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Crum, Bartley C., 1946-1947.

Crum
SAN FRANCISCO CALIF.

JULY 30, 1946

DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN
521 FIFTH AVENUE NYC

I HAVE SENT FOLLOWING WIRE TO DAVID NILES, WHITE HOUSE QUOTE I AM MUCH DISTRESSED, AS NO DOUBT YOU ARE, OVER THE FATE OF THE ANGLO AMERICAN COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS. EQUALLY I AM DISTURBED OVER THE EFFECT WHICH BRITAIN'S REFUSAL TO GO ALONG ON OUR SHORT TERM RECOMMENDATIONS IS HAVING ON PRESTIGE OF THE PRESIDENT. YOU WILL REMEMBER THAT OUR RECOMMENDATIONS PURSUANT TO THE DIRECTION OF BOTH THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS WERE DIVIDED INTO TWO CATEGORIES, SHORT TERM AND LONG TERM RECOMMENDATIONS. IN HIS INITIAL STATEMENT, PRESIDENT TRUMAN POINTED OUT THAT THE SHORT TERM RECOMMENDATIONS SHOULD BE PUT INTO EFFECT WITHOUT DELAY SINCE THEY WERE UNANIMOUS AND SINCE MR. BEVIN TOLD ALL OF US AT LUNCHEON IN LONDON THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD ACCEPT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE. I AM HONESTLY AT A LOSS TO UNDERSTAND WHY BRITAIN IS BEHAVING IN THE WAY IT IS. WE WENT FORWARD IN GOOD FAITH AND UNDER JUDGE HUTCHEON'S LEADERSHIP MADE SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO RECONCILE CONFLICTING VIEWS. THE RESULT WAS THE UNANIMOUS REPORT WHICH APPARENTLY NOW HAS BEEN RELEGATED TO LIMBO. OUR RECOMMENDATION THAT THE 100,000 PERSONS NOW IN DISPLACED PERSONS CAMPS IN EUROPE BE TRANSPORTED THIS YEAR TO PALESTINE WAS MADE AFTER WE HAD HEARD FROM THE HIGH BRITISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN CAIRO AND IN PALESTINE. IT MUST BE OBVIOUS TO ANYONE THAT WE WOULD NOT RECOMMEND THAT THIS NUMBER BE ADMITTED IF WE BELIEVED THAT THE ADMISSION OF 100,000 DISPLACED JEWS TO PALESTINE WOULD CAUSE ANY TROUBLE. OUR RECOMMENDATION IN FACT WAS BASED UPON THE ASSURANCE GIVEN US BY BOTH THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND THE POLICE IN PALESTINE THAT IF 100,000 DISPLACED JEWS WERE ADMITTED THIS YEAR THERE WOULD BE NO TROUBLE. ON THE CONTRARY THE ADMISSION OF THIS NUMBER THIS YEAR WOULD BE THE BEST WAY TO PREVENT VIOLENCE AND TO ELIMINATE THE SMALL GROUPS OF TERRORISTS WHO HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN RECENT MONTHS. I NEED NOT TELL YOU THAT THESE ARE DESPERATE PEOPLE WHO HAVE WITNESSED THE MASS SLAUGHTER OF MORE THAN 6,000,000 OF THEIR BLOOD RELATIVES IN EUROPE AND THEY

DO NOT INTEND TO BE SLAUGHTERED THEMSELVES WITHOUT A FIGHT. I HOPE MORE THAN I CAN SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT STANDS FIRM AND INSISTS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION FORTHWITH OF THE SHORT TERM RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE. THE QUESTION OF PARTITION IS A MATTER WHICH SHOULD BE VERY CAREFULLY CONSIDERED. IT IS A POSSIBLE SOLUTION BUT NOT ON THE BASIS OUTLINED BY MR.BEVIN OR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND PARTITION SHOULD COME IF AT ALL ONLY AFTER VERY CAREFUL AND PAINSTAKING STUDY OF THE ENTIRE SITUATION. IF WHITE HOUSE WANTS ME FOR CONSULTATION PRIVATELY, I SHOULD BE GLAD TO COME FORWARD. WARMEST PERSON REGARDS.

(SIGNED) BARTLEY C CRUM.



September 6, 1946

Mr. Bartley C. Crum
Russ Building
San Francisco 4, California

My dear Friend:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 30. You must have the news, by this time, that the Jewish Agency has declined to attend the London Round Table Conference. The Goldmann Agency Plan which was endorsed by our Government was rejected by the British Government as a basis for negotiation. As of the moment, the British intend to press for the Grady-Morrison Report.

President Truman indicated at his press conference yesterday that the Grady Report was still being discussed by the two governments. He again repeated his earnest hope about the hundred thousand!.... And he also stated that the American Government will not send any observer to the London Conference.

Frankly, I am at a loss to understand what the present position of our Government on the whole subject of Palestine really is. Perhaps you can find out. Was our Government serious about accepting the Agency Partition Plan? If so, why did it not put it forth as the American proposal to Great Britain instead of merely transmitting it as the Agency proposal and announcing publicly that America has no proposals of its own? Has the signal now been given to the British to go ahead on its own and put through the Grady-Morrison scheme, or such modification of it as it wishes, and that the U. S. Government who will do nothing to oppose it -- may perhaps even advance the \$300,000,000 "loan" to the Arabs?

Last week many meetings were held throughout the country in connection with the anniversary of President Truman's letter to Attlee in which the President and the Administration were severely criticized for their failure to achieve anything concrete either in behalf of the hundred thousand refugees, or in connection with a permanent solution. In New York City alone, over twenty meetings were held in one evening.

I see where the New York State Democratic Party included a pro-Palestine plank in its platform. This, I am afraid, will not do the trick. The Jews of America are completely disillusioned about these party platforms and official utterances.

