David R. Hunter, Chairman of
the Findings Committee whose members are the
Rev. Donald Lothrop, Mr. John McLaren,
Dean Jesse B. Davis, and Miss Lucille Eaves.

We meet on the eve of the forging of the peace.

As American citizens, as Christians who hold that the welfare of humanity is the profound goal of true citizenship and who stand ready to support the leaders of the United Nations in their historic task to establish a social order in which all peoples, large and small, may live in peace and security, we have gathered here today in this American Christian Palestine Conference.

We believe that one of the fundamental problems facing the world today is the problem of rehabilitating the peoples who have been crushed by Fascist aggression. We hold that one of the challenging issues of our time is the homelessness of the Jewish people. Rehabilitation for these surviving victims of Hitlerism must be the first task in the United Nations' reconstruction of society.

Out of the crucible of the last World War and in recognition of the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine came the promise of the civilized world embodied in the Balfour Declaration. That promise, made by Great Britain after consultation with the United States and other Allied nations, was incorporated in the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine which designated Great Britain as the trustee charged with the obligation for its fulfillment.

In reliance upon that solemn covenant, the Jewish people returned to Palestine to join those of their brethren who had never left the land of Israel. There they worked a modern miracle. A land made derelict by centuries of neglect became an oasis in the midst of waste. They turned marches into fertile fields, made barren hills fruitful with forest and orchard, drove out pestilence and

disease, and brought to a people struggling in the morass of medieval feudalism all the blessings of the Western world. They created in those great vastnesses of feudal reaction the sole bastion of democracy in the Middle East. When the second World War erupted, that bulwark held firm against the enemy.

The contribution by Jewish Palestine alone to the cause of the United Nations is one of the glorious chapters of this war. The enlistment in this war of tens of thousands of young men and women from Palestine represented in proportion to the population the largest voluntary enlistment from any country in the world.

Put this promise, upon the basis of which the Jewish people poured out their lives, their treasure and their vitality was, through political expediency, gradually whittled down. In 1939, as a last capitulation to the forces of aggression, the policy of appeasement whose seed was sown at Munich reached the full flower of infamy in the Chamberlain White Paper. It was issued as a gesture of appeasement to certain Arab leaders who, influenced and supported by Hitler and Mussolini, sought to whip up their people against the British and the Jews. Recognized as the last relic of the Munich era, this act reversed the very objectives of the Mandate for Palestine. It was never assented to by the United States whose assent to any modification of the Mandate is required. It was, in the words of Winston Churchill, a "plain breach of a solemn obligation."

Now as we meet in sight of victory in this second World War, we ask the civilized world to right this wrong and fulfill this great promise. At this moment of decision when the world of freedom and justice is being constructed by the architects of the peace, a just solution of the Jewish problem cannot again be postponed.

We ask that when the democratic leaders of the world meet in the councils of nations, the Jews be given an opportunity to be heard. No decision with regard to Palestine can be valid without a Jewish representation in the deliberations which determine that decision.

We ask that pending the final peace the gates of Palestine be opened now. The broken remnants of European Jewry may thus rebuild their shattered lives in Palestine where they will be welcome as nowhere else in the world.

In accord with America's traditional policy of support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine, reaffirmed and reenforced by the platforms of both major political parties and by an overwhelming majority of the members of Congress, we respectfully address ourselves to the President of the United States with the earnest plea to use his good offices, as promised by him in his historic statements before and after Yalta, in assuring early and definitive action on Palestine.

In pursuance of our convictions here stated, we now organized ourselves into the American Christian Palestine Committee of Boston and dedicate ourselves to the task of achieving justice for this tragically betrayed people. We call upon our members to bend their efforts, individually and collectively, to this end.

We call upon our members to urge upon the organizations to which they belong -- civic, political, and fraternal -- to join with them in appealing to the President, to the State Department, to their chosen representatives in Congress, and to the American delegates to the San Francisco Conference, to support them in this great campaign for human liberation.

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MEMORANDUM

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RETURN TO FILES

E.C.

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date May 21, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

Under the auspices of the American Christian Palestine Committee a letter has gone forward to the Senators and Representatives of the United States Congress requesting them to sign a letter to the President which urges that immediate steps be taken to open Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and to establish Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Copies of the letters and enclosures are attached hereto.

To buttress the activities of the American Christian Palestine Committee and to ensure a majority of signatories from both Houses, Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees throughout the country can cooperate in making this a successful undertaking by:

1. Seeing to it that several influential members of each community write personal letters to their Congressmen stating that they understand that the American Christian Palestine Committee has sent such a letter and urging them to join the other members of Congress in signing it;
2. Calling a special meeting of the Local Emergency Committee at which a resolution should be passed urging the Representatives and Senators to sign. The resolution should bear the names of local committee members.

Please do not publicize this project in any way at present. As soon as the results are tabulated we will send you a full report and directives for further action.

AL:CMH

UNITED STATES SENATE

Washington, D. C.

May 18, 1945

Dear Senator:

The American Christian Palestine Committee is requesting the Senators to sign a letter to President Truman, in which it is urged that immediate steps be taken to open Palestine to Jewish immigration and pave the way for a democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

We have considered the reintroduction of the resolution, which we offered in 1943 and 1944, but we have decided that a letter of this kind to the President is better at this time.

In the war in Europe, which has happily come to a close, the United Nations had no more vigorous and sacrificing Allies, in proportion to their numbers, than the Jews of Palestine. They gave their lives and their wealth to further the war against Hitler. Now that the peace is in the making, it appears that the Jew again may be made a football of power politics, but this, in the interests of the selfare and freedom of mankind, must not continue. Palestine as a homeland has been promised to the Jews, and they need and deserve it now.

We feel that this subject should be brought as forcefully as possible to the attention of the President, and urge our colleagues to sign this joint letter.

Very sincerely yours,

Robert F. Wagner

Robert A. Taft

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 2-4917

American Palestine Committee

May 18, 1945

Chairman

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

Secretary

HON. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

DR. DANIEL L. MARSH

Chairman

J. M. BLALOCK

MRS. WALTER FERGUSON

PROF. CARL J. FRIEDRICH

WILLIAM GREEN

ERIC A. JOHNSTON

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

HON. JOHN W. MCCORMACK

PHILIP MURRAY

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

HON. FRANK A. PICARD

MISS DAPHNE ROBERT

MGR. JOHN A. RYAN

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS

HON. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY

Director

DEAN HOWARD M. LESOURD

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Christian Council on Palestine

Chairman

DR. HENRY A. ATKINSON

Executive Committee

PROF. JAMES LUTHER ADAMS

PROF. WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

DR. JOHN W. BRADBURY

REV. KARL M. CHWOBOWSKY

REV. WALTON E. COLE

REV. DR. ALBERT E. DAY

REV. RICHARD E. EVANS

PROF. S. RALPH HARLOW

REV. DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

PROF. HALFORD E. LUCOCK

BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL

PROF. FRANCIS E. McMAHON

PROF. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

REV. LESLIE T. PENNINGTON

REV. DR. DANIEL A. POLING

REV. DR. HAROLD PAUL SLOAN

PROF. PAUL TILLICH

DR. PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

DR. HOWARD B. WARREN

PROF. HENRY N. WIEMAN

Executive Secretary

DR. CARL HERMANN VOSS

The American Christian Palestine Committee, expressing widespread Christian conviction, believes that every effort must be made now to fulfill the international promises made to the Jews concerning their national homeland in Palestine.

The Nazi regime in the course of its monstrous campaign of systematic murder and torture has almost annihilated the Jewish communities of Europe and for millions of Jews, the end of the war in Europe comes too late. Horrible disclosures concerning the Buchenwald, Maidanek, Oswiecim and other prison and concentration camps have shocked the civilized world. Hitler waged his war against the helpless Jews of Europe with a barbarity and determination which we in this country have only now begun fully to realize. At this moment we must do all we can to insure justice to the remnant of European Jewry and make impossible a repetition of this tragedy.

Therefore, we are asking the members of the House of Representatives to sign the enclosed letter addressed to President Truman as a current reiteration of our traditional national policy. The party platforms of both Republicans and Democrats affirm their support of the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

The Honorable John W. McCormack, Democratic leader, and the Honorable Joseph Martin, Republican leader, have already affixed their signatures. Your support through the signing of this letter will be greatly appreciated by Americans who are deeply concerned about justice for the Jews and the peace of the world.

For your convenience an addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for the return of the signed letter.

Thanking you for your cooperation, we are

Helen Gahagan Douglas
National Secretary

Howard M. LeSourd
Co-Director

Carl Hermann Voss
Co-Director

A
Letter
to the
President of the United States



A Letter to the
President of the United States

From the Members of the House of Representatives

Dear Mr. President:

THE victorious close of the war in Europe makes it timely and urgent to address you now on a subject which may well be the testing ground of our determination to achieve a stable peace based on justice and equality.

The story of the monstrous atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis needs no repetition. The Jewish people were deliberately singled out for wholesale annihilation, and in this suffered beyond all other peoples. Civilization owes it to the Jewish people to see that the great work of reconstituting Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth initiated at the end of the last war, with the endorsement of the League of Nations and of our Government and people, is brought to a successful conclusion.

Every President of the United States since Woodrow Wilson has reaffirmed the support of the American Government for the restoration of the Jewish National Home. The United States Congress, as early as 1922, endorsed that policy. The approval was reaffirmed by the American-British Convention of 1924. The two major American political parties in 1944 declared at their respective national conventions their support of this policy, and thirty-three of our States representing eighty-five percent of the American population have similarly gone on record, through resolutions adopted by their respective Legislatures, in support of Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

All efforts to find refuge for the uprooted Jews of Europe have been fruitless. It is apparent that the undertaking at the end of the last war to establish Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people is the only answer.

The Jews have shown what they are able to create in their ancestral home, both as colonizers in peace and as allies in war. Their record in both respects is superb. They have established a sound economy. Their achievements in industry, agriculture and public works are proof that the land they are so admirably reclaiming can absorb all who seek a home there. Their single-minded devotion to the Allied cause, and their contribution of blood and toil which in Palestine is out of all proportion to their number, constitutes an outstanding chapter in the history of our common struggle.

Mr. President, we believe that the time for action is now. We respectfully urge, now that hostilities in Europe have ceased, that all powers of our Government be exerted toward the immediate fulfillment of that policy to which America is so deeply committed. We earnestly request you to use your influence with the Government of Great Britain, the Mandatory for Palestine, to open forthwith the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization; and we hope that you will urge all interested governments to join with the United States toward the end of establishing Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth at the earliest possible time.

To the attainment of these ends — which have the endorsement of the American people — we pledge you our support.

Respectfully yours,

MEMORANDUM

To : Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date May 21, 1945

From : Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

IMPORTANT -- NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Following our memorandum of May 1st entitled "Basic Memorandum Organizing Christian Action on Behalf of Palestine," we present a report of what was done in Boston, culminating in the American Christian Palestine Conference held there on April 9th. We submit it as an example for your information of what excellent work can be done in this field.

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Immediate opening of the gates of Palestine, its reconstitution as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and a demand that the Jewish case be heard at San Francisco, were urged by more than 800 outstanding leaders of the Christian community of Boston at the American Christian Palestine Conference held April 9th at Hotel Statler. The Conference, called by the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, took place under the sponsorship of Governor Maurice J. Tobin of Massachusetts; Senators Leverett M. Saltonstall and David I. Walsh of Massachusetts; Congressman John W. McCormack, Majority Leader of the U. S. House of Representatives; Archbishop Richard B. Cushing (Catholic); Bishop Lewis O. Hartman (Methodist); Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence (Episcopalian) and Charles Francis Adams.

The Conference was divided into three sessions: an afternoon forum which began at 2:30 P.M., a women's forum and tea which began at 3:00 P.M., and a dinner meeting which began at 6:30 P.M. More than 40% of the Conference participants attended all three sessions.

Speakers at the Conference were Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, Professor of Government, Harvard University; Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, author and assistant of the Soil Conservation Bureau, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Dr. Wendell Phillips, Pastor of Christ Church, Rye, N. Y.; Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Executive Secretary, Christian Council on Palestine; Mrs. Walter Clay Lowdermilk; Mrs. Charles E. Wyzansky, an organizer of the Youth Aliyah movement; Congressman John M. Coffee of Washington; Dean Howard M. LeSourd, Director, American Palestine Committee; and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Director, Commission on Palestine Surveys.

The interest in the Conference and the response of the community itself was remarkable, in view of the fact that the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine concentrated their efforts on a selected cross-section of less than 2,000 Boston Christian leaders. The attached resolution was adopted and copies were sent to President Truman, Secretary of State Stettinius, all members of the delegation at San Francisco, and to Senators and Representatives from Massachusetts.

Newspaper coverage was excellent. In some newspapers the Conference and its demands made the front page against the competition of war news from Europe.

At the close of the Conference, the entire attendance constituted themselves into the American Christian Palestine Committee and a slate of officers was elected to

follow the program adopted by the Conference. Governor Tobin of Massachusetts accepted the chairmanship of this committee.

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The reaction of the Jewish community of Boston to the Conference was splendid. The prestige of the Zionist movement was considerably heightened in Boston as a result, and a few of the Jewish guests at the Conference (they were limited to 20 in number) later offered to finance completely any meetings that might be held in the future under the sponsorship of Christian and non-sectarian groups, so that our program could be carried out as widely as possible.

AL:YBP

Enc.



American Christian Palestine Committee
85 Devonshire Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts

C
O
P
Y

Declaration Adopted by the American Christian Palestine Conference
of Boston Meeting at Hotel Statler, Boston, April 9, 1945.

Presented by the Rev. David R. Hunter, Chairman of
the Findings Committee whose members are the
Rev. Donald Lothrop, Mr. John McLaren,
Dean Jesse B. Davis, and Miss Lucille Xaves.

We meet on the eve of the forging of the peace.

As American citizens, as Christians who hold that the welfare of humanity is the profound goal of true citizenship and who stand ready to support the leaders of the United Nations in their historic task to establish a social order in which all peoples, large and small, may live in peace and security, we have gathered here today in this American Christian Palestine Conference.

We believe that one of the fundamental problems facing the world today is the problem of rehabilitating the peoples who have been crushed by Fascist aggression. We hold that one of the challenging issues of our time is the homelessness of the Jewish people. Rehabilitation for these surviving victims of Hitlerism must be the first task in the United Nations' reconstruction of society.

Out of the crucible of the last World War and in recognition of the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine came the promise of the civilized world embodied in the Balfour Declaration. That promise, made by Great Britain after consultation with the United States and other Allied nations, was incorporated in the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine which designated Great Britain as the trustee charged with the obligation for its fulfillment.

In reliance upon that solemn covenant, the Jewish people returned to Palestine to join those of their brethren who had never left the land of Israel. There they worked a modern miracle. A land made derelict by centuries of neglect became an oasis in the midst of waste. They turned marshes into fertile fields, made barren hills fruitful with forest and orchard, drove out pestilence and

disease, and brought to a people struggling in the morass of medieval feudalism all the blessings of the Western world. They created in those great vastnesses of feudal reaction the sole bastion of democracy in the Middle East. When the second World War erupted, that bulwark held firm against the enemy.

The contribution by Jewish Palestine alone to the cause of the United Nations is one of the glorious chapters of this war. The enlistment in this war of tens of thousands of young men and women from Palestine represented in proportion to the population the largest voluntary enlistment from any country in the world.

But this promise, upon the basis of which the Jewish people poured out their lives, their treasure and their vitality was, through political expediency, gradually whittled down. In 1939, as a last capitulation to the forces of aggression, the policy of appeasement whose seed was sown at Munich reached the full flower of infamy in the Chamberlain White Paper. It was issued as a gesture of appeasement to certain Arab leaders who, influenced and supported by Hitler and Mussolini, sought to whip up their people against the British and the Jews. Recognized as the last relic of the Munich era, this act reversed the very objectives of the Mandate for Palestine. It was never assented to by the United States whose assent to any modification of the Mandate is required. It was, in the words of Winston Churchill, a "plain breach of a solemn obligation."

Now as we meet in sight of victory in this second World War, we ask the civilized world to right this wrong and fulfill this great promise. At this moment of decision when the world of freedom and justice is being constructed by the architects of the peace, a just solution of the Jewish problem cannot again be postponed.

We ask that when the democratic leaders of the world meet in the councils of nations, the Jews be given an opportunity to be heard. No decision with regard to Palestine can be valid without a Jewish representation in the deliberations which determine that decision.

We ask that pending the final peace the gates of Palestine be opened now. The broken remnants of European Jewry may thus rebuild their shattered lives in Palestine where they will be welcome as nowhere else in the world.

In accord with America's traditional policy of support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine, reaffirmed and reenforced by the platforms of both major political parties and by an overwhelming majority of the members of Congress, we respectfully address ourselves to the President of the United States with the earnest plea to use his good offices, as promised by him in his historic statements before and after Yalta, in assuring early and definitive action on Palestine.

In pursuance of our convictions here stated, we now organized ourselves into the American Christian Palestine Committee of Boston and dedicate ourselves to the task of achieving justice for this tragically betrayed people. We call upon our members to bend their efforts, individually and collectively, to this end.

We call upon our members to urge upon the organizations to which they belong -- civic, political, and fraternal -- to join with them in appealing to the President, to the State Department, to their chosen representatives in Congress, and to the American delegates to the San Francisco Conference, to support them in this great campaign for human liberation.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date June 8, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

On May 21st we sent you a memorandum stating that under the auspices of the American Christian Palestine Committee a letter had gone forward to all Congressmen requesting them to sign a Letter to the President, which urges that immediate steps be taken to open Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and to establish Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. At that time we asked that members of your community write to your Congressmen urging them to join other Members of Congress in signing this letter. Excellent work has been done in this respect.

Attached hereto is a list of Senators and Representatives from your State who have or have not signed this round-robin letter. We now ask you to continue to carry on a vigorous, well-organized, well thought out campaign of action -- letters, telegrams, telephone calls, etc. -- to those Congressmen in your State who have not yet signed, emphasizing the great importance of this Letter to the President.

We also think it wise for members of your community to recognize the services of their Congressmen who have already signed, by writing them letters thanking them for their warm support. This is particularly important inasmuch as we may need their services soon again.

Please do not yet publicize this project. A further directive will be issued on this subject.

Will you please report at once by wire or telephone to Mr. J. M. Alkow, of this office, on what you are doing to obtain the signatures of those who have not yet signed.

AL:FRP
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date August 9, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

I am pleased to enclose a number of items which should be of interest to you and your co-workers.

On July 2nd and 3rd, the American Christian Palestine Committee conducted a National Seminar on Palestine in Princeton, New Jersey. It was a most successful educational venture. It was addressed by outstanding Christian spokesmen for a Jewish Palestine and was attended by an imposing number of Christian representatives of many communities. You will find the names of speakers and those attending indicated in the enclosed matter.

At the close of the Seminar, the group present sent a telegram to the Hon. James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State. This telegram did not mince words. It embraced our maximum program. A copy is attached.

Also enclosed is the most recent membership form of the American Christian Palestine Committee. Should you desire a number of these for distribution among some of our Christian friends, who might be prevailed upon to enroll new members, we will send you as many as you request.

Also enclosed is a circular dealing with a new essay contest for young people. It is self-explanatory.

Regards.

HLS:TSS
Encs.

NATIONAL SEMINAR OF THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

MONDAY & TUESDAY, JULY 2 & 3, 1945

PRINCETON INN, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

M O N D A Y, JULY 2, 1945

Morning Session Dean Howard M. LeSourd, Chairman
Welcome
1½ minutes for self-introduction by each guest

Afternoon Session Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Chairman

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson (Keynoter)
"THE ISSUE AT STAKE"

Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman
"THE AMERICAN SCENE & PALESTINE"

Discussion from the audience

Evening Session Dr. Francis E. McMahon, Chairman

Two movies: "Dagania" and "A Pass to Tomorrow"

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
"THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE & THE JEWISH PROBLEM"

Discussion from the audience

T U E S D A Y, JULY 3, 1945

Morning Session Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, Chairman
The Rev. Mr. Wendell Phillips
"THE JEW AND THE ARAB IN THE MIDDLE EAST"
Discussion from the audience
Dr. Carl J. Friedrich (Political Scene)
"WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE"
Discussion from the audience

Afternoon Session Dr. Howard M. LeSourd, Chairman
Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk (with slides)
"PALESTINE BEFORE AND AFTER"
Discussion from the audience
David Ben Gurion
"THE PALESTINE SCENE"
Discussion from the audience

Closing Session Dr. Carl H. Voss and Dr. Howard M. LeSourd
"THE SUMMING UP"
Discussion from the audience

C O P Y

WESTERN UNION

Sent By National Seminar On Palestine
Of The American Christian Palestine Committee

DAY LETTER

Honorable James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Princeton, N. J., July 3, 1945. In view of the perilous status of European Jewry, we the undersigned, members of the American Christian Palestine Committee, meeting in a National Seminar, request that you place upon the agenda of the forthcoming Berlin Conference a demand for: FIRST, the free immigration of Jews into Palestine under the administration of the internationally recognized Jewish Agency for Palestine. SECOND, the unhampered right of the Jewish people to purchase and colonize land throughout Palestine. THIRD, the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

It is our considered opinion that these three necessities constitute a primary and fundamental application of the statute and implications of the United Nations Charter.

We believe that your knowledge of this situation is sufficiently comprehensive to equip you to take leadership in this expression of justice and human decency.

We would appreciate your granting a brief interview to a committee of three, prior to your departure for Berlin.

Dean Howard M. LeSourd, Rev. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss,
Co-Directors, American Christian Palestine Committee
41 East 42nd Street, New York City

Members who attended the Seminar:

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, New York
Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, New York
Prof. Francis E. McMahon, Chicago
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, New York
Mrs. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, Washington, D.C.
Ion Ross MacFarlane, Baltimore, Md.
Dean Raimundo deOvies, Atlanta, Ga.
Rev. Dr. Earl Ferguson, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. Harvey Curtis Webster, Louisville, Ky.
Prof. Henry Miller Bush, Cleveland
Rev. Mr. Richard A. Dawson, Tucson, Arizona
Rev. Richard E. Evans, New York
Rev. John R. Frenn, Harrisburg, Pa.
Rev. Ralph T. Haas, Scranton, Pa.
Prof. Alton B. Hodgkins, New Orleans, La.
Rev. David R. Hunter, Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Howard M. LeSourd, Newton, Mass.
Oscar A. Marsh, New Britain, Conn.
George Pierrot, Detroit, Mich.
Rev. Phillip Sarles, Dallas, Texas
Rev. J. M. Somers, Brownsville, Pa.
Dr. John Arthur Visser, Wheeling, W. Va.
Dr. Howard B. Warren, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Amos I. Dushaw, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Prof. Carl J. Friedrich, Cambridge, Mass.
Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Washington, D.C.
Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, " "
Prof. S. Ralph Harlow, Northampton, Mass.
Dr. Walker Clarke Cummings, St. Louis, Mo.
Dr. Glenna Phillips, Los Angeles, Calif.
Rev. Clarence Bleakney, Newark, N. J.
Thomas Connor, Scranton, Pa.
Rev. George E. Drew, Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. Welthy Hunsinger Fisher, Hingham, Mass.

