



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series II: Harold P. Manson File (Zionism Files), 1940-1949, undated.

Sub-series A: Main Manson File, 1940-1949.

Reel
105

Box
37

Folder
286

American Zionist Emergency Council, communications to
chairmen of local emergency committees, 1946.

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

Mr. H. Manson

MEMORANDUM

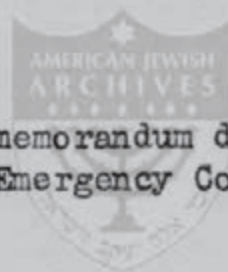
To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council Date May 27, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed for your information is copy of a memorandum dated May 23,
sent with attachments to Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:SS
Encs.

WRHS



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date May 23, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The national conference of local emergency committee chairmen, held in Washington yesterday, arrived at far-reaching decisions, which will determine the nature of our work for the coming critical weeks. As Dr. Abba Hillel Silver pointed out at the conference, the next month will be one of the most crucial ever faced by our people -- for the future of 100,000 displaced European Jews will be decided by what takes place within that period.

The British Government and our own State Department are employing delaying tactics to frustrate President Truman's request that these 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine immediately. The technique of further "consultations" is being used, not only by the British, but also by the State Department, despite the fact that President Truman's statement of April 30, 1946 made it clear that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's recommendation with regard to 100,000 Jews was not a subject for further study, but should be acted upon at once.

The difficult task facing us now can be simply stated: we must force the State Department to follow the line of policy laid down by the President -- and not by paying lip service to the President's statement; we must also move President Truman to direct all Departments of the United States Government to implement the action he requested.

The attached press release on yesterday's meeting includes the declaration issued by the conference, which should govern our activities of the next four or five weeks. Please read that declaration carefully and see to it that the members of your committee are informed of its contents.

To carry out the line of action indicated above and by the conference's declaration, all of us must now join in an unprecedented program of mass activity. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the activities launched by the American Zionist Emergency Council during the coming weeks must be duplicated in the local Jewish communities of America.

Following are a number of suggestions for a program of action which we urge your committee to initiate immediately:

1. On June 12th, there will be a mass demonstration at Madison Square Garden, New York City, to demand that the 100,000 displaced Jews be moved to Palestine immediately. We urge you to organize similar rallies in your own community during the week of June 10th, or as close to that period as possible. You will understand, of course, that this office is in no position to supply every community with speakers. However, we will assist you in every way possible. We recommend that your spokesmen at these meetings be prominent local Christian and Jewish leaders.

2. A steady stream of letters and telegrams must pour in on the President and the Department of State. Please mobilize your entire community for this effort.

Letters to the President should urge that he stand firm on his call for the immediate transfer of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, and insist that his policy be carried out by the State Department. The President should also be told that the Near East Division of the State Department is following a line of action which nullifies his humanitarian stand. It should be pointed out that, on the basis of past performance, we have every reason to fear that the Near East Division -- particularly its head, Loy Henderson -- is sabotaging the President's request.

Letters to Secretary of State Byrnes should also include this latter point. The Secretary of State should be asked to insist that his Department carry out the President's policy at once. It should be stressed that further procrastination cannot be tolerated, that the situation of the Jews in the DP camps is such that additional delay may produce a catastrophe.

3. Local leaders of both the Democratic and Republican Parties should be urged to bring this pressing problem to the attention of their State and National Chairmen, and to request the latter to take action in the present situation in conformity with the pledges made by both political parties at their last national conventions.

4. Every effort must be made to obtain the cooperation of your local newspapers and radio stations during the coming weeks, so that the citizens of your city may be made aware of all the facts. By receiving complete information they will be prepared to join in the demand that Jews who still languish in concentration camps be given the immediate opportunity to rebuild their lives in Palestine.

5. Both Christian ministers and rabbis should be urged to preach on this subject repeatedly.

6. You will shortly receive from us copy for an advertisement. As soon as you receive this material, please take steps to obtain the signatures of leading Christians of your community and then insert the text, together with the signatures, in your local newspaper as a paid advertisement.

7. Please try to secure as many resolutions as possible on this subject. All types of organizations should be approached -- labor groups, church organizations, service clubs, etc. All should be asked to send copies of their resolutions to the President and to the State Department.

- - - - -

We urge you to keep us fully informed of all steps taken in your community to carry out the above program.

- - - - -

At yesterday's meeting in Washington, there were a number of calls for comment on Prime Minister Attlee's request for American military aid as

a pre-requisite to the fulfillment of the Joint Committee's recommendation with regard to the 100,000 displaced Jews. Many of those present in Washington pointed out that members of Congress and others had been seeking information on this matter. We are, therefore, attaching a brief analysis of Prime Minister Attlee's statement, which we trust you will find helpful in supplying molders of public opinion with information.

- - - - -

Please remember that the very lives of thousands of Jews depend on our willingness to work tirelessly during the coming weeks along the lines indicated above. The task before us is enormous and the obstacles numerous, but let it not be said that there were things we might have done that we did not do.

Regards.



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* June 3, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Our fight against the State Department's delaying tactics with regard to the recommendation that 100,000 Jews be admitted into Palestine immediately is now under way. We are confident that we can depend upon you to carry out the suggestions contained in this memorandum, and subsequent communications, quickly and effectively.

As you have already been informed, the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs of our State Department -- whose experts supply the leaders of our Government with "information" about the Palestine situation -- follows the British line closely, and is currently attempting to delay action on the matter of the 100,000 displaced Jews by employing the technique of further "consultations."

If we join in a really vigorous effort, we may be able to bring about drastic changes in the Near Eastern Office. In any case we must make it clear to the President that implementation of the action he called for is being blocked by men in his own State Department -- and we must also indicate that the State Department's maneuvers are known and understood by large numbers of Americans.

Will you, therefore, lose no time in having postcards addressed to the President printed, distributed, and signed by citizens of your community, both Jews and non-Jews. Try to have as many of these postcards as possible sent to the White House quickly. Use the attached copy as the text of the message to the President which will appear on the postcards.

Regards.

HLS:MMH
Enc.

POSTCARD TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Address (on face of card)

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Message (on reverse side)

Dear Mr. President:

I am one of countless numbers of Americans who urge that 100,000 displaced European Jews be admitted into Palestine immediately, as you requested and as the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry recommended. I am shocked by the behavior of the U. S. Department of State, which is employing the delaying tactics of the British Government.

It would seem that the present Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs of our State Department has sought to frustrate every effort to open the doors of Palestine to the suffering Jewish people. It has acted in opposition to the wishes of the American people, as expressed in two resolutions of the Congress of the United States.

I urge you, Mr. President, to end this lamentable situation by taking all the necessary steps to insure that the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs of the State Department will hereafter carry out the policy on Palestine enunciated by you and by Congress.

Respectfully yours,

Name.....Address.....

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

Ed. H. Haroon

84
b

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date July 23, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is a copy of a letter just received from Mr. Harold Goldenberg of Minneapolis, Minnesota, who is now in Palestine. Mr. Goldenberg gives a graphic description of the British military attack on the Yishuv. I thought you would like to have this eye witness account by an American.

Regards.

HLS:EK
Enc.

July 1, 1946

We left Haifa on June 27th, by taxi to Tel Aviv and then to Jerusalem. This was to be our first quick look at the country. I sat with the driver, a German refugee of thirteen years standing. With great pride and alternate scorn, he pointed out every stone, blade of grass and tree on the way to Tel Aviv. We quickly learned to distinguish between an Arab farm or village and Jewish farms and Kibbutzim. Wherever there are trees or greenness or thriving fields it is Jewish -- where the houses are white, colorful, orderly, it is Jewish. Where the land looks niggardly and the techniques ancient, it is Arabic -- where it is clean, it is Jewish -- where it is dirty and smelly it is Arabic. From a distance of many kilometers, even I can distinguish Jewish from Arabic land. I can understand now why the members of the Anglo-American Commission, and indeed, any stranger to the country, would think that the Jews had taken all the good land and left the barren and sterile to the Arabs. But the contrast is even more striking as one passes the sand dunes that as yet remain uncultivated, and these areas adjoin immediately some of the flourishing Kibbutzim. If anything ever looked like desert wastes, these sand dunes do. It is unbelievable that the thriving farms and cities, a generation ago were the same sand dunes.

Though we didn't get into any Kibbutzim on this trip, it was a good introduction to present day Palestine. The issues were clearly to be seen. Though how anyone can see them and not say "If any people want this land as badly as the Jews do and can work such wonders with it -- for God's sake, give it to them and be glad they took it," is something I shall never understand.

Our drive to Tel Aviv was along the sea all the way, and for a good part of the way we had the mountains on the left -- so barren -- and the flat land and sea on our right. I don't recall all the places we passed -- but the most significant were Atlit (now famous as a detention camp), Zichoron, Yaakov (one of the great wine centers), Nathanya (diamond center), Ain Hashofet (American Kibbutz) and Petach Tikvah (one of the old villages of Palestine).

From the point of view of current history, the most significant item of our trip was the British military strength as we saw it. The finest buildings between Haifa and Tel Aviv, are the police and military stations (one every twelve kilometers -- that's about seven miles). The quantity of barbed wire surrounding these buildings would make you gasp. The number of military camps, the quantities of vehicles of all descriptions made one believe that a major battle of World War II was about to be held here. And on the road, convoy after convoy of jeeps, tanks, cars -- the complete accoutrement of war maneuvers. By this time you will have read why, for they were preparing for June 29, 1946 -- which will be a long remembered day in Palestine. I will deal with it a little later.

We were in Tel Aviv only long enough to change taxis and start for Jerusalem. The ride to Jerusalem was a different kind of a ride. We sat in the back of the car and just looked at the passing scenery. Except for the first few miles which were flat Arab land and where we saw the most primitive kind of farming and ancient bedraggled Arab villages, the land is very hilly and very, very stony -- positively barren. If anybody can do anything with that land, that will be a miracle. I'm sure that there were points of biblical interest that we passed, but since there was none to explain them to us, we shall have to wait for another such trip. We finally climbed the hills that are Jerusalem and were soon at our hotel. The whole trip took about 3½ hours -- two hours from Haifa to Tel Aviv -- one hour and 20 minutes from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

June 29, 1946 DER TAG!

On the night of June 28, 1946 I got into bed about 12:30 and started to read a mystery story which was quite engrossing. It was nearly 4:00 A. M. when I looked up as I heard the whine of an army truck going uphill. About three blocks away from the Eden Hotel is the Jewish Agency Building -- a beautiful structure. A short time ago, there had been discovered a highly secret document of the Palestine Government which had outlined the steps to be taken in attempt to smash the Haganah, arrest Jewish leaders in Palestine, tie up the Agency with Haganah, take over the Agency, etc. Knowing all this, as soon as I heard the sound of the Army truck, I went to the window of our room that faces the Agency Building -- and there I saw scores of tanks, jeeps, trucks, and tractors and hundreds of soldiers getting off the vehicles. Some were walking toward the Agency Building -- some were surrounding apartment houses near by -- some were setting up machine guns on every corner -- later there was a great profusion of barbed wire blocking off one street and another. We both stood at the window of our darkened room for about an hour, half expecting to see and hear an explosion -- but none came. A curfew had been imposed on every Jewish part of Palestine -- there was no road traffic permitted between any two points. Although in the Nablus-Jenin area (Arab) there were no restrictions of any kind -- nor in Jaffa.