Mr. Bartley C. Crum

-2-

September 6, 1946

The Administration is still not taking us into its confidence on an issue which after all is of primary and vital concern to the Jewish people. I should deeply regret to see the Jews of America driven into a bitter and determined opposition to the Administration.

I do not know why I write all this to you. You know the situation quite as well as I do. I had hoped, after your last telephone conversation with me, that we would be able to get together with the President and one or two other men in Washington and come to a clear understanding as to what was to be done. Unfortunately nothing has as yet materialized.

I send you all my good wishes.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



Harold P. Manson

THE *New Palestine*



Palestine and the UN
by Lionel Gelber



Realistic Zionist Policy
by Benjamin Akzin



The "Discussions"
by Harold P. Manson



The Economic Factor
by Edward Malkin

Elegy

by A. M. Klein

Marvin Lowenthal

Manfred George

S. Levenberg

Alfred Werner

BARTLEY C. CRUM

Reviews Richard Crossman's "Palestine Mission"

PAUL L. HANNA

Reviews Bartley Crum's "Behind the Silken Curtain"



*A Love as Bold, as Beautiful, as Wild
as the Hills that Hid Their Story!*



THE EXCITEMENT THEY COULDN'T DRIVE OUT OF THEIR BLOOD
WILL SURGE IN YOURS...THESE TWO WHO SHARED A SAVAGE
LOVE NOT EVEN THE LAWLESS WEST COULD FORGIVE!

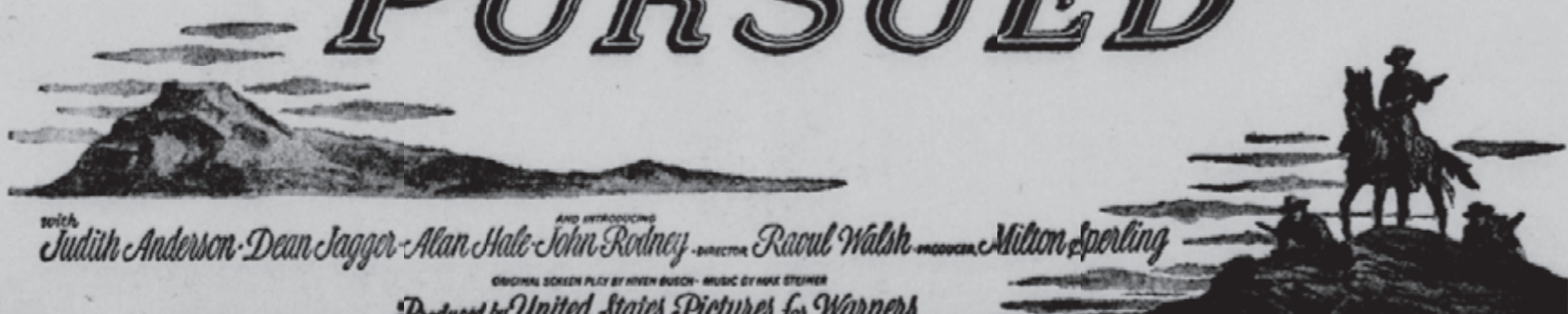
TERESA WRIGHT  *ROBERT MITCHUM*

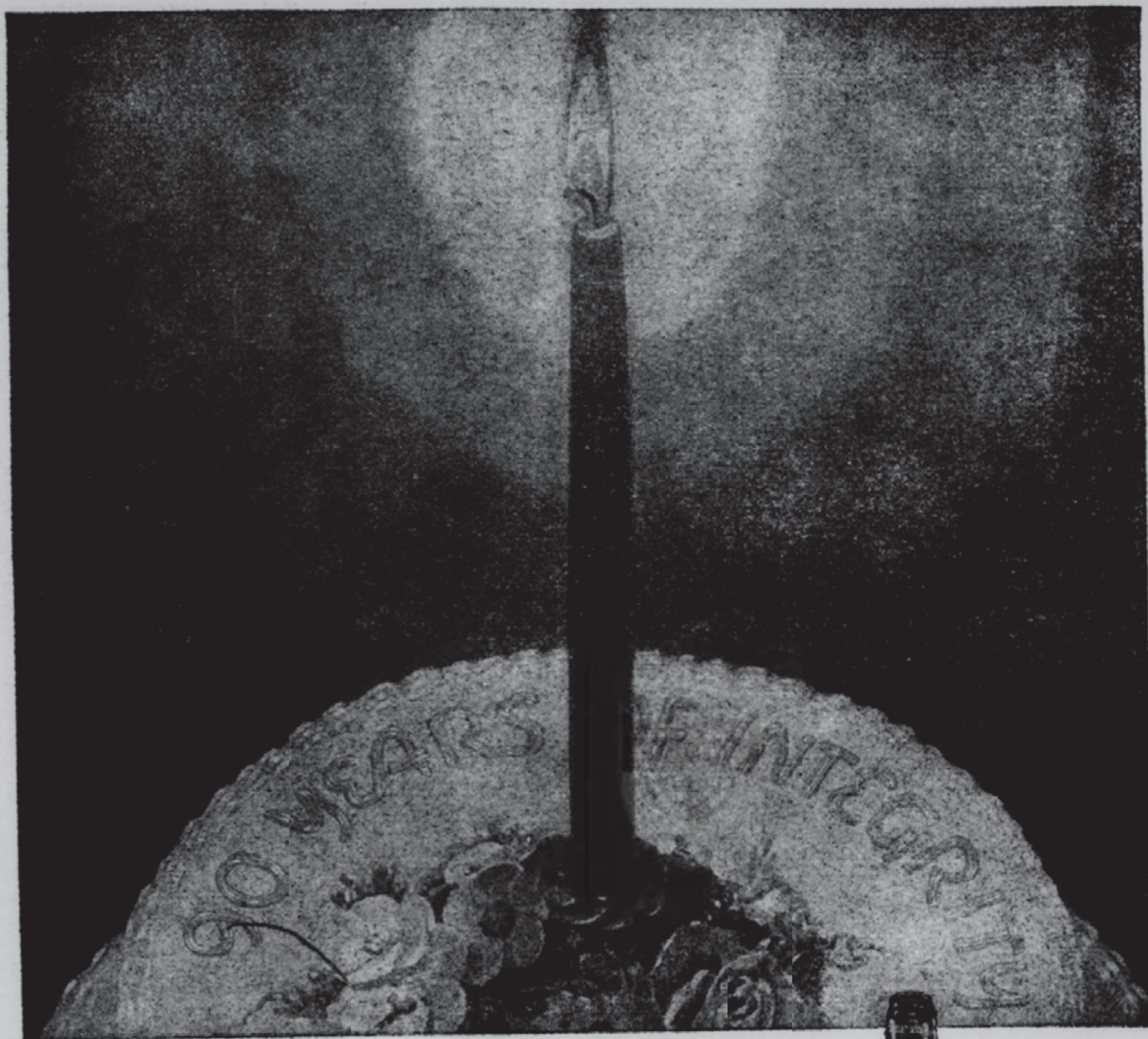
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THE NEW PALESTINE, an American Zionist publication devoted to Jewish affairs, is published semi-monthly in January, February, March, June, September, October, November and December; three times a month in April and May; and monthly in July and August by the Zionist Organization of America. All communications should be addressed to THE NEW PALESTINE, 41 East 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y. Subscription price, \$2.00; Canadian subscription, \$2.25; foreign subscription, \$3.00. Reentered as second class matter January 29, 1947 at the post office in New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN, Editor