Charles Gates, Boston, Mass.
Rev. Robert S. Hoagland, Chicago
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Dr. Edgar A. Singer, Jr., Philadelphia
Mrs. Noyan Watts-Stevens, New York
Rev. Earl H. Tomlin, Providence, R.I.
Frank Corzoline, Newark, N. J.

Invitation to Membership

THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

A Combination of the

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE
41 East 42nd Street • New York 17, N. Y.

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL ON PALESTINE
79 Fifth Avenue • New York 11, N. Y.

Statement of Principles

THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE believes that, as Christians, we must resist and seek to destroy anti-Semitism; demand justice for the Jewish people everywhere; restore security, liberty and human dignity wherever these have been lost; obtain the democratic freedoms of citizenship and work for those Jews who would like to remain in the Old World in the lands of their origin; and safeguard their rights to restitution of property and to lives of dignity and self-respect.

We urge the nations of the world—our own included—to facilitate the immigration of those who wish to go to Palestine, their national homeland under the solemn pledge made to them by the nations of the world.

The AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE demands the fulfillment of the clear intent and purposes of the Balfour Declaration, the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, and of the 1924 Convention between Great Britain and the United States, all of which were designed to provide a national homeland, in the full sense of the word, for the Jewish people.

Specifically, we urge:

1. The free immigration of Jews into Palestine under the administration of the internationally recognized Jewish Agency for Palestine.
2. The unhampered right of the Jewish people to purchase and colonize land throughout Palestine.
3. The establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

This program is in line with traditional American policy as expressed by every President from Woodrow Wilson to Harry S. Truman.

In the Jewish national homeland thus to be established, the civil, religious and cultural rights of all groups shall be guaranteed and safeguarded. Complete separation of church and state is assured. There shall be full participation in government and complete equality before the law for all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race or creed.

The holy places of all religions will be fully protected and preserved under international guarantees.

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Dean Sidney Lovett	

I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim. Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
 October 15, 1944

I am for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of the Republican Congress in 1922. I have also stated that in order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jews driven from their homes by tyranny I favor the opening of Palestine to their unlimited immigration and land ownership. The American people have time and again declared themselves in favor of these principles.

GOVERNOR THOMAS E. DEWEY
 October 12, 1944

What the Jews have already accomplished in Palestine emphasizes that the establishment of a Jewish state there is not only theoretically desirable, but concretely practical. Between the two wars, from which the Jewish people have perhaps suffered most, Palestine has made great strides forward. There is no good arguing at this date whether Jewish Palestine should be established. It is established. It can only be aided or liquidated.

DOROTHY THOMPSON

The Palestine question is the acid test of democracy. It is the acid test of peace. A peace which leaves the Jewish question unresolved, will leave us who believe in democracy vulnerable to all the future Hitlers, all the malcontents, who will use this historic scapegoat to build up their nefarious movements. If we should enter into such a peace as leaves no room for the solution of the problem of which Palestine is the symbol, then there will be no peace.

DR. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
Professor of Social Philosophy
New York School of Social Work

Take the most striking minority question today — the Jewish question. I look upon it as the most serious minority question, and this is one of the reasons why I am what I may call a Palestinian, all these days. I should like to see the Jewish people have their own national home to which those of their people who are unwelcome in other countries may go. It seems a natural solution. Here is the old historic home of the Jewish people.

GENERAL JAN SMUTS
Prime Minister of South Africa

Palestine offers incontestably the primary hope for the solution of the problem of Jewish refugees . . . In Palestine and only there can the mass of Jewish refugees hope to be welcome . . . Only in Palestine will most of them feel that they have returned home.

JAMES G. McDONALD
Chairman of the President's Advisory
Committee on Political Refugees
Formerly High Commissioner for
German Refugees, League of Nations

In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth.

From the Platform of the
 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
Adopted at Chicago, June 27, 1944

We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and coonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

From the Platform of the
 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
Adapted at Chicago, July 24, 1944

PARTIAL LIST OF NATIONAL LEADERS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

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Hon. Robert A. Taft
and 59 additional members
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Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr.
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An Invitation

We invite the non-Jewish people of America to join the AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE and support the hopes and aspirations of the Jews for restoration of their nationhood in their ancestral homeland.

The destiny of the Jews is a matter of immediate concern to the Christian conscience, the amelioration of their lot a duty that rests upon all who profess Christian principles.

Two organizations have been formed to be the vehicle for the expression of Christian opinion regarding Palestine: (1) The American Palestine Committee, organized in 1941 and composed of laymen, and (2) the Christian Council on Palestine, organized in 1943 and composed of ministers and religious educators. These two national organizations combine for action as the AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE.

There are no financial obligations to membership.

I believe in the principles of the American Christian Palestine Committee

Sign your name clearly or print

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Please detach and return this enrollment form to the American Christian Palestine Committee, 41 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y. Additional forms are available upon request.

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CONCLUSIONS

THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

in cooperation with

The American Zionist Youth Commission, Avukah, Habonim, Hapoel Hamizrachi, Hashomer Hadati, Hashomer Hatzair, Hechalutz, Junior Hadassah, Junior Mizrachi Women, Masada, Young Judaea

ANNOUNCES THE SECOND ANNUAL

Essay Contest for Youth

Entries will be judged in the following age groups:

Elementary School Age	10 to 13 years inclusive
High School Age	14 to 17 years inclusive
Young Adults	18 to 25 years inclusive

The Subjects for all contestants are:

- (1) Why a Jewish Palestine NOW.
- (2) What Zionism Means to Me and My Future.
- (3) Chalutzit—A Challenge American Jewish Youth Must Meet.
- (4) Why All American Jewish Youth Should Support Zionism.
(This essay may be in the form of a letter or speech addressed to Jews.)
- (5) Why American Non-Jewish Youth Should Be Interested in Zionism.
(This essay may be in the form of a letter or speech addressed to Christians.)

The prizes to be awarded to each of the three age groups are:

FIRST PRIZE—One \$50.00 U. S. WAR BOND
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The Rules of the Essay Contest are:

- I. Essays must be signed with a pen-name and the author's age should be indicated on the manuscript. Each entry should be accompanied by a sealed envelope containing the pen-name and the real name, the address, and the organizational affiliation of the contestant. No person may submit more than one essay.
- II. All essays become the property of the sponsor and will not be returned.
- III. Entries must be sent before Chanukka 5706 (November 30, 1945) to:

*American Zionist Emergency Council, Essay Contest
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.*

For reading list and material apply to above address.

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342 Madison Avenue
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MEMORANDUM

To

Date

Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

July 12, 1945

From

Publications Department

Enclosed are copies of two new publications:

1) A New York Herald Tribune editorial demanding that the United States exert its full influence toward the abrogation of the Palestine White Paper, which serves as an indication of the type of comment it would be invaluable to have in papers throughout the country; and

2) "Before the Bar of History," a pamphlet on Arab-Jewish relations by the Rev. Wendell Phillips whose experience on the faculty of an American missionary institution in the Near East has given him an intimate understanding of the Arab world.

Copies of these two publications may be obtained in bulk from this office.

Also enclosed for your information is "An Appeal to the Conscience of America," a statement in behalf of the Palestine Jewish Commonwealth by over a thousand Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbis, issued by the Committee on Unity of the Zionist Organization of America.

SS:LD

Encs.

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1945.

Open Palestine's Doors

The problem of the millions of displaced persons in Europe, many of them Jews, cannot be separated from that of Palestine and the British White Paper which bars refugees from Palestine. Now nearly two months after the European war's end no solution of the Palestinian phase has been proposed. Conscientious Americans, like conscientious Britons, have never ceased to protest the injustice of the 1939 White Paper, unworthy relic of the Chamberlain government's efforts at appeasement. This nation has gone on record several times backing the Balfour Declaration's pledge of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Last year Congress was restrained from passing a resolution calling for the re-opening of Palestine to immigration only by direct requests from the highest diplomatic and military authorities. And although Congress, almost perforce, bowed to these requests, individual leaders have not hesitated to speak out against the White Paper and to urge the use of this country's influence to end it.

The subject is one which the Big Three in their coming meeting can hardly avoid. For the fate of Palestine is inextricably tied up with all the complicated Middle East relationships. An equitable solution is important to the peace of the world. President Truman is committed by his party's platform and also, without doubt, by his own convictions to support of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. He is, of course, aware of the strong public opinion here which condemns the White Paper as an abrogation of the Balfour Declaration, which will consider its continuance for any long period after the war as a breach of faith, and which feels that it is against human kindness and mercy to bar the helpless, homeless and desperate victims of Nazi persecution from a ready and welcoming haven. Mr. Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, recently arrived from Palestine and London, tells us that plans are ready for receiving a million refugees immediately.

The Arabs have lately shown some disposition to consider compromise. We know that strong public sentiment in Great Britain, shared, one has every reason to believe, by Prime Minister Churchill, favors the opening of Palestine's doors and the fulfillment of the pledge made by the great Allied nations and accepted by Arab leaders after the last war. The time would seem to be right to exert full United States influence in behalf of a new settlement to supersede the 1939 White Paper.

3

*Before the Bar
of History*

WENDELL PHILLIPS



Wendell Phillips is Rector of Christ Church in Rye, New York, and was formerly Assistant Chaplain at Columbia University. He taught at the American University in Cairo from 1926 to 1929. This pamphlet on the Arab-Jewish question is based on an address delivered by Rev. Phillips in Toronto on March 22, 1945 under the auspices of the Canadian Palestine Committee.

The Christian world has always been interested in Palestine. This was almost true two thousand years ago. It is acutely true today.

There are many reasons why we are concerned now. Perhaps the most pressing one is that Palestine seems to be the only possible haven for hundreds of thousands, even millions, of oppressed Jews somehow existing in Europe at this very moment. But the doors of Palestine have been shut to them, and bid fair to remain shut unless certain pertinent facts become more widely known. The immediate problem of Jewish refugees is but the last chapter in the long story of Zionism, the movement which during the last four or five decades has aimed to restore Palestine as a Jewish national homeland. Whenever the subject of the Jews and Palestine comes up someone is sure to say: "But the Arabs don't want the Jews in Palestine. There is an Arab-Jewish conflict. It is not right to force the Arabs to leave their own country to make room for Jews." I believe the contrary to be true. The Jews have rights to Palestine. They should not have to come as suppliants, but as just and rightful heirs to an inheritance—an inheritance which not only extends back through the ages, but was solemnly confirmed by the whole civilized world hardly more than two decades ago.

What are the arguments of the Arabs against Zionism? They can be summarized by the following three statements: "First, Zionism is unfair to the Arabs who now own and occupy Palestine. Second, Zionism, if encouraged by Great Britain and the United States, will be the means of disturbing the friendship which exists between the Arab peoples and the United Nations. Third, there simply is not enough room in little Palestine for the Arabs who are there and the Jews who want to go there." Let us examine these three statements.

First, Arab leaders say that Zionism is unfair to the Arabs who own the land. Now as a matter of fact and of history, who *does* own the land? I am not speaking of the private owner of a private plot of land who is able to buy or sell land at will to anyone. I speak of ownership in the larger sense: to whom does the whole land of Palestine belong? Let us go back in history, not to ancient history when the Jews were identified with the land, but back to 1517. The land which we now call Palestine then became part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. It remained in Turkish hands for four hundred years. Then, during the First World War, Turkey and Great Britain became potential enemies. Before long Britain and Sherif Hussein of Mecca found that it would be mutually beneficial for them to join forces. Britain would gain an ally in Sherif Hussein and as many other Arab leaders as could be persuaded to revolt against their Turkish overlords, and in return the Arabs would gain certain important benefits.

As an inducement to revolt, Britain offered the Arab peoples freedom from the Turkish Empire. They were to have their independence: all the Arabs from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean. With only one exception! For a small portion of that vast territory Britain had other plans. That portion was called Syria and included what we of the western world commonly call Palestine. Syria proper was to go to France after the war, and Palestine was to become a Jewish Homeland. This arrangement was agreeable to the Arabs who were receiving a generous reward for what was to prove a very feeble effort of revolt against Turkey. In 1917 the Balfour Declaration presented the situation to the whole world. "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

There were no objections raised. Emir Feisal of Hedjaz, leading Arab figure at the time, worked with Chaim Weizmann, leader of the Zionists, in closest harmony. They prefaced a mutual document with the words: "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 . . ." In 1919 Emir Feisal wrote to Felix Frankfurter: "We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. We will do our best to help them." In 1918 he said: "Arabs and Jews understand one another. Arabs are not jealous of Zionist Jews, and intend to give them fair play, and the Zionist Jews have assured the Nationalist Arabs of their intention to see that they, too, have fair play in their respective areas."

In 1922 the rest of the civilized world, in the form of the League of Nations, added its blessing to all that had been done, and gave Great Britain the Mandate for Palestine. Great Britain was to assist the Jews in the establishment of their national homeland. During the same year the Congress of the United States added its approval.

There were, however, certain individuals and forces in England, in Palestine, in the Arab States which had never approved of the whole plan. They did not want a Jewish homeland. They had been fairly defeated, but now they began to sabotage the whole plan. Whispers began. Perhaps Great Britain was not so eager after all to establish this homeland. Perhaps the Arabs could have the whole territory including tiny Palestine. Arab voices began to rise: "We want Palestine. We live here. It belongs to us. What right have these Jews to come in here and take it away from us." The clamor grew. Sincere Britishers, alarmed by this insidious propaganda tried to remind the world of the fact that the Arabs had agreed to have the Zionists take Palestine so long as they could maintain Arab independence in other lands. As Sir Henry McMahon, negotiator of the deal with the Arabs, said much later in 1937, "It was not intended by me to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised. I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein."

In the light of history, documentary evidence and the action of the civilized world, the Jews are the only rightful owners of Palestine. When in 1939 Great Britain adopted the White Paper restricting and ultimately stopping all Jewish immigration into Palestine, it went back on its pledged word. It was Winston Churchill himself who in the House of Commons in 1939 said of these immigration clauses in the White Paper: "Now

there is the breach. There is the violation of the pledge; there is the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration."

As a matter of testimony, the Arabs who actually live in Palestine are enjoying the fruits of a civilization which the Jews have brought to them. They have told their friends about it with the result that Arab immigration into Palestine has increased 100 per cent in the last twenty years. The Arab's standard of living is higher than it was. His wages are better. His children get a better education. When he is sick he can be admitted to one of the world's finest hospitals. The British Colonial Secretary said in the House of Commons in 1938, "The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine . . . I believe the Arab population would still have been around 600,000 instead of over one million. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

Someone may ask: "Why then are there riots in Palestine?" Leaving aside the question of the sources of those riots, this may be said: Paid Arab terrorists have carried on the riots. They have tried to enlist the aid of peaceful Arabs, urging them to rise up against their Jewish neighbors. Sometimes this process of intimidation works. More often it does not. Sometimes peaceful Arabs are punished for refusing to quarrel with their Jewish friends. There is statistical evidence that in the Palestinian riots of 1936-1939 more Arabs than Jews were killed by Arabs.

Arab Friendship for the United Nations

The second argument against Zionism is that if it is encouraged by Britain and the United States, it will disturb Arab friendship for the United Nations. "What friendship?" one may ask. The kind of friendship that declares war on Germany when the fighting is all but over!

Three years ago, in 1942, the Arab nations had a magnificent opportunity to show any friendship they might have had for the Allied cause. The Allies needed help. Indeed it looked as if they were almost beyond the need of help. How quickly we forget! Remember the situation: Rommel's victorious German army had pushed the British back across

North Africa. Now Rommel was poised for the final blow which would deliver Egypt and the Arab world into his power. At that moment Britain needed friends! Did the Arab world come forth in friendship? On the contrary. They saw that Britain was losing the fight. Anyone could see that: the British European armies had been smashed at Dunkirk. The French armies lay prostrate and impotent. Britain's ally, the United States, was producing little, and was losing the Pacific War at Corregidor and Bataan. The Dutch Navy was at the bottom of the sea. Australia was calling for her soldiers to come home. Russia was reeling back, staggering from the series of mighty blows delivered by the might of the German armies. At that time Britain was looking for a friend in the Arab world. Someone, anyone, who could help, who could supply some planes, some men, some supplies, even a word of cheer. From the Arab world came only silence and treachery. Arab rebellions were put down. Peace had to be maintained behind the British lines. It has been said that there were as many British soldiers policing the Arab world to keep order as there were British soldiers facing Rommel on the field of battle. Was that Arab friendship for the Allies?

Meanwhile who were Britain's friends? They were the Jews of Palestine who fought and died for the Allied cause. Thirty thousand fighting men. It has been estimated that one quarter of the army which turned back Rommel was made up of Palestinian Jews. But about these facts there has been a conspiracy of silence. We do not hear about the suicide squads composed of Palestinian Jews who put themselves at the disposal of the British Army and Navy. We do not hear of the twenty-three Jewish boys who volunteered to slip quietly into Vichy Syria in an attempt to destroy oil installations in the port of Tripoli. They understood that if they were discovered Britain would have to repudiate and disown them. Their families could not receive pensions. But they went, began their destruction and met death.

This story could be multiplied many times over. Take the case of the five hundred Jewish engineers given the task of laying a mine-field on the southern tip of Montgomery's battle line as he faced Rommel in North Africa. They had hardly begun their task when they were spotted by German planes. Within three days they were surrounded by 110 German tanks. Refusing surrender they waited for the tanks to close in before they let go with their ant-tank guns. The Germans faltered, stopped, turned

around. Then up out of fox-holes sprang Jews who climbed on the tanks and threw grenades into openings, increasing the devastation begun by the anti-tank guns and mines. Twenty-six tanks were knocked out in that final attack. Then for one long week the Germans subjected the spot to air attack. Dive-bombers dropped their loads over the spot so that no resistance would be left. Then the tanks came back. This time forty-one were left wrecked on the battle field. Then came more dive bombers, more tanks, more bombers, day after day. The five hundred engineers were reduced to four hundred, then three hundred, then two hundred, then to ninety. When the water supply received a direct hit, the real misery began. Men drank gasoline and ran off screaming mad into the desert. At the end of a month forty-three were left alive, and these forty-three kept the enemy from turning the flank of the British army.

That is friendship. Arab friendship? No, Jewish friendship. Not unselfish friendship, perhaps. They may not have died because they loved Great Britain, but they died in order that other Jews might live, might live in honor and freedom in the land of Palestine as a fitting reward for their contribution to the cause of the Allies, the cause of decency, the cause of humanity.

Arab leaders warn us not to do anything which will disturb Arab friendship. Let us be concerned about the welfare of our true friends, the Jews of Palestine, and let us not worry too much about those who are not our friends.

Not Enough Room in Palestine?

The third argument against Zionism is that there is not enough room in little Palestine for the Arabs who are already there and the Jews who want to go there. It is suggested that there are far roomier and more fertile places in Europe and America. Why can't Jews go to Arizona or Texas?

In answer it might be said that the Jews of Europe do not want to go to Arizona or Texas but if they did, and if the League of Nations plus the United States had promised them that they could go to Texas, I believe that promise would have been kept. But the Jews want to go to Palestine, and they are satisfied that there is plenty of room there for everyone who has any intention of going.

It happened that in 1938 the government of the United States sent the assistant chief of its Soil Conservation Service to various spots on the globe to study soil conditions. While he was on this mission Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk became fascinated with Palestine. He read in the soil the record of the great civilizations which Palestine and the surrounding desert territories once supported. They were not deserts then. They were garden-spots made livable by irrigation, yielding not only food by which men's bodies lived, but cultures by which men lived indeed. There were cities where today there are only sands, Greek columns where to-day there are desert weeds, theaters where today can be found only a chorus of wild animals. Here is land that has fallen into decay because men have moved away leaving the country to nomads. This part of the world desperately needs new manpower, a larger population. The Arabs have too much rather than too little land. They have a few million people moving on a stage that once held great civilizations, and could again. Think of the life-giving powers in the Tigris and Euphrates valley alone! When an irrigation dam was opened there Dr. Lowdermilk asked a high official: "I suppose this is just the first of a series of such projects?" He replied, "No, this is the last one. We don't have enough manpower to handle any more." In 1926, the then Prime Minister of Iraq had said with real wisdom: "What Iraq wants above everything else is more population."

The same is true, only on a smaller scale, of Palestine. It may be admitted that Palestine is not naturally as fertile as some other parts of the world, but it is fertile enough. The ancient canals can once more be put into use, new ones built, water brought once more to the parched land. The land is still there. The water is still there. The climate is the same as it was when the land was blessed with milk and honey. It has been compared favorably with the present climate of Southern California where an artificial water supply has given birth to such a miracle as Los Angeles. Only a few decades ago prophets of doom visualized the dry death which would surely close in upon those intrepid souls who first settled Los Angeles.

Palestine has the added advantage of having once proved that it is a productive spot. But soil erosion, lack of care, and grazing animals have brought it to poverty. Where are the Cedars of Lebanon now? They are all gone, except for a few enclosed in a wall which surrounded a shrine. The wall kept out the grazing animals who fed upon the small shoots springing up from the ground. Only within the wall did the shoots grow

to be new cedars of Lebanon. Outside the herds destroyed trees, plants, and soil alike. And no one cared.

But now comes a new kind of person. A man who cares. A Jew who loves the land of his forefathers. He plants new cedars. He irrigates the land. He works with his own hands. He asks the Arab to work, too, if he wishes to work. This new man has already created new centers of life: over three hundred communities are now witness to his labors. This new man has already created new cities: Tel Aviv the crown of his efforts. He has increased the fruits of the earth. He has created a new economy. He has built factories which during wartime have contributed immeasurably to the Allied cause. He has created hospitals, schools, universities. He does not want to stop. The desert is there waiting to be massaged back to life. Today the waters from the Sea of Galilee run largely wasted down the Jordan only to be lost forever in the salt pit of the Dead Sea. This new man would channel off those waters into fields and vineyards and orchards. Then, by a simple feat of engineering, he would dig a channel to bring the salt waters of the Mediterranean to the top of the Jordan Valley, letting them then fall down the valley into the Dead Sea. This virtual waterfall would total a drop of 1,300 feet, supplying enough water power to bring light and manufacturing power to the land of Palestine. This new man would create a new civilization in Palestine, and in the entire Arab Near East. The land cries out to be saved. It cries out for another three or four million people who could save it. But Arab leaders say there is no more room in Palestine.

The Real Reasons for Arab Anti-Zionism

We have now considered the three arguments which Arab leaders have used against Zionism. We have seen that these arguments are not so valid as some have supposed. But now let us go a step further, and consider the *real* reasons why Arab leaders are opposed to Zionism. I believe that there are probably three. The first is a certain psychological attitude which we might call Arab exclusiveness; the second is the economic situation which Zionism is likely to introduce into the Arab world; the third is the political aspect of the whole problem.

The first of these three, Arab exclusiveness, is the least important. How

many non-Moslems have ever been to Mecca, ever taken a Cook's tour into the heart of Arabia? No non-Moslem has, except in disguise.