A military operation worthy of the finest effort against Germany had been undertaken -- with speed, secrecy, and great military force.

We were presumably confined to our hotel and were not to walk around the streets. Two waiters at the hotel had half stepped out of the front door -- were arrested and confined to jail all day -- and then paid a fine of 5 Piastres (20¢). We learned that searches were going on in many parts of the country. Of course, only in Jewish settlements. The Agency Building had been entered -- documents, files, papers, had been taken from the Agency Building for quiet examination somewhere else. Nothing had been forced open there -- they got the keys from a caretaker -- but in the beautiful panelled room of the Executive, the walls were torn open. In Tel Aviv the Wizo Building and the Bank Hapoel had been forcibly entered by dynamite and I understand the Wizo Building is in shambles. In the various settlements there was only a passive resistance. Today the reports are coming out that in many cases -- the soldiers acted as vandals -- looting the settlements of watches, pens, money, etc. In some Kibbutzim they tore up trees and gardens while presumably looking for arms. All told they found enough arms to withstand a half dozen young kids armed with sling-shots.

The first day they arrested about 1,000 people all over the country -- the most notable being, Shertok, Bernard Joseph, Rabbi Fischman and Itzhak Gruenbaum -- all members of the Executive of the Agency. The incident with Rabbi Fischman was disgraceful. He's a very religious Jew and they forced him to ride to Letrun -- the internment camp. He wanted to walk, although he's an old and not too well man, rather than ride on Shabbot -- but they wouldn't permit it. The resentment against this was great, but the Yishuv acted with great and admirable restraint. Last night the Voice of Israel had a short broadcast asking everyone to remain at his post -- but to be calm and restrained.

About three P. M. of the 29th, Mark Shulman and I -- he is a 20 year old son of the late Herman Shulman, who is here with his mother -- entered the streets armed with American passports. We observed what was taking place very carefully, the soldiers, the military equipment, the barricades, how much military might participate in the operation, etc. We shall be able to report this when we return to America.

When we returned to the hotel Weizman was in the building conferring with a few of his associates who had not been arrested. This was after his interview with the High Commissioner. That interview was brief. Weizmann asked for the release of his fellow members of the Executive -- that was denied. He asked for the right to phone Ben Gurion in London -- that was also denied. He was asked to form a new Executive and he told the High Commissioner that that was the concern of the Jews of the world and none of the High Commissioner's business -- the interview was over. Weizmann looked quite tired -- he hasn't been well. In fact, he was supposed to preside at a meeting of the Vaad Leumi and Vaad Hapoel today but doctors orders even prevented his being present. There are now about 2,000 people arrested. At the moment, there is a deadlock. Searches are still going on in the Kibbutzim -- about 50 already have been searched -- Curfew is lifted everywhere but around the Agency Building and the Haifa-Jerusalem road.

The Jews of Palestine are united more than ever -- internal differences have been completely forgotten -- they are as one man on foreign policy -- and they are conducting themselves as intelligent, disciplined people. And all this without any orders or directions. It has been obviously impossible for any leadership to tell the whole country how to behave, but the Yishuv is raging mad at the British violation of the Jewish Sabbath, the looting, the wanton destruction of buildings and settlement property, etc. The young Jews here will be hard to restrain unless something good comes soon. After 30 years of obstacles and broken promises they are ready for a showdown, no matter at what cost, and they are certain of success. Their morale, their confidence, their willingness to be (as one boy put it) the "Kapoers" for the rest of Jewry is heart-warming. They are courageous and they know the risks and costs. They are more than worthy to inherit this Earth -- but they are not MEEK!

It is significant that with all this turmoil, life goes on -- work and building go on -- it would not be hard to fail to see the underlying tension and concern and faith in the future. Today the streets look the same as on June 28th -- people conducting business as usual -- but one peek beneath the surface and you see the will and courage and vision of a great people.

We of course, are as safe, as well, as though we were at home. There is no feeling of fear or personal danger at all. In fact, we feel that the presence of a few American Jews here is a good thing. For, I am sure that all Jewry is united with the Yishuv and our presence here may convey that feeling to the Palestinians.

July 2, 1946

Yagur, one of the oldest and biggest Kibbutzim was demolished. Today the details are more clear. It is true that quantities of arms and ammunition were discovered there. But -- the great to-do about it would be laughable were it not for the manner of the search. It is no secret -- it never was a secret that there were quantities of arms and ammunition in Palestine. No one ever denied it -- no one ever said there was no Haganah. As a matter of fact the Haganah and its supplies were used by the British to a great and useful extent during the War. The arms, etc., were supplied by the British. The Palmach was set up at the specific instructions of the British. It was trained by British Officers and trained well. And, later when the Yishuv found that it would not be properly protected by the Palestine Government, it made no secret of the fact that it had arms and men of its own that would defend it. It is to the credit of the stupidity of the British that it has taken so long to find any arms, and to their everlasting shame for the manner of the search.

In Yagur trees were uprooted, gardens overturned, a beautiful costly dining room dynamited, a school building demolished, practically all those who worked the fields and cared for the livestock arrested, the water supply has been cut, and almost half of the vineyard area has been ploughed up by tanks and other vehicles. Today the military wanted to remove the children and livestock from Yagur because since it intends to spend three days more there it says it wants no harm to come to the women, children and livestock -- and even suggested that Jews conduct the evacuation. Need I tell you of the complete and utter refusal with which this was met! No Jew in Palestine will participate in the abandonment of any settlement.

Take the matter of the taking over the Agency Building and the arrest of members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency. The Agency is a legally constituted, internationally recognized body that is a co-trustee with the mandatory power over the Jewish affairs of Palestine. The action of one co-trustee in such an operation is insolent, high-handed and greatly reminiscent of Hitler's tactics. The Government made a great statement to the effect that the solutions to the problems of Palestine cannot be solved by the use of force on the part of the Arabs or Jews. Apparently, that is the prerogative of the British Government. The detention of the members of the Executive without a warrant, without a shred of evidence of violence, and with a complete disregard of the Sabbath, particularly in the case of 72 year old Rabbi Fischman is unpardonable. The statement that the "way to negotiations is still open" is also insolent. With whom will they negotiate? Does His Majesty's Government intend to conduct these negotiations at the Letrun detention camp, the present address of four of the members of the Executive?

The lies, the insults, the utter disregard for anything decent are maddening. The Commissioner issued a statement that Washington had been informed of these operations ten days before they took place. This morning four of us, Meyer Weisgal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Charles Rosenbloom and I visited the American Consul here, Mr. Pinkerton. He read us a cable signed by Dean Acheson to the effect that no American in the State or Executive Department was advised of these operations until Saturday morning -- June 29, 1946 -- and the operations started at 4:00 A. M. of that day! Typical British Foreign Office action! Perfidious Albion!

The British are using as an excuse for these operations, the terroristic activities against the Government, and yet for over two weeks there has not been one single such act in Palestine. And where these acts did occur were they committed by the Jewish Agency, by Wizo, with their diapers and safety pins for babies, by the Bank Hapoel, by the Histadruth? All the factors that made it possible for this country to win the battle of the Middle East. Did the president of the Vaad Leumi prescribe violent action? Are 72 year old Rabbi Fischman and 60 odd year old Itzhak Gruenbaum the vicious terrorists that must be arrested and incarcerated without warning or warrant -- and forced to violate the Sabbath?

It looks from here that His Majesty's Government is trying to do by indirection what it couldn't do through the Anglo-American Commission. It tried to hoodwink the American members into believing that the Agency and Haganah were the real sore spots and trouble-makers here, but the American members refused to be hoodwinked -- and now His Majesty's Government is trying to circumvent the Commission's report. In doing so, it finds it necessary to follow the pattern set by the Nazis.

The lootings and thefts of the soldiers who conducted the search is well-known here and wide-spread. Money, watches, fountain pens, typewriters -- anything easily removable. The over turned tables, broken chairs, damaged furnishings and wanton destruction of property are mute evidence of the vandalism that accompanied the search. And in Rehovoth the walls and sidewalks were chalk-written "Juden Verrickt."

Through all of this the Yishuv is united as never before. No longer do internal political differences make themselves felt. Mapai, Hashomer, Hatzair, Mizrachi -- all party names -- have no significance now. The Jewish Agency, Weizmann, discipline, order, have the undivided support of the Jews of Palestine. Their restraint and dignity in the face of wantonness and indignities are remarkable. But if no good comes from any of this, I fear reaction -- and it may well be violent reaction. You can't do these things to a proud, courageous and dignified community and have your dastardly actions go by unnoticed.

One final note -- the official communique today states that only at Yagur was a serious search made for arms, etc. That is a lie as 50 other settlements can testify. It seems to be a threat indicating what will be done to the rest of the country, if the Hagunah and Agency don't comply with the wishes of the military.

* * *



84
a

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date July 23, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem yesterday has shocked us all. Today the Haganah, the Resistance Movement of Palestine, disclaimed any responsibility for this outrage; and at the same time, the small Irgun Zvai Leumi announced that it accepts responsibility for the bombing.

The Jewish Agency issued the following statement on the incident yesterday:

"The executive of the Jewish Agency and of the Jewish National Council express their horror at the dastardly crime perpetrated by a gang of desperadoes who today attacked government offices in Jerusalem and shed the innocent blood of government officers and other citizens, British, Jewish and Arab.

"They extend their deepest sympathy to the relatives of those who have been murdered and those who have been injured. The Yishuv (Jewish community in Palestine) is called upon to rise up against these abominable outrages."

We join the Jewish Agency in expressing our condemnation of this dastardly act. At the same time, I want to call your attention to the fact that the British failed to express the same sense of grief and outrage over the crimes perpetrated by their troops in Palestine and over the murder of peaceful Jewish settlers in Nazi-like attacks by the British Army.

I am attaching an editorial on the subject which appeared in today's New York Post.

HLS:MRW
Enc.

EDITORIAL REPRINTED FROM NEW YORK POST

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1946

TERROR IN PALESTINE

The Post has always deplored terrorism in Palestine. The throwing of a bomb, the burst of gunfire from a passing car, solves no problems. The extermination of a few men leaves the real source of the evil policy they execute, untouched. It goes on, using new men and new instruments, and the fight becomes even more relentless, brutal and difficult of sensible settlement.

When Lord Moyne, one of the principal executors of the infamous White Paper of 1939 fell victim to Jewish terrorist bullets, we said, "The conduct of political affairs by murder is as reprehensible when practiced by two young idealistic Hebrews as when it is practiced by British officials who turn Jews back from Palestine's doors to Hitler's Gestapo."

We repeat that sentiment. Over 90 people were killed yesterday when Jerusalem's King David Hotel which houses the headquarters of the British Army and the Secretariat of the Palestine Government was blown up.

That was a typical terrorist act. And like all large-scale terrorist acts it struck indiscriminately, at friend as well as foe. It cut down one of our correspondents, Richard Mowrer, who had been doing a splendid, objective job of reporting the Palestine story and its background.

A Friend Lies Wounded

Without sympathizing with the Jewish terrorists, Mowrer had written intelligently and understandingly of the causes of their outburst. Now he lies wounded. The terrorists did not intend this. It is another illustration, however, of the blindness of their methods.

Yet while we neither excuse nor condone terrorism, it is important that the atmosphere which prompts such hysterical acts be understood.