CARL ALPERT, Managing Editor

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AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

- BENJAMIN AKZIN**—Political Secretary of the American Zionist Emergency Council.
LT. COL. M. M. C. CHARTERIS—Former Chief Intelligence Officer at British Military Headquarters in Palestine.
BARTLEY C. CRUM—Member of the Anglo-American Comm. of Inquiry on Palestine.
LIONEL GELBER—Political Adviser of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, New York Office.
MANFRED GEORGE—Editor of *Aufbau*.
PAUL L. HANNA—Professor at the University of Florida and author of "British Policy in Palestine."
A. M. KLEIN—Lecturer on poetry at McGill University and most distinguished living Anglo-Jewish poet.
DR. S. LEVENBERG—Member of the General Council of the World Zionist Organization, and Editor of the *London Zionist Review*.
MARVIN LOWENTHAL—Distinguished author and lecturer, now visiting in Palestine.
EDWARD MALKIN—New York journalist and writer on economics.
HAROLD P. MANSON—Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and Aide to the ZOA Delegation at Basle.
ALFRED WERNER—Former Editor of *Die Stimme*, Vienna; now Assistant Editor of *Chicago Jewish Forum*.

A Voice From the Past

BRITISH LABOR ON ZIONISM

From Texts of Official Party Statements

THIS Conference endorses the stand taken by the Parliamentary Labor Party against the Government's Statement of Policy on Palestine. It declares that the White Paper, by imposing minority status on the Jews, by departing from the principle of economic absorptive capacity governing Jewish immigration, by making Jewish entry dependent on Arab consent, and by restricting Jewish land settlement, violates the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. . . . This Conference reaffirms the traditional support given by the British Labor Movement to the re-establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine. It recognizes that considerable benefits have accrued to the Arab masses as a result of Jewish immigration and settlement. This Conference is convinced that under the policy of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, the possibility exists for continued and increasing peaceful cooperation between the Jewish and the Arab peoples in Palestine. This Conference calls upon the Government to rescind the White Paper policy and to reopen the gates of Palestine for Jewish immigration in accordance with the country's economic absorptive capacity.

—From Resolution adopted by Labor Party Conference in 1939

This Conference declares that victory must insure for the Jews full civil, political and economic equality and their national rights. It reaffirms the international policy of the British Labor Party in favor of building Palestine as the Jewish National Home. It asks that the Jewish Agency be given authority to make the fullest use of the economic capacity of the country, to absorb immigrants and to develop the country, including the development of unoccupied and undeveloped lands. It demands for the Jewish people equal status among the free nations of the world.

—From Labor Party Resolution in 1943

HERE we have halted halfway, irresolute between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a "Jewish National Home," unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the War. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe. Here, too, in Palestine surely is a case, on human grounds and to promote a stable settlement, for transfer of population. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out, as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than the size of Wales. Indeed, we should re-examine also the possibility of extending the present Palestinian boundaries, by agreement with Egypt, Syria, or Transjordan. Moreover, we should seek to win the full sympathy and support both of the American and Russian Governments for the execution of this Palestinian policy.

—Statement by British Labor Party Executive in 1944

COMMENT

The United Appeal

Like all Jewish communities in many lands and many ages who could do so, the Jews of the United States have for many years sent gifts to those whom they used to call their "less fortunate

brethren." Swiftly, within a decade and a half, this entire concept of giving has withered away. Purpose and therefore measure of giving have undergone a radical change. American Jews tax themselves today in order to preserve the people Israel—including themselves and their posterity.

A second and once vital distinction also disappeared. True, there still exist as functional devices both the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal and both must, functionally, continue to exist. But there is no longer a division of ultimate aim. We seek to preserve and to sustain those—and that means *all* homeless Jews—who are on their way to *Eretz Yisrael*, and we seek to preserve and sustain and enlarge and fortify the *Yishuv* as the only and ultimate home of all the homeless.

No Jew can give enough. No Jew can exceed the right measure of sacrifice. Even the \$170,000,000 aimed at is insufficient and tentative. How could a Jew live if the DP's perish? How could a Jew live if the brutalities of yesterday or tomorrow are permitted to smash the economic structure of the *Yishuv*? And we are not dealing in mere figures of speech. If these threats are not averted and these catastrophes prevented, no Jew anywhere *will* be able to live a human life or look into the eyes of his children or be anything for we know not what long ages but an outcast and a slave, glutted though he may be for the moment with food and raiment and other worldly gear. Such are the iron facts. We are not asked for charitable gifts; we are asked to fight for our very lives; our weapons in this fight are after all the easiest to obtain and use; they are merely dollars, weapons that heal and build and can hurt no man.