An article on Arabia in *Life Magazine* in 1943 began with these words: "For all practical purposes Saudi Arabia is a closed country to the Christian world. Fewer than one hundred Europeans or Americans have visited its desert fortresses in modern times. No non-Moslem journalist has ever been officially permitted to visit its capital at Riad." This is one illustration of the attitude of mind which looks with disfavor upon the intrusion of any outsider into the Arab world.

Moreover, it is an attitude which is encouraged in the people by their leaders. The average Arab is a miserable creature judged by our standards, and perhaps by any standards. He is poor, badly housed, often desperately sick. He turns to his leaders and asks why. His leaders, unwilling to bestir themselves to better his lot, may simply say that such is the will of Allah. They may go a step further and say that all the ills of the Arab are the result of foreign interference in Arab affairs. It has been said, with some accuracy, that this sort of attitude has developed into the only national policy the Arabs have, a policy of anti-foreignism, directed at the outside world and Zionism alike.

The Economic Selfishness of the Privileged

The second and more important reason why Arab leaders are against Zionism is economic. We must remember that Arabia proper is a feudal state, or perhaps more accurately a mediaeval absolute monarchy. The small group in power have everything; the rest have nothing. The leaders—the emirs and feudal owners, the professional classes and clergy who benefit by serving them—are the recipients of whatever fruit the land bears. Between them and the masses there is a great gulf fixed which no one is interested in bridging. Leaders in the Arab world live on a generous scale. A wealthy man in that world is really wealthy, and a poor man is really poor. A poor man has almost literally nothing. Nor is there any concern about the poor. That is the business of Allah. If God wills that a man starve to death, why should mortal man frustrate God's will by feeding him? Thus there is no concern about the welfare of the masses. There is no nonsense about the rights of man, or much less of labor unions. There

is no nonsense about democracy. This is the situation, and it suits those on the top very nicely.

You may notice that I differentiate between Arabs and Arab leaders. Whenever anyone says to me "But the Arabs don't want the Jews in Palestine," I automatically ask, "What Arabs?" There is no such thing as "The Arabs." I suppose the nearest thing to an Arab is the person who lives in Arabia. He is the poverty-stricken fellow we have just been considering. He is not against Zionism. He does not know what Zionism is. This is true of the millions of Arabs in most of the Arab world. Then there is the second group whom we might refer to as "The Arabs." These are the masses of Moslems in Palestine itself. We have seen how these have been blessed by the Jews, but we hear, "The Arabs don't want the Jews in Palestine." "What Arabs?" The Arab leaders all over the Arab world, the privileged group who have held all the economic power for centuries, and intend to continue to hold it.

But a danger to their status has loomed up. That danger is Zionism! For Zionism is improving the lot of the average man in Palestine. Zionism is concerned about a man's inherent rights, about his body, his soul, his education, his health, his home, his family, his present and his future. Zionism is interested in the land and the people who live in the land. Zionism is interested in democracy. It is even interested in the rights of labor.

These unorthodox ideas cannot be confined within the limits of Palestine, for such a gospel ignores geographic borders. Unless this heresy is stopped at birth, it may spread over the whole Arab world, with the result that feudalism would begin to disintegrate, and the privileged classes to topple. The privileged classes are not scheming, not doing anything base in their own eyes. They are simply obeying the rules of the game as it is played in that part of the world.

I remember the time when, some years ago, I entertained several of my Moslem friends who came on a visit to the United States. They stayed with me for some weeks. We toured New England, visited Washington and New York. They saw the skyscrapers and the material wonders of our civilization. At the end of the tour I said, "Tell me, what has interested you most about our country?" One of them answered: "We have both been interested in the same thing. Wherever we go we find great buildings, perhaps hospitals, schools, or some other public building. On the corner

of each structure there is usually a tablet with the inscription 'This building was given by Mr. So and So.' What we want to know is, why did he give it? What did he get out of it? Surely he must have had some motive beyond generosity. In our land you could not find a single man who would do such a thing unless he was rewarded by the King with a title or some other tangible return."

They simply do not understand our concern for others. We must remember that it has taken us centuries of Judaic-Christian culture to learn the lesson ourselves. We cannot expect others to learn it in a few years.

The truth remains that Arab leaders are indeed against Zionism. The question is how much concern we should show for a few Arab leaders as opposed to the manifest welfare of the great masses of Arabs and all the Jews?

Political Opposition to Zionism

We come now to the third real reason why Arab leaders are opposed to Zionism: the political reason. Almost every really important Arab leader hopes to become the head of Pan-Arabia. He wants to have the backing of every Arab as he continues to grow in power. To do this he must have a program, a rallying cry. "Down with Zionism" is a very convenient program. Hitler faced the same problem in Germany. He had to stir his people and move them with some magic formula. So he shouted, "Down with the Jews." It is a simple and effective formula which demagogues have used in the past and may well use in the future.

Ultimate political opposition to Zionism stems from still another source: Certain important powers in Great Britain are against Zionism. All the facts we have discussed so far are insignificant compared to this one. The wishes of Arab leaders, the rights of the Jews, the productivity of the land, all these count as nothing beside the simple statement that certain important powers in Great Britain are against Zionism. Nor should we too easily condemn these obstructionists. They are convinced that they are working for the best interests of the Empire.

Why is Zionism a challenge to the Empire? For the same reason that it is a challenge to the privileged Arab leaders. Arab labor is cheap, whether it is building roads or airfields. Arab leaders are willing to give up their oil if paid liberally. The eastern end of the Mediterranean is a moderately

friendly place. Why should this nice balance be disturbed? Who can tell what might result if a highly developed state is allowed to come to life in the Near East? Who can tell what might result in the economic field for example? Suppose the Zionists set up a state that produces and manufactures. Suppose they show the way to the rest of the Arab world. Suppose the virus spreads around the life-line to Egypt, Iran, Iraq, India and China.

So it is that certain powers in the British Colonial Office look at Zionism and say: "You have performed miracles there in Palestine. You have transformed the desert into a garden. You have built forests and cities. You have lifted a country from desolation. You have improved the lot of the inhabitants. You have performed a miracle . . . *but we don't like it!* We believe it is not to our best interests."

Fortunately, there are other powers in England and in the Empire who believe just as strongly that it is to England's benefit to take the generous course in Palestine. The friends of the Jewish National Home in Palestine appreciate the contribution which has been made by the British Government and the British people. Jewish people themselves never forget that Britain has been their traditional friend. Had not British interests and sympathy given strong support to the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, there would not even be the substantial framework of a Jewish National Home to discuss. It must be appreciated that Britain set up conditions in Palestine of enormous benefit both to Jews and Arabs; in the interval between wars the Jewish population increased half a million and the Arab population slightly more than half a million. In the same period in Tripolitania Mussolini annihilated the Moslem population to the tune of 500,000 from an original population of 1,000,000. The credit due to the British Government and people for an achievement of benefit both to Jews and Arabs, should be rendered in this age of radical criticisms of all governments, should be recognized and never forgotten.

Let me conclude with this thought. You and I and the members of the civilized world have a moral obligation. It is our duty to allow the Jews to settle Palestine without any restrictions on immigration. We have promised it to them. We have given it to them. And then we have snatched it away! As the result of a legal agreement the Arabs received a territory as large as one third of the United States. The Jews were to receive about one per cent of that amount of land: the little country of Palestine. The

Arabs got their land. The Jews got a promise: The Promised Land. We allowed them to go ahead with their plans. We allowed them to pour their lives, their efforts, their money, their dreams, their future into Palestine. We allowed them to begin to build . . . and then we closed the doors, dooming their hopes and dreams. We have a moral obligation to Zionism.

In an effort to excuse our unfaithfulness and immoral action we have sometimes said with Lord Halifax that at times moral considerations must give way to imperial policy. That is a dangerous statement. It is the sort of slogan that once brought us to Munich. It is the sort of slogan which Hitler used. It is a false doctrine which can only lead its followers to ultimate destruction. Rather, let us listen to the words of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in the House of Lords: "In the matter of Palestine, Britain stands before the bar of God, of history, and of humanity!"



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AN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF AMERICA

A STATEMENT BY 1027 JEWISH spiritual leaders — Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Rabbis — appealing on behalf of the stricken Jews of Europe that they be accorded full justice and that they be assisted in the fulfillment of their will to emigrate to Palestine where they shall be able with their brethren who have preceded them, to reconstitute a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in their ancient Homeland.

The following rabbis sponsored this appeal, and submitted it for signature to their colleagues: PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN, BARNETT R. BRICKNER, ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, ROBERT GORDIS, JULIUS GORDON, SIMON GREENBERG, JAMES G. HELLER, MORDECAI M. KAPLAN, JACOB KOEN, ARTHUR J. LELYVELD, B. L. LEVINTHAL, ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL, LOUIS M. LEVITSKY, FELIX A. LEVY, JOSHUA LOTH LIEBMAN, JOSEPH H. LOOKSTEIN, JACOB R. MARCUS, IRVING MILLER, ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN, LOUIS I. NEWMAN, DAVID DE SOLA POOL, ABBA HILLEL SILVER, MILTON STEINBERG, SAMUEL THURMAN, STEPHEN S. WISE.

AT THIS DECISIVE MOMENT IN HISTORY, we direct this urgent plea to the conscience of America as well as to the world statesmen gathered at San Francisco — a plea on behalf of the Jewish survivors of Nazi bestiality.

We speak for millions of Americans, Jews and non-Jews alike — for our many congregants troubled by the plight of their European brethren and for our Christian

friends who share their concern for justice, mercy and the preservation of the human values paramount in our common religious heritage.

We speak as Jewish spiritual leaders versed in the traditions of our faith and as Americans cherishing the ideals of our land. We find, in both, the imperatives which make it impossible for us to close our eyes to suffering or to ignore injustice.

Five million human beings — men, women and children, innocent of any wrong — have been slain because they were Jews. It is true that the Jews were not the only people who suffered at the hands of the Nazis. But the Jews, first in suffering, are last in the hope of rehabilitation.

With victory in Europe achieved, the Christian Poles, Czechs, and Dutch are free to go home. They will rightfully sit in the councils of nations. But for hundreds of thousands of Jews who have survived the Hitler slaughter the future holds little promise. They are naked, hungry, sick. The poison of anti-Semitism which the Nazis left behind, has made them literally homeless.

Their eyes are turned to the ancient homeland of their people — Palestine. This is the land which the nations of the world pledged to the Jews at the close of the last war. This is the land which Jews have rebuilt and reclaimed from the desolation and barrenness in which they found it. This is the land which has given freedom to 600,000 Jews and which promises the opportunity for normal, creative living to the hundreds of thousands in Europe who look to it longingly.

Palestine has room and room to spare for the Jews who seek entry into it. No single Christian or Moslem will be dispossessed or deprived of his rights in the Holy Land. Our world will be the richer for having made of Palestine a bridge-head to the future for the entire Middle East.

But — and this is a situation so intolerable that it cries out to the heart of humanity — these Jews whose only hope lies in Palestine cannot enter Palestine. The land which has been designated as their home is now closed to men and women who desperately need and are justly entitled to it.

The United Nations dare not ignore the plea of these victims of one of the most heinous crimes in history. The gates of Palestine must be opened — and opened now — not tomorrow when it may be too late.

We call upon all citizens who are lovers of humanity to join their voices with ours in demanding human rights and human dignity for these bitterly persecuted people. The undertaking of the nations of the world, our own America among them, that Palestine shall be reestablished as the Jewish national home and that, in the words

of President Wilson, "There shall be laid there the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth," must be fulfilled in letter and in spirit.

Now that the nations assemble once again to plan a peace which we pray shall this time be just and enduring, we call upon you to turn to the leaders of the nations and demand

that there be full justice for the Jews of Europe;

that those who need or desire to do so be aided to emigrate to Palestine quickly;

that the pledges of the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate be fulfilled;

that those conditions be created which will insure the realization of a Jewish aspiration which has been shared by numberless Christians of great vision — Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Wilson, Smuts, Balfour, Lloyd George, Churchill, and a myriad others — the aspiration that Palestine, guaranteeing full equality of rights for all inhabitants "without distinction of religion or race, in the political, civic, religious and national domains, and without domination or subjugation,"* shall be a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

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*Quoted material is from a resolution adopted June 1, 1945, by the General Council of the World Zionist Organization.

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 Leo Jung, *New York, N. Y.*

K

Nathan Kaber, *Jackson, Miss.*
 Max Kadushin, *New York, N. Y.*
 W. Kaelter, *Chicago, Ill.*
 A. M. Kagan, *Corona, N. Y.*
 Aaron Kahan
 Moses W. Kahn, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Aaron M. Kamerling, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Harold M. Kamsler, *Norristown, Pa.*
 Harry Kaplan, *Columbus, Ohio*
 Jacob H. Kaplan, *Miami Beach, Fla.*
 M. A. Kaplan, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Mordecai M. Kaplan, *New York, N. Y.*
 Gedaliah Kaprow, *Buffalo, N. Y.*
 Max Kapustin, *Danville, Va.*
 Hyman Karalitzky, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Seymour Karlen, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Meyer Karlin, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 A. M. Karpel, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Jacob Katz, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Leon Katz, *Passaic, N. J.*
 Morris Casriel Katz, *St. Paul, Minn.*
 Nehemiah Katz, *Toledo, Ohio*
 Pinchos Katz, *Vallejo, Calif.*
 Reuben M. Katz, *Wilkes Barre, Pa.*
 Harry M. Katzen, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 G. Katzman, *San Francisco, Calif.*
 Louis Katsoff, *Easton, Pa.*
 J. Harry Kauffman, *West Chester, Pa.*
 Louis Kaufman, *Fargo, N. D.*
 Reuben Kaufman, *Paterson, N. J.*
 C. E. Hillel Kauvar, *Denver, Colo.*

Israel J. Kazis
 Melvin Keiffer
 Nathaniel M. Keller, *New Brunswick, N. J.*
 Julius Kerman, *Lorain, Ohio*
 Joseph Kessler, *Arverne, N. Y.*
 Jerome Kestenbaum, *New York, N. Y.*
 Edward Kiev, *New York, N. Y.*
 Meyer Kimmel, *Long Beach, N. Y.*
 I. Usher Kirshblum, *Flushing, N. Y.*
 Kurt C. Klappholz, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Israel Klavan, *Williamsport, Pa.*
 Joshua Klavan, *Washington, D. C.*
 Max Kleiman, *Peekskill, N. Y.*
 Sidney Kleiman, *New York, N. Y.*
 Alex Y. Klein, *Appleton, Wisc.*
 Bert A. Klein
 Edward E. Klein, *New York, N. Y.*
 Isaac Klein
 Jacob Klein, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 Joseph Klein, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Maurice Kleinberg
 Phillip Kleinman, *Portland, Oregon*
 Irving Klibansky, *Laxington, Ky.*
 Maurice I. Kliers, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Bernard Kligfeld, *New York, N. Y.*
 Alex S. Kline, *El Paso, Texas*
 Alexander S. Kline, *El Paso, Texas*
 A. Kober, *New York, N. Y.*
 Elihu W. Kochin, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*
 Herschel Koenigsberg, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Eugene Kohn, *New York, N. Y.*
 Jacob Kohn, *Los Angeles, Calif.*
 S. Joshua Kohn
 Ephraim S. Kolatch, *Newport News, Va.*
 Nathan Kollin, *Richmond, Va.*
 Milton A. Kopstein, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 Bertram W. Korn
 Sidney Kosolsky, *Blomfield, N. J.*
 Jacob Kraft
 Saul Kraft
 Marcus Kramer
 Simon G. Kramer, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 William M. Kramer, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Benjamin Krasnow
 Julius Kravetz
 Benjamin Kreitman
 Solomon Krevsky, *Allentown, Pa.*
 Joseph E. Krickstein, *Mt. Clemens, Mich.*
 Alter Kriegel, *Verona, N. J.*
 Myer S. Kripke, *New London, Conn.*
 Israel Krislov, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 A. Lincoln Krohn, *Phoenix, Ariz.*
 Enoch H. Kronheim, *Jamestown, N. Y.*
 Leon Kronish, *Miami Beach, Fla.*
 Nathan B. Krueger, *Bridgeton, N. J.*
 Louis Kuppin, *Quincy, Ill.*
 Michael Kurz, *Amsterdam, N. Y.*
 Irving L. Kutsoff, *Springfield, Ohio*

L

Jerome Labovitz, *Savannah, Ga.*
 Manuel Laderman, *Denver, Colo.*
 Hyman J. Landau, *Cambridge, Mass.*
 Moses Landau, *Chicago, Ill.*
 H. A. Landes, *Revere, Mass.*
 Morris A. Landes, *Jonestown, Pa.*
 Alter F. Landesman, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Leon S. Lang, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Samuel Langer, *Ozone Park, N. Y.*
 Philip A. Langh, *Oakland, Calif.*
 Harry Lasker, *New York, N. Y.*
 Meir Lasker, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Abraham L. Lassen, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Bernard Lavine
 Maurice A. Lazowick, *Chicago, Ill.*

Max H. Leader, *Washington, Pa.*
 Israel Lebendiger, *Liberty, N. Y.*
 Arthur B. Lebowitz, *Lansing, Mich.*
 Saul Leeman, *New Britain, Conn.*
 Aaron H. Lefkowitz, *Long Branch, N. J.*
 Irving Lehrman, *Miami Beach, Fla.*
 Moses Lehrman, *Buffalo, N. Y.*
 Julius A. Leibert
 Jacob Lethowitz, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Moses E. Leiter, *Middle Village, N. Y.*
 Arthur J. Lelyveld, *New York, N. Y.*
 Monroe J. Levens, *Des Moines, Iowa*
 Joseph Levenson
 Irving M. Levey, *Brackton, Mass.*
 Samson H. Levey, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Eliezer A. Levi
 Herschel Levin, *Springfield, Mass.*
 Joseph B. Levin, *Newark, N. J.*
 S. I. Levin, *Minneapolis, Minn.*
 Herschel Levine, *Mt. Vernon, N. Y.*
 Israel Iser Levine, *St. Joseph, Mo.*
 Jacob Levine, *Los Angeles, Calif.*
 Lee J. Levinger, *New York, N. Y.*
 Nathan Levinson, *Wildwood, N. J.*
 Nathan Levinson
 B. L. Levinthal, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Israel H. Levinthal, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Louis Levitsky, *Newark, N. J.*
 Abraham J. Levy, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Felix A. Levy, *Chicago, Ill.*
 J. Aaron Levy, *Stockton, Calif.*
 Simcha Levy, *Perth Amboy, N. J.*
 Theodore N. Lewis, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Mendell Lewittes, *Dorchester, Mass.*
 Mordecai H. Lewittes, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Leo Lichtenberg
 Benjamin A. Lichter, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*
 George B. Lieberman, *Canton, Ohio*
 Joshua Loth Lieberman, *Boston, Mass.*
 Leon J. Liebreich, *Trenton, N. J.*
 Joseph H. Lief
 Emanuel L. Lifschitz
 David G. Light, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Reuben Lincoln, *New York, N. Y.*
 Sidney Lindenberg, *Greenswich, Conn.*
 Philip Lipis
 Eugene J. Lipman
 Jerome Lipnick, *Wilmington, Dela.*
 Philip Listokin, *Highland Park, N. J.*
 Augustus F. Loeb
 Joseph H. Lookstein, *New York, N. Y.*
 Ernest M. Lorge
 Lother Lubasch, *Elyria, Ohio*
 Nathan Lublin, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Rudolph Lupo, *Los Angeles, Calif.*
 Maurice Lyons, *St. Louis, Mo.*

M

Max Maccoby, *Mt. Vernon, N. Y.*
 Meyer Machlis, *Valley Stream, N. Y.*
 Reuben J. Magil, *Harrisburg, Pa.*
 Marius M. Magnca, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 William S. Malev, *Jamaica, N. Y.*
 Jerome R. Malino, *Danbury, Conn.*
 Horace E. Manacher, *Rochester, N. Y.*
 Albert N. Mandelbaum, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Carl L. Manella, *Wichita, Kans.*
 Hugo Mantel
 Charles Mantinband, *Abersdeen, Md.*
 H. Nathan Manuel, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Jacob R. Marcus, *Cincinnati, Ohio*
 Joseph Marcus, *New York, N. Y.*
 Robert S. Marcus
 Israel Margolies, *Englewood, N. J.*
 Joseph H. Margolies, *Malden, Mass.*

Elias Margolis, *Mt. Vernon, N. Y.*
 Harry S. Margolis, *St. Paul, Minn.*
 Isadore Marine, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Nissan Markel, *Buffalo, N. Y.*
 Albert L. Martin, *Bridgeport, Conn.*
 C. David Matt, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Morris Max, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Jacob R. Mazur, *St. Louis, Mo.*
 Maurice Maxwell Mazure, *Greenville, S. C.*
 Bernard Mednick, *Quebec, Canada*
 Irving M. Melamed, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Raphael H. Melamed, *Elizabeth, N. J.*
 David J. Meltzer
 S. Felix Mendelsohn, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Joshua O. Merceminsky, *Mt. Vernon, N. Y.*
 Meyer Merceminsky
 Abraham J. Mesch, *Birmingham, Ala.*
 Moses Mascheloff, *Miami Beach, Fla.*
 Chaim Meskin, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Solomon R. Metz, *Washington, D. C.*
 Kurt L. Metzger, *Glen Falls, N. Y.*
 Isidore S. Meyer, *Ridgefield, N. J.*
 Max Meyer, *Flushing, L. I.*
 Louis Milgrom
 Irving Miller, *Racine, Wisc.*
 Irving Miller, *Far Rockaway, N. Y.*
 Israel Miller, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Joseph Miller, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Marshall Miller, *Kansas City, Kans.*
 Meyer Miller
 Selig J. Miller
 Solomon Miller, *Sioux City, Iowa*
 Uri Miller, *New Orleans, La.*
 Abraham E. Millgram, *Minneapolis, Minn.*
 Albert G. Minda, *Minneapolis, Minn.*
 Jacob S. Minkin, *New York, N. Y.*
 Elfrabim H. Minsberg, *Poughkeepsie, N. Y.*
 Samuel K. Mirsky, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Jacob L. Moinester, *New York, N. Y.*
 Benjamin Morgenstern, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 S. Morgenstern, *Liberty, N. Y.*
 Solomon I. Moseson, *Albany, N. Y.*
 Israel Mowshowitz, *Omaha, Nebr.*
 J. D. Mozeson, *New York, N. Y.*
 E. R. Muskin, *Chicago, Ill.*

N

Joseph Narot, *Atlantic City, N. J.*
 Jacob J. Nathan, *Detroit, Mich.*
 Marvin Nathan, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Harry Nelson
 Isaac Nelson, *Fall River, Mass.*
 Zev K. Nelson, *Norwich, Conn.*
 Arthur H. Neulander, *Richmond Hill, N. Y.*
 Abraham A. Neuman, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Abraham Neustein, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Jacob J. Newman, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Louis I. Newman, *New York, N. Y.*
 Samuel Nirenstein, *New York, N. Y.*
 Jacob I. Nislick, *Freehold, N. J.*
 Sidney Nissenbaum, *North Bergen, N. J.*
 Julius J. Nodel
 Israel T. Notis, *Saginaw, Mich.*
 Simon Noveck, *Cedarhurst, L. I.*
 William Z. Novick, *Lynbrook, L. I.*
 Max Nussbaum, *Hollywood, Calif.*
 Perry E. Nussbaum