It is a fact that when you leave no other course open, you get precisely such acts as the bombing of the King David Hotel as the result. As Mowrer put it in a recent dispatch, as doubtless he would repeat even now, were he able, "terrorism in Palestine is a symbol of despair." It is the fruit of British policy in the mandate.

A Mowrer dispatch from Jerusalem on July 9th explained it brilliantly: "Fascist-minded Arab leaders are permitted to return from Germany and from exile, but Jewish survivors of Hitler's gas chambers are still in barbed-wire camps in Germany . . . There is no habeas corpus in Palestine. Any policeman, any British soldier . . . can arrest you on mere suspicion . . . if you give shelter to your own mother knowing she is an illegal immigrant, you are liable to eight years' imprisonment . . ."

Is it any wonder that in their rage and despair, betrayed and embittered men strike out blindly?

It Happened in Ireland

A quarter-century ago, another people in another part of the world, facing very much the same problem, resorted to the same sort of terrorism. Petitions and recitals of broken pledges having failed, the people of Ireland finally enlisted in the Sinn Fein and for the next few years the green isle was drenched in blood and shattered by explosions. The acts of terrorism were equally deplorable then -- Ireland might well have secured her freedom without Sinn Fein outbreaks -- but they were equally inevitable.

For Britain in 1920-21 gave the Irish no other course. As today she leaves the Jews of Palestine little alternative to similar blind acts of despair.

The vicious cycle must be broken at some point. For just as the hopes and aspirations of men will not be quenched by British repression, so Jewish terrorists will not prevail through bombs.

We return again to what The Post said editorially on the occasion of the Moyne assassination. "There never would have been a terrorist band in the first place if the British had not deliberately abandoned the democratic process in their dealings with Palestine."

For the real criminal that blew up the King David Hotel yesterday is a policy that has left the Jews of Palestine with no hope and no faith in the ordinary, normal ways of gaining justice. That policy must be changed.



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

Mr. H. Manson
85

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* July 26, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed you will find memorandum with attachments sent today to the Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD
Encs.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date July 26, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Late this afternoon, I sent you the following telegram:

"CLEARLY EVIDENT NOW THAT ANGLO-AMERICAN CABINET COMMITTEE REPORT REDUCES JEWISH PALESTINE TO GHETTO GIVING BRITAIN TIGHTER CONTROL THAN EVER INCLUDING IMMIGRATION PLUS FINAL AUTHORITY OVER ALL ACTION BY JEWISH COMMUNITY. HENRY F. GRADY, REPRESENTING STATE DEPARTMENT IN CABINET COMMITTEE SAYS, ACCORDING TO NEW YORK TIMES TODAY, HE IS PLEASED WITH REPORT AND RECOMMENDS IT TO AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. NEVER BEFORE HAVE WE OR YISHUV BEEN FACED WITH MORE CALAMITOUS POSSIBILITIES TO ALL OUR HOPES, ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE AS A PEOPLE. DESPITE RECENT TELEGRAM CAMPAIGNS, HOT WEATHER, ETC. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT YOUR PEOPLE, JEWS AND NON-JEWS INSTITUTE AN IMMEDIATE TELEGRAM BARRAGE ON WHITE HOUSE DEMANDING IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT ADMINISTRATION KEEP ITS WRITTEN AND ORAL PLEDGES TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE, THAT IT FOLLOW POLICY OF GOVERNMENT AS ENUNCIATED BY PRESIDENT ON ANNOUNCEMENT REPORT OF ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE. ADOPTION NOW OF CABINET COMMITTEE REPORT MEANS THAT THE 100,000 WOULD NOT BE ADMITTED INTO PALESTINE UNLESS AND UNTIL JEWS ACCEPT POLITICAL DECISIONS ARRIVED AT BY CABINET COMMITTEE WHICH ARE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE. PLEASE HAVE ALL LEADERS BEGIN TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN TO ALL CONSTITUENTS AND FRIENDS TO BRING ABOUT UNPRECEDENTED WIRE PROTEST TO THE PRESIDENT. ALSO NECESSARY LOCAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL LEADERS WIRE PRESIDENT BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES WITHIN THEIR CONSTITUENCIES.

"ALSO ARRANGE FOR PRESS CONFERENCE LEADING JEWS AND NON-JEWS YOUR CITY FOR TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY, JULY 30th OR 31st AS BASIS FOR PUBLICITY AND ADDITIONAL TELEGRAMS. SENDING YOU BACKGROUND MATERIAL FOR PRESS STATEMENT

AT CONFERENCE WHICH INCLUDES NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT OF PROPOSED FEDERALIZATION PLAN,
PLUS STATEMENT OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL REACTING TO PLAN.

"IF WE ARE TO HELP YISHUV EFFECTIVELY WE MUST TAKE HEROIC MEASURES.

REGARDS."

HARRY L. SHAPIRO

Attached are two items:

- 1) News items from the New York Times which describes the proposed "federalization" of Palestine by the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee.
- 2) A statement issued today by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

After reading these I don't believe it is necessary that I make any personal comment on the present political situation, but I urge you to comply with the suggestions contained in the above telegram. The statement which you should issue to your local press conference should be similar to the one proposed by the Emergency Council or, if you wish, you may issue the attached statement in your name. Also include in your statement a plea to the citizens of your community to wire the President in accordance with the line indicated above.

The suggestion which refers to local democratic political leaders is most important. Please carry out this assignment as thoroughly as possible.

It will interest you to know that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, instead of going to the Executive Committee meeting of the Jewish Agency in Paris, is now in Washington bringing to bear every influence at his command in order to overcome this present unfavorable situation. Whatever telegrams may be sent to the President by your community will greatly aid him in his task.

Regards.

HLS:MMF
Encs.

NEWS ITEM FROM NEW YORK TIMES
Friday, July 26, 1946

DIVIDED PALESTINE IS URGED BY ANGLO-U.S. CABINET BODY,
DELAYING ENTRY OF 100,000

PARTITION SOUGHT

ZIONISTS WOULD GET 1,500 SQUARE MILES UNDER TIGHT FEDERAL RULE

GRADY FAVORS PROPOSAL

BOTH SIDES WILL BE CONSULTED -- IMMIGRATION MAY DEPEND ON APPROVAL OF PLAN

By Michael L. Hoffman

London, July 25 -- A so-called federalist constitution for Palestine is recommended to the American and British Governments in the report of the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee studying the problem, it was learned today.

The proposed constitution would vest strong powers in a British-controlled central government, leaving very little autonomy to the separate Arab and Zionist provinces. The report also proposed that the admission of 100,000 homeless European Jews to Palestine, urged ten months ago by President Truman and recommended as an immediate step by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, be made conditional on the adoption of the federalization proposal.

The exact wording of the recommendation presented to Mr. Truman on the admittance of the 100,000 new immigrants is that the plan is "to be initiated immediately it is decided to put the constitutional proposals into effect." This is the real meaning of the statements of the British early in the London discussion to the effect that they agreed on the admission of the recommended number of new immigrants.

Arab States to Confer

It will not be decided whether to put the proposals into effect until after the conference of the Arab League States in London, for which the British Government issued invitations today. The date will be sometime before September 23, the tentative date of the next meeting of the United Nations' General Assembly. Though it is fairly obvious in advance what the Arabs' reaction will be, their views will be sought on the whole plan, including the entry of 100,000 Jews.

The plan calls for dividing Palestine into Zionist, Arab and central-government districts. The central government would directly control Jerusalem, Bethlehem and their environs, and the region known as Negav, south of Beersheba.

The Zionist district would include about two-thirds of the southern coastal Plain of Sharon, except Jaffa, the Plain Esdraelon, the Valley of Jezreel and eastern Galilee north of Beisan. The rest of Palestine would be Arab.

1,500 Square Miles for Jews

The Zionist district would include 1,500 square miles, compared with the 2,600 recommended by the Peel Report proposing partition in 1936 and the 45,000 in the area constituting Palestine when it was originally promised as a Jewish "national home."

The most striking aspect of the proposals is the degree of power to be left in the hands of the central government, which, contrary to advanced reports, is far greater than the British have proposed in the case of India. Under the plan the British would control defense, foreign relations, the police, prisons, the courts, railway and port facilities in Haifa, the post-office, the telephone and telegraph systems, customs, excise taxes, civil aviation, broadcasting and antiquities. They would also retain final authority over immigration, but the provincial governments would have the right of appeal to the United Nations' Trusteeship Council.

The provinces would have their own assemblies but the central government would appoint speakers without whose approval no bill could become law. The executive authority in the provinces would be vested in councils of ministers appointed by the British High Commissioner. He would have emergency power to supercede a provincial government in whole or in part. Under such a constitution, Palestine's provinces would have considerably less autonomy than was enjoyed by Britain's American colonies in the eighteenth century.

Grady Says He Is Pleased

Though refusing to discuss details of the recommendations, Henry F. Grady, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes' deputy in the President's Cabinet Committee on Palestine and head of the American delegation here, said today that he was pleased with the results of the sessions to date. He indicated that the British attitude had been most cooperative and he hoped that both Governments would accept the joint plan.

The leaders of the Jewish Agency for Palestine here have made repeated vain attempts to see Mr. Grady. Dr. Nahum Goldmann addressed a letter to him yesterday, the contents of which were released today by the agency. Referring to press reports that the Anglo-American group was considering a broad solution to the Palestine problem to be submitted to Jews and Arabs for consideration, Dr. Goldmann's letter expressed the agency's concern at the consequent delay in the implementation of the recommendation for the immediate admittance of 100,000 Jews. The letter notified Mr. Grady that the effort to tie this question to the adoption of a long-term solution would be regarded by Zionists as a reversal of policy of the American Government.

A Foreign Office spokesman said today that representatives of Jewish and Arab groups in Palestine would be invited to a forthcoming London conference. Asked whether the Jewish Agency would be invited, he replied that it had not yet been decided on what basis the Jews would be represented. The American Government will not be asked to send an accredited delegation but the Foreign Office said that the Americans would perhaps send observers.

The Jewish Agency's headquarters here said that on this, as on all other

matters connected with Palestine during the past few days, its first indication of British policy had come from the newspapers. The agency, emphasizing that its Jerusalem headquarters had denied the authenticity of the telegrams from Jerusalem to London "in the British White Paper published yesterday," said further that none of the telegrams had ever been received by the agency in London.

Prime Minister Attlee is expecting to make a statement on the British attitude on the "federalism proposal" on Wednesday in the House of Commons. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin is reported to be planning to return from the Paris peace conference for the occasion. From what is known about the process through which the joint recommendations of the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee were arrived at, it seems probable that the British Government will approve them.

GRADY URGES APPROVAL

Washington, July 25 — The general features of the federalization plan were learned after Mr. Byrnes had received a report on it, recommending favorable action, from Mr. Grady.

Mr. Byrnes made no comment on the report, nor would he reveal any of the details. It was explained that he wanted first to study it and then to discuss it with the President. He is expected to do so before he leaves on Sunday for the peace conference.

Pending that discussion, Mr. Truman declined to discuss the Palestine question even to the extent of declining to reiterate his demand for the admission of 100,000 Jews into the country without further delay. He has been receiving daily reports on the London negotiations, he explained, and is now awaiting an over-all statement of what should be done about the problem.

It was not possible to obtain an indication what attitude the Cabinet Committee would take on the proposal, pending a discussion of it in the committee by Mr. Byrnes. The fact that the American negotiators recommend it, however, is expected to carry great weight here.