A very distinguished *shlich*—messenger and emissary—from *Eretz Yisrael* tells the following story. Not long ago a ship with *plitim*, with home-coming Jews, succeeded, like not a few, in evading the vigilance of the blockading British fleet. The ship sighted land far to the south where there is no harbor, no inlet, no landing-place. The sea was heavy. Yet on that shore waited a group of intrepid men of the Haganah. They were stripped. Carrying ropes they plunged into the turbulent water. They strung a hempen bridge from ship to shore and on their naked backs carried their homecoming brethren one by one to the land of redemption.

God has not given us the grace of such acts. Our privilege

is less heroic, but it is equally commanding. Let us think of those *plitim*; let us think of those boys of the Haganah! Israel has never been greater, never nobler in all the long ages, never worthier of the sacrificial devotion of every Jew. The world and wordly things are perishable dross. We are blessed with the opportunity of giving all we are and have for the highest and most heroic cause and venture that any group of men has ever known or served.

Pesach

Nearly all the great religions base the substance of their faith upon an historical event, upon an event that took place in space and time. Since documents contemporary with the event in question are commonly few and not always of unassailable authenticity, a second line of proof has been established. It is the line of unbroken tradition. The original witnesses of the event told the next generation and that generation related the matter to the following, so that a chain of living witnesses unites those who actually beheld the event to those who live on any given historic day.

The Jewish religion is unique, however, in that in addition to original documents, to the witnessing of experience and the embodiment of experience through tradition, it possesses a third and overwhelming kind of evidence—the evidence of historic *recurrence*. The fundamental facts and events on which we base our faith occurred not only in concrete isolation; they occurred as prototype and prophecy, as eternally recurrent pattern, as the necessary expression of the destiny of *this* people.

A few of the children of Israel are driven to a foreign land. The few prosper. When the few become many the people of the land rise up against them and the children of Israel, now visibly a people too, must fare forth. But their faring forth is forever not only flight. It is *quest*. A great leader or a great idea, both equally redeeming, draws them onward, first into a desert to hear once again the Eternal Voice and pledge their obedience, next to go to the land promised to Abraham and to possess or repossess it. We know that the thing is true, that the thing is so. Ages succeeded ages and faith faltered and science and progress were supposed to have reduced the original event to a myth and the Voice heard from Sinai to a legend. And then, on a sudden, the thing happened again, happened on a scale and with a depth unheard of and draws us all—on this *Pesach* of all *Pesachim*—to the renewed assertion of our liberation on our way to the foot of the Holy Mountain and thence onward to the land of our redemption.

Realistic Zionist Policy

by Benjamin Akzin



THE British decision to refer the Palestine issue to the United Nations sprang, like most political acts, from mixed motives and has a dual significance. On the one hand it is another delaying maneuver designed by the British to take the place of immediate action. On the other hand, however, the step has been forced upon the British Government because the Palestine situation did not develop as planned.

Similarly, the consequences which the decision is bound to have are not simple in character: viewed in one light, England does not lose control over the Palestine situation by bringing the question before the United Nations, since no binding decision can be reached by that body on the subject of Palestine without British concurrence or, at least, her passive acquiescence. From another aspect, however, once the British Government has put Palestine on the agenda of the international body, she has taken the first step in the direction of losing ultimate control, and from then on she will find it increasingly difficult to prevent foreign governments from participating in the determination of Palestine's future.

That a step of this nature represents an important new factor in the situation is undeniable. It confronts all directly interested parties with the need to canvass urgently the many governments represented on the United Nations and to convince them of the respective merits of the issue. That the British and the Arab governments, with the opportunities available to them, are doing this very thing, is beyond doubt. That we can do no less, goes without saying.

This is not the place to write in detail about the technical preparation of our case or about the objectives at which we must aim. But four essential points must be stressed:

1. As long as present circumstances prevail, we must make it clear to the new governments now involved, to United Nations officials, and to the public that the British Government is not a relatively impartial, detached observer anxious to find a solution in the light of law, morality, and international harmony, but a party in interest, a party that is as much seeking its own advantage as we and the Arabs. To all British attempts to dominate procedure and participate in framing recommendations we ought to oppose the argument that the only part which Britain *may* play in the United Nations proceedings is that of a government under investigation or, at best, of a party in interest, and that neither of these roles permits Britain to be one of the judges.

2. We must draw the attention of the member-governments of the United Nations to the questionable character

of the British step. To this very day, neither the United Nations as a whole nor the individual governments have been informed whether Britain is willing to be bound by whatever recommendations or decisions are reached in that body. With a calculated vagueness that has long been characteristic of British diplomacy, the British Government has skirted around this question. It should not be too difficult to persuade the American and some other governments of the need for obtaining a binding assurance from Great Britain on this point; should Britain refuse such an assurance, the hypocritical character of her gesture would immediately become apparent, and this would not fail to put its mark on the further proceedings.

3. Should the Palestine problem stay on the agenda of the United Nations (which, at the time of this writing, is by no means as certain as appears on the surface), our strongest position lies in demanding that, pending a decision by that body on Palestine's *future*, the country's *present* regime be brought in accordance with the Mandate. In insisting on an interim order by the United Nations to that effect, we stand firmly on the basis of general international law as well as of Article 80 of the United Nations Charter. This is a well-nigh impregnable legal position, and if it finds sufficient support, it will almost inevitably wring from the British important concessions.

To adhere to this position as long as possible is important also because the moment the United Nations starts searching for a future regime for Palestine that is to replace the Mandate, our rights under that document are no longer a necessary guiding principle in the search.