O

Ahron Opher, *New York, N. Y.*
 Jacob M. Ott

P

Meyer Pam, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*

David H. Panitz, *Syracuse, N. Y.*
 Aaron Paperman
 Hyman Papkin, *New Bedford, Mass.*
 Philip Paretsky, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Louis Parrls
 Herbert Parzen, *Jersey City, N. J.*
 Maurice Parzen, *South Bend, Ind.*
 Meyer Passow, *New York, N. Y.*
 Harry B. Pastor, *Peoria, Ill.*
 Joseph H. Paymer, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 David W. Pearlman, *Stamford, Conn.*
 Neta Pecker, *New Rochelle, N. Y.*
 Maurice B. Pecarsky, *Evanston, Ill.*
 Ephraim Pelco-vitz, *Bridgeport, Conn.*
 Samuel Penner, *Manhattan Beach, N. Y.*
 H. Goren Peredmuter, *Johnstown, Pa.*
 Martin Perley
 Irving H. Perlman, *Peabody, Mass.*
 Menachem Perr, *S. Ozone Park, L. I., N. Y.*
 Wendell A. Phillips
 M. Gunther Plaut
 Frank D. Plotke, *New Bedford, Mass.*
 Benjamin Plotkin, *Jersey City, N. J.*
 Meilech Pohrile, *New York, N. Y.*
 Shalom S. Pole, *Chelsea, Mass.*
 Manuel Poliakoff
 David Polish, *Waterbury, Conn.*
 Herman Pollack, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 David De Sola Pool, *New York, N. Y.*
 Chaim Porille, *New York, N. Y.*
 Max Pousinsky, *Beacon, N. Y.*
 Abraham L. Poupko, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Reuben Poupko, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Akiba Predmesky, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Jacob Pressman, *Forest Hills, L. I.*
 Julius J. Price, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Samuel Price, *Springfield, Mass.*
 Joachim Prinz, *Newark, N. J.*
 David Pruzansky, *Richmond, Va.*

Q

Erwin Quint, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*

R

Albert L. Raab, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 David Raab, *Louisville, Ky.*
 Jacob E. Rabin, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Hyman R. Rabinowitz, *Sioux City, Iowa*
 Simcha Rabinowitz, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Stanley Rabinowitz, *Chicago, Ill.*
 David Rackman, *Albany, N. Y.*
 Emanuel Rackman
 Joseph E. Rackovsky, *Miami Beach, Fla.*
 Jacob Radin, *New York, N. Y.*
 Jacob S. Raisin, *Charleston, S. C.*
 Max Raisin, *Paterson, N. J.*
 Joseph H. Rallag, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Marius Ramson, *East Orange, N. J.*
 Shlomo Rapaport, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Solomon Rashis, *Jamaica, N. Y.*
 Jacob W. Redelheim, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Paul Reich, *Norfolk, Va.*
 Leo Reichel, *Welfare Island, N. Y.*
 Abraham Reichlin, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Solomon Reichman, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 I. Reiter, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Marvin M. Remikoff
 Sidney Riback, *Irvington, N. J.*
 Herbert Ribner
 Harry R. Richmond
 Karl Richter, *Sioux Falls, S. D.*
 Elihu H. Rickal
 N. Riff, *Camden, N. J.*
 Aaron M. Rine, *South Bend, Ind.*
 Leon J. Risikoff, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*

M. Riskoff, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Jerome Robbins
 Benjamin Rodwogin, *Pottsville, Pa.*
 Ludwig Roeder, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 Wolf Roggin, *Boston, Mass.*
 Gershon Romanoff, *Hudson, N. Y.*
 Maurice Romirowsky, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Solomon Reedman, *Elmira, N. Y.*
 Goodman A. Rose, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*
 Morris M. Rose, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 J. Rosen, *Passaic, N. J.*
 Jerome Rosen, *Leavenworth, Kansas*
 Matthew S. Rosen, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Nathan N. Rosen
 Arthur J. S. Rosenbaum, *Binghamton, N. Y.*
 Milton Rosenbaum
 Abraham J. Rosenberg, *Savannah, Georgia*
 Joseph N. Rosenberg, *Norwich, Conn.*
 I. Solomon Rosenberg, *Hartford, Conn.*
 Stuart E. Rosenberg, *New York, N. Y.*
 Morris D. Rosenblatt, *Baltimore, Md.*
 Samuel Rosenblatt, *Baltimore, Md.*
 Noah H. Rosenbloom, *New York, N. Y.*
 Leonard Rosenfeld, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Moses Rosenthal, *Suffern, N. Y.*
 Norbert L. Rosenthal
 Ephraim Rosenzweig, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Samuel Rosinger, *Beaumont, Texas*
 Jesse Ross
 Theodore S. Ross, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 David Roth, *White Plains, N. Y.*
 Joseph M. Roth, *El Paso, Texas*
 Tobias Rothenberg, *New York, N. Y.*
 Joseph Rothstein, *North Adams, Mass.*
 Max J. Rountenberg
 Charles M. Rubel, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Herman H. Rubenovitz, *Boston, Mass.*
 Byron T. Rubenstein
 David Rubin
 Meyer Rubin, *Brookline, Mass.*
 Louis Ruchames, *Northampton, Mass.*
 Sholem Rudensky, *Jersey City, N. J.*
 Abraham Ruderman
 Samuel S. Ruderman
 Jacob P. Rudin, *Great Neck, N. Y.*
 L. Rusfensky, *New York, N. Y.*

S

Isaac K. Sachs, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 M. Bertram Sachs, *Houston, Tex.*
 Maxwell L. Sacks, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Aaron Sadowsky, *Baltimore, Md.*
 Solomon Sadowsky, *Rochester, N. Y.*
 Norman Salit, *New York, N. Y.*
 Manuel Saltzman, *Buffalo, N. Y.*
 Abraham S. Samuels, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Edward T. Sandrow
 Harold I. Saperstein
 Israel Sarason, *East Liverpool, Ohio*
 Lewis Satlow, *Milwaukee, Wis.*
 Herman W. Saville, *New York, N. Y.*
 Herman E. Schaalman, *Cedar Rapids, Iowa*
 Herschel Schachter
 Melech Schacter, *Reading, Pa.*
 Hyman Schamban, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Maurice H. Schatz, *Chapel Hill, N. C.*
 Morris Schatz, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Max Shay, *New York, N. Y.*
 Louis H. Schechter, *Los Angeles, Calif.*
 Harry Z. Schechtman
 Hyman E. Scheinfeld, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Emanuel Schenk
 Simon Scher, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Hugo B. Schiff, *Alexandria, Va.*
 Mordecai Schiff, *Cincinnati, Ohio*

Isaac Schnaidman, *New York, N. Y.*
 Morris Schnall, *Derby, Conn.*
 Samuel Schnitzer, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Henry A. Schorr, *New York City*
 Emil Schorsch, *Pottstown, Pa.*
 Zvi Schreiner, *Nutley, N. J.*
 Mordecai Schuchatowitz, *Far Rockaway, L. I.*
 Nahum Schulman, *Minneapolis, Minn.*
 Benjamin Schultz, *Yonkers, N. Y.*
 Mordecai Schultz, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Morris Schussheim, *Providence, R. I.*
 Abraham Schwartz, *Rahway, N. J.*
 Abraham Schwartz, *Wharton, Texas*
 Harry E. Schwartz, *Hempstead, N. Y.*
 Herman Schwartz, *Belleville, N. J.*
 Lawrence Schwartz, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Lawrence W. Schwartz, *White Plains, N. Y.*
 M. Schwartz, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 Maurice Schwartz, *Gloversville, N. Y.*
 Myer Schwartz, *Albuquerque, N. Mexico*
 Samuel Schwartz, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Samuel Schwartz, *Westwood, N. J.*
 Sylvan D. Schwartzman, *Augusta, Ga.*
 Henry Segal, *Washington, D. C.*
 Solomon J. Segal, *Athol, Mass.*
 Alexander Segel, *New York, N. Y.*
 Judah J. Seidler, *Huntington, L. I.*
 Samuel M. Segal, *New York, N. Y.*
 William Seligman
 David J. Seligson
 Baruch Shapiro, *Seattle, Wash.*
 David S. Shapiro, *Indianapolis, Ind.*
 Harry Shapiro, *Corsicana, Texas*
 Joseph Shapiro, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*
 Morris Shapiro, *Floral Park, N. Y.*
 Mosheh Shapiro, *Atlantic City, N. J.*
 Norman N. Shapiro, *Tulsa, Okla.*
 Solomon K. Shapiro, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Solomon S. Shapiro, *Denver, Colo.*
 Nathaniel S. Share, *New Orleans, La.*
 Solomon J. Sharfman, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 David Sherman, *Hoboken, N. J.*
 Samuel N. Sherman
 Stephen Sherman, *South Bend, Ind.*
 Ephraim Shimoff, *Richmond, Va.*
 Jehiel B. Shoham, *Baltimore, Md.*
 David H. Shohet, *Yonkers, N. Y.*
 Simon H. Shoop
 Abraham B. Shoulson, *Erie, Pa.*
 Charles J. Shoulson, *Altoona, Pa.*
 Isadore H. Shoulson, *West Chester, Pa.*
 Leo Shubow, *Tuckahoe, N. Y.*
 Willfred Shuchat, *New York, N. Y.*
 Aaron Shuchatowitz, *New Haven, Conn.*
 Moses I. Shulman, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Harry Shurin, *New York, N. Y.*
 Norman Siegel
 Reuben Siegel, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Isador Signer
 Mendel Silber, *New Orleans, La.*
 Saul Silber, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Julius Silberfeld, *Newark, N. J.*
 Lou H. Silberman, *Omaha, Nebr.*
 Philip Silman, *Rutherford, N. J.*
 Abba Hillel Silver, *Cleveland, Ohio*
 David Silver, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Samuel M. Silver
 Albert G. Silverman, *Floral Park, L. I.*
 Alter Silverman, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Eliezer Silverman, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Mordecai M. Silverman, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Morris Silverman, *Hartford, Conn.*
 William B. Silverman, *Gastonia, N. C.*
 Baruch Silverstein
 A. Silverstone, *Tucson, Arizona*
 Herbert I. Simckes, *Dorchester, Mass.*

Mordecai J. Simckes, *Kearney, N. J.*
 Herman Simon, *St. Paul, Minn.*
 Meyer H. Simon, *Lafayette, Ind.*
 Mordecai H. Simon, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Ralph Simon, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Louis Simsovitz, *Port Chester, N. Y.*
 Philip H. Singer, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Samuel Singer, *New York City*
 Edgar E. Siskin
 Jacob Sivowitch, *Mt. Carmel, Pa.*
 Solomon N. Skais, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Moses K. Skinder, *New York, N. Y.*
 Harry Skydell
 Reuben Slonim, *Troy, N. Y.*
 Harold P. Smith, *Gary, Ind.*
 Joseph Smith, *Newton, N. J.*
 Phineas Smoller, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Samuel Sobel, *Cumbersburg, Md.*
 Mordecai Soloff, *Rockville Center, L. I.*
 Elias L. Solomon, *New York, N. Y.*
 Maurice D. Solomon, *Kansas City, Mo.*
 Samuel D. Soskin
 Moritz Speier, *Minneapolis, L. I., N. Y.*
 Joseph J. Spevach, *Holyoke, Mass.*
 Adolph Spiegel, *New York, N. Y.*
 S. Spiegel, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Herman F. Spiro, *Brockton, Mass.*
 Leon Spitz, *Bristol, Conn.*
 Bernard Starkoff, *Nashville, Tenn.*
 Harold Stein, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 E. M. Steinberg, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Milton Steinberg, *New York, N. Y.*
 Harry J. Stern, *Montreal, Canada*
 Mordecai A. Stern, *Richmond Hill, L. I.*
 Seymour Stern, *Waltham, Mass.*
 William M. Stern, *Oakland, Calif.*
 Ulrich B. Steuer, *Bloomington, Ill.*
 Leo J. Stillpass
 Maurice N. Stiskin, *McKeesport, Pa.*
 Leon D. Stitskin, *Rochester, N. Y.*
 I. Stollman, *Detroit, Mich.*
 D. Bernard Stolper, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 Joseph H. Stolz, *Hollywood, Calif.*
 Earl S. Stone
 Joshua J. Stotland, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Joseph M. Strauss, *Helena, Ark.*
 Sidney Strumpf
 Ira Sud, *Albany, N. Y.*
 Allan Summers, *Los Angeles, Calif.*
 Manfred Swarsensky, *Madison, Wis.*
 Louis J. Swickow, *Milwaukee, Wis.*
 Elias Charles Sydney, *Portland, Oregon*

T

Israel Tabak, *Baltimore, Md.*
 Samuel Tabak, *Passaic, N. J.*
 D. Talansky, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 David Tamarkin, *San Antonio, Texas*
 Nathan Taragin, *Bronx, N. Y.*
 Philip Tatz, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Henry Tavel
 J. Marshall Taxay, *Akron, Ohio*
 David Teigman, *Philadelphia, Pa.*
 Samuel Teitelbaum
 Pinchas M. Teitz, *Elizabeth, N. J.*
 Benjamin L. Teller, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Morris Teller, *Chicago, Ill.*
 Edward M. Tenenbaum, *Saginaw, Mich.*
 Saul I. Teplitz, *Laurelton, L. I., N. Y.*
 Ber Tevel, *Los Angeles, Calif.*
 Joseph Thumin, *Detroit, Mich.*
 Samuel Thurman, *St. Louis, Mo.*
 Sanders A. Tofield, *Houston, Texas*
 Joshua Trachtenberg, *Eaton, Pa.*
 David I. Traub, *New London, Conn.*

Baruch Treiger, *Orange, N. J.*
Benjamin H. Tumlin, *South Norwalk, Conn.*
Leo E. Turitz, *New Castle, Pa.*

U

Jerome Unger, *Poughkeepsie, N. Y.*

V

George Vida
Alfred Vise, *Clarksville, Tenn.*
Berthold Woythaler, *Manchester, Conn.*
Samuel Volkman
Elkan C. Voorsanger, *Milwaukee, Wisc.*

W

David Wachtfogel, *Shamokin, Pa.*
Aaron Walden
Max B. Wall
Luitpold Wallach, *Knoxville, Tenn.*
Joseph Warren, *Lowell, Mass.*
Max R. Wasser, *Fall River, Mass.*
J. Weil, *New York, N. Y.*
B. Reuben Weilerstein, *Atlantic City, N. J.*

Dudley Weinberg
Irving N. Weinberg, *New York, N. Y.*
Max Weine, *Camden, N. J.*
Karl Weiner, *Saranac Lake, N. Y.*
Irving Weingart, *Ft. Wayne, Ind.*
Jacob J. Weinstein, *Chicago, Ill.*
Ralph M. Weisberger
Samson Weiss, *New York, N. Y.*
Morris R. Werb, *Caldwell, N. J.*
David Werner, *Providence, R. I.*
Eric Werner, *Cincinnati, Ohio*
Aaron Wertheim, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
Harvey E. Wessel, *Tyler, Texas*
David H. Wice, *Newark, N. J.*
A. Wiener, *Port Arthur, Texas*
Herbert J. Wilner, *St. Petersburg, Fla.*
Solomon Wind, *Bronx, N. Y.*
Abraham Winoker
Joseph Wintner, *Woodbury, N. J.*
Aaron Wise, *Schenectady, N. Y.*
Stephen S. Wise, *New York City*
Samuel Wohl, *Cincinnati, Ohio*
Harry I. Wohlberg, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
Max J. Wohlgeleerenter, *Detroit, Mich.*
Solomon P. Wohlgeleerenter, *Seattle, Wash.*

Y

Ascher M. Yager, *Bronx, N. Y.*
Albert Yanow, *College Park, Md.*
Shalom S. Yellin, *Newburyport, Mass.*

Z

Solomon Zaimon, *Seattle, Wash.*
N. H. Zeichik, *Des Moines, Iowa*
Bernard Zeiger, *Roanoke, Va.*
Joseph Zeitlin, *New York, N. Y.*
Nathan Zelizer, *Columbus, Ohio*
Erwin Zimet, *New York, N. Y.*
Frank Zimmerman, *New York, N. Y.*
Simon Zipper, *Fall River, Mass.*
Bernard Ziskind
Aaron Zlatowitz, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
Max Zucker
Joseph S. Zuckerbram, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
Arthur Zuckerman, *Seattle, Wash.*
Joseph Zweig, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
Harry Z. Zwelling
Colman A. Zwitman

(List of signatories still incomplete)



Additional copies of this appeal may be obtained from the
COMMITTEE ON UNITY FOR PALESTINE
of the
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
41 EAST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date August 30, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

At his press conference at the White House on Thursday, August 16, 1945, President Truman commented on the Palestine question and his statement has attracted widespread attention.

You may not have read a full account of the President's statement. We are therefore submitting for your information a detailed report of what took place at the press conference.

The President was asked whether anything about "the Jewish National State" was discussed at Potsdam. He answered that he had discussed the matter with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee and that they are still discussing it.

The next question was whether the matter had also been taken up with Generalissimo Stalin. The President answered in the negative, and added that there was nothing that Stalin could do about it.

The third and final question was: What was the American view on Palestine put forth at the Berlin conference? The President answered that the American view on Palestine is that we want as many Jews as possible to be let into that country; that then the matter will have to be worked out diplomatically with the British and the Arabs so that if a State can be set up in Palestine, they may be able to set it up on a peaceful basis. The President added that he has no desire to send 500,000 American soldiers to make peace in Palestine.

The Zionist reaction to the views expressed by President Truman is contained in a statement issued by the Jewish Agency for Palestine in London, where Zionist leaders from all parts of the world had just concluded the World Zionist Conference.

The full text of the Jewish Agency's statement issued on August 17, 1945 follows:

"The Jewish Agency for Palestine is gratified to learn that the proposal to establish Palestine as a Jewish State is under active consideration. Jews everywhere appreciate the recognition by the American Government of the justice of the Jewish desire to bring to Palestine as many Jews as possible and re-establish a national state.

"The Agency must point out that the Palestine issue primarily concerns the Jewish people, the Arabs of Palestine and the Great Powers. Arabs of states neighboring Palestine have no other status in Palestine than all other members of the United Nations.

"The question of Palestine is one of the many international problems whose solution must be conceived in justice and equity, and carried out with determination. The notion that large military forces would specially be required in the case of Palestine, has, in the conviction of the Jewish Agency, no relation to the realities of the situation.

"If the future of Palestine is now under consideration by the Great Powers, the Jewish Agency representing the Jewish people in matters Palestinian, must claim to be a party to all discussions and negotiations on equal footing with any national government."

You will be receiving additional information from us on this important matter. A round-up of press opinion on President Truman's statement will be sent to you after all the necessary material has been gathered. In the meantime, please be guided by the above information in attempting to evaluate the significance of the President's utterance.

HLS:MCH



MEMORANDUM

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To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date August 20, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

The next six or seven months may be a most significant period in the history of our movement. Decisions may be made during this time which may determine the future political configuration of Palestine. It will be necessary that the political work of our movement be coordinated as never before and that the central group, the American Zionist Emergency Council, have the full cooperation of every local committee throughout the nation. The degree of our effectiveness will greatly influence the expected decisions in our favor.

In order that the Emergency Council may be helpful in furthering this cooperation it has been decided to revise our administrative plan by expanding the Department of Community Contacts, and Mr. J. M. Alkow has been selected to direct the program of this department. Under his direction, representatives of the Department may be sent to certain communities in order that they may bring necessary confidential information to the committees and be helpful in advising on procedures and activities.

I am certain that you will give Mr. Alkow the cooperation of your committee at all times. In the past Local Emergency Committees have done a splendid job and I hope that this excellent record may be maintained in the coming critical days.

Regards.

HLS:MM

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date August 21, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

It is extremely important that there be a correct appraisal of President Truman's statement with regard to Palestine in the press throughout the country. You will be rendering our cause a great service if you now make every effort to obtain editorial comment in your local newspapers along the lines indicated in this memorandum. Do not submit the memorandum to your editors. Give them typewritten copies of the outline only.

OUTLINE OF EDITORIAL

1. Believers in justice everywhere are deeply gratified by President Truman's announcement that the proposal to establish Palestine as a Jewish State is being given active consideration. This pressing human problem, the solution of which is a matter of life and death for the Jewish people, cannot be side-stepped, and President Truman's expressed desire to deal with the question without delay gives new hope to the shattered remnants of European Jewry who look to Palestine as their only salvation.
2. In declaring that the American Government desires to let into Palestine as many Jews as possible and re-establish a national state there, President Truman has reaffirmed the traditional American position on Palestine. Our historic policy of support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine has been repeatedly expressed by every American president since Woodrow Wilson, by a Joint Resolution of both Houses of Congress, and by forthright declarations in the 1944 platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties. In recent years, as the staggering blows to the Jewish people increased in intensity, the American people have insistently demanded that justice must at long last be done to the Jews, and that the historic pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration and in the Palestine Mandate be fulfilled.
3. Those who are well acquainted with Middle Eastern affairs are puzzled by President Truman's assertion that he has no desire to send a half million American soldiers to keep order in Palestine. Experts on the Arab world have time and again pointed out that no active Arab resistance would follow a United Nations declaration in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth. Any impression which may have been created that a decision on Palestine favorable to the Jews would require the intervention of the American and British military is the result of political propaganda spread by those responsible for the infamous policy of the White Paper of 1939, which prohibits Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Is it reasonable to suppose that the Arab countries will oppose by force a decision taken by the Great Powers? In this connection it is well to point out that no more than two British battalions were required to put down the Iraq revolt of 1941; that during the disturbances of 1936-1939 in Palestine, when terrorists were receiving aid and support from Hitler and Mussolini, order was re-established by only one British division aided by Jewish settlement police.

The Arab states, relying as they are on American economic assistance and friendship, without which their existence would become highly problematical, cannot seriously contemplate the use of armed force against us. Even if Arab leaders considered embarking on such a suicidal project, they could muster very few troops with little training and equipment and no desire to fight.

Arab leaders -- the same individuals who actively supported the Axis in this war and who proclaimed their allegiance to the United Nations only after the Germans were beaten beyond recovery -- intent upon halting the wave of progress which would inevitably follow the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State, and promoted by those forces responsible for the White Paper policy, are now engaged in an all-out effort to terrorize the democratic world into denying the just claims of the Jewish people. It is to be hoped that the rantings and idle threats of a few feudal chieftans will not be taken seriously by those charged with the responsibility of creating a new and better world wherein all men may be given the opportunity to live in freedom and security.

HLS:MBP

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date September 10, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

The following round-up of Jewish press comment on President Truman's recent statement with regard to Palestine will supplement the information on this subject already sent to you.

The initial reaction of the Jewish press was to hail the fact that the President had "kept his word" and had placed the Palestine question on the agenda of the international conferences. The statement was generally regarded as a declaration by the American Government favorable to Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

Later comment was more reserved, however, and Jewish editorial writers and columnists found a great deal that was objectionable in the statement.