* * * * *

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrachi • Poale-Zion

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"PLAN" OF ANGLO-AMERICAN CABINET COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE DENOUNCED BY
AMERICAN ZIONISTS AS "CONSCIENCELESS ACT OF TREACHERY"

- - - - -

DR. SILVER CHARGES JEWISH REFUGEES ARE BEING USED AS "HOSTAGES"

BY BRITAIN AND U.S.

- - - - -

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council and President of the Zionist Organization of America, today attacked the "Federalization Plan," recommended to the American and British Governments by the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee on Palestine, as a "conscienceless act of treachery, dooming the helpless Jewish survivors in Europe to further death and humiliation and driving the Jews of Palestine to further desperation."

Speaking for the entire Zionist movement in the United States -- the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion -- Dr. Silver denounced as "revolting" and "immoral" the Cabinet Committee's recommendation that the admission of 100,000 homeless European Jews to Palestine, first urged almost a year ago by President Truman and unanimously recommended as an immediate step by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, be made "conditional" on the adoption of the "federalization" proposal.

"In plain English, this means that 100,000 helpless refugees are to be used as hostages by Britain and the United States in order to extort from the Jewish people acceptance of a political formulation which clearly repudiates every international commitment made to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine --

(more)

a formulation which the governments concerned surely know the Jews cannot accept," Dr. Silver said.

The text of Dr. Silver's statement follows:

"The 'federalization plan,' recommended to the American and British Governments by the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, is a conscienceless act of treachery, dooming the helpless Jewish survivors in Europe to further death and humiliation and driving the Jews of Palestine to further desperation.

"The Cabinet Committee's recommendation that the admission of 100,000 homeless European Jews to Palestine, first urged almost a year ago by President Truman and unanimously recommended as an immediate step by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, be made 'conditional' on the adoption of the 'federalization' proposal, is as revolting as it is immoral. In plain English, this means that 100,000 helpless refugees are to be used as hostages by Britain and the United States in order to extort from the Jewish people acceptance of a political formulation which clearly repudiates every international commitment made to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine -- a formulation which the governments concerned surely know the Jews cannot accept.

"That the lives of oppressed men, women and children, who have already passed the limits of endurance, should thus be used as pawns in Britain's imperialistic maneuvers -- and that the United States should now be a party to this abomination -- does not augur well for the world of peace and justice which, it was hoped, would emerge from the ruins of the greatest of all wars. We respectfully suggest to those who are responsible for shaping government policy on this question that what is required above all in the present situation is simple morality.

"In making public the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on April 30th of this year, President Truman declared: 'I am very happy that the request which I made for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine has been unanimously endorsed by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The

(more)

transference of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished with the greatest dispatch . . . I am also pleased that the committee recommends in effect the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939, including existing restrictions on immigration and land acquisition, to permit the further development of the Jewish national home. It is also gratifying that the report also envisages the carrying out of large-scale economic development projects in Palestine which would facilitate further immigration and be of benefit to the entire population. In addition to these immediate objectives, the report deals with many other questions of long-range political policies and questions of international law which require careful study and which I will take under advisement.'

"As recently as July 1st, the White House announced that 'The President added further that it was his determination that these most recent events should mean no delay in pushing forward with a policy of transferring 100,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine with all dispatch, in accordance with the statement he made upon the receipt of the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The President indicated that the government of the United States was prepared to assume technical and financial responsibility for the transportation of these immigrants from Europe to Palestine.'

"That is what the President of the United States said on July 1st. The recommendations of the Cabinet Committee therefore constitute nothing less than a complete reversal of American policy as stated by this nation's Chief Executive.

"The unfairness of the 'plan' itself can best be illustrated by quoting directly from the dispatch in this morning's New York Times, which reported the facts: 'The Zionist district would include 1,500 square miles, compared with the 2,600 recommended by the Peel Report proposing partition in 1936, and the 45,000 in the area constituting Palestine when it was originally promised as a Jewish 'national home.' Forty percent of the present population of Palestine, then, would be offered three percent of the land internationally pledged to the Jewish people.

(more)

"This is a plan for the ghetto-ization of the Jews in their own Homeland. Even that small portion of the country remaining for Jewish settlement under the 'plan' would be controlled almost completely by the same British Colonial Administration, whose only right to be in Palestine in the first place is the duty assigned to it by the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate: facilitation of the development of the Jewish National Home. We quote again from the New York Times dispatch: 'Under such a constitution, Palestine's provinces would have considerably less autonomy than was enjoyed by Britain's American colonies in the 18th Century.

"But, like those American colonists, the Jews of Palestine -- and Jews throughout the world -- will not submit to this evil decree. For the Jews of Europe it is now Palestine or death; for the Jews of Palestine it is now liberty or death. The Zionist Movement of this country will be actively identified in this historic struggle. The Jewish people will not be destroyed!"

The Council announced that a detailed analysis of the "federalization plan" would be submitted to the State Department.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date July 30, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached memorandum has been sent to radio commentators and editorial writers throughout the country to supply background material on the "Federalization Plan."

Will you please make an effort to place copies of this memorandum in the hands of your local newspaper editors and radio commentators.

Regards.

HLS:EK
Enc.

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

Mr. H. Harrison

MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council Date July 30, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed you will find memorandum with attachment sent today to the
Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD
Enc.

86
~~86~~

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

July 30, 1946

WE ARE TAKING THE LIBERTY OF CALLING YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING BRIEF MEMORANDUM ON THE PROPOSED "FEDERALIZATION" PLAN FOR PALESTINE AND TRUST THAT THIS INFORMATION WILL PROVE USEFUL TO YOU AS BACKGROUND MATERIAL.

Though the exact text of the proposal regarding the future of Palestine made by the British representatives and reported to have been recommended for acceptance by the American negotiators has not yet been revealed, enough is known about it to make clear its general purpose.

The proposal does not provide for the immediate transference of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, but makes such transference dependent on the outcome of further consultations with Arab States and on the acceptance of a general plan concerning the political status of Palestine. In doing this, the proposal clearly violates the repeatedly announced policy of the President to have the 100,000 Jews transferred to Palestine immediately and without waiting for the settlement of Palestine's future status.

As for the reported plan to "federalize" Palestine, it is difficult to see how either the American Government or its representatives in London could have been hood-winked by so obvious a hoax. The purport of the plan is to restrict permanently the Jewish National Home to its present scope. Neither further Jewish immigration into the country nor the settlement of Jews outside of the tiny ghetto assigned to the Jews under that plan could take place unless British authorities and Arab leaders favor it, and past experience has shown how unlikely it is to expect British or Arab concurrence in this regard.

Closer scrutiny of the "self government" to be given to the Jews in their tiny area reveals that this too is nothing but a mockery: the rulers would be appointed by the British; all major questions would be reserved to the British; and the far-reaching veto powers claimed by Britain would reduce the "self governing" bodies to the role of insignificant puppets. It would introduce in Palestine the regime typical of British Crown Colonies where native chieftains selected by a British administrator and removable by him preside over "districts" or "provinces" which are nominally "self governing."

The plan amounts, therefore, to a continuation of the present unlawful regime of the 1939 White Paper, violates the Palestine Mandate and the Anglo-American Palestine Treaty of 1924, and is utterly inconsistent both with American policy on Palestine as formulated in the Congressional Resolutions of December 1945 and with the will of the American people as expressed by both major political parties in their National Conventions in 1944.

It is difficult to understand how any representatives of the American Government could have recommended such a project, however tentatively, and nothing less than a clear rejection of this project by the President of the United States could be reconciled with his own stand and with traditional American policy.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date July 31, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Once again the devotion and labors of the Zionists of America have borne fruit. The President of the United States today issued the following statement:

"The President has been considering certain recommendations of the alternates of the Cabinet Committee with regard to Palestine and has decided in view of the complexity of the matter, to request Ambassador Henry S. Grady, and his associates to return to Washington to discuss the whole matter with him in detail. The President hopes that further discussions will result in decisions which will alleviate the situation of the persecuted Jews in Europe and in the same time contribute to the ultimate solution of longer term problem of Palestine."

You know from my wire to you of July 25th, that we were in a most precarious situation. The succeeding days brought even more threatening events. As of this morning, prior to the opening of the debate on the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee's plan in the House of Commons, all indications were that not only had the American representatives on the Cabinet Committee approved the pernicious British cantonization plan, but that Secretary of State Byrnes and Prime Minister Attlee were also in agreement and that a joint statement to this effect was to have been issued coincident with the House of Commons debate. Fortunately, this did not come to pass as is indicated by the above statement by the White House. Also, fortunately, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver did not go to Paris for the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency but stationed himself in Washington from which point he unified our forces and our friends in an heroic and successful effort to bring about a change in the situation which confronted us.

Much as we have reason to be grateful for this reprieve, we must under no circumstances permit ourselves to believe that it is anything but a reprieve. We have only succeeded in keeping the question open. We must continue to exert every possible pressure on the President, through telegrams from the masses of people, and through intercession on the part of your local Democratic leaders.

It would be extremely valuable now for you to be in touch with your Congressmen and Senators, requesting that they use the influence which they command, in behalf of our movement. Keep up the good work.

Regards.

HLS:LD

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

88

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date August 5, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The attached memorandum has been sent to radio commentators and editorial writers throughout the country to supply background material on British statements that Great Britain will turn the Palestine Mandate over to the United Nations if the United States does not agree to the "Federalization" plan

Will you please make an effort to place copies of this memorandum in the hands of your local newspaper editors and radio commentators.

Regards.

HLS:LD
Enc.

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

August 5, 1946

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

MEMORANDUM ON BRITISH STATEMENTS THAT GREAT BRITAIN WILL TURN THE PALESTINE MANDATE OVER TO THE UNITED NATIONS IF THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT AGREE TO THE "FEDERALIZATION" PLAN

In recent days spokesmen of the British Government and various speakers in the British House of Commons have "threatened" that if the United States Government does not agree to the British "Federalization" plan for Palestine, Britain will turn over the Palestine Mandate to the United Nations and withdraw from that country.

It should be said in this connection that the retention of Palestine as a strategic base under the sole control of Britain is notoriously the principal aim of the British Government. By controlling Haifa, Britain also possesses the oil pipe-line outlet to the Mediterranean. For these reasons Britain looks with disfavor on any proposal that would weaken its hold over Palestine or would result in Britain's having to share control with other co-trustees. This is also why the recent British plan of a "federal" Palestine gives Great Britain all really important functions of Government. It is known that southern Palestine is rapidly becoming the principal British base in the Middle East in place of Egypt, and recent reports indicate the forthcoming transfer of British headquarters from Egypt to Palestine. Many millions of pounds are currently being invested by the British in the construction of permanent military, naval and air establishments in Palestine.

In the circumstances, the impression which the statements from London seek to create -- that Britain's control over Palestine is a burden of which she would like to be relieved, rather than an anxiously guarded privilege -- is obviously incorrect. This talk about turning Palestine over to the United Nations is a meaningless bluff. Under the Charter, the future of Palestine will have to be decided by the United Nations in any case. But the provisions of the Charter are such that no decision can be arrived at by the United Nations without the consent of Britain which holds a double veto power -- as the present Mandatory and as one of the Big Five. Pending a decision by the United Nations, Britain can continue to do as she pleases in Palestine, and no decision can ever be reached unless it satisfies Britain. Therefore, the gesture of turning Palestine over to the United Nations, for all its appearance of unselfish withdrawal, merely ensures the continuation of the status quo for an indefinite period.