This is also of vital importance for the future, for in international relations ultimate decisions tend to reflect the status quo existing immediately before the decision. Hence, if, as the time for decision approaches, Jewish rights in Palestine are still completely disregarded in practice, the decision will be colored accordingly. Conversely, if at that time certain steps have been taken to observe these rights, we will have gained a more favorable starting point for the deliberations concerning the future.

4. When the time comes to define our demands for the future, we ought to make clear our insistence on two points: (a) a regime that would speedily result in Jewish mass-immigration and Jewish Statehood; and (b) the need to place Palestine under a provisional governing authority acting on behalf of the United Nations, in which the Jewish Agency or its equivalent would play a major role.

We must avoid any bogging down in self-defeating Jewish partition proposals on the one hand, and any commit-

ment to the hopeless muddle of a British or international trusteeship arrangement which would be as unsatisfactory as the Mandatory administration on the other. There is no sense in trying to depart from our real purpose for the sake of finding a formula so "reasonable" that it would be accepted as basis by the United Nations: nothing that we—a party in interest—could propose, unless it meant complete renunciation of Zionism, will be accepted by the United Nations as "basis." Its own bodies will formulate a proposal, probably a composite of various plans made by the contending interests. What we offer will be no more than a starting point for our friends in the United Nations. Instead of continuing the stupid game of playing the arbitrator or mediator in our own cause, far better that we concentrate on intelligently presenting our case, leaving the tasks of arbitration and mediation where they properly belong—to third parties.

BUT while a disregard of any of these points can easily lead to defeat, their mere observance is far from guaranteeing victory. Indeed, the entire entry of the United Nations into the picture is merely a complicating procedural element. It is not a decisive element. The *decisive* elements are furnished, as before, by the determination of the Jews in and out of Palestine not to allow the continuation of present British policy, and by the respective attitudes of the governments of the Great Powers—especially of the British and American Governments. No decision opposed by the Great Powers will be adopted by the United Nations, no decision favored by the Great Powers will be defeated by that body, and no decision favorable to the Jews will be adopted by Britain and the United States unless these governments are convinced that the determination of the Jews will make any contrary decision a source of unending difficulties.

Therefore, while a great deal of skill and perseverance is required in dealing with the technical presentation of our case to the United Nations, the main problems remain those concerned with the current situation in Palestine, and with our relations with the British and American Governments. In a way, these three decisive elements can be reduced to two. Experience has shown that, the moment the London Cabinet has an inkling that the pressure on it is the least bit reduced, the influential anti-Zionist forces immediately gain the lead, and "negotiations" or "conversations" are held in London for the sole purpose of talking the Zionist representatives into agreement to a formula that would sooner or later liquidate Zionism. The really decisive elements, therefore, are those which will ensure that both the situation in Palestine and the attitude of the American Government should exercise continued pressure on the British Government until it discontinues its present senseless policy.

What this means in terms of the struggle now going on in Palestine, is easy to perceive. World Zionist leadership is faced with the dilemma of choosing between the tragedy of resistance and the greater tragedy of attempting to stop

resistance and gradually surrendering, in fact, if not in theory. The most effective form of resistance is an unending stream of visa-less immigrants, *Aliyah Bet*. But insofar as Britain tries to stop the *Aliyah* by force, we are driven into the alternative of either giving up the effort or physically opposing the British might. The area of conflict then widens on both sides, until it resolves itself into wholesale repression v. full-scale revolution. This is a tragic situation indeed, but we may as well realize that if the *Yishuv* returns to what the British call "law and order," i.e. *submission to the status quo*, Britain and the world will conclude that there is no pressing need to revise the status quo. The majority of the *Yishuv* seems to have grasped this truth. Zionist leadership has hesitated and fumbled, and the initiative is passing into other hands. It is not too late for the leadership to make up its mind and to start leading once more. Churchill's immortal war-time phrase spoke of the need for "blood, sweat, and tears." "Sweat and tears" alone would not have turned the trick for the English in the days of Dunkerque and Alamein. And however much we may regret it, sweat and tears alone will not turn the trick for the Jews in the days of Bevin and Montgomery.

THE other decisive element—the influencing of American policy, is the special responsibility of American Zionism. Of late, the movement has become fully aware of this responsibility, and is discharging it to the best of its abilities. As a result, the American Government has given a certain measure of diplomatic support to the cause of the Jewish National Home. This development has been the more significant as it was based to a large extent on a bi-partisan policy advocated by Republican leaders as well as by the Administration.

Gratifying as this is, we should not forget that the policy is not yet as firmly anchored as one could wish. Only a short time ago the Administration was wont to issue mere public statements in support of the Jewish National Home, but the day-to-day policy of the Department of State was geared to an anti-Zionist trend. The influences which were responsible for that trend will undoubtedly make themselves felt anew at the slightest opportunity, and considerable watchfulness is necessary to prevent this from taking place.

In Republican circles, too, things are not as perfect as one might think. To be sure, a number of Republican leaders, both on the progressive and on the conservative wing of the party, have made very clear their full adherence to the pro-Zionist Republican platform of 1944 and to the Congressional Resolution on Palestine of 1945. But there are serious defections. Certain prominent Republicans have carefully skirted the Palestine issue when commenting on international affairs. This has not been without influence on the British who are anxiously scanning the horizon for the least sign that American support of the Jewish National Home is not as whole-hearted as it appears.