On August 19, the Jewish Morning Journal declared: "When the President emphasizes that he is opposed to sending an army to keep peace in Palestine, he hints that he sees danger ahead... This alone can have an adverse effect. If the Arabs should be made to feel that the world is afraid of them... they will continue their efforts to frighten Britain and America... Vis-a-vis the Arabs, evidence of power and a clear-cut decision are undoubtedly necessary, inasmuch as they have been incited and encouraged to opposition... The Jewish State must not be placed under a question mark. It should become a 'must,' an obligation on the part of Britain and America, a matter of historic justice to a people which for thousands of years was maligned and robbed of its due."

The Jewish Day of August 19 declared: "The British Government never consulted the Arab states about Palestine until 1939, when it resolved to introduce the White Paper policy... Britain needed support for its action, and from whom could it obtain that support if not from the Arabs? Thus was born the Arab-Jewish Conference of 1939, to which were invited not only the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine, who are directly concerned with the economic and political future of that country, but also neighboring Arab princes who have no stake in Palestine." The editorial expressed disappointment over the fact that President Roosevelt followed this pattern and dealt with Ibn Saud, and that now President Truman seems to place great emphasis on the Arabs of the neighboring countries.

Jacob Fishman, in his column in the Jewish Morning Journal on August 21, said that the Arabs will "talk business" only when they know that the Big Three do not fear Ibn Saud's threats. "President Truman should be made aware of this," said Mr. Fishman. "I believe that his feeling

towards us is one of good will, but his false illusion (about the need for sending American soldiers to keep peace in Palestine) will not produce good results."

SCATTERED COMMENT IN THE GENERAL PRESS

The New York Herald-Tribune of August 18, carried an editorial interpreting President Truman's statement as a declaration calling for "the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration's promise of a Jewish national state," and added that "the President's stand...is the only one which Americans, in all conscience, could approve."

"The consensus here is, we believe, that the White Paper was wrong, was an expedient of appeasement, and should now be corrected. This is the time to correct it. This nation, moreover, is directly concerned because of its adherence to the Balfour Declaration embodied in the mandate granted to Great Britain by the League of Nations in 1917, an adherence specifically backed by Congressional resolution. The fact that its fulfillment has been delayed and, in the turmoil of the last few years, jeopardized has dismayed men of good will here as elsewhere," the Herald Tribune said. (This editorial has been widely reprinted by other newspapers throughout the country.)

The Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator on August 17, 1945 discussed the question of relations with the Arabs raised by President Truman's statement, and concluded:

"Now that the war is ended, the British do not have to be so careful of Arab feelings. And Victor Bienstock, European editor of the Overseas News Agency and an expert on the Middle East, wrote recently that the Arabs 'will accept any settlement of the Palestine problem which they feel the British are determined to impose, especially if that solution has the approval of the United States and the Soviet Union.'"

HPM:MH

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CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date September 18, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

By the time this memorandum reaches you, you may have read Jewish press reports that President Truman has written a letter to Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, suggesting that the British Government issue 100,000 immigration certificates into Palestine for European Jews; and also the statement issued by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise as joint chairmen of our Council.

The text of the statement by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise follows:

"The Zionist movement in America, together with all Americans of good will, welcomes with great satisfaction the news that President Truman has written a letter to Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, requesting that immigration certificates in the amount of 100,000 be issued to Europe's uprooted and homeless Jews. If this official suggestion of the President is followed by the British Government, it will be the first great humanitarian act in many years on behalf of suffering Jewry, and we shall be proud to know that it came about through American initiative.

"The demand for an immediate issue of 100,000 certificates was presented many months ago by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to the Churchill Government in London. Recently, as a result of the London Zionist Conference, it was again submitted to the new Labor Government. Here, the American Zionist Emergency Council requested the support of the United States Government for this demand. It is credibly reported that Mr. Earl G. Harrison, American representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, was dispatched by the Government on an official mission to Europe, and upon his return he stated that at least 100,000 Jews in Europe must be provided with an immediate haven, and that Palestine offers the best haven possible.

"In conclusion, let us sound a word of caution. This measure, even if consummated, is no solution of the Jewish problem. The problem still remains to be solved by political decisions, re-establishing Palestine as a Jewish State, which is the unalterable goal of the World Zionist Organization."

THE STORY BEHIND PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S LETTER

The unorthodox manner in which the report of President Truman's letter to Mr. Attlee was made public surely did not escape your notice. A great deal of indignation has been aroused by the fact that it was Mr. Guy M. Gillette, on behalf of one of the Bergson-sponsored paper organizations, the American League For A Free Palestine, who released the news. Indeed, as you will see from the following account of the developments, this act of the Bergson group was not

only cheap sensationalism, but might prejudice the successful consummation of the negotiations on this vital matter. It is clear, of course, that by this maneuver the Bergson group sought to create the impression that it is bringing about Governmental action on behalf of uprooted European Jewry and that it is responsible for any favorable steps that may be taken. This is another in the series of unscrupulous acts perpetrated by a small group of opportunistic adventurers.

In their statement to the press Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver refrained from dealing with this aspect of the matter. They had to be guided, above all, by considerations of Zionist policy.

Here, however, we can tell you the story as it occurred. As mentioned in our statement in the press, the demand for 100,000 certificates was submitted by the Jewish Agency to the Churchill Government in a memorandum of June, 1945, and later to the Attlee Government. A fortnight ago, the Colonial Office offered the Jewish Agency 1500 certificates as the balance of the White Paper quota. The Jewish Agency refused to accept those certificates, informing the British Government that it could not consider this since an application for 100,000 certificates had been in the new Government's hands for two months. The Jewish Agency also stated that "in general, the war now being over, the Jewish Agency cannot possibly be party to, or enter into discussion of any arrangements based on the White Paper of 1939."

The American Zionist Emergency Council has made various approaches to the White House and on Capitol Hill in order to gain the support of the President and of the Government for the demand that 100,000 immigration certificates be issued. The figure demanded by the Jewish Agency tallied with the figure recommended by Earl G. Harrison, who went to Europe on a mission of inquiry on behalf of the Government. Thanks to Mr. Harrison's report and Zionist urging, President Truman, to our great satisfaction, decided to intervene officially with the British Government. We were informed of the developments, but we had to avoid giving the whole matter premature publicity. Furthermore, we have learned from an unimpeachable source that the President himself had no intention of making public his letter to Mr. Attlee at this juncture. President Truman evidently meant to publicize it in the usual manner at a White House press conference when he felt that the time was ripe for this—as soon as he was assured that his request was granted. We have learned that certain White House circles were greatly disturbed and resentful over the premature and unauthorized statement of Mr. Gillette.

This may give you an idea of some of the difficulties we face in our work. It is not enough that we must plan daily to win the sympathy and understanding of American public opinion and the circles which shape Government policies. There is always the danger that some sensationalist group will "jump the gun" and, for the sake of a newspaper scoop, run the risk of antagonizing those very circles on whose support our entire enterprise may depend.

The reported letter by President Truman to Prime Minister Attlee was primarily a humanitarian gesture on behalf of the homeless Jewish refugees of Europe. It may be, of course, that an effort will be made to implement this, not merely as an emergency measure quite apart from the definitive solution of the Palestine question, but to treat it as a final settlement or "solution." It is even conceivable, though we hope not likely, that the grant of certificates at this time may be coupled with other measures detrimental in character to "offset" it. We must, therefore, be on guard against an over-enthusiastic reaction to any announcement that may be made along the lines indicated by President Truman's

letter; for much will depend on the reception we accord such a step. If it is received exuberantly, the Governments concerned may feel that we are satisfied with this action and may be inclined to let it go at that, with, perhaps, the addition of another limited quota of Jewish immigrants. If, on the other hand, our reaction to such an announcement is reserved, and indicates to the British and American Governments that while we are grateful for such emergency allocation of certificates we have, nevertheless, not been diverted from our major Zionist objectives, then the inclination of the British and American Governments to deal more fully and quickly with our political demands will be increased.

We will continue to insist on our full Zionist program. And it is our unqualified demand for a Jewish State that must be repeatedly, even constantly, called to the attention of our Government. We hope that the facts contained in this memorandum will make you fully aware of the significance of the request we made of you in our communication of September 11th. President Truman must know that we are calling for the fulfillment of the pledge of a Jewish Commonwealth, and not merely for a new immigration quota, however large. We urge you, therefore, to bend every effort to carry out the task outlined in our earlier memorandum.

ELS:MBF



NIGHT LETTER

SEPTEMBER 21, 1945

TO: CHAIRMEN LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

IMPERATIVE YOU ACT IMMEDIATELY TO HAVE AS MANY LETTERS AND WIRES AS POSSIBLE FROM BOTH JEWS AND NON-JEWS OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES SENT TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN ALONG FOLLOWING LINES NOT DIFFERENTLY WORDED: QUOTE GREATLY DISTURBED BY REPORTS FROM LONDON THAT BRITISH CABINET SUBCOMMITTEE HAS REJECTED ALL MAJOR ZIONIST DEMANDS AND IS RECOMMENDING CONTINUANCE OF WHITE PAPER POLICY WITH ONLY SLIGHT MODIFICATIONS. OUR GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS REPEATEDLY ENDORSED ZIONIST ASPIRATIONS CANNOT ALLOW THIS FURTHER INJUSTICE AGAINST THE JEWISH PEOPLE TO BE PERPETRATED AMERICA MUST INSIST THAT THE OFFICIAL PRO-ZIONIST DECLARATIONS OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY, OF OUR OWN DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES AND OF OUR PRESIDENTS, INCLUDING YOURSELF, BE IMPLEMENTED. WE URGE YOU TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO AVERT THE CRUEL AND DISASTROUS DECISION WHICH IS REPORTEDLY BEING TAKEN AND TO INSIST ON THE FULFILLMENT OF THE HISTORIC PLEDGE OF A JEWISH STATE MADE BY THE STATESMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND OUR OWN COUNTRY. UNQUOTE. PLEASE CARRY OUT THIS ASSIGNMENT FAITHFULLY.

STEPHEN S. WISE

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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NIGHT LETTER

SEPTEMBER 25, 1945

TO: CHAIRMEN LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

WE ARE NOW FACING UNPRECEDENTED CRISIS MAKING IT IMPERATIVE WE MOBILIZE ALL OUR ENERGIES AND RESOURCES TO AVERT CATASTROPHIC POLITICAL DECISION BEING PLANNED. WE ARE CALLING NATIONAL EMERGENCY ZIONIST CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON, D. C. AT JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER, SIXTEENTH AND Q STREETS, N. W. ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4, 9:00 A. M. YOUR COMMUNITY MUST BE REPRESENTED THERE TO TAKE ACTION WHICH CRITICAL SITUATION DEMANDS. CONVENE YOUR EMERGENCY COMMITTEE IMMEDIATELY AND SELECT TWO OR MORE DELEGATES TO ATTEND THIS EMERGENCY MEETING. PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON HAVE THEM WIRE OR PHONE THEIR CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS REQUESTING PERSONAL APPOINTMENTS FOR THURSDAY BETWEEN HOURS OF 11:00 A. M. AND 1:00 P. M. ADVISE SHAPIRO IMMEDIATELY NAMES YOUR DELEGATES. CANNOT OVER-EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE THIS MEETING. PREREQUISITE FOR EFFECTIVE AND SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE IS LARGE REPRESENTATIVE ATTENDANCE. URGE THAT YOU HELP ACHIEVE THIS. ALSO IMPORTANT YOU CONDUCT LOCAL MASS MEETING TO VOICE INDIGNATION AND APPREHENSION YOUR COMMUNITY OVER DECISION ON PALESTINE REPORTEDLY BEING PLANNED BY BRITAIN AND TO DEMAND OUR GOVERNMENT INSIST BRITAIN FULFILL ITS PLEDGE OF JEWISH PALESTINE.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER
STEPHEN S. WISE

S/W:MMH

Mr. H. Pearson

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* October 12, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is a copy of a letter sent by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the delegates who attended the National Emergency Zionist Conference held at Washington, D. C. on October 4, 1945.

Please have your committee inspire a number of letters to one or more of the twelve Senators who aided our cause in recent days (see page 2 of letter). This would be very helpful in encouraging their future assistance to our movement.

At the present time many communities are conducting mass protest meetings. If your community has not yet conducted such an activity, may I urge that you do this immediately. The results of these demonstrations are most effective in developing a broad, favorable public opinion for our movement, and also may influence the future actions of the Executive branches of our Government.

Attached also is a copy of the resolution which was approved at the Washington Conference.

HLS:NF
Encs.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

October 10, 1945

(C O P Y)

I am taking this opportunity to express, on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council our gratitude for your fine efforts in connection with the National Emergency Zionist Conference held in Washington last Thursday, October 4th. To journey to the nation's capital on short notice, especially in these times, is a personal sacrifice; we were, therefore, heartened by the magnificent turn-out and by the spirit of the gathering. I think you will agree that the results of your trip compensate for whatever inconvenience was involved.

During the few days that have elapsed since our Conference, we have attempted to appraise the results of that meeting and to determine its significance in relation to the activities now being carried forward by the Zionist movement in this country.

I am happy to advise you that the Conference met with complete success. It was an event of great political significance, judging from the reaction of official Washington to your conferences with the membership of both Houses of Congress on that day. Seldom have our country's elected representatives received such a striking indication of public opinion on a particular question, and you are to be commended for the efficient and able manner in which you and the other delegates carried out this important assignment.

We have been successful in our efforts to focus the attention of our Government on the Palestine question as one of the burning issues of the day. Through our historic rally in Madison Square Garden and the other great outpourings of humanity which are taking place throughout the country, we are demonstrating that American public opinion, both Jewish and non-Jewish, is overwhelmingly in favor of the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the re-establishment of that country as a Jewish State. Now that Palestine is high on the list of international problems requiring prompt attention, it is our responsibility to keep alive this nationwide interest. This can be done in a number of ways, and I am including a few suggestions that may prove helpful to you in the immediate future.

Your program of education in relation to the membership of both Houses of Congress must be continued. The contacts you have established over the past years, and on Thursday, must be maintained and developed. To that end, may I suggest that you immediately send letters to your Senators and Representatives expressing thanks for Thursday's interview. Through continued

correspondence with the members of Congress you will be in a position to answer any questions that may arise in the future. You should always keep them informed of expressions of public opinion in your community with regard to Palestine and send them all significant editorial comment that furthers our aspirations. Needless to say, our office will always be happy to supply you with any information that you may require in the preparation of this material. May I urge you, too, to send copies of all such correspondence to our New York Headquarters.

As you know, a number of our country's leading Senators made vigorous speeches on the floor of the Senate last Tuesday, October 2nd, in which they assailed the British Government's policy on Palestine, and demanded the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the fulfillment, without delay, of the pledge of a Jewish Commonwealth. Those men, who have espoused our cause with enthusiasm and determination, should be further strengthened with the knowledge that their efforts are gratefully received by the Jews of America.

Will you, therefore, see to it that a substantial number of letters from your community go forward to the following members of the United States Senate who championed our program so admirably on the floor of the Senate and in statements to the press:

- (D) Alben W. Barkley - Kentucky
- (R) Owen Brewster - Maine
- (R) Homer Ferguson - Michigan
- (D) Joseph F. Guffey - Pennsylvania
- (D) Edwin C. Johnson - Colorado
- (D) Brien McMahon - Connecticut
- (D) James M. Mead - New York
- (D) James E. Murray - Montana
- (R) Leverett Saltonstall - Massachusetts
- (R) H. Alexander Smith - New Jersey
- (R) Robert A. Taft - Ohio
- (D) Robert F. Wagner - New York

While we have accomplished much within the past few weeks, our real task is still before us. We are now in the most momentous period in the history of our movement, and every day -- every hour -- is vital. I am confident that you will continue this all-important work with undiminished vigor and that, together, we will meet the historic responsibilities of the hour.

I remain with all good wishes and kindest personal regards.

Very cordially yours,

AHS:SMH

Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman, Executive Committee

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL ZIONIST EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 4, 1945

We, the delegates to the National Zionist Emergency Conference, representing the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Jews of America, assembled here in Washington, D. C. this fourth day of October, 1945, adopt the following resolution:

We condemn the policy of the British Government in excluding the homeless and uprooted Jews of Europe from the Jewish national home, its continued application of the illegal White Paper, and its repudiation of solemn pledges to the Jewish people.

We applaud the forthright action of President Truman in urging upon the British Government the immediate admission to Palestine of 100,000 surviving Jews from the concentration camps of Europe. We respectfully urge him to stand firmly and to insist upon this emergency measure as a first step in the solution of the problem of Jewish national homelessness. We call upon all men of good will throughout the country, Christians and Jews alike, to give their full and articulate support to the President in the stand he has taken and to make public affirmation of their views in favor of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, with full equality of right and status to all inhabitants of the land.

Reports have reached us that the British Government is deploying its military and naval forces against the Jewish refugees struggling desperately to enter the promised land and that it is preparing to crush Jewish national aspirations by armed might. We warn against the inevitable consequences of the course the British Government is pursuing. By its heartless policy, by its repeated failure to honor its international commitments, by its utter disregard of the official attitude of the United States Government and its defiance of American public opinion, it is sacrificing American friendship and good will.

We appeal to the people of England and to the British Labor Party to recall their government to a sense of its international obligations before it is too late.

We pledge ourselves to throw all our resources into the struggle which has been forced upon us. With the help of Almighty God, we shall fight on relentlessly till justice be done.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

To : Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date : October 17, 1945

From : Harry L. Shapiro

Yesterday, 17 Representatives spoke on the floor of the House in behalf of a Jewish Palestine. An additional 34 Representatives, who were not given the opportunity to talk because of lack of time, were permitted by the House to have their speeches inserted in the "Congressional Record."

The following is a list of the 51 Congressmen who spoke for our movement:

(R) James C. Auchincloss - New Jersey	(D) Franck R. Havenner - Calif.
(D) H. Streett Baldwin - Maryland	(D) Ned R. Healy - California
(R) George H. Bender - Ohio	(R) Christian A. Herter - Mass.
(D) Overton Brooks - Louisiana	(D) Chet Holifield - California
(R) D. Emmert Brumbaugh - Pennsylvania	(D) Walter B. Huber - Ohio
(D) Emanuel Celler - New York	(D) Ed. V. Izac - California
(R) Ralph E. Church - Illinois	(D) Estes Kefauver - Tennessee
(D) John M. Coffee - Washington	(D) Augustine B. Kelley - Penn.
(R) Paul Cunningham - Iowa	(D) Herman P. Kopplemann - Conn.
(D) Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr. - Maryland	(D) Thomas J. Lane - Mass.
(D) Hugh DeLacy - Washington	(R) Earl R. Lewis - Ohio
(D) John D. Dingell - Michigan	(D) John W. McCormack - Mass.
(R) Everett M. Dirksen - Illinois	(R) Gordon L. McDonough - Calif.
(D) Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas - Illinois	(D) John W. Murphy - Penn.
(D) Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas - California	(D) Donald L. O'Toole - New York
(D) Clyde Doyle - California	(D) Ellis E. Patterson - Calif.
(D) Herman P. Eberharter - Pennsylvania	(D) Philip J. Philbin - Mass.
(D) George H. Fallon - Maryland	(D) Alexander J. Resa - Illinois
(D) Michael A. Feighan - Ohio	(D) John J. Rooney - New York
(D) James F. Geelan - Connecticut	(D) Adolph J. Sabath - Illinois
(R) Angier L. Goodwin - Massachusetts	(D) Lansdale G. Sasscer - Md.
(D) Martin Gorski - Illinois	(R) Joseph E. Talbot - Conn.
(R) Robert A. Grant - Indiana	(D) John H. Tolan - California
(R) Charles A. Halleck - Indiana	(R) Richard J. Welch - Calif.
(R) T. Millett Hand - New Jersey	(D) Samuel A. Weiss - Penn.
	(D) Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse - Connecticut

This activity in the House of Representatives is most likely one of the benefits of the American Emergency Zionist Conference of October 4th, during which Zionist delegations from all parts of the country visited their Representatives and Senators.

In order to maintain the present good-will of these Congressmen it would be helpful to have a substantial number of letters of appreciation sent to them. If your Representative participated, he should certainly receive a word of thanks and encouragement. Those Congressmen who come from neighboring districts would also be glad to have your written approval of their outspoken efforts.

Regards.

YLS:NI

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MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date October 30, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed herewith are:

- 1) A copy of a letter to Miss Glora M. Wyner which Drs. Howard M. LeSourd and Carl Hermann Voss wrote in rebuttal to a resolution adopted by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America on September 28. This is only for your information and not for general distribution.
- 2) A reprint of two articles by Mr. Elisha Ben-Horin which appeared in the October 20 and 27 issues of "The Nation." This piece is available for limited distribution.

Regards.

HLS:CMH
Encs.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 2-4017

American Palestine Committee

Chairman

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

Secretary

HON. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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DR. CARL HERMANN VOSS

October 15, 1945

C O P Y

Miss Giora M. Wysner

Foreign Missions Conference of North America

156 Fifth Avenue

New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Miss Wysner:

We have before us an item from the New York Times of October 1st, 1945 referring to the vote of the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America registering "its protest against the name chosen for the conference of supporters of political Zionism to be held in Washington on November 1-2, namely the World Christian Conference on Palestine." And we likewise have your letter notifying us of this resolution adopted by your Committee on September 28th.

Our first reaction in reading these was one of fierce resentment, for the Foreign Missions Conference has, it seems to us, indulged in an act of gross impertinence. That opinion persists even at the present hour although we have waited several days to respond to your letter. It is utterly ridiculous for the Foreign Missions Conference to criticize the World Christian Conference on Palestine for using the name "Christian" and to protest because "it may be inferred from this nomenclature that all Christians are supporters of political Zionism."

Who conferred upon the Foreign Missions Conference of North America the right to determine what titles and phraseology are to be used by organizations composed of Christians? This is a bit remote from the purpose of your organization and certainly has nothing to do with foreign missions! In the New York City telephone directory there is a whole column of organizations which carry the name "Christian." Are you going to take them to task because they espouse a program supported by only a segment of the Christian churches? Or hold convictions shared by only a few Christians? Or contend for objectives to which your organization is opposed? Two of the organizations listed in the New York telephone book are the Christian Businessmen's Committee, Inc., and the Christian Missionary Alliance, including the Jewish Branch of the latter. Do those two groups, one representing economic conservatism and the other standing for fundamentalist evangelism, reflect the attitudes of all Christians? Naturally not! Do you ask them to refrain from

using the term "Christian" because you and we find ourselves in disagreement with their programs? The question answers itself. Many groups using the term "Christian" should be attacked by us because they are at variance with everything for which we, as Christians, have stood. We refer to such groups as the Christian Mobilizers, the Christian Front, the Christian Patriots, and many another group which has perverted the term "Christian" for its own infamous and ignominious ends. Has the Foreign Missions Conference launched an attack on them? Not that we have noticed! Your ammunition would be put to better use if you would do battle with these fascist groups, for they are enemies of the kind of better world for which all Christians should strive. Why do you pick on our organization and remain silent in the face of the real enemy? Many people, who disagree completely with the program of the Foreign Missions Conference could justly complain because the term "Foreign Missions Conference of North America" implies an overall coverage of Foreign Mission groups, when in reality there are many on the Left and many on the Right (in both theology and politics) who have their own version of what foreign missions mean; thus they disassociate themselves completely from your organization. By your committee's criterion of criticism, your organization could be also criticized because its title might seem pretentious and misleading to these people.