* * *

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date

August 8, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed is an analysis of the British plan for the "Federalization" of Palestine by Mr. Frank Gervasi which appeared in this morning's issue of The Washington Post (August 8, 1946)

It has many valuable points which may be used by local newspapers for editorial purposes and by radio commentators for purpose of their own analyses of the plan.

Regards.

HLS:EK

Enc.

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

Mr. H. H. H. H. H.

MEMORANDUM

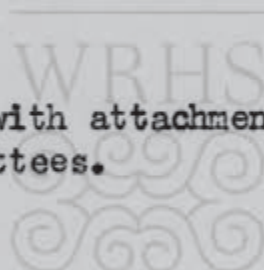
89

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* August 8, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum with attachment was sent today to the Chairmen
of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD
Encs.



From The Washington Post
Thursday, August 8, 1946

HOLES IN THE PALESTINE PLAN

Editor's note: Frank Gervasi, the author of this communication on Palestine, is associate editor of Collier's. During the war he visited many countries of Europe as a correspondent. He is the author of a recent book, "To Whom Palestine."

It has been proposed that Palestine be partitioned into Arab and Jewish states as a permanent solution to what is called the Palestine problem but is, as we shall see, a great world political, social and economic problem. The next war can well begin in Palestine, strategic crossroads of the Eastern Hemisphere and frontier between capitalism and communism. The stakes in human terms are, therefore, enormous. If solution there is to be, it must be on solid foundations.

The new "solution" to the Palestine problem proposed by the so-called Anglo-American Cabinet Committee violates virtually every legal and moral commitment made by the British and American Governments in more than a generation of haggling over the issue.

It is, to begin, merely an extension of the 1939 White Paper policy which was recognized as unlawful by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. It amounts to a repudiation of the mandate itself and of the Anglo-American Palestine Treaty of 1924. It is inconsistent with American policy on Palestine as envisioned in congressional resolutions adopted in December, 1945, and expressed by both the Democratic and Republican Parties in their national conventions in 1944.

The British plan is a fraud. It tries to make things appear different from what they are, by a careful choice of names and language. It proposes a "federal" Palestine with "self-governing" Arab and Jewish provinces. If we look closely, we find neither a federation nor self-government. We find two districts, both ruled by ministers appointed by a British High Commissioner and subject to his supervision. These ministers rule with an elected assembly, but the British commissioner has the right to veto any measures, dissolve the assemblies and dismiss the ministers.

The plan tries to impress the reader with the fact that the Jews are being given the richest, though the smallest, part of Palestine, and therefore a part most apt to absorb a large number of additional immigrants. What the proposal does not specify is that the part given to the Jews is by far the most densely populated area of Palestine. Any plan which would have genuinely attempted to offer opportunities for Jewish immigration would have included some of the relatively empty parts of Palestine. The real aim of the plan's authors was to offer to the Jews such a zone that the Jews themselves would have to admit after some time that there was no room for the absorption of any further immigrants.

The superficial impression conveyed by the plan is that the authorities of the Jewish province would all but determine the rate at which further immigration should be permitted, and that the British High Commissioner would only have to fulfill the formality of giving his consent. But the Jewish authorities who are to recommend the number of immigrants to be admitted are themselves appointees of the British commissioner and subject to removal by him.

A very characteristic feature of the plan is the treatment of the Negev. The plan explains that according to British opinion the Negev cannot be made an inhabited area, though the Jews think otherwise. The British admit that it would have been possible, of course, to give the Negev to the Jews and let them see what they could do with it, but with touching concern for Jewish feelings, the British state that it would have been unfair to the Jews to give them a piece of land which would prove uninhabitable. This is why they propose to keep the Negev for themselves.

As a matter of fact, the British do mention that at a later time they will send experts to explore the Negev, and if they find that it can be made inhabitable, they might lease land in the Negev to a Jewish company, taking good care that the oil concessions of the British companies should remain unimpaired, and that should the experts find that the Negev is uninhabitable the British will either keep it for themselves or incorporate it into the Arab province!

How can one, on the one hand, mention oil concessions in the Negev, and therefore opportunities for industrial development, and, on the other hand, say that the Negev cannot support any population? And why if the Negev is good should it only be leased to the Jews, while if it is bad it should be given to the Arabs? And what will the Arabs do with the Negev if it is uninhabitable?

Most interesting aspects of the plan are these features which it omits. Not a word is said about the fact that Great Britain would be free under it to have extensive military bases all over Palestine; that such bases are already being installed there, or the fact that these bases are regarded as a major necessity for the British Empire in view of the international situation and in view of the fact that the British have to evacuate Egypt.

Stripped of all verbiage, the plan amounts to an attempt to continue all the essential restrictions of the White Paper. Just as under the White Paper, the Jews would be denied access to most of Palestine, and their access to the remaining little part would be controlled by British authorities.

An idea which underlies the British plan is the statement that the experts (meaning the Englishmen and Americans who came together in London), had come to the conclusion that Palestine is too small to absorb the European Jews who cannot remain in or return to their present countries. The trick in this statement is the reference to the "experts." With all due respect for the three Americans who were sent to London -- one a president of a California shipping company, another a Wall Street lawyer, and the third a Treasury official -- who had studied the question of Palestine a few weeks, it is permissible to ask what makes them "experts" to determine this question. There is no need, of course, to discuss the expertness of the British representatives, since in their case we have an avowed government policy which does not wish for a large Jewish immigration into Palestine.

But assuming that this one statement has some justification and that even the whole of Palestine may be too small to absorb all of the Jews who want to go there, by what process of reasoning does the plan arrive at the other conclusion that a tiny part of Palestine amounting to 1500 square miles would be sufficient to allow a considerable immigration -- the bait which is dangled before the Jews of the world in order to secure their acceptance of the plan?

The plan overlooks entirely not only the existing international legal documents concerning Palestine, but -- what is more important -- the fundamental

political and sociological reason for the world's interest in the Jewish National Home. But the main reason why the world is interested in the Jewish National Home is because it would contribute to a very large extent to the solution of an otherwise insoluble international problem -- the problem of the unwanted Jews of Europe, who are equally unwanted in Europe and on other continents. The plan proposed by the British makes it almost impossible, both through restrictions in territory and through the wide scope of powers which it allots to an unsympathetic British administration, for Palestine to absorb any large number of Jewish refugees. Therefore, the British plan is not a solution, since it does not permit solution of the very problem the Jewish National Home was intended to solve.

What the plan amounts to, in effect, is that, in consideration of the acceptance by the Jews of all the restrictions which will be imposed upon them by the terms of the plan (restrictions which will put them in a much worse position than the position which they hold under the mandate), they are promised the admission of 100,000 Jews. It is, in a way, an exercise in blackmail. Since the British know how anxious the Jews are that 100,000 of them should be admitted to Palestine immediately, they try to get the Jews to sign away all their rights in return for this concession.

The tragic thing about it is that not even here do the British really commit themselves: they still leave themselves a loophole by means of the stipulation that the entire plan will have to be agreed to by Jews and Arabs alike. Since the British are certain that the Arabs will not agree to the plan, they can always escape the obligation to admit even the 100,000. But in the process of doing so, they counted on extorting from the Jews a voluntary renunciation to enter and settle in most of Palestine -- a renunciation which they were never able to get under the terms of the White Paper.

This plan not only blackmails the Jews. It also attempts to get the United States to bribe the Arabs in and out of Palestine to the tune of 300 million dollars. Insofar as the Arabs of Palestine would be concerned, this money would be spent under the control, and therefore presumably in the interest, of the British Empire. But all of the Arab countries remain linked to a large extent with Great Britain, and the British plan, without materially helping the Jews, would amount in the final analysis to enriching another British-controlled part of the world by 300 million dollars.

The thing which is most amazing about this plan is how American representatives could fall for it so easily. The answer lies precisely in the fact that they were not experts. They knew nothing about Palestine and they had no positive attitude toward the Jewish National Home, or even the more limited desire of President Truman to get 100,000 Jews into Palestine immediately. To that extent, the three American negotiators should not be blamed. The blame falls upon the Administration which appointed them to negotiate.

FRANK GERVASI

Washington

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date August 16, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

ROUND-UP OF NEW YORK PRESS DISPATCHES ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
WITH REGARD TO PALESTINE

August 5 - 16

The turbulent developments on the Zionist political front during the past two weeks have been reported on the front pages of this country's newspapers in dispatches which have often been contradictory. This round-up of news on the Palestine negotiations is designed to give you a clearer picture of the situation by recording the essential facts as reported by the New York metropolitan newspapers.

On August 6th two New York Times headlines read:

"ZIONISTS CONDEMN PLAN ON PALESTINE" and "TRUMAN REJECTION ON PALESTINE SEEN."

The gist of these two stories was that President Truman, acting on the advice of Democratic political leaders, had informed the British Government that his first impression of the Federalization Plan, recommended by the alternates of the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, was unfavorable. The New York Times dispatch, written by its White House correspondent, James Reston, stated that the President had discussed the Federalization Plan with his Cabinet and that "only two Cabinet members were said to have talked in favor of the Federalization Plan."

On August 8th the press first reported that the six American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had been called to Washington by President Truman to meet with Acting Secretary of State Acheson and the alternates of the Cabinet Committee, and to discuss the Federalization Plan. It was noted in the New York Herald-Tribune's dispatch that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry had categorically precluded partition as a solution of the Palestine problem. The dispatch said that "members of this group (the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry) privately expressed the opinion that they (the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee) do not carry out the proposals of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee."

On August 9th Felix Belair, Jr., New York Times Washington correspondent, disclosed in an exclusive story that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was unanimous in disavowing the Grady (Cabinet Committee) plan for Federalization.

Mr. Belair reported the substance of the Committee of Inquiry's opinion as follows:

"1. That Mr. Grady's mission violated its mission to work out the implementation of the Anglo-American Committee's report by agreeing to a virtual nullification of that document and supporting in principle the restrictive White Paper issued by Britain in 1939.

"2. On its merits the proposed federation scheme violates the mandate given to Britain over Palestine by the League of Nations in that it provides a system of cantonization and restricts the free movement of people in Palestine."

On the same day an article by Frank Gervasi, appearing in the Washington Post, attacked the Federalization Plan as a "fraud." After carefully considering each separate proposal under the British Plan, Mr. Gervasi refuted each point in turn. He wrote in conclusion:

"What the plan amounts to, in effect, is that, in consideration of the acceptance by the Jews of all the restrictions which will be imposed upon them by the terms of the plan (restrictions which will put them in a much worse position than the position which they hold under the mandate), they are promised the admission of 100,000 Jews. It is, in a way, an exercise in blackmail. Since the British know how anxious the Jews are that 100,000 of them should be admitted to Palestine immediately, they try to get the Jews to sign away all their rights in return for this concession."

On August 10th another Times dispatch by Felix Belair, Jr. indicated a radical shift in the Administration's thinking. The dispatch reported that President Truman was inclined to go along with the British Federalization scheme, recommended by the Grady Committee. Mr. Belair's story read:

"Earlier, Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, was understood to have instructed deputies to the Cabinet Committee on Palestine to draft a cablegram for the President's signature accepting the British federation plan in principle but suggesting a greater degree of autonomy for the proposed Jewish area, more liberal immigration and relaxation of Jewish land acquisition rules.