The manner in which the United States rejected Mr. Trygve Lie's tentative proposal of an informal United

Nations Commission is also a case in point. The American Government correctly appreciated the evasiveness which marked that most singular British "request" to the United Nations. The British made no recommendation, did not commit themselves to accept the United Nations' decision, and avoided making the least concessions for the interval period. Indeed, the British committed themselves to nothing, but all other governments, including the American, would have been effectively estopped from urging any changes pending the investigative and other stages of the United Nations' deliberations. Mr. Lie and the other Great Powers did not perceive this. The American Government, which by now has taken the measure of British cunning, has not fallen into the trap. Had our government publicly explained the reasons for its attitude, a great deal of good would have been accomplished. But it has chosen to announce its decision without giving any reasons. This has given the British Government (which may or may not be aware of the real situation) the opportunity to beat on the tom-toms of the public press the old tune that the American government merely seeks to avoid responsibility for the Palestine issue.

MORE serious than any of the above defects is the fact that the American Government still tries to regard the Palestine issue as a matter wholly apart from other international issues. Because of this, it consistently refrains from introducing the Palestine question into the give-and-take arrangements that are constantly going on between America and Britain. This has been the case for a long time, but became especially apparent when the British started their drive to get America to underwrite the commitments and policies of the British Empire. American economic support to Greece and Turkey is just the camel's nose in the proverbial tent. America will soon be asked by London to finance and otherwise support further areas and regimes, notably the British occupation zone of Germany, Austria, and others. All this is asked of the American Government on the ground that it is necessary to assure international stability, a task to which Britain is no longer equal. This surely was the point at which the American negotiators could have asked Britain to make their contribution to international stability in Europe and the Near East by opening Palestine to the Jews. But, as on previous occasions, our government failed to relate the Palestine question to the other issues pending between the two countries. Satisfied that their obstinacy in Palestine will not cost them American support in any other question, the hard-headed British do not see the need for the least concessions on their part, but continue to give America a run-around,

(Continued on Page 115)

Fragments From a Diary

by Marvin Lowenthal

—Jerusalem

SATURDAY last, I can't forget, was a perfect day: warm, quiet, sunny, blue, blue. As I stood with the R's on their balcony it occurred to me that it was in Palestine that God made the Sabbath; and of course the product is fresher and purer when enjoyed on the spot—like the most delicate of wines, it does not stand transporting. So Jerusalem is holy in an indescribable way.

But this spell of awesomeness is broken—or enhanced—I can't say which—by the tension you feel in the air. Tanks go rumbling at break-neck speed up and down the streets of the outer city. Tommies and barbed wire are in evidence at all important intersections. Two entire blocks in the heart of the city, comprising the Post Office and the most modern shops, have been turned into a fortress flanked by barbed wire. The shop doors and windows have been sealed with concrete. Here and there a Tommy looks out behind small barred windows. The impression created is that the British have been imprisoned in a grim penitentiary, and it is the Jerusalemites who are free. . . .

I walked to the Palestine Information Office and sat about till near midnight listening to the reaction of the newspaper boys to the death verdict given the three boys caught with whips. It was interesting to see a consensus of the press being formed over whiskey, bacon and eggs. They all agreed that the verdict was meant as a "provocation" in the hope that the Irgun would go into action and that the army could smash the Jewish community, beginning with the economic strangulation of Tel Aviv.

LUCKILY, so far, the Irgun seems content to have put several hundreds of British into a concentration camp. If they have any political sense they will do nothing—while the interned British officials go nuts. Even after only a few days they are grumbling like fury, I'm told by those who are in a position to know. As you can guess, there are now in the land British "illegals" and other British who have gone "underground."

Everything the papers report is true, and Americans have a right to be indignant and puzzled by British brutality—but the "terrorists" are not blowing up the entire country. A few nights ago I dined at the Hotel Eden while two tanks kept their guns levelled at the lobby doorway. I have lost count now of how many times on the streets of Jerusalem and along the country highways I've had my passport examined. But Tel Aviv is free of troops (I guess they feel too uncomfortable there). And people everywhere shrug their shoulders and go on living. . . .

The Lost Continent

by Manfred George

IN THE crowded railroad stations and in the waiting rooms of airfields today in Europe you encounter ever and again the same strange couple. In every country they speak a different language, this old man and this old woman, but they have always the identical countenance. It is a countenance furrowed by deep lines, and in the eyes suffering has made its home. The man is usually the feeble, the one who is being protected. The woman is more resolute, more lively; it is she who fastens the gay woolen muffler, usually quite out of harmony with the rest of his garments, about the trembling chin of her spouse; she straightens his hat and at the last moment sees to it that his overcoat is buttoned.

Everywhere you run into this aged Jewish couple. They are in a land in which they do not dwell; they come from a land to which they don't belong; they are traveling toward a land in which they're not welcome. Many such elderly people are in constant movement all over Europe today. Somewhere they have scratched up a few last pennies or have been given them as a gift. They are either in search of their children or they themselves have been found and have been given a railroad ticket to some place where they hope to die more peacefully than in that even more desolate place from which they have come.

These old, confused and nervous people who by some miracle escaped the diabolical snares of the Nazis are typical of the majority of the Jews who are still left in Europe. Is Europe then a lost continent; thus one is asked upon one's return. No, it is not necessarily so. It is a continent fighting for some kind of a future while it still bleeds from a thousand wounds. And the birth pangs of this future have barely set in. But it is a lost continent for the Jewish people. There are quite a few Jews who, alas, do not quite see that yet. The French Jews, for instance—those of old residence, not the immigrants of the past quarter of a century—share the shortsighted egocentricity of the entire French middle class and are trying to pretend to themselves that the Hitler period was a "mere interlude of history." They will not see that in all those countries where anti-Semitism was endemic it is twice as furious as it was before, and that in those countries where it was not predominant a new awareness of the Jews has created a new situation in which the Jew is thrust to the periphery of what was hitherto his natural environment.

Add to this the circumstance that all those interstitial economic positions into which Jews were historically forced are being gradually eliminated and that new economic opportunities hardly exist. Nor is this all. The vast majority of continental Jews live in lands today in which they are mere

guests, in which they have no working permits and in which, therefore, hunger forces them into illegal activities. Hence West of the Elbe their chances of any future are infinitesimal. In the East of Europe radical assimilation is enforced and the Jews, like those of Russia and the Russian sphere of influence, are being brutally destroyed as a cultural or spiritual community in the traditional meaning of Judaism. Nor let us forget the tragic fact that there are almost no young people or children left.