Can it be said that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America represents every Christian church? Of course not! The World Council of Churches, in turn, cannot be said to embrace Roman Catholicism and all Protestant denominations. You and your associates should know by now that it is fantastic to expect any organization, no matter how large and inclusive it may be, to include all groups and individuals who have any association with the words used in a name or with the ideologies implicit in that title.

The American Christian Palestine Committee, composed of almost 3,000 leading clergymen and more than 7,500 leaders in our political, social and economic life, has assented to our stated program (a copy of which we enclose). They enrolled as Christians who do favor a program in accord with the aspirations of Zionism, and with implementation of the Zionist program. Our platform clearly states that we are bent on abolishing the impediments to the realization of Zionist goal. We join in this endeavor with an overwhelming majority of the Jewish people both here and abroad who are in accord with the Zionist program. Within Christendom we Christians cannot claim even a semblance of such agreement on projects expressing the Christian faith.

We are fully aware that, as you state, "all Christians do not support" our view. We deeply regret the confused counsel within the ranks of Christians; but more than that we deplore the apathy of the Christian spirit and the lethargy of the Christian mind so characteristic of our own church people during these years of Jew killing. So far as we can gather, virtually nothing has been done by Christian groups on behalf of suffering Jewry in Europe save to express sympathy at infrequent intervals. Seven million dead Jews cry to us from their graves to reproach us for our sins of omission

and our sins of commissions.

We join you in regretting "that Christians are not more united in trying to do something constructive for the desperate Jews in Europe;" but we take issue with you when you regret "that the whole situation has been confused by centering the pressure in Palestine." The Palestine issue is, as Eduard Lindeman calls it, "An Acid Test of Democracy." Attention must be focused upon Palestine. Linked with the Palestine issue is the whole question of democratic rights everywhere in the world. As Reinhold Niebuhr reiterates with conviction and eloquence, this is a two-fold problem: (1) defend and extend democracy in order to insure a pluralistic society, and (2) insist upon the fulfillment of the international pledges and commitments concerning Palestine made to the Jewish people by 52 nations, including our own.

Some liberal Christians seem to think that they are doing the Jews a service by opposing Zionism. In reality, these decidedly illiberal Christians align themselves thereby with reactionary forces here in the United States and with feudal reaction in the Middle East. They are undermining the democratic way of life; furthermore, these Christians link themselves with a splinter movement within Jewry, the anti-Zionist contingent which is a negligible but powerful and vocal minority who have the effrontery to claim they speak on behalf of American Jewry.

The newspaper account in the New York Times which may not be accurate, stated that your Committee protested because our Conference "disregarded the position of Arab residents of Palestine." If this statement is correctly reported, then permit us to inform your Committee that its members have not read our statement of principles. We have always been fully aware of Arab rights in Palestine as have the Jewish people through the past quarter of a century. The Jewish Agency has constantly reassured the Arabs, that full religious, political and social rights would be guaranteed to all inhabitants of Palestine, including the Arabs. Arab residents in Palestine have not suffered by Jewish colonization. As all objective studies show, the Arabs have indeed benefited more in Palestine than anywhere else in the Middle East. Witness the growth of Arab population in Palestine from 600,000 to 1,200,000 during the past 25 years and their greatly improved economic status.

This tender solicitude on your part for the Arab residents of Palestine and this utter disregard of Jewish rights, legal and humanitarian, is, we must admit, not unique in the foreign missions movement. It is quite in consonance with the attitude of foreign missionaries in the Middle East, who ignore the accomplishments of the Zionists and close their eyes to what Zionism could achieve as a stabilizing, creative factor in the Mediterranean world and as an aid in building a democratic Arab federation. Intent solely on currying favor with British colonial officials and appeasing Moslem overlords, these missionaries of the myopic mind ignore the facts of improvement in the Arabs' status due to Zionist achievements of the past quarter century. They invoke the bugaboo of the "long suffering, persecuted Arab resident in Palestine." What a perversion of the truth these misguided

missionaries foster! And how duped they are in seeking to curry favor with the Moslem world by condemning Zionism and all that it connotes in creative democracy for the Middle East!

When you receive inquiries from "individual Christians as well as representatives of Christian groups" concerning our Washington Conference, you may inform them that this World Christian Conference on Palestine represents not only ten thousand leading Christians in the United States but 19 similar Christian committees in Central and South America, England and the Dominions of the British Empire, as well as several countries on the European continent. At least some Christians are concerned about the sufferings of the Jewish people and the promises made to them to establish Palestine as a Jewish national homeland.

We are sending copies of this letter to our own members, as well as to certain people interested in the foreign missions movement.

Sincerely,

HOWARD M. LESOURD
Director, American Palestine Committee

CARL HERMANN VOSS
Executive Secretary, Christian Council on Palestine

(Co-Directors of the American Christian Palestine Committee)

Have the Arabs a Case?

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

(For sixteen years a newspaper editor in Palestine; author of
"The Middle East, Crossroads of History")

FROM the headquarters of the Arab League in Cairo resolutions, protests, proclamations, and demands are issuing in an almost endless stream. The League is pugnacious, the League is indignant, the League is eloquent; it has something to say about every problem of the Middle East, whether it be Palestine and the Jews, Lebanon and the French, or Tripolitania and the Russians. From farther east, like a distant and invariable echo, sounds the seconding voice of King Ibn Saud, who does not hesitate to threaten the Jews of Palestine, and if need be the entire Western world, with violence should the Palestinian issue be resolved in favor of the Jewish people.

From the new Labor Cabinet in London comes still another echo—the voice of British statesmen and of the British press citing Arab opposition to a Jewish Palestine as the one insurmountable obstacle preventing them from doing the right thing by the Jews. This "Arab argument" has been so thoroughly propagated that even President Truman, speaking of Palestine, finds it necessary to say that he would be unwilling to dispatch an army of 500,000 Americans to the Near East to fight the Arab revolt which might break out if the pledges to the Jewish people are fulfilled.

The idea of a herculean pan-Arabic force in the Middle East ready to rise in a *jihad* is about the most ludicrous politico-military chimera heard of in many years. Two battalions of British troops suppressed the pro-Axis military putsch of the Rashid Ali Bag Gailani government in Iraq in 1941, though it had the backing of the then all-powerful Axis. The ill-armed and ill-trained armies of Egypt and Iraq, the camel riders of Saudi Arabia, and the horsemen of Transjordan, picturesque as they are, would be an ineffective force in these days of mechanized warfare.

Before we drift too far in this misrepresentation of the military strength and unity of purpose of the Arab peoples, it seems pertinent to look closely at Middle Eastern realities and to discover precisely what call these Arab chieftains have on the democracies. Indeed, do the Arabs have a case, and what is it?

As long as the war continued, we knew clearly who was with us and who against us, who fought for civilization and who staked their future on Hitler's victory. Where the Arabs stood was no secret. When the Nazi Wehrmacht rolled across Europe, Arab soldiers in German uniforms with the inscription "Free Arabia" on their sleeves were among the conquering heroes of the Third Reich. Remnants of this Arab Legion now cool their heels in Camp Opelika, Alabama. Special Moslem divisions of the Waffen-S. S. fought the Yugoslav partisans. A red fez decorated with the insignia of a scimitar grasped in a fist flanked by swastikas was worn with their gray-green uniforms.

Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and other Arab leaders appealed in the name of Allah to the Arab

Middle East to join hands with Hitler, who was described by them as "the direct descendant of the Prophet." If the risk was too great for an overt alliance they prayed for an

Axis victory. Paeans of thanksgiving rose from the mosques of Syria and Palestine when Rommel took North Africa. Not only was there a pro-Axis revolt in Iraq, but Egypt refused to lift a finger in its own defense, even when Rommel's legions invaded Egyptian territory. An Egyptian statesman carrying the plans of the British High Command in his pocket was seized by the British



Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz

Viceroy of the Hejaz and Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia

on the very eve of his escape to Rommel's headquarters. Ibn Saud and King Yahya of Yemen sat comfortably on the fence all through the war, waiting to see which way to jump. In Syria and Lebanon the Arabs were so delighted by Axis victories that they chanted happily, "No more mister, no more monsieur, only Allah in heaven, only Hitler on earth."

If all this is forgotten, the Arabs are still providing us with abundant evidence of their political and moral orientation. There was no need to prompt the French, the Norwegians, the Italians, the Yugoslavs to bring their traitors to trial and punishment. But the Arabs are not only unwilling to try the pro-Axis collaborationists in their midst; they are actually demanding that Amin el Husseini himself, who is now held in France as a war criminal—on the demand of the Yugoslav government—be absolved of all blame and released. These demands by the Arab League and other Arab political associations are understandable. In their eyes the Mufti is simply not a traitor. Pétain, Laval, Quisling, Degrelle, Joyce may be branded traitors by their own people, but according to the political and moral standards of Pan-Arabia, Amin el Husseini, once Hitler's official adviser on Arab affairs, is a national hero, whose only mistake was that he backed the losing horse.

Arab social philosophy and the existing forms of Arab society are in harmony with the Nazi-Fascist system rather than with our democratic ideas. For hundreds of years Arabia withstood the civilizing influence of the West. Even when Ataturk performed his miracle of a revolution in Turkey, westernizing that backward land of Islam, his modern ideas never penetrated into the Arab domains. There the reactionary clergy, the polygamist effendi, and the feudal kings, emirs, and sheiks continued to rule supreme over an improv-

erished, illiterate, and disease-ridden populace.

The fabulous oil riches of the Middle East attracted Western capital. Hundreds of millions of dollars were invested in the development of oil fields, in the construction of refineries and pipe lines, and in royalties to the various Arab governments. Did this flow of capital into Arabia benefit the masses of the people—raise living standards or improve social conditions?

Iraq provides the answer. Unlike the concessions in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which are still in their infancy, the Iraqi concession, granted twenty years ago to British-American-French-Dutch interests, has been in operation for many years. About \$85,000,000 was paid to the Iraqi government in oil royalties, gratuities, educational grants, and non-interest-bearing loans. This may not impress Americans as a large sum, but for a country of Iraq's size and population (3,500,000 inhabitants), and of Iraq's poverty, it is tremendous. Where did this money go? It disappeared into the pockets of the ruling clique, leaving no beneficial effects on either state expenditure or the living conditions of the masses. Here is how an Arab newspaper in Bagdad, the *Saunt-el-abali* (the *Voice of the People*), described life in Iraq in 1944:

It is clear that 90 per cent of the entire population of Iraq live on a subhuman level. They are condemned to a life of starvation and exposed to the ravages of epidemics without benefit of any medical assistance. And these intolerable, primitive conditions exist in the twentieth century among our own Iraqi people, who sweat and toil to make the soil yield riches which are then entirely consumed by others. . . . The government has done nothing either to mitigate the distress or to combat its causes.

Elaborating the subject, the paper divided the population of Iraq into four groups: (1) 2 per cent of the population, who control the entire wealth of the nation and its means of production; (2) 8 per cent, who form a poor middle class and hardly earn a living; (3) 75 per cent, who are chronically undernourished, live in appalling conditions, and are easy prey to every kind of sickness; (4) 15 per cent, who are completely destitute. The death rate in Iraq is high and the birth rate is low, resulting in a natural increase of no more than five per thousand. At least two million persons—more than 50 per cent of the population—are infected with malaria, and there is a high incidence of tuberculosis. Ninety per cent of the people are still illiterate.

The Iraqi government could have achieved much for its people at home, but instead it fought the Jews in Palestine and the French in Syria, promoted Pan-Arabism in Cairo, and made grandstand plays in San Francisco and Washington. And Iraq is not unique: its description applies to every Arab land in the Middle East. The last remnants of a feudal society in the world fight bitterly against any democratic or civilizing innovation. Yet in our desire to woo the Arab kings we have showered on them every kind of favor, political and material. They were admitted on the bandwagon of the United Nations when the war was virtually over. Lend-lease was supplied to them, together with military missions to train their desert armies in modern warfare. Today pan-Arabic aspirations are bolstered by both the British and the American government. President Truman even went so far—on whose advice, one wonders—as to present Prince Abdul Ilah, the Regent of Iraq, with the medal of

the Legion of Merit for his services during the war.

History sadly repeats itself. After the last war it was principally Great Britain which encouraged the pan-Arabic aspirations of King Hussein of Hejaz. Not that Britain believed in the possibility of any comprehensive unity in Arabia; on the contrary, every British expert on Arab affairs said that unity in Arabia was a phantom. Lawrence of Arabia wrote, "When people talk of Arab confederations or empires, they talk fantastically." Gertrude Bell denied the very existence of an Arab nation. As recently as September 26, 1945, a special correspondent of the *London Times* in the Middle East reported: "The difference in political, religious, and economic structure between, say, the Lebanon and Saudi Arabia is much more pronounced than between, say, Germany and France. Tribal, religious, and dynastic antagonisms are more embittered and fanatical in the Oriental than in the European world, and so far the Arab League has been more occupied with traditional eloquence than with the elaboration of constructive programs." And, "Just now the main, if not the only unifying force in the League is an ingrained and traditional xenophobia, directed, according to circumstances, against the French, the British, or the Jews."

The British encouraged King Hussein in his dreams of grandeur because they wanted above all to assure their complete domination over the Middle East, so vitally important to the maintenance of the Empire. Since then, dynastic changes have occurred in the Arab domains. King Hussein lost his kingdom to Ibn Saud and died in exile, a broken and disillusioned man. New chieftains have risen to power. But no social or economic changes of consequence have taken place. Indeed, the Arab-Jewish conflict is no less social than nationalistic in its nature. Numerous signs of an Arab-Jewish rapprochement were noted in the past. This, however, is what the reactionary effendis fear most, for they are bent on preserving their vested interests. The Mufti's clique killed numerous Arabs whose only sin was that they regarded sympathetically the social-economic progress brought to Palestine by Jewish-Zionist enterprise. Arabia remains as closed as ever to the march of civilization.

All this makes it clear that the Arabs have no case. Neither their attitude during the war nor the form of society they represent can possibly appeal to Labor Britain or democratic America. Yet the improbable and illogical seems to be happening. The rulers of Both Britain and the United States seem to be so determined on a pro-Arab orientation in the Middle East that they would rather bear the odium of betraying the Jewish people and of backing reactionary Moslem potentates at this decisive stage in shaping the future world than risk the displeasure of the Arab cliques. What is behind it all?

The usual answer is oil. By now everyone is aware of its unparalleled abundance in the Middle East. But if oil is an important factor in the "Arab case," there is much more to it than that. The Jewish-Arab controversy in Palestine cuts across the most vital issues of world strategy. The major political, economic, and strategic plans of the British-American alliance on the one hand and of Soviet Russia on the other are part and parcel of it. Once again the Middle East, which has figured so prominently in every world conflagration, becomes the bone of contention in the great powers' jockeying for positions and influence.

Palestine and Grand Strategy

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

THE real reason for Great Britain's illogical and unjust Palestine policy is not the threat of pan-Arabic resistance to the development of a Zionist state but considerations of grand strategy. Soviet Russia's expansionist tendencies in the Middle East are the major factor in the shaping of both British and American Middle Eastern policy. The foreign offices of the Western democracies have no fear of Pan-Arabia, but they do fear a Soviet-Arabian rapprochement. Is the threat of an alliance between the Soviets and the Arabian effendi real, or is it just another bogey?

One of the most damaging mistakes of Jewish leaders has been their tendency to present the Palestine problem solely as a quarrel between Jews and Arabs. Nothing could be farther from the mark. There is scarcely an issue of major importance to the great powers in which Palestine does not figure, whether it be the future of world communications, trade expansion, sea power versus land power, the balance of power between East and West, or the destiny of the British Empire. The present British Cabinet, like its predecessors, measures the situation with one question in mind: in the world of today, with its swiftly changing conditions and its completely altered balance of power, what policy will best assure British control of the Middle East? Only a Cabinet prepared to liquidate the Empire and transform Britain into a third-rate power could approach Middle Eastern problems with any other yardstick.

The crucial strategic-geographic importance of the Middle East to a maritime and trading empire like Great Britain is of course axiomatic. What seems to escape notice is Palestine's special position in the picture. More than any other land little Palestine constitutes a link between the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. It has a long coastline on the eastern Mediterranean. It lies on the northern bank of the Suez Canal. It is the natural outlet for the oil of Arabia. Loss of Palestine would be a deadly blow to Britain.

Washington, as well as London, is acutely aware of these geo-political realities. This country has only lately acquired a world outlook, but it has already come to realize that it cannot afford to neglect the Middle East. It has a very lively interest in Middle Eastern oil, and this interest means that it needs air and naval bases in the region. In the event of war formal ownership of Arabian oil would be of little avail; the important thing would be its accessibility. To operate concessions in peace and to maintain their accessibility in war, the United States must have outposts of military power on the scene. They are the prize America hopes to obtain through its close alliance with Britain.

The American University in Beirut, the colleges in Cairo and Istanbul, the American missions, numerous archaeological expeditions, and various trading and mining enterprises bear witness to America's long-standing interest in the Middle East. However, through the years, America has been a guest there, and not always a welcome one. Now, for the first time, Great Britain regards the United States as a desir-

able partner. It would be naive to think that American oil companies acquired concessions in Arabia against the will of Great Britain, which is, after all, supreme there. Nor was Britain's compliance an act of altruism. At a time when Soviet Russia's ambitions in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf have become unmistakably clear, Britain wants the United States to share the political and military responsibility for one of the most troublesome spots on the earth. If John Bull must sooner or later encounter the Russian bear in the Arabian desert, he prefers not to have it a tête-à-tête.

Every effort made by Great Britain and the United States to form a counterbalance in Europe against the excessive might of Russia has failed. Both Western countries have been forced to acknowledge Soviet supremacy on the Continent. A desperate Britain has therefore fallen back on the old formula of sea power versus land power, with air power viewed as an appendix of sea power. This is the true basis of the British-American alliance—to keep the Russian colossus within the boundaries of a land-locked empire. In this strategy the Middle East assumes new importance, for the future balance of power will be determined at the Straits, in the eastern Mediterranean, and in the Persian Gulf.

The Jewish-Arab Palestine controversy must be examined in this perspective. British love for the Arabs or dislike of the Jews does not enter into the question. The British know precisely where they stand so far as the Arabs are concerned. They can permit the Arabs their delusions of grandeur. No harm is done. The British know that no such thing as a united Arabia exists or is likely to arise, and that the petty kings and sheiks can be managed or bought in the future as they have been in the past.

But the United States, new at this game of colonial imperialism, apparently takes what it sees and hears at face value. Emissaries of American oil companies, naive young men from the War Department and the OWI, even State Department officials have been bluffed by the shrewd Moslem potentates. They have returned from their missions to the Middle East with alarming reports of a probable Soviet-Arab alliance through which Russia would emerge dominant in the entire area. The only way to ward off this catastrophe, they report, is to forget the pledges to the Jewish people and the demands of justice and to placate the Arabs.

King Ibn Saud and other Arab politicians must have smiled in their beards when they sold this bill of goods to the Americans. If the Arab rulers have any say in the matter, the Soviets will not penetrate far into the Middle East. They may not be learned gentlemen, but they do know that where Soviet Russia enters, political reaction and social-economic backwardness go out. There is nothing the Arab barons dread more than Soviet influence in their domains.

At the same time they dislike Great Britain, with its insistence on military and political control behind the façade of native independence, and they are also eager to get rid of French domination. The United States thus emerges as a

favorite foreign power. It is the only great power which offers large oil royalties, trading advantages, and cultural opportunities without asking anything important in return. This pro-American orientation of the Arabs can be counted upon to continue as long as America remains the richest and the least imperialistic power in sight. If the situation changed, Arab "loyalties" would change overnight. (In the 1930's, when the Arabs felt that Nazi Germany was growing stronger than Great Britain, they became definitely pro-German.) Should America or the American-British alliance suffer an eclipse, the most violent anti-Jewish attitude in Palestine would not enable us to retain Arab friendship.

My point is that Britain and the United States do not have to trade Jewish blood and Jewish suffering for Arab oil and sympathies; that fear of an Arab-Soviet alliance is fantastic. Moreover, if the Western democracies were looking for a way to increase the propaganda appeal of Soviet policies and to weaken their own moral standing, they could find no surer method than taking an anti-Jewish stand on Palestine. The conviction is spreading in a great many quarters that the Soviet Union is the true bearer of progressive ideas, and that Britain—now joined by America—upholds diehard conservatism and reaction. British-American support of the Arab kings and effendis and obstruction of Jewish aspirations in Palestine reinforces the conviction.

That Moscow is fully alive to the situation is shown by its radical change of attitude toward Zionism in the last two or three years. For nearly a quarter of a century Zionism was outlawed in Soviet Russia, and Zionists were severely persecuted. Now Soviet Jewry has been permitted to acknowledge its fraternal ties with the Jewish people. Ivan Maisky was sent on an official, and sympathetic, mission to Palestine, to survey the possibilities for further Jewish immigration. And on several occasions Soviet delegates to international conferences have voted for pro-Zionist resolutions.

Stalin, with his usual astuteness, apparently has a better understanding than British and American statesmen of the true relationship of the Zionist enterprise in Palestine to the whole politico-economic and strategic situation in the Middle East. He realizes the improbability of a Soviet-Arab alliance and sees that a pro-Jewish attitude in the Middle East would be valuable moral propaganda for Soviet Russia.

With tension mounting in Palestine, Britain and America must make a fateful choice. Either they must persevere in a course which encourages political, economic, and social reaction and the spread of xenophobia, which ignores the frightful Jewish tragedy as well as the solemn pledges given the Jews, and which compromises democracy in the eyes of the world, or they must adopt a new policy which will be progressive and just and also thoroughly sound from the point of view of grand strategy and international peace.



Reprinted by

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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MEMORANDUM

To: Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date: October 31, 1945
in: Ga., N.Y., Utah, Fla., R.I., Ky., Pa., Ill., Ala.,
Del., N.M., Kansas, Mich., Maine, Vt., N.H., Wisc., Texas,
From: Harry D. Shapiro

Attached is Senate Joint Resolution 112 as promised in my wire.

Regards.

HLS:CLD
Enc.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

October 26 (legislative day, October 22), 1945

Mr. Wagner (for himself, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Walsh) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

J O I N T R E S O L U T I O N

Favoring action by the United States looking to the restoration of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people.

WHEREAS the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

WHEREAS the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

WHEREAS these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry of one hundred thousand Jewish refugees: Therefore be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, That the United States shall use its good offices to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that they may reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights.