"News of the instructions by Acting Secretary Acheson to the Cabinet deputies headed by Mr. Grady caused a sensation in Zionist circles, whose spokesman had been advised by sources close to the President that under no circumstances would Mr. Truman consent to the proposed division scheme."

On August 12th the Associated Press reported that Acting Secretary of State Acheson had instructed a committee of experts, working directly under the Grady Committee, to draw up a proposal based upon the principle of partition, but with the following special features:

1. Creation of a Jewish zone of approximately 1,800 square miles, approximately 300 square miles larger than that proposed in the plan originally offered in London and subsequently disapproved by Mr. Truman.
2. A United States contribution of \$300,000,000 to raise the economic-social-educational standards of the Arab states. Of this sum, \$50,000,000 would be ear-marked for the Arabs in Palestine.
3. Wide latitude for Jews to control immigration within their zone.

The dispatch stated:

"When the partition was first completed by a joint Anglo-American committee at London two weeks ago, President Truman apparently was ready to accept it. He received a recommendation from Secretary of State Byrnes that he do so, on the ground that the plan offered a practical solution.

"Then the opposition of Zionist leaders became very great. Byrnes withdrew his endorsement, in evident surprise over the strength of the opposition, and Mr. Truman let the British know, informally, that the plan probably was unacceptable.

"Since that time, however, Acheson is reported to have come to the conclusion that a compromise should at least be seriously considered by Mr. Truman."

(It should be noted that the word "partition" in this dispatch refers to the Grady plan for Federalization.)

On August 14th the press again reported a radical change in the Administration's views. An exclusive story by Felix Belair, Jr. in the New York Times carried the following headline:

"TWO FREE PALESTINE STATES HELD PART OF TRUMAN PLAN."

Mr. Belair disclosed that the Jewish Agency for Palestine had been negotiating with the American Government and had proposed Partition as a solution to the Palestine problem.

Mr. Belair's dispatch carried the following lead:

"Washington, August 13 -- A Jewish Agency for Palestine plan for the partitioning of Palestine by the creation of separate and independent Jewish and Arab States and early termination of the British mandate has had serious consideration by this Government. With modifications, it is understood to be included in President Truman's reply to Great Britain on the Morrison-Grady federation statement."

Later in his story Mr. Belair said:

"The Jewish Agency plan was brought to Washington late last week by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, following its Paris meeting at which it adopted a public resolution rejecting the Morrison-Grady scheme of federation. Another resolution, also adopted at the time but not made public, embodied the Agency's acceptance of partitioning but on its own terms.

"The document was shown by Dr. Goldmann to Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder and War Secretary Robert P. Patterson, members of the Cabinet Committee on Palestine, and to the British Ambassador, Lord Inverchapel.

"Members of the Cabinet group with whom Dr. Goldmann conferred separately were particularly interested in the document as offering a practical solution to the present impasse."

On August 15th a New York Times dispatch by Sidney Gruson, London correspondent for that newspaper, carried the headline:

"U. S. SENDS ATTLEE NOTE ON PALESTINE."

In his story Mr. Gruson quoted an "authoritative source" who said that there was not much difference between President Truman's note to Attlee and the new plan of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Mr. Gruson wrote:

"It is believed here, although no hard details of the Agency's plan are yet available, that it would guarantee to the British the availability of bases in Palestine for guarding this country's vital Middle East interests. It will be submitted to Colonial Secretary George Hall by Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, American members of the Agency's executive who arrived here tonight with Berl Locker and Eliezer Kaplan. They conferred until late tonight with Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization.

"It is believed that the President has advocated an increase of 300 square miles to a total of 1,800 for the Zionist province. The British, it is believed, would agree to this if other points of differences could be settled."

The same issue of the New York Times ran the complete text of a statement by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver which assailed the British blockade of Palestine and the deportation of Jewish refugees to Cyprus.

On August 16th the Associated Press carried the following dispatch:

"London, August 15 -- Authoritative Government sources said today that the United States had refused to participate in the plan for partitioning Palestine, thus forcing Britain to seek an alternative scheme for solving the problem. These informants said that the United States had advised Britain that, as the mandatory power for Palestine, she should go ahead with any action that she deemed necessary under the circumstances. Authoritative sources here declared that President Truman's note to Prime Minister Attlee had announced that he could neither accept nor reject the partition plan at this time without "the support of the American people."

(It should be noted that this dispatch from London is far from clear and its accuracy has by no means been established. It should also be pointed out that the "partitioning" referred to in this dispatch is undoubtedly the plan of the Grady Committee.)

The New York Times of August 16th carried a special dispatch from London which said:

"London, August 15 -- The Jewish Agency placed before Colonial Secretary George Hall today three conditions for its participation in the Government's proposed conference to work out a solution for Palestine.

"It is almost certain now that conferences will be held, at the end of August or early next month. The Zionists and the Arabs will meet the Government separately. This is considered one of the most hopeful of recent developments on Palestine and, as an authoritative Zionist source said this afternoon, 'the impasse seems to have been broken.'"

"The Agency's leaders asked the Government first, however, to broaden the basis of the conference discussion from the experts' plan and to allow the possibility of the acceptance of a 'more radical' scheme. Mr. Truman's 'suggestions' and the Agency's own ideas are included in this category. They also asked the Government to release the Zionist leaders still held without trial in Palestine and to permit the Agency to select the Zionist representatives for the conference."

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency carried the following dispatch on Friday, August 16th:

"London, August 15. (JT) -- A delegation of Zionist leaders, led by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, conferred for two hours today with Colonial Secretary George Hall. The delegation consisted of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Eliezer Kaplan and Berl Locker.

"After leaving the meeting, Dr. Weizmann said that arrangements for Jewish representation at the conference on Palestine to be held later this month were discussed, and added that he hoped for a 'satisfactory solution.' He refused to answer a question as to whether President Truman's reply to Prime Minister Attlee had been discussed...

"Reuter's today published a statement by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, member of the Jewish Agency executive, declaring that the Agency is ready to take part in discussion on the 'cantonzation' of Palestine if assurances are given that an autonomous Jewish state will be set up 'within reasonable time.'

"Until such assurances are forthcoming, the Jewish Agency would continue to refuse to participate in discussions, he said, adding that, 'the British Government has been informed of this position.' He emphatically rejected the term 'partition' and substituted 'cantcnization,' Reuters asserted.

"Dr. Goldmann made his statement after the conference of Zionist leaders with the Colonial Secretary. He said that 'modalities and conditions' for the Jewish Agency's participation in talks on the future of Palestine were discussed."

HLS:MSR

MEMORANDUM

To: Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date: August 19, 1946

From: Harry L. Shapiro

SUPPLEMENT TO ROUND-UP OF NEW YORK PRESS DISPATCHES ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WITH REGARD TO PALESTINE

The press of August 16th and 17th carried the text of an announcement from the White House, which was released as the President left for his vacation. The White House announcement follows:

"Although the President has been exchanging views with Mr. Attlee on the subject, this government has not presented any plan of its own for the solution of the problem of Palestine. It is the sincere hope of the President, however, that as a result of the proposed conversations between the British Government and Jewish and Arab representatives a fair solution of the problem of Palestine can be found and immediate steps can be taken to alleviate the situation of the displaced Jews in Europe.

"It is clear that no settlement of the Palestine problem can be achieved which will be fully satisfactory to all of the parties concerned and that if this problem is to be solved in a manner which will bring peace and prosperity to Palestine, it must be approached in a spirit of conciliation.

"It is also evident that the solution of the Palestine question will not in itself solve the broader problem of the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons in Europe. The President has been giving this problem his special attention and hopes that arrangements can be entered into which will make it possible for various countries, including the United States, to admit many of these persons as permanent residents.

"The President on his part is contemplating seeking the approval of Congress for special legislation authorizing the entry into the United States of a fixed number of these persons, including Jews."

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency, in a dispatch from Washington datelined August 16th, reported:

"Dr. Nahum Goldmann, in a statement telephoned from Paris to the Jewish Agency office here, today denied a Reuter report that he had expressed the Agency's willingness to discuss 'cantonization.' He said:

'The attitude of the Jewish Agency for Palestine has most emphatically been made clear to the British Government. The Jewish

Agency is prepared to negotiate upon only one basis, namely, that of the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The Agency is not willing to accept any cantonization scheme as a basis for discussion."

In a dispatch from Paris datelined August 18th, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported:

"PARIS, August 18. (JTA) -- Zionist leaders Stephen S. Wise, Nahum Goldmann and Berl Locker conferred here today with British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and Colonial Minister George Hall for the second time in two days.

"Neither the Jewish leaders nor British spokesmen would comment on the talks. Shortly afterwards, Hall returned to London. He has been here since Saturday morning, holding intensive discussions with Bevin on the Palestine issue.

"Informed Jewish circles here warned against any undue optimism as a result of the contacts in the past few days between members of the Jewish Agency and the British Government. They said that no negotiations on Palestine's status are presently under way and that the Agency has requested these meetings in an attempt to learn the government's intentions.

"The situation as seen from here is as follows: The Agency executive having rejected as a basis for discussions the 'federalization' scheme proposed in the House of Commons by Deputy Prime Minister Herbert Morrison is attempting to ascertain whether the British are prepared to make any other proposals."

HLS:MED

92 a

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date August 22, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

ROUND-UP OF NEW YORK PRESS DISPATCHES ON POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENTS WITH REGARD TO PALESTINE -- NO. 3

The New York Times of August 22nd carried the following dispatch from Paris:

"PALESTINE AGENCY MAY WIDEN RANKS

"Negotiations for Admission of Non-Zionist Groups On -- Silver Reported Out

"PARIS, August 21 -- Negotiations are proceeding for the admission of non-Zionist groups to the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, it was reliably reported tonight.

"One of the groups likely to get an offer of representation is the American Jewish Committee. This group, whose members include many prominent American Jews never associated with Zionism, has recently taken a great interest in closer cooperation among various Jewish groups.

"It played a prominent part in formulating the joint proposals for the expanded human rights clauses for the peace treaties recently submitted on behalf of eleven Jewish organizations to the peace conference.

"It was also reported on good authority that Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver had submitted his resignation from the executive a few days ago. He has been one of the bitterest critics of Britain's policy. He opposed the American loan to Britain and influenced a number of Jewish groups in the United States to protest the agreement except on condition that Britain modified her Palestine policy.

"Recently he has sharply disagreed with other members of the executive, notably Dr. Nahum Goldmann, over the line that the executive should follow on Britain's Palestine proposals. If his resignation goes through, it will be regarded as a new sign of a growing 'moderate' influence in the agency's top ranks."

The press of August 22nd reported prominently an address by Bartley C. Crum, American member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, in which Mr. Crum declared -- according to the New York Times -- "that the middle level of State Department officials had frustrated American policy on Palestine ever since the time of President Woodrow Wilson," and called for the resignation of Loy W. Henderson, director of the State Department's Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs.

A full account of Mr. Crum's address is contained in a PM dispatch by Alexander H. Uhl, Foreign Editor of that newspaper. The PM dispatch follows:

"WASHINGTON, August 22 -- Bartley Crum, California lawyer who served on the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine, yesterday tore into British and U. S. officialdom and their handling of the Palestine question in one of the strongest denunciations ever heard in Washington. He charged:

"That the State Dept. for years has been sabotaging official U. S. policy on Palestine and is sabotaging President Truman.