The thing is obvious everywhere. In the streets, in restaurants, in public meetings Jewish faces are rare. To see them you have to go to the soup kitchens or to the offices of the relief organizations. There you will find little groups of our persecuted remnants. But children you will not find. The picture is one of utter desolateness; the remnants of European Jewry are hopelessly proletarianized.

WHATEVER of youth and power is left is in the Jewish "displaced persons" camps. Here, indeed, there are still between one and two hundred thousand youthful people who exhibit an extraordinary physical and psychical energy. Had they not possessed it they would not have survived. But this survival is no new life. That is the great danger. Wherever these young people are in Zionist *Hachsharah* camps, the morale is high and the community spirit vivid and effective. In the majority of camps, which are not of this character, the situation is tragic beyond measure. Whether the Jews here are children of ten or adults of twenty, they are all human beings who for years have lived face to face with death, and who have escaped only by outwitting death. Now people who have died of terror so many times and who have yet managed to live—to them life is something quite different from what it is to your average normal citizen. They are not afraid of any kind of punishment. They have suffered so much from hunger and cold and humiliation; they have witnessed so much annihilation, so much diabolical and revolting bestiality, that they regard the codes of action of normal communities as a thing laughable and to be ignored. The world that made them what they are was that world of Nazi brutes which made their lives a daily game with death. Hence authority and leadership have to them the inevitable stench of brutality and violation. It may be said that each individual among the DP's needs the advice and guidance of a thoroughly trained social psychologist.

This is true of all the DP's. Why should it not be true of our own? Yet these people are the best and the most powerful Jews left on the continent of Europe today. They are, however, inaccessible to the ordinary demands of authority. The state, in the only form in which they have

known it, is an enemy, a monster, a brutalized policeman.

This is, among others, a profound and commanding reason for the fact that the only solution, both realistic and idealistic, for the salvation of the Jewish remnants in Europe is their transfer and settlement in Palestine. These people are an active group, afraid of nothing in the world, ready to take upon their sturdy shoulders great burdens and great sufferings. And they feel profoundly within the mystical core of their destroyed cells, that Palestine is a land where they belong and which is their own from of old. That land alone, they know, can heal them, because there will be no "strangers" there.

They know that in Palestine there is a community of Jews who have built up the land with blood and sweat and tears—with a spade in one hand and a gun in the other. And the people of that Palestinian community are the only people in the world whose authority the Jewish DP's are ready to recognize and which will be able to enforce a

group-will against whatever individualistic rebelliousness a DP may display. To the DP Palestine is the end of the road. There, he knows, he will bend or be broken. In all the other lands of earth people will try to break him who themselves are not straight, who have neither authority nor right and whose authority would only make the crooked more crooked still.

Thus we approach the end of the first half of the twentieth century with the decimation and the expropriation of nearly all the Jewish communities of middle and western Europe. It is the greatest loss which our people has suffered in its long and tragic and bloody history. Again and again this persecuted people has re-arisen as from death and has established new centers in new lands until these, too, fell a prey to the recurrence of our destiny. The Jewish DP is the last embodiment of Ahasuerus, the mythic, eternally wandering Jew. The Jewish settler in Palestine is his dramatic foil as well as his redeemer.

Elegy

by A. M. Klein

NAMED for my father's father, cousin, whose cry
Might have been my cry lost in that dark land—
Where shall I seek you? On what wind shall I
Reach out to touch the ash that was your hand?
The Atlantic gale and the turning of the sky
Unto the cubits of my ambience
Scatter the martyr motes. Flotsam of flame!
God's image made the iotas of God's name!
O through a powder of ghosts I walk; through dust
Seraphical upon the dark winds borne;
And daily pass among the sieved white hosts,
And through a cloud of cousinry transgress,
Maculate with the ashes that I mourn.

Where shall I seek you? There's not anywhere
A tomb, a mound, a sod, a broken stick,
Marking the sepulchre of that sainted one
The dogfaced hid in tumulus of air.
O cousin, cousin, you are everywhere!
And in your death, and your ubiquity
Bespeak them all, our sundered cindered kin
Now dust or mould: David whose cinctured bone—
Young branch once wreathed in phylactery!—
Now hafts the peasant's bladed kitchenware;
And the dark Miriam murdered for her hair;
And relicts nameless; and the tattoo'd skin
Glowing from lampshade in a cultured home,—
All, all our gaunt skull-shaven family—
The faces are my face! that lie in lime,
You bring them, jot of horror, here to me,
Them, and the slow eternity of despair
That tore them, and did tear them out of time.

DEATH may be beautiful, when full of years,
Ripe with good works, a man, among his sons,
Says his last word, and turns him to the wall.
But not these deaths! O not these weighted tears!
The flesh of thy sages, Lord, flung prodigal
To the robed fauna with their tubes and shears;
Thy chosen for a gold tooth chosen; for
The pervert's wetness, flesh beneath the rod;—
Death multitudinous as their frustrate spore!—
This has been done to us, Lord, thought-lost God;
And things still hidden, and unspeakable more.

A world is emptied. Marked is that world's map
The forest color. There where thy people praised
In angular ecstasy thy name, thy Torah
Is less than a whisper of its thunderclap.
Thy synagogues, rubble. Thy academies
Bright once with talmud brow, and musical
With song alternative in exegesis,
Are silent, dark. They are laid waste, thy cities,
Once festive with thy fruit-full calendar,
And where thy curled and caftan'd congregations
Danced to the first days and the second star,
Or made the marketplaces loud and green
To welcome in the Sabbath Queen;
Or through the nights sat sweet polemical
With Rav and Shmuail (also of the slain),—
O there where dwelt the thirty-six,—world's pillars!—
And tenfold Egypt's generation, there
Is nothing, nothing . . . only the million echoes
Calling thy name still trembling on the air.