American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

NOVEMBER 6, 1945

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL REQUESTS FOLLOWING ACTION IN CONNECTION WITH FORTHCOMING VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE TO WASHINGTON: REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTIANS AND JEWS OF YOUR CITY SHOULD SEND LETTERS TO ATTLEE AT BRITISH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON. THERE SHOULD BE NO LESS THAN FIFTY SUCH LETTERS FROM SMALL COMMUNITIES AND NO LESS THAN ONE HUNDRED FROM LARGER ONES. ALSO HAVE CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, AND WHERE POSSIBLE, GOVERNORS AND MAYORS WRITE LETTERS EXPRESSING STRONGEST DISAPPROVAL OF CONTINUATION WHITE PAPER POLICY. LETTERS SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT AMERICANS, WHO HAD BEEN HEARTENED BY LABOR PARTY'S PALESTINE PLEDGES AND HAD EXPECTED FULFILLMENT OF BRITAIN'S OBLIGATIONS UNDER MANDATE, REMOVAL OF WHITE PAPER RESTRICTIONS AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH STATE, ARE NOW DISILLUSIONED. ONLY IMMEDIATE ACTION TO FULFILL PLEDGE WILL RESTORE AMERICAN FAITH IN BRITISH INTEGRITY. PLEASE SEE TO IT THAT THESE LETTERS ARE SENT IN A STEADY FLOW THROUGHOUT ATTLEE'S STAY IN AMERICA. TRUST THIS IMPORTANT ASSIGNMENT WILL BE CARRIED OUT CAREFULLY AND THOROUGHLY. REGARDS.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO

8. C
411

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(a)

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO
CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

NOVEMBER 20, 1945

AS YOU PROBABLY HAVE LEARNED BY THIS TIME FROM PRESS REPORTS AND FROM DELEGATES TO ZOA CONVENTION, STATE DEPARTMENT IS ACTIVELY OPPOSING ACTION ON WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE WHICH IS NOW BEING CONSIDERED BY SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. IMPERATIVE YOU HAVE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF LETTERS AND WIRES SENT IMMEDIATELY TO SECRETARY OF STATE BYRNES REMINDING HIM THAT PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO PALESTINE POLICY AS STATED IN WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION AND SAYING THAT YOU CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW STATE DEPARTMENT CAN NOW OPPOSE ACTION WHEN BOTH PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND SECRETARY BYRNES HAD GIVEN CLEARANCE TO RESOLUTION PRIOR TO ITS INTRODUCTION. IMPORTANT YOU REVIEW PALESTINE PLEDGES MADE REPEATEDLY BY THIS ADMINISTRATION AND INSIST ON ACTION WITHOUT DELAY. PLEASE ACT ON THIS IMMEDIATELY.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO
CHAIRMAN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

NOVEMBER 30, 1945

AS YOU PROBABLY HAVE LEARNED BY THIS TIME FROM PRESS REPORTS AND FROM DELEGATES TO ZOA CONVENTION, STATE DEPARTMENT IS ACTIVELY OPPOSING ACTION ON WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE WHICH IS NOW BEING CONSIDERED BY SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. IMPERATIVE YOU HAVE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF LETTERS AND WIRES SENT IMMEDIATELY TO SECRETARY OF STATE BYRNES REMINDING HIM THAT PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO PALESTINE POLICY AS STATED IN WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION AND SAYING THAT YOU CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW STATE DEPARTMENT CAN NOW OPPOSE ACTION WHEN BOTH PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND SECRETARY BYRNES HAD GIVEN CLEARANCE TO RESOLUTION PRIOR TO ITS INTRODUCTION. IMPORTANT YOU REVIEW PALESTINE PLEDGES MADE REPEATEDLY BY THIS ADMINISTRATION AND INSIST ON ACTION WITHOUT DELAY. PLEASE ACT ON THIS IMMEDIATELY.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* November 21, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed herewith are:

- 1) An offset of a significant column on Palestine by Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, which appeared recently in the New York Herald-Tribune;
- 2) A new American Christian Palestine Committee publication, "To Christian Youth," by Helen Cahagan Douglas. This should prove particularly useful in work with non-Jewish young people in local church or community groups. If a large quantity is needed for your local American Christian Palestine Committee work we shall be glad to supply you with it; and
- 3) A copy of an advertisement entitled "Another Open Letter to Prime Minister Attlee" which appeared in several leading newspapers throughout the country prior to the Bevin statement on the Joint Commission. Additional copies are available.

HLS:MH
Encc.

NEW YORK Herald Tribune

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1945

Welles Says British Should Give Palestine Mandate to U. N. O.

Trusteeship Council Would Then Bring Arab and Jewish Leaders Together to Agree on Solution Worked Out, and To Be Enforced, by the U. N. O.

By Sumner Welles
Former Under Secretary of State

The government of the United States is officially committed to the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Both major parties have in their most recent platforms indorsed this policy.

An independent Jewish commonwealth of Palestine represents to many millions of people throughout the world the symbol of their passionate conviction. The failure to provide assurance that this ideal is going to be realized will result in dangerously increased tension in an already gravely troubled world.

Unfortunately, this government is as yet giving no sign that it is pursuing any clear and consistent policy which will facilitate the achievement of the objective to which it is pledged.

The President is urging the British government to permit the immediate immigration into Palestine of 100,000 of the homeless and destitute Jews in Europe who are unwilling or unable to return to their former homes.

The rescue and resettlement of these pitiful survivors is a moral obligation which rests upon all free peoples. The President's humanitarian desire is altogether praiseworthy.

U. S. Responsibility

But so long as this government continues to refuse to assume any responsibility for the security of the people of Palestine can his suggestion be regarded as constructive? For the British government strongly maintains that an Arab uprising will take place if any large-scale immigration into Palestine is now permitted. British military and material resources have reached a low ebb. Vital British interests are involved.

Is Great Britain to be expected alone to keep the peace in the Near East if hostilities break out as the result of a step against which she has repeatedly warned?

Are the true interests of the Jewish people going to be advanced by an insistence upon measures which threaten discord between the Anglo-Saxon powers?

President Roosevelt never believed that the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine was in any sense "hostile" to the Arab peoples. On the contrary, he believed that such a solution would prove beneficial to both Jews and Arabs. Moreover, he was confident that the surest way of finding a just and permanent solution of the problem of Palestine was through negotiations in which both Jews and Arabs would be fully heard. Some of the ablest leaders of Zionism have also held that the best hope of success lay in negotiations in which Jewish and Arab leaders would take part.

Antagonisms Growing

If the present floundering continues, the hope of a peaceful solution will become increasingly remote. The antagonism of the Arab leaders is daily becoming more envenomed. As the Arab states become increasingly aroused the position of some Jewish groups is becoming correspondingly extreme.

Certain facts seem by now to be plain.

The commonwealth of Palestine is not going to be established through any unilateral armed imposition on the part of the British government.

It will not be created as a result of mere protestations of sympathy on the part of the United States.

The commonwealth will only come into being when the United Nations Organization decides, as it must, that the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine is essential to world peace and

to world stability. Unless the International Trusteeship Council to be set up by the United Nations Organization is charged with the obligation of carrying out such a decision, the commonwealth of Palestine will continue to be an ideal and not a reality. Only the United Nations Organization itself, representing the concerted determination of the free peoples of the world, will possess the necessary authority to achieve a final solution of the Palestine problem.

The British government should, under Article 77 of the United Nations Charter, transfer its mandate over Palestine to the International Trusteeship Council as soon as the Council is established. Until then, if large-scale immigration into Palestine is to be permitted, the United States should share in the task of keeping the peace in that area.

From the moment the Council assumes jurisdiction the United Nations Organization should make available whatever armed force may be required to give assurance of security to all inhabitants of Palestine.

The Council should thereupon summon representative Jewish and Arab leaders for consultation as to the most desirable solution.

Should it prove impossible for the International Trusteeship Council, after full consultation with both Jewish and Arab leaders, to obtain their agreement to whatever solution it considers most equitable and desirable, the United Nations Organization should nevertheless decree that its decision be carried out.

Once this step has been taken the International Trusteeship Council should set up a broadly representative provisional government in Palestine and intrust it with all necessary authority until such time as free elections can be held and an independent and democratic government can commence to function.

Danger of Near East Outbreak

As soon as the Council is intrusted with a trusteeship over Palestine, unrestricted immigration should be permitted. Immigration should thereafter be interrupted only if the International Trusteeship Council, or the future government of Palestine, decides that such restriction is temporarily required for economic reasons. Such authoritative surveys as Dr. Lowdermilk's admirable report prove that immigration can be greatly increased over the year if an intensive program of irrigation and of power development is undertaken.

Unless the United Nations Organization immediately assumes the responsibility for finding a solution, the danger of an outbreak in the Near East is very real. Unless all of the major powers share in the responsibility for the settlement to be reached, the whole of the Near East will become a fertile field for power politics.

No people in the history of mankind have suffered more grievously than the Jewish people. If a free and peaceful world is within our grasp they must receive something better than illusory promises—something more tangible than hollow assurances of sympathy.

The declaration issued by the World Zionist Conference at London in August of this year is poignantly true: "Any delay in the solution of the problem, any attempt at half measures, any decision which, however favorable, remains on paper and is not faithfully and speedily implemented, will not meet the tragedy of the hour and will only increase suffering among Jews and tension in Palestine."

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date November 28, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

This memorandum will serve to inform you on some of the recent political developments in our work. Please advise every member of your Committee of the contents of the memorandum, which deals with three items:

1. The Palestine Resolution in Congress.
2. The "first fruits" of the announcement of the proposed Anglo-American Joint Commission of Inquiry on Palestine.
3. The Elmo Roper Poll of United States Jewish opinion on Palestine.

The Palestine Resolution in Congress

On October 26, Senators Taft, Wagner and Walsh introduced a resolution putting on record American policy on Palestine. The resolution stated that "the United States shall use its good offices to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that they may reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights."

This resolution was in line with the Republican and Democratic platforms on Palestine adopted in 1944; and with a resolution which had been introduced last year in Congress but postponed owing to pressure first from the War Department, then from the State Department, and finally, from President Roosevelt.

Before introducing the resolution, Senators Taft and Wagner conferred with President Truman and Secretary Byrnes. Both were asked whether they had any objection to the introduction of the resolution. Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes read the text and assured the two Senators that the Administration would not oppose its introduction and passage. It is understood that, when giving this assurance, the President and the Secretary of State had already agreed in principle to the appointment of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Jewish immigration into Palestine. They were already in receipt of a British proposal and had sent an American counter-proposal. Only details regarding the future Commission remained to be ironed out between the two governments. This was the situation in which Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes gave their agreement to the introduction of the resolution.

It will be noted that this was the time when feeling was running high in this country in connection with the publication on October 18th of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud exchange of letters. A great many people, Jews and non-Jews alike, considered the Roosevelt letter to Ibn Saud and the re-statement of the Administration's

position contained in Secretary Byrnes' statement of October 18th to be a contradiction of the publicly expressed policy of the Administration as proclaimed in President Roosevelt's statements of October 15, 1944 and March 16, 1945, in which he pledged himself to help re-establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. The Administration was accused in many circles of having "double-crossed" the Jews by giving them a public promise of support on the eve of the 1944 presidential election, but giving them no support whatsoever in fact.

When President Truman and Mr. Byrnes promised in October not to interfere with the resolution which Senators Taft, Wagner and Walsh were prepared to introduce, their action was viewed differently in various political circles. Some observers thought that it indicated a changed attitude. Others believed that it was done out of deference to public opinion which was aroused by the publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence, and that the Administration wanted to allow this resentment to cool off. It was also pointed out by various observers that the non-interference promise may have been given last October with an eye to the impending mayoralty election in New York.

On the basis, then, of the President's and the Secretary of State's promises, the three Senators introduced their resolution. The measure was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee where it was called up ten days later by Senator Wagner. A majority of Senators present were anxious to report out the resolution that day.

In the meantime President Truman and Foreign Secretary Bevin had jointly announced the proposed Commission. When Senators Wagner, and Taft, who although not a member of the Committee had been invited to the meeting, asked for a favorable report, Senator Tom Connally of Texas, Chairman of the Committee, immediately sought to prevent action. He was apparently acting at the request of the Executive Department because, according to reports, he quoted the President as being opposed to the resolution.

A subcommittee was appointed to deal with the question, made up of Senator Green, chairman; Senators Hatch, Tunnell, Austin and Wiley. Note the composition of this subcommittee. It did not include the sponsor of the resolution, Senator Wagner, in accordance with long-time Senatorial courtesy. Nor did it include Senator Barkley, the Senate Majority leader, who is a warm champion of the Wagner-Taft resolution; nor Senator LaFollette, a ranking member of the Committee, who also favors forthright action on Palestine.

Various suggestions were made by certain members of the Senate to water down the resolution by introducing in it ambiguities similar to those which had been used in the past to frustrate Jewish effort. When it became clear that these ambiguities would be regarded by the authors and friends of the resolution as being harmful rather than helpful, a tendency became noticeable to keep on postponing the whole matter. Four meetings of the full Committee and several meetings of the subcommittee dealt with the resolution, but it is still far from being reported out.

The subcommittee and the full committee held conferences with Secretary Byrnes, and it is understood that Mr. Byrnes informed them that the Administration does not wish such a resolution to pass. When confronted with his and President Truman's earlier promise of non-interference, the Secretary had no valid reply. Zionist leaders later were told that "you are again getting the double-cross just as you got it last year." It is understood that the White House is also participating in this game of trying to get the resolution postponed until after the Anglo-American Commission will actually have been appointed.

It is anticipated that when the Commission is so appointed, the White House and the State Department will come out with a further argument stating that, since a Commission has been appointed, one should not try to influence it by a Congressional resolution. -- This at a time when British Foreign Secretary Bevin has issued a statement presenting the British view as to what should be done about Palestine, a statement in which he sharply attacks Zionism and opposes a Jewish state. Diplomatic experts point out that this would mean that the British members of the Commission would be guided by what they know to be the desires of their government, whereas the American members of the Commission would be left without any such guidance.

On last Monday, November 26th, the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee failed to report. Some observers believe that they were instructed not to make a report. Therefore, action on the Resolution was postponed until the next meeting of the full Committee which will be this coming Monday, December 3rd. There is, of course, some possibility that our friends in the Foreign Relations Committee who stand firmly for the Resolution as introduced, in spite of the opposition of the Administration. But there is strong likelihood that most of the members of the Foreign Relations Committee will not break with the Administration on this issue.

Politicians point out that there is a moral in this story: the mayoralty election in New York City is over and there is no need for the moment to pay any attention to the claims of the Jews. It is true that another election is coming in November, 1946, but, the politicians say with a smile, there will be plenty of time before then to make another promise to the Jews.....

* * *

THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN JOINT COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

Following is the full text of a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch dated November 25, 1945:

British Troops Arrest Jewish Leaders in
Belsen Camp for Protest on Palestine Policy

PARIS, Nov. 25. (JTA) -- Leaders of the Central Jewish Committee in Bergen-Belsen, in the British zone in Germany, have been arrested for protesting against the new British policy on Palestine, it was revealed in a report received here today from the Committee.

The Blue-White Zionist flag was mishandled by British military policemen and thrown onto a heap of garbage, the report said, and a crowd of Jews, including many women, which gathered when a police car arrived to take away those arrested, were beaten by British military police with rubber truncheons.

The arrests were made on November 16, when the protest against the Bevin statement was to have been submitted to the British authorities in Belsen during the distribution of Red Cross parcels scheduled to take place on that day. However the German administrator of the camp, G. Grande, notified the military police of the plan and later appeared with British M.P.'s whom he asked to arrest Marian Lipke, the president of the Jewish Committee.

As soon as they arrived, the military police immediately removed banners bearing inscriptions in English reading: "Open the Gates of Palestine," which had been erected by the displaced Jews. Then, acting on the advice of the German administrator, they arrested not only the president of the Jewish Committee, but a number of other leaders of the committee and several of its personnel. They then took the Blue-White flag from the office of the committee and threw it into a pile of garbage sixty feet from the office.

Jewish Camp Office Raided; Typewriters and Correspondence Seized

Meanwhile, many of the thousands of Jews who are still in the Belsen camp gathered together and voiced their protest against the German administrator. The military police then let loose with their rubber truncheons, striking at random at men and women.

Several hours later, British troops, led by Grando, returned to the camp and arrested another member of the Jewish Committee, two young chalutzim and three Jewish girls, without explanation. They later returned, for a third time, and searched the office of the committee, seizing several typewriters, correspondence files and accounting ledgers.

No information concerning those arrested can be obtained, except it is known that during their interrogation at the headquarters of the military police, one was struck twice by a German policeman in the presence of a British officer.

Yesterday the following cable was sent by the Jewish Agency for Palestine to Secretary of State Byrnes:

"BRITISH TROOPS AND POLICE FORCIBLY ENTERED THREE PEACEFUL JEWISH LABOUR AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS WANTONLY BEAT HUNDREDS MEN AND WOMEN SHOT AND KILLED FOUR PERSONS WOUNDED MANY OTHERS WITHOUT ANY REASON OR PROVOCATION AND ALTHOUGH SETTLERS AND NUMEROUS FRIENDS FROM NEIGHBORHOOD WHO ASSEMBLED THERE WERE ENTIRELY UNARMED stop FORCES ALSO SMASHED FURNITURE AND DAMAGED HUTS stop THIS COMES AFTER SHOOTING IN TELAVIV LAST WEEK OF SIX JEWS DEAD AND WOUNDING FIFTY OTHERS MANY OF THEM CHILDREN UNDER TEN ALTHOUGH NOT SINGLE SHOT FIRED BY JEWS stop IMPRESSION GROWING MANDATORY GOVERNMENT IS INTRODUCING REGIME OF TERROR WITH VIEW INTIMIDATING JEWS OF PALESTINE INTO SUBMISSION TO WHITE PAPER POLICY AND CESSATION JEWISH IMMIGRATION stop RESPECTFULLY REQUEST BRING ABOVE INFORMATION AND OUR SOLEMN PROTEST TO NOTICE UNITED STATES SENATE AND HOUSE REPRESENTATIVES."

If Jews in Europe, despite their sufferings of the last twelve years, dare to express their desire to go to Palestine they are beaten by British military police. If the Yishuv dares to raise its voice in protest, the answer is a campaign of terror by the British military. Thus is launched a campaign of intimidation against Jews who either wish to go to Palestine or want others to come to Palestine. Here are the first indications of what is really intended by the British Government. These are the first fruits of Mr. Bevin's statement announcing the proposed Commission of Inquiry.

* * *

The Elmo Roper Poll of United States Jewish Opinion on Palestine

In his statement Mr. Bevin differentiated between "Jews" and "Zionists". The falsehood that there is a wide area of disagreement among Jews on the question of the Jewish State was exploded by the Elmo Roper Poll on this subject. The results of the survey were published in the New York Herald-Tribune on November 22nd. Herewith is a major portion of Mr. Roper's column:

"One of the knottiest problems facing President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee at their recent conferences was undoubtedly the issue of Palestine and a Jewish state. This is no new issue, but the plight of the Jews, particularly in Europe, has been highlighted and made more acute by Hitler's persecution of them.

"The question has long been regarded as one full of political dynamite in the Near East. It has, from time to time, been the subject of political debate in the United States, and the statement has sometimes been made that even the Jews in the United States were split nearly evenly for and against the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

"In an effort to find out what American Jews actually did think on this subject, a nation-wide survey was recently taken among Jews only. No effort was made to gather opinions as to the merits of the conflicting Arab and Jewish claims. Opinions were asked only on the question of whether such a state would be good or bad for the Jews themselves. The results show an overwhelming majority believing that the establishment of such a state would be good. Respondents were asked:

"Here are two statements. Please tell me with which one you most nearly agree:

1. A Jewish state in Palestine is a good thing for the Jews, and every possible effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish state, or commonwealth, for those who want to settle there.
2. Jews are a religious group only and not a nation, and it would be bad for the Jews to try to set up a Jewish state in Palestine or anywhere else."

	Pro Jewish State P.C.	Anti Jewish State P.C.	Undecided P.C.
TOTAL	80.1	10.5	9.4
BY AGE			
21 to 34	77.9	13.6	8.5
35 to 49	79.1	12.4	8.5
50 and over	82.9	6.0	11.1
BY ECONOMIC LEVEL			
Prosperous	73.9	17.5	8.6
Upper middle	75.4	14.6	10.0
Lower middle	84.1	8.0	7.9
Poor	79.3	8.8	11.9
BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA			
Northeast	81.0	9.9	9.1
Middle West	80.1	11.4	8.5
South	67.0	18.5	14.5
Far West	83.2	5.8	11.0
BY LANGUAGE ABILITY			
Speaks English well	78.9	12.1	9.0
Speaks English brokenly	84.3	4.6	11.1
Does not read English	80.0	7.6	12.4

The poll indicates that 8 out of 9 Jews who have any opinion in the matter are pro-Zionist. No poll within recent years has shown such unanimity of opinion. Please publicize the results of this poll in your community.

Regards.

HLS:MH

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date December 10, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

This week's issue of Life (December 10, 1945) carries an editorial on Palestine entitled "A Dream" which distorts the Zionist purpose with a callous disregard for the truth.

This damaging editorial must be dealt with immediately. The editors of Life must be made to understand that vast numbers of Americans are outraged by the misleading statements and the sly insinuations contained in the piece. (You will recall that a similar article in the Reader's Digest was the target of a letter campaign last year, and that the publisher was forced to carry a second article on Palestine which presented the true facts in the situation.) It is imperative that Life be flooded with letters of protest which refute the flagrant distortions contained in the editorial.

The comment contained in this memorandum should be used by you and your friends in the preparation of your letters to Life. However, we cannot emphasize too strongly that these letters must be in your own words.

Letters should be sent to

The Editors
Life Magazine
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, N. Y.

Please act on this immediately.

I. The editorial gets off to a bad start by making the following statement:

"Many, perhaps most, of these Jews (Jews left after the Hitler massacres in Europe) do not want to go to Palestine; indeed, the Zionists are advertising in Britain and America for enough immigrants to complete their current quotas."

The charge that Zionists are advertising in Great Britain and America for immigrants to make up a quota cannot be characterized as anything but a lie. The only possible grounds for this distortion are some recent appeals made by some Zionist leaders for a contingent of American youth to go to Palestine. This appeal was made, not because there are not enough immigrants to go to Palestine, but because the leaders regard the American youth as a valuable element in the upbuilding of Palestine and would like

to see Americans as well as others participate in the Jewish renaissance. This has absolutely nothing to do with the question of displaced Jews in Europe.

As to the situation in Europe, all reports throughout the period of the war made by Jews or non-Jews, Zionists or non-Zionists, prove the very opposite of the statement made in Life's editorial, namely, they all emphasize that while some of the Jews are ready to go to the United States or any other democratic country, most of them prefer to go to Palestine.

These opinions were confirmed by the thoroughgoing report to President Truman on the plight of the displaced Jews in Europe which was delivered toward the end of August, 1945 by Earl G. Harrison, American member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. In this report he declared in the strongest terms that the Jews in Germany and Austria must be evacuated; that while every effort should be made to repatriate those who wish to return to their former countries, and that while the doors of the United States and Great Britain should be opened to a reasonable number, Palestine must be regarded as the chief haven. The report stated that for a great part of European Jewry, Palestine was the only "acceptable, or even decent, solution for their future." He came to this conclusion "on a purely humanitarian basis" without reference to the ideological or political aspects of Zionism. In closing his report he again emphasized the urgency of taking immediate action:

"In conclusion, I wish to repeat that the main solution, in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all non-repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria, who wish it, to Palestine. In order to be effective, this plan must not be long delayed. The urgency of the situation should be recognized. It is inhuman to ask people to continue to live for any length of time under their present conditions. The evacuation of the Jews of Germany and Austria to Palestine will solve the problem of the individuals involved and will also remove a problem from the military authorities who have had to deal with it."