"That every time the U. S. Government had promised anything to the Jews, the State Dept. sent secret messages to the Arabs assuring them that the promises would not be fulfilled.

"That cables sent by Truman to U. S. members of the Anglo-American Committee while in Palestine were first delivered to the British.

"That British policy was based on the protection of British interests against the Soviet Union and that he was told by the British it would be in the interests of the U. S. A. to fall in with it.

"(Associated Press reported Crum as saying he was told by the British Foreign Office representative in Lausanne, Switzerland that British foreign policy regarding Palestine was based on the likelihood 'of war with a main power -- notably Russia.')

"That wires were tapped and members of the Committee were shadowed.

"That Palestine today is a 'police state conducted along completely fascist lines.'

"Crum was asked to name the men in the State Dept. who, he believed, were sabotaging the Truman policy. He answered:

'It would be a salutary thing if the resignation of Loy Henderson were requested.'

"Henderson is chief of the State Dept. office on Near Eastern and African affairs, and has long been one of the department's staunchest conservatives. It is his department that deals with Palestine.

"Asked how middle-level officials could thwart the will of the President of the U. S. A., Crum answered that the only reasonable explanation was that the President didn't know what was going on.

'I suggest,' he added, 'That if there is any one constructive thing to be accomplished it is to put an end to the secret communications that have been going on between the Middle East desk of the State Dept. and the Arab leaders.'

"The Crum blast came at a luncheon that had extraordinary official connections. While under the sponsorship of the American Christian Palestine Committee -- it was opened with a prayer -- the invitations were sent out on the name of Oscar L. Chapman, Under Secretary of the Interior. Among the guests of honor were John L. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury and member of the President's special cabinet committee on Palestine.

"Whether Snyder knew what was coming was not clear, but he was not present to hear Crum's attack on the State Dept., having left for his office on the plea of pressing business just as Crum began to speak. Crum, in his introduction, stressed that he was speaking in a purely personal capacity.

"Crum was careful to exonerate the White House for any breakdown in American policy on Palestine. It is doubtful if the President knew that Crum was going to speak out as he did, but it is known that Truman has been highly sympathetic to the Crum viewpoint.

"Here are highlights of what Crum said:

'The thing which stands out most clearly in my mind is the fact that all of the presidents of the U. S. A., beginning with Woodrow Wilson who helped draft the Balfour Declaration, gave assurance to world-wide Jewry that in Palestine there would be created a national home for Jews.

'Down through every administration including Mr. Roosevelt's and Mr. Truman's there has been reassurance of that policy on the part of this Government.

'That policy has been reflected in the platform of all major parties. It has also been seen in the numerous resolutions of the U. S. Congress. That policy has not been carried out by our Government and on the contrary, we are sorry to find out, that at another level, particularly at the middle level, the State Dept. blocked and frustrated the policies set down by our presidents of the U. S. and by our Congress.

'When we were appointed to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry President Truman emphasized time and again to us that the primary responsibility of this Government was to see that the camps of Europe containing these fragments of persecuted people were emptied at once and the sense of his deep feeling was communicated not only to Mr. Attlee but to Mr. Bevin . . .

'After we had gone through all the camps in Germany and after we had seen the crowded unspeakable conditions in Poland, we were unanimously agreed that 100,000 certificates be issued to the Jewish Agency for Palestine as evidence of the good faith of the Western Powers toward these peoples and toward democratic people everywhere. When we filed our report with the President, he endorsed it. He said there was no reason now for the British to delay further any issuance of these 100,000 certificates and in his statement, he very carefully distinguished between short-term, emergency recommendations and long-term solutions.

'These short-term recommendations, which should have been the official policy of the U. S. Government, were: First that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine; secondly, that the land laws restrictions in Palestine of 1940, which were the result of the White Paper of 1939, should be immediately rescinded; thirdly, that the Jordan Valley Authority be created to make it possible to fructify those lands of Palestine.

'We were warned by the English representative of the Foreign Office that the Foreign Office would take no part in the carrying out of our recommendations, but would try to prevent these recommendations from being put into effect....

'We found some rather shocking things. As Americans we know that Mr. Truman was manifestly determined to see that the British Government measured up to their responsibilities. Yet when we got on the Queen Elizabeth the secret files of the State Dept. were disclosed to us. We found that for every promise made by our Presidents, that for every resolution passed by practically unanimous action by Congress, and for every plank and for every platform from 1920 on of both the Republican and Democratic parties, our State Dept. advised that nothing would be done. Why is that? And how is it possible for the President of the U. S. A. to set up a certain policy and still have the State Dept. work against it?

'How is it possible for gentlemen of the middle level not to carry out the instructions of the President of the U. S. A.? I suppose it is possible in government such as we have that men of that level who make policy really could do these things, particularly if you permit secret files.

'I suggest very strongly that one of the things this group could urge that might be an end to the secret communications between Ibn Saud, Farouk of Egypt and the Husseinis of Jerusalem and the Middle East desk of the State Dept....

'I would like to say a little about the British whom I like very much. I think they feel that they are in a desperate position. I have been told by friends that the Labor Party is out to prove that they can protect the British Empire as well as Churchill.

'Our telephone lines were tapped and quite often and curiously enough the voice was always a British voice. Also by some odd coincidence messages from the President of the U. S. A. to Judge Hutcheson, our chairman, were again by some odd coincidence, delivered first to the British Consul General in Geneva.

'Our experiences in Palestine were somewhat similar. Our wires were tapped, our mail was opened; confidential replies from the White House were first delivered to the British before they reached us. Toward the end of our visit there, they didn't even bother to reseal the envelopes.

'I think it quite important that you should understand the manner in which the British are administering Palestine today. It is a police state conducted along completely Fascist lines. It is not possible for anyone to express his views publicly.

'The month before we arrived in Palestine 250 Jews were arrested because it was believed they entertained thoughts which were not friendly to His Majesty's Government. Outside of Jerusalem I myself personally visited five concentration camps and saw men who had been imprisoned for thinking that Jews should be allowed to come to Palestine.'"

The press of August 21st carried an Associated Press story from London which reported:

"LONDON, August 20. -- Great Britain will ask the United Nations for sole trusteeship over Palestine, a well qualified government source

said today, and there were immediate indications the move would touch off a widespread diplomatic battle for control of the strategic Holy Land.

"Arab sources here said the Arab countries surrounding Palestine would press instead for complete independence of the 10,429-square-mile country, and it was suggested Egypt would ask for trusteeship if the independence move failed.

"Diplomatic quarters said the Soviet Union, which long has urged that the British get out of Palestine and let the Jews and Arabs settle their own problems, could be expected to oppose a British trusteeship. The United States, building an oil pipe line across Palestine, could be expected to favor it, they added.

"While the Jewish Agency for Palestine made no official comment, a spokesman said Holy Land Jews would not oppose United Nations discussion on the trusteeship and would accept any regime that gave them 'a fair share' of control over immigration and certain other matters.

"Britain herself, in introducing the White Paper of 1939, said that the (League of Nations) mandate was unworkable,' the Jewish Agency spokesman said. 'As it is being administered now, we agree that it is unworkable. The regime in Palestine today is one of coercion and not of consent.'

"The official who disclosed Britain's plan said it was necessary because Britain's League mandate for Palestine expired with the League. Without direct reference to Winston Churchill's recent suggestion that the mandate be surrendered, the official said: 'Britain will certainly not give up the mandate, and has not ever considered doing so.'

"(The government source, according to The United Press, indicated that if any attempt were made to spread the Palestine mandate among several nations, it would run into British opposition.)"

HLS:MSR

August 26, 1946

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION'S RECORD ON PALESTINE

Exactly a year ago -- on August 31, 1945 -- President Truman first made his request of Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 homeless European Jews be admitted into Palestine immediately. When the President's request was made public, the Jews of America -- an overwhelming majority of whom subscribe to the Zionist program -- as well as millions of non-Jews who are deeply concerned about the problem of Europe's homeless Jews and Palestine, hailed President Truman as the first leader of the democratic nations to take concrete steps to save the remnants of European Jewry.

Speakers at Jewish rallies and Jewish newspapers pointed out that in all the years of Jewish suffering since the advent of Hitler, the Democratic Administration merely offered its condolence and sympathy to the Jews, but did nothing concrete to rescue them. It was pointed out further that, with the publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence, public opinion was confronted with harsh reality: it became clear that at the very moment when the Administration was making pledges in support of the Zionist program, it was at the same time giving conflicting assurances to the Arab states. Needless to say, the reaction among the Jewish masses was one of shock and let-down.

Following these revelations and the well-established charges that the U. S. State Department was pursuing a pro-British and pro-Arab policy on Palestine, it is understandable that President Truman's letter to Prime Minister Attlee was greeted with great enthusiasm. This action served to give the Jews and their supporters renewed hope that the Administration was not going to forsake them after all.

It was well known that President Truman's letter to Mr. Attlee had been sent after the President had read the harrowing details of Earl Harrison's report on the conditions of the Jews in Europe's Displaced Persons' Camps. The warnings of Mr. Harrison and of other competent observers that only immediate action to transfer these harassed refugees to Palestine will avert a catastrophe, were regarded as clear indications that the required steps would be taken without delay.

But months passed and nothing was done. The British Government and the U. S. State Department employed one delaying device after another -- and the Jews languished in the concentration camps of Europe. People again wondered whether they were not being given another "run-around" by the Administration.

The British Government then countered President Truman's long-standing request with a proposal that an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry be set up to investigate the entire problem of Palestine once again -- this after the facts in the situation had been made all too clear by the Harrison Report and other surveys. The British move was obviously another delaying tactic, but President Truman agreed to this new investigation without taking advantage of the readiness of American Zionist leaders to discuss the entire situation with him, to point out how utterly undesirable this proposal for a new Inquiry was, and to warn him that the British had no intention of taking positive action as a result of the Inquiry, but intended only to procrastinate further.

After four months of time-consuming exploration and investigation, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry issued a Report which recommended what President Truman had requested in the first place -- the immediate emigration of 100,000 homeless Jews to Palestine. However, the Report also contained certain long-range political recommendations which, Zionist leaders pointed out, "can never be accepted by the Jewish people." These latter recommendations, which run counter to American policy on Palestine as stated by Congress, were obviously included in the Report at the insistence of the British, who would not otherwise have agreed to the recommendations favoring the immediate emigration of 100,000 Jews.

By consenting to the British proposal of a joint inquiry, the President had, therefore, allowed the United States to be maneuvered into an untenable position: in order to obtain consent to the immediate emigration of 100,000 Jews -- the United States would be repudiating every international pledge made to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine, and acting in opposition to the will of the American people as expressed by two resolutions of Congress -- one of which was passed during President Truman's administration.

The President now had to reconcile two conflicting positions. Fortunately, he was prevailed upon to take the correct steps under these circumstances, and in making public the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on April 30th of this year, he declared:

"I am very happy that the request which I made for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine has been unanimously endorsed by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The transference of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished with the greatest dispatch . . . I am also pleased that the Committee recommends in effect the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939, including existing restrictions on immigration and land acquisitions, to permit the further development of the Jewish national home. It is also gratifying that the report also envisages the carrying out of large-scale economic development projects in Palestine which would facilitate further immigration and be of benefit to the entire population. . . In addition to these immediate objectives, the report deals with many other questions of long-range political policies and questions of international law which require careful study and which I will take under advisement."