The essence of this view has been corroborated by the testimony of the following leading responsible persons who have made statements during the last half-year:

Harvey D. Gibson, President of the Manufacturers Trust Company. As representative of the Red Cross, he made a survey of displaced persons in Germany at the request of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. On October 26th he made a public statement to the effect that of the displaced Jews he had seen "at least 95 percent" wanted to go to Palestine. (New York Times, October 26, 1945).

Judge Simon Rifkind, advisor to General Eisenhower on Jewish matters. On November 2nd, after a visit to a camp for displaced Jews, he said: "Without Palestine the problem of displaced persons in Europe is insoluble. The preponderance of the desire to emigrate to Palestine is overwhelming; no one desires to remain in Germany. If Palestine were opened at once they would forget all their sufferings and privations." (New York Herald Tribune, November 3, 1945).

Rabbi Leo Baeck, Chief Rabbi of Berlin. Rabbi Baeck, a non-Zionist, who had been interned in the Theresienstadt Camp, declared in London on July 5, 1945 that none of the Jews in that camp wanted to return to Germany; all wished to go to Palestine.

Harry Greenstein, former Deputy Director of the Welfare Division of UNRRA. On June 8, 1945 Mr. Greenstein declared: "The Jews of Europe have been liberated, but they have no sense of freedom and no sense of security. They want to go to Palestine because it is the one country where they can find a new life."

Many statements on the part of the displaced Jews themselves could be quoted. They explain their desire to go to Palestine for permanent settlement for the following reasons: Some already have relatives there who will make their adjustment easier and more secure. Others are dominated by the idea of bringing up their children in a friendly atmosphere as self-respecting persons released from the strains, abnormalities and persecutions which they themselves have experienced as members of a minority. Some wish to go to Palestine because there is no other place immediately prepared to receive them and because they doubt whether they will live long enough to learn about the choices which might possibly be offered to them through new investigations.

II. The following statement by Life of the Zionist position constitutes a distortion of the character and aims of the Zionist movement:

"... The Zionists have redoubled their zeal and become more implacably nationalistic than ever. Instead of a refuge and a 'homeland' they now demand a full-fledged state, with an army, a foreign policy and all the other accoutrements of nationhood."

Zionists have not changed their position. It is the British who have violated international commitments. Zionists are demanding the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate entrusted by the League of Nations to Great Britain which, in accordance with the terms of the Mandate, was to "be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home." Leading British statesmen during the period of the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference unequivocally declared that the ultimate purpose of the Mandate was the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth or state. A most authoritative statement came from Lloyd George who was Prime Minister at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued. His declaration was as follows:

"There has been a good deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine. I have already quoted the words actually used by Mr. Balfour when he submitted the Declaration to the Cabinet for its approval. They were not challenged at the time by any member present, and there could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish State should 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. The notion 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."

There is incontrovertible evidence that the American Government, which participated in the formulation of the Balfour Declaration, also understood it to mean the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State. This is indicated in President Wilson's well-known pronouncement, made on March 2, 1919: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." This statement reflected the view of the body of American experts, known as the Commission of Inquiry, at the Peace Conference, which two months before, in January 1919, made a comprehensive recommendation for the settlement of Near East problems. Full provision was made for Arab aspirations for independence in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia. As to Palestine, the recommendation read:

"That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact."

Zionists are not demanding a whit more than this. They are demanding a reiteration of the right for free entry into Palestine, and full opportunity for colonization and economic development so that they may re-establish Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth in which all inhabitants of the country without distinction of race, religion or nationality, will enjoy equal civil and religious rights.

Zionists are bitterly opposed to the 1939 White Paper, not only because it repudiates the idea of the ultimate establishment of a Jewish state, but because it prohibits further Jewish immigration, limits the right to purchase land to an area comprising only five percent of the total land area of Palestine, and surrounds their residence in other parts of Palestine with restrictive discriminatory regulations. It reduces their status to that of a permanent minority in the country and proposes in the near future to set up a Palestine State which would in effect be an Arab State in the light of the fact that, according to the White Paper, the Arabs are to remain a majority.

A great part of the Jewish population in Palestine have kin in Europe. Their struggle is not merely for an abstract idea of nationalism, but to secure for their uprooted brethren the homeland which has been promised to them. The Jews of Palestine have been witness to deportations carried out by the British Government with unrestrained cruelty. It should be borne in mind that while hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe must emigrate or be ~~deported~~, the British Government is no longer issuing any certificates.

The editorial recommends that a "generous gesture" be made to relieve the tension of the situation, and suggests that this "gesture" would be the internationalization of Palestine. We submit that this would be an empty gesture. It would offer no relief to the Jews in Europe, no immediate help; this is simply another way of postponing action. Obviously it would take a long time to consider the suggestion and the probabilities are that it would in the end be rejected. No one who is acquainted with the situation believes that Great Britain has any intention of altruistically relinquishing control over Palestine, and there is no indication that the United States is ready to challenge Britain's control of Palestine.

It would seem that Life expects the Jewish people to be the "magnanimous" party

in the situation. After six million of their number have been annihilated, and with the doors of their internationally guaranteed Homeland closed to their pitiful remnants, the Jews -- according to Life -- are now to give up their just aspirations in Palestine... This suggestion is a new low in cynicism.

III. The editorial suggests that Palestine be made an international center of life. The fact is that under the Mandate it is already an international center in a cultural sense. English, Hebrew and Arabic are all official languages, an unlimited degree of cultural and religious autonomy is permitted, and the Christian communities in Palestine have every right to organize communities and to conduct educational and philanthropic work. The program of the Zionists insures the continuance of this liberal attitude toward cultural and religious diversity. Zionists are ready to accept international controls which would guarantee this, as well as complete equality of civil rights. It might be mentioned that the Jewish municipality of Tel-Aviv already includes an Arab section where it provides schooling in Arabic, with Arabic teachers, on the same basis that it does for Jewish districts.

The editorial, though expanding on the work of the nearby American University of Beirut, fails to mention the splendid achievements of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, which has become an important factor for the development of science and culture in the Middle East. It may also be noted that one of the first departments in the Hebrew University was its Oriental Department, devoted to Arab and Islamic culture, and the Hebrew University Library has one of the largest collections of Islamica and Arabica in the world. Besides offering courses to the students in various aspects of Arabic life and literature, it also has done considerable extension work in spreading knowledge of Arabic and Arab life among the people at large.

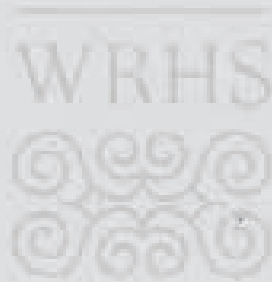
IV. In indicating the benefits of its proposal to internationalize Palestine, the editorial says: "The Arabs will resent this new intrusion; but they would no longer fear Jewish dominance and their dismal standard of life would be raised."

This way of stating the matter insinuates that the "dismal standard of life" of the Arab peasant in Palestine is somehow due to the presence of the Jews. The opposite is the case. All reports indicate beyond any shadow of doubt that the standard of life of the Arab masses in Palestine is far higher than it is in neighboring Arab countries, and that, furthermore, improvement of the Arab standard of life in Palestine is due mainly to the Jewish development there.

Moreover, the sentence repeats the oft-quoted allegation that the main reason for Arab opposition to Zionism is fear of Jewish predominance. But the present political leaders of the Arabs have consistently stated that they are opposed to any further Jewish immigration on any ground whatsoever. The Arab leaders have taken the position that "Palestine is an Arab country and must remain so." They have declared that they are the "owners" of Palestine and that this alleged "ownership" gives them the absolute right to rule. In 1923, when the British offered an Arab Agency analogous to the Jewish Agency, the Arab representatives curtly refused, asserting: "The Arab owners of the country cannot see their way to accept a proposal which tends to place them on an equal footing with the alien Jews." In 1936, in testimony before the Royal Commission, Auni Bey again stated that: "We do not accept the formula laid down by the Jews that there should be no domination by Jews over Arabs or by Arabs over Jews." It was his position that the Arabs had the right to dominate Palestine and could make no concessions.

In sum, the editorial in Life is, like the appointment of the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission, another way of delaying any real solution of the problem. It offers no immediate, concrete help for the displaced Jews of Europe and makes a proposal which is bound to be opposed by the British and the Arabs even more strongly than by the Jews. It is hardly likely that it will receive any support on the part of Americans. It is not only "a dream"; it is a will-of-the-wisp fantasy. It cannot possibly do any good; but it obviously can do much harm in delaying a practical solution.

HLS:MLD



Another Open Letter To Prime Minister Attlee

WE TAKE the liberty of addressing this, our second open letter, to you at this time so that you may have the benefit of the views of an overwhelming majority of Americans on a matter of life or death for an entire people. We refer to the question of Palestine, which will surely figure in your conversations with our President.

We assume that your officials in this country have informed you of America's reaction to the reports that your Government plans to continue with slight modification the Chamberlain Government's inhuman White Paper policy on Palestine. If you were presented with an accurate picture, you must know that the voices of millions—Jewish and non-Jewish voices—are today raised in angry protest.

We trust that you have been reading the cables, letters and resolutions which leaders of American public opinion have been sending to 10 Downing Street during the past weeks; that the British Embassy in Washington has kept you posted on the communications sent to your Government recently by countless thousands of American citizens, and that you have seen accounts of the unprecedented mass demonstrations held throughout America—all of them demanding that your Government now fulfill its oft-repeated pledge of a Jewish Palestine.

If all this be known to you, there should be no doubt in your mind that the American people will continue to insist that justice be done to the Jews, and will not be deluded by devices which repudiate your country's solemn obligations in order to appease feudal Arab rulers.

We Have a Right to Speak Plainly

It is ironic and tragic that these words must be addressed to you—a Prime Minister who was swept into office on a platform which endorsed all Jewish aspirations in Palestine without qualification or equivocation. We recall with what forthrightness and courage the leaders of the Labor Government once denounced the very policy which is today being implemented in Palestine. And we believe that the horrible death of almost six million Jewish men, women and children, as well as the suffering of the remnants of European Jewry, entitle us to speak as plainly as we do here.

A great responsibility rests upon you today, Mr. Prime Minister. The decisions you make now will influence the course of human events for generations to come. If all our hopes for a world of peace and security, all our plans for democratic progress and economic prosperity are not to be shattered once again, we must build today on the solid foundation of justice. For without justice there can be no peace. *And unless the remnants of the Jewish people are given the opportunity to live a normal life in their own land, free from the horrors of persecution and homelessness—there will be no justice, and there can be no peace.*

The Choice Is Yours

You must choose now, Mr. Attlee. You can try to build Britain's power and prestige along the lines laid down by Tory Colonial Imperialism. In the Middle East that would mean continuing Britain's present unreliable alliance with Hitler's supporters and sympathizers—the potentates, tyrants and desert chiefs who have been made to seem respectable by officials of your Colonial Office and our State Department. You can serve the enemies of progress and democracy, who keep their unfortunate subjects enslaved in a feudal society and who fight the very ideals proclaimed in England by your Party and practiced in Palestine by the Jewish people. The British Colonial Office, which, alas, sponsored the Arab League as an instrument to block Zionist progress, can continue to bolster this reactionary group to power and influence. That would undoubtedly please men like Ibn Saud and the pro-Nazi Mufti.

But we submit, Mr. Prime Minister, that the results of such a course will be tragic in the extreme—not only for the Jewish people, but for Britain as well. We hope you noticed that the mobs which rioted in Cairo, Alexandria, other cities of Egypt and Tripoli—mobs incited to violence by the Arab League—began by shouting and attacking Jews alone; later, however, as their fury increased, the rioters attacked Christian churches and shouted for the withdrawal of British forces from Egypt . . . And so, the Arab League, though a product of the 18th century mentality of the British Colonial Office, may prove to be something of a Frankenstein monster.

What, then, shall it be, Mr. Attlee? A free and democratic Jewish State, in which all men regardless of race, color or creed shall enjoy equal civil and religious rights—which will provide a permanent solution for the Jewish problem—which will bring democratic practices and a richer, fuller life to all the peoples of the Middle East?

Or the old imperialistic method of power politics—callously disregarding international commitments—trading blood for oil—first nurturing, then appeasing, and finally suppressing pro-fascist Arab chieftains?

And if the latter course is followed, will Britain's honor survive?

The American people can understand and sympathize with your Government's request for help in the solution of Britain's economic problems. But many Americans are now asking themselves whether this country is not being called upon to support a bankrupt imperialist policy at variance with everything your Party stands for. It is to be regretted that recent events in the Middle East have not served to allay such fears.

Proposed Investigation Is a Mockery

Americans are also disturbed by recent reports that it is now proposed to create a Joint Anglo-American Commission to "study" the situation of the Jews in Europe and their emigration needs. What facts do you suppose will emerge from such an inquiry that have not been fully established at the various international conferences on refugees or by the Harrison Report—other than the information that additional numbers of Jews have died because the Western Democracies have decided to "study" once more, rather than act?

What is urgently needed, Mr. Attlee, is not another roving expedition or a further time-consuming investigation, but immediate concrete measures in conformity with a policy long established and clearly defined by valid international agreements.

A Constructive Program

What is called for is:

1. The immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine as requested by President Truman, as a first step.
2. The abandonment or revocation forthwith by the British Government of the White Paper of 1939.
3. A joint reaffirmation by the British and American Governments of their intention to pursue a Palestine policy in keeping with the original purpose and intent of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate.
4. Following such a joint pronouncement, it would be most fitting to constitute a Joint Commission to explore ways and means by which both countries may cooperate in the implementation of the announced policy in the light of their respective responsibilities and interests. We hope, too, that the United States may find it possible to cooperate in such economic projects as would be of benefit not only to the people of Palestine and to the possibilities of Jewish settlement there, but to the peoples of the entire Middle East, whose countries are poverty-stricken and under-developed.

We ask, Mr. Prime Minister, that you act now. We pray that common sense, decency and honor will prevail.

Abba Hillel Silver, Stephen S. Wise
Joint Chairmen

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Constituent Organizations: B'nai B'rith, Women's Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi Organization of America, Poale Zion of America, Zionist Organization of America.

To Christian Youth

By Helen Gahagan Douglas

Congresswoman from the Fourteenth California District

*An address delivered at Christ Church, New York City, on
October 14, 1945, at the Youth Meeting of the Greater New York
Conference of the American Christian Palestine Committee.*

To Christian Youth

By HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

WE LIVE in a world of overwhelming and frightening change. The long agony of the great war, it is now clear, has by no means neatly solved all the acute social, economic and national problems which continue to cry for answers. The atomic bomb opens before us the terrible prospect that non-cooperation among the nations will lead to a total war annihilating all civilization. At this turning point in human history where can we look for guidance? President Truman in a recent speech to his Missouri neighbors stated pithily and movingly the great moral truth which alone can enable us to find the road to peace and freedom: "We may make mistakes. We may have difficulties, but I am asking you to exercise that admonition which we will find in the gospels and which Christ told us was the way to get along in the world: 'Do by your neighbor as you would be done by!'"

Never before in human history has the need been so acute for practicing this Golden Rule which is the very heart of Christianity. Never before has the impact of great and shattering forces made so clear the role religious values must play in human life if human life is to survive on this planet. Christianity today faces perhaps the greatest challenge in its history; it must make the Golden Rule work in a world that has grown cynical and callous.

If we are to attempt — and it is young people upon whom the burden of that attempt will fall primarily — if we are to attempt to remake our world in the image of true Christian faith, we cannot fail to see as one of the test problems con-

fronting us, the question of the future of the Jewish people. It was out of Judaism that Christianity grew; it was on the Old Testament as well as the New that this country and democracy throughout the world were based. It was because of their undeviating adherence to their Old Testament heritage that Jews remained a group apart through the ages, and it was because their life was so bound up with the words and the vision of the Book of Books that during twenty centuries of dispersion they continued to see the goal of Jewish history as the restoration of Jewish national life and the renaissance of Jewish ethical and cultural values in the promised land of their ancestors, the Land of Israel -- Palestine.

For over six decades now Jews have been returning to the Land of Israel. They have done noble and extraordinary things there. A British Chaplain, Ronald Grange-Bennet, who served for three years with British forces in Palestine, said recently that "the Jews of Palestine are the most fascinating collection of human beings on earth." They are indeed unique: they are in their overwhelming majority workers and farmers but they have not lost the intellectuality and the esthetic gifts so characteristic of their people. They base their education and their lives upon the ancient writings of their people, but they are evolving a cooperative agricultural and industrial economy which has much to give by way of example to the rest of the world. Writing of the Jewish collective and cooperative villages in Palestine, Sir E. John Russell, England's greatest agricultural expert, says: "The Jewish settlers have done far more than making a home for themselves and their community; they have lighted a torch to show the way through some of the obscure and difficult problems awaiting us in the postwar world."

Jews in Palestine today are making the Bible's prophecies

come true; they are consciously attempting to build a society worthy of their ethical heritage. Because they know that spiritual values must pervade every aspect of life, they have made a religion of labor and have applied themselves with self-sacrificing zeal and devotion to the reclamation of the neglected soil of Palestine. Theirs is "the greatest ameliorative project of this century," says Dr. Norman Maclean, former Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. "The most remarkable example of soil conservation in the modern world," says Dr. Walter Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of our U. S. Soil Conservation Service.

The interests of the Jews of Palestine and those of their Arab neighbors are complementary rather than conflicting: the standards of those Arab neighbors have already been appreciably raised, and the effect of Jewish progress in Palestine is destined, impartial observers feel, to be a force of revolutionary significance in the underdeveloped and underpopulated lands of the Near East. "Palestine," to quote Dr. Lowdermilk again, "can serve as the example, the demonstration, the lever, that will lift the entire Near East from its present desolate condition to a dignified place in a free world."

ALL THIS IS, so to speak, the positive aspect of the Palestine question. There is enough in this positive aspect to make every progressive American an ardent supporter of the great democratic and cultural effort Jews are putting forth in Palestine. Peace and democracy are both indivisible, and peace and democracy will both be imperilled by the continuance in the strategic Middle East of the present semi-feudal, reactionary regimes under which national wealth is concentrated in the hands of some few per cent of the population, and illiteracy, disease and grinding poverty are

everywhere rampant. What Jewish Palestine has already done by force of example to change these conditions gives us assurance as Americans that it is the key to the democratization of the Arab lands and that its development is, therefore, to America's own interest.

But there is a compelling and tragic and very timely aspect to this Palestine question that I have not mentioned thus far and that is, I am certain, in the minds of every one of you. The unsolved question of the Jewish position in the world has reached a ghastly climax in our day — a climax so inhuman and staggering in its cruelty and complete disregard of moral values that it is still — despite the documentation of newspapers, judicial trials and testimony by many witnesses — almost inconceivable. No reader of the daily press needs to be told any longer how methodically the Nazis proceeded to exterminate the Jews of Europe, using new scientific equipment carefully prepared for that purpose. They succeeded better in this than in any other of their aims, and the ashes of six million Jewish dead fertilize fields in Poland and Germany. There is no Jewish family left intact in any land from France and Holland in the west of Europe, to Greece, Yugoslavia and Russia in the east. There are no economic positions, no homes, for the few shattered survivors to come back to. But there is something Hitler left that they return to — a poisonous legacy of anti-Semitic doctrine that is making life in Europe impossible for the million and a half Jewish survivors of Hitler's holocaust. In the Poland Jewish partisans helped to free, the Poland nine-tenths of whose Jews were murdered, Jews must today flee from pogrom, assassination and intimidation.

The ancient longing for a home of their own in the land of their fathers has been invested with a new and terrible

urgency for those remaining Jews of Europe. You need only read Earl G. Harrison's report submitted to President Truman on the condition of the hundred thousand Jews still in camps in Germany, to realize how for them Palestine is the magic name, the desired goal, the one place on earth which offers home and refuge. It is the land where most of them have relatives eager to shelter them; the land where a new productive civilization with room for millions of more working hands, is being built up; the land sacred in tradition and prayer; the land solemnly promised as the National Home of the Jewish people in the Covenant of the League of Nations — a fact too often obscured in the interests of British appeasement politics or Arab chauvinist propaganda. The Allied Statesmen who made the last peace intended to give the Jews the opportunity to reconstitute their national life in their historic homeland. Lloyd George's memoirs make that incontestably clear, as do any number of statements by men like Woodrow Wilson, Arthur James Balfour, Robert Cecil. The spokesman of the Arabs at the Versailles Peace Conference assented to this point of view. It was clear to him, as to the Allied statesmen, that Palestine was no Arab land; it had a universal character as the birthplace of Christianity, a historically Jewish connection as the ancient and never forgotten home of a people which had never severed its ties, either physical or spiritual, with it.

WHAT was true at the end of the last war is equally true now. Equally true and even more essential to human decency and human progress. The case has been put very strikingly in a Resolution adopted last December by the British Labor Party whose leaders now govern Britain and cannot, it seems, find in themselves the moral strength to carry out the pledge they so recently gave with full under-

standing of all its implications. Last December a resolution adopted by the annual conference of the Labor Party said: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe." Last April, reaffirming this pledge, another resolution called upon the British Government "to remove the present unjustifiable barriers on immigration, and to announce without delay proposals for a future Palestine, in which it has the full sympathy and support of the American and Russian Governments."

Will this be done now when a hopeless future stares in the face of European Jewry, when every consideration of mercy, justice — yes, and even political logic calls for a Jewish Palestine?

I can end only by telling you of a little report from Palestine I saw the other day, which left an indelible impression on my mind. It was written by a woman who had gone to meet a train bringing some 1300 new refugee immigrants to Palestine. She stood with an old man waiting with tears in his eyes for a grand-daughter, the only living member of the large family he had left behind him in Europe; with a physician whose wife had been gassed to death in Germany but whose son had somehow escaped and was coming to him; with hundreds of other tremulous, bereft human beings, waiting for some one miraculously rescued relative. Then the newcomers began to descend from the train — an orphaned girl from Italy, an orphaned lad from France,

a youth who when asked from where he came, replied: "What difference does that make? What matters is where I have come to, not where I've come from. I've come home."

He stretched out his hands in joy — and the woman saw the number scorched into his flesh — 108,223 — his slave number in a labor camp. There were such numbers on the hands of all the 1300 newcomers, on the hands, too, of a little boy of six, who came shyly up to the woman and told her, in reply to her question, that he had come originally from a town in Poland. He was six years old and his eight year old sister was with him. "She and I," he said simply, "are the only Jews left of all the thousands in our town. Just she and I."

And to help to give new life to these tragic children in the land of their people's beginnings is without question an integral part of our responsibility as Christian Americans dedicated to the building of a better world.

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