This, then, was United States policy as enunciated by the President: the emigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine was a matter for immediate action, and not subject to further consultations; the long-range political questions were to be taken "under advisement."

Weeks, and then months, went by and still nothing was done. The plight of the Jews in the Displaced Persons' Camps had become unendurable, and the frustration of these unfortunates expressed itself in repeated clashes with our own occupation troops in Europe. The Jews of Palestine had also reached the depths of despair, and the British were becoming more brutal in the enforcement of their illegal policy of excluding Jewish refugees from their internationally-guaranteed homeland. Under these conditions, violence was inevitable and Britain's tyrannical act of suppression only served to produce more bloodshed and destruction. Meanwhile, the U. S. State Department was following the procedure of further "consultations" initiated by the British.

The American public could not understand -- and still cannot understand -- how it is possible for the President of the United States to enunciate one policy

publicly while his subordinates in the Administration follow procedures that are diametrically opposed to that policy. Throughout the country people said -- and continue to say -- that the Administration is merely playing a clever game with the Jews; that the Administration has no intention of carrying out its promises to the constituency in behalf of the Jewish people.

Then the Cabinet Committee was appointed. The American people were told that this new Committee was set up to bring about the speedy implementation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's Report. When the Cabinet group was formed, President Truman expressed confidence that his request for the immediate emigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine would be speedily implemented. He had an extremely cordial meeting with leaders of the Zionist movement on July 1st, following which the White House issued a statement which read:

"The President further added that it was his determination that these most recent events should mean no delay in pushing forward with a policy of transferring 100,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine with all dispatch, in accordance with the statement he made upon the receipt of the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The President indicated that the Government of the United States was prepared to assume technical and financial responsibility for the transportation of these immigrants from Europe to Palestine."

After conducting its own "investigation" of the problem, the Cabinet Committee reversed the policy repeatedly stated by the President and produced a British-sponsored plan for the "federalization" of Palestine. This scheme was a complete surrender to British Colonial Office policy. The position taken by the entire American Zionist movement on the plan was stated by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America and chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Dr. Silver said:

"The 'federalization plan,' recommended to the American and British Governments by the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, is a conscienceless act of treachery, dooming the helpless Jewish survivors in Europe to further death and humiliation and driving the Jews of Palestine to further desperation.

"The Cabinet Committee's recommendation that the admission of 100,000 homeless European Jews to Palestine, first urged almost a year ago by President Truman and unanimously recommended as an immediate step by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, be made 'conditional' on the adoption of the 'federalization' proposal, is as revolting as it is immoral. In plain English, this means that 100,000 helpless refugees are to be used as hostages by Britain and the United States in order to extort from the Jewish people acceptance of a political formulation which clearly repudiates every international commitment made to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine -- a formulation which the governments concerned surely know the Jews cannot accept.

"That the lives of oppressed men, women and children, who have already passed the limits of endurance, should thus be used as pawns in Britain's imperialistic maneuvers -- and that the United States should now be a party to this abomination -- does not augur well for the world of peace and justice which, it was hoped, would emerge from the ruins of the greatest of all wars. We respectfully suggest to those who are responsible for shaping government policy on this question that what is required above all in the present situation is simple morality. . . .

"This is a plan for the ghetto-ization of the Jews in their own homeland. Even that small portion of the country remaining for Jewish settlement under the 'plan' would be controlled almost completely by the same British Colonial Administration, whose only right to be in Palestine in the first place is the duty assigned to it by the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate: facilitation of the development of the Jewish National Home."

Americans -- Jews and non-Jews alike -- could not help but ask whether the Administration's earlier statements were sincere in view of the fact that the President's own Cabinet Committee had now repudiated not only Mr. Truman's position, but every official American declaration of support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine, including the plank in the platform of the Democratic Party, which reads:

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

Could the President's Cabinet Committee have accepted this abominable "federalization" plan if its members had been convinced that the President wants them to carry out U. S. policy as stated by him? Surely the members of that Committee were astute enough to realize that the British would offer them a series of "plans" and would try to secure U. S. agreement to that formula which is least in the interest of the Jews. But it is clear that Mr. Grady and his fellow Committee members were advised by the State Department to follow the line proposed by the British.

Furthermore, the public was astounded to read accounts in the press which reported the President as having taken a most unfriendly attitude towards those who called on him to repudiate the "federalization" plan. For example, the following dispatch appeared in the New York Times of Wednesday, July 31st:

"TRUMAN 'REBUFFS' PALESTINE PLEA

"New York Congressmen Say That He Hinted At Political Motives In Their Visit

"Washington, July 30 -- Nine New York members of the House called on President Truman today to protest the proposed partitioning of Palestine and insist on the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews, but they came away expressing dissatisfaction with their reception.

"The President was reported to have been sympathetic to the homeless Jews' plight, but only as part of a larger problem of displaced persons generally. Members of the delegation said that he was inattentive to their arguments and had suggested at one point that the reason for their call was political.

"Coincidentally, Senators Robert F. Wagner, Democrat, of New York, and Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, assailed the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee's latest proposals in the Senate. Mr. Wagner called the plan 'a deceitful device to stifle the hopes of a long-suffering people.' Mr. Taft said that it was a 'cynical plan' that would mean the 'complete frustration' of Jews in Palestine and 'deep despair for the million and one-half surviving Jews in Europe.'

"The delegation calling on Mr. Truman was led by Representative Emanuel Celler, who read a prepared statement. Mr. Celler gave a reporter the following digest of it:

'The President should reject the new proposal of the British because admission of 100,000 Jews is conditioned upon its acceptance. Thus the innocent 100,000 Jews are considered as hostages. This is utterly unfair.

'The plan would narrow the Jewish province to 1,500 square miles and prevent any further development economically and culturally after admission of the 100,000. Acceptance would be approval of a ghetto in Palestine. Furthermore, the British know that neither the Arabs nor the Jews would accept the plan. And thus they would be privileged again to delay a decision. The plan is nothing but a stall.'

"Mr. Celler would not describe the President's reaction, but other members of the delegation said that it was 'discouraging.' One of the descriptions of the conference was: 'It was rough.'

"Mr. Truman was said to have shuffled papers on his desk while Mr. Celler read and to have commented, when Mr. Celler started to speak further about a problem 'close to my heart' that he did not have time to listen, that he knew all about the subject anyhow. The President, according to the Representatives' accounts, indicated that he was sympathetic to the Jewish problem, but explained that he was working on a broader question in trying also to get 100,000 displaced persons admitted to South America, 100,000 to British possessions and 100,000 to this country.

"He was reported to have said that he did not blame the Congressmen for coming to the White House, that he realized that they were all up for re-election this fall, but that it was time somebody came to see him about the United States problem for a change. He ended the Conference abruptly, the witnesses said, before the Representatives were ready to leave.

"In addition to Mr. Celler, those attending the Conference were Representatives Walter A. Lynch, Ronald L. O'Toole, John J. Rooney, Charles A. Buckley, Leo F. Rayfiel, and Arthur J. Klein, Democrats; Vito Marcantonio, American Labor Party, and Leonard W. Hall, Republican."

Obviously, the President has failed to understand why the Jews of America and those who support their cause are persisting in approaching him: the fact of the matter is that nothing has yet been done for the Jews, and the 100,000 are still languishing in the detention camps of Germany.

As a result of the nationwide outburst of indignation against the "federalization" plan and the tremendous pressure that was concentrated on the White House, President Truman was prevailed upon not to accept this proposal. Instead, he recalled the Grady Committee to Washington for further consultations. The American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry were also called to Washington to offer their opinion of the plan, and they were unanimous in repudiating it.

The State Department made an effort to keep the Committee of Inquiry's opinion secret, so that it could go ahead with its program of employing the Grady Committee's report as a basis for discussions with the British. Fortunately, other individuals realized the importance of informing the public as to what had transpired in the Washington discussions, and the story appeared in the press. It was only as a result of the most determined pressure that the State Department's efforts to secure Mr. Truman's agreement to the Grady scheme as a basis for negotiations were defeated.

After numerous reports and rumors, many of them contradictory, as to the exact nature of President Truman's communication to the British Government had appeared on the front pages of the country's newspapers, the White House finally issued an announcement on the subject. The text of that statement is as follows:

"Although the President has been exchanging views with Mr. Attlee on the subject, this government has not presented any plan of its own for the solution of the problem of Palestine. It is the sincere hope of the President, however, that as a result of the proposed conversations between the British Government and Jewish and Arab representatives a fair solution of the problem of Palestine can be found and immediate steps can be taken to alleviate the situation of the displaced Jews in Europe.

"It is clear that no settlement of the Palestine problem can be achieved which will be fully satisfactory to all of the parties concerned and that if this problem is to be solved in a manner which will bring peace and prosperity to Palestine, it must be approached in a spirit of conciliation.

"It is also evident that the solution of the Palestine question will not in itself solve the broader problem of the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons in Europe. The President has been giving this problem his special attention and hopes that arrangements can be entered into which will make it possible for various countries, including the United States, to admit many of these persons as permanent residents.

"The President on his part is contemplating seeking the approval of Congress for special legislation authorizing the entry into the United States of a fixed number of these persons, including Jews."

This statement has been interpreted in the press and elsewhere as a declaration by the President that he is "washing his hands" of the entire question. This interpretation has also been advanced in private conversation by leading U. S. officials, including those of the State Department.

This is where the matter stands now. After all the pledges, after all the committees, the investigations and the consultations, the President of the United States announces that "this government has not presented any plan of its own for the solution of the problem of Palestine." Even though the resolutions of Congress and the platform of his own party should be regarded as commitments to a very clearly-defined program of action, the President now decides to retreat from the entire issue -- and at a time when the British are employing the resources of their empire, both political and military, to liquidate the Jewish position.

President Truman did not even publicly reaffirm his earlier statements with regard to the 100,000. The White House's announcement of August 16th, quoted above, can, therefore, be viewed only as a declaration of collapse on Palestine by this Administration. And the American people ask: has not the United States sufficient prestige, influence and authority in the world -- particularly in its relations with the British Government, whose economic future America has underwritten -- to insist that Britain fulfill her pledges and obligations to the Jews?

Nor is Jewish public opinion in this country particularly impressed by the White House's assertion that "the President, on his part, is contemplating seeking the approval of Congress for special legislation authorizing the entry into the United States of a fixed number of these persons, including Jews." Assuming that such efforts can meet with a degree of success, what must be clear to everyone is the fact that weeks, perhaps months, of interminable Congressional debate on the

question would ensue before any action is taken. Neither is American public opinion unmindful of the fact that Congress has adjourned and will not be in session for some months to come.

As for the Jews in the Displaced Persons' Camps, who will shortly be faced with the dread prospect of another bitter winter -- they are evidently expected to remain patient while their one hope for salvation -- United States action -- is removed by no less a personage than the President of the United States himself.

This is the record of the Democratic Administration on Palestine. Let not the Administration believe that merely by issuing further declarations of sympathy and condolence, it will succeed in sugar-coating this bitter pill. Anything short of the oft-promised, but repeatedly delayed concrete action will neither satisfy nor reassure the Jews of America and large numbers of their supporters, who have reached the point when they must say in a loud and clear voice: "We have been betrayed again!"

* * *