LOOK down, O Lord, from thy abstracted throne!
 Look down! Find out this Sodom to the sky
 Rearing and solid on a world atilt
 The architecture by its pillars known.
 This circle breathed hundreds; that round, thousands,—
 And from among the lesser domes descry
 The style renascent of Gomorrah built.
 See where the pyramids
 Preserve our ache between their angled tons:
 Pass over, they have been excelled. Look down
 On the Greek marble that our torture spurned—
 The white forgiveable stone.
 The arch and triumph of subjection, pass;
 The victor, too, has passed; and all these spires
 At whose foundations, dungeoned, the screw turned
 Inquisitorial, now overlook—
 They were delirium and sick desires.
 But do not overlook, O pass not over
 The hollow monoliths. The vengeful eye
 Fix on these pylons of the sinister sigh,
 The well-kept chimneys daring towards the sky!
 From them, now innocent, no fumes do rise.
 They yawn to heaven. It is their ennui:
 Too much the slabs and ovens, and too many
 The manshaped loaves of sacrifice!

As Thou didst do to Sodom, do to them!
 But not, O Lord, in one destruction. Slow,
 Fever by fever, limb by withering limb,
 Destroy! Send through the marrow of their bones
 The pale treponeme burrowing. Let there grow
 Over their eyes a film that they may see
 Always a carbon sky! Feed them on ash!
 Condemn them double deuteronomy!
 All in one day pustule their speech with groans,
 Their bodies with the scripture of a rash,
 With boils and bubos their suddenly-breaking flesh!
 When their dams litter, monsters be their whelp,
 Unviable! Themselves, may each one dread,
 The touch of his fellow, and the infected help
 Of the robed fauna with their tubes and shears!
 Fill up their days with funeral; and fears!
 Let madness shake them,—rooted down—like kelp.
 And as their land is emptying and instructed,
 The nations cordon this huge lazaret,—
 The paring of thy little fingernail
 Drop down: the just circuitings of flame,
 And as Gomorrah's name, be their cursed name!

NOT FOR the judgment sole, but for a sign
 Effect, O Lord, example and decree,
 A sign, the final shade and witness joined
 To the shadowy witnesses who once made free
 With that elected folk thou didst call Thine.
 Before my mind, still unconsoled, there pass
 The pharaohs risen from the Red Sea sedge,
 Profiled; in alien blood and peonage

Hidalgos lost; shadows of Shushan; and
 The Assyrian uncurling into sand;—
 Most untriumphant frieze! and darkly pass
 The shades Seleucid; dark against blank white
 The bearded ikon-bearing royalties—
 All who did waste us, insubstantial now,
 A motion of the mind. O unto these
 Let there be added, soon, as on a screen,
 The shadowy houndface, barking, never heard,
 But for all time a lore and lesson, seen,
 And heeded; and thence, of thy will our peace.
 Vengeance is thine, O Lord, and unto us
 In a world, wandering, amidst raised spears
 Between wild waters, and against barred doors,
 There are no weapons left. Where now but force
 Prevails, and over the once-blest lagoons
 Mushroom new Sinais, sole defensive is
 The face turned east, and the uncompassed prayer.
 Not prayer for the murdered myriads who
 Themselves white liturgy before thy Throne
 Are of my prayer; but for the scattered bone
 Stirring in Europe's camps, next kin of death,
 My supplication climbs the carboniferous air.
 Grant them Ezekiel's prophesying breath!
 Isaiah's cry of solacing allow!
 O thou who from Mizraim once didst draw
 Us free, and from the Babylonian lair;
 From bondages, plots, ruins imminent
 Preserving, didst keep Covenant and Law,
 Creator, King whose banishments are not
 Forever,—for thy Law and Covenant,
 O for thy promise and thy pity, now
 At last this people to its lowest brought
 Preserve! Only in Thee our faith. The word
 Of eagle-quartermen kings ever intends
 Their own bright cyrie; rote of parrakeet
 The laboring noise among the Fabians heard;
 Thou only art responseful. Hear me, who stand
 Circled and winged in vortex of my kin:
 Forego the complete doom! The winnowed, spare!
 Annul the scattering, and end! And end
 Our habitats on water and on air.
 Gather the flames up to light orient
 Over the land; and that funest eclipse,
 Diaspora-dark, revolve from off our ways!
 Towered Jerusalem and Jacob's tent
 Set up again; again renew our days
 As when near Carmel's mount we harbored ships,
 And went and came, and knew our home; and song
 From all the vineyards raised its sweet degrees,
 And thou didst visit us, didst shield from wrong,
 And all our sorrows salve with prophecies;
 Again renew them as they were of old,
 And for all time cancel that ashen orbit
 In which our days, and hopes, and kin, are rolled.

Palestine and the UN

by Lionel Gelber



THE Palestine issue can be referred to the United Nations in a number of ways. Britain's announced intention—and she may always change her mind—is to submit the matter to the General Assembly. But as that body does not meet until the autumn, it was suggested that time might be saved by calling a special session. Such a session, however, would cost approximately a million dollars and even then it might be decided only to appoint a committee to collect data on which the Assembly as a whole could subsequently act. Mr. Trygve Lie, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, therefore proposed that a preliminary Committee of Inquiry of the General Assembly be appointed by a poll of the Powers. A special session, it is reported, will be held after all.

For his expedient Mr. Trygve Lie desired the concurrence of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The United States did not assent. She argued that it was incumbent upon Britain first to submit a more concrete plan for settlement. The United States seemed to feel that unless the British Government were prepared to take a definite line of their own, when the problem is submitted to one or other organ of the United Nations, that task would devolve upon the United States herself.

There is no doubt that Britain has been endeavoring to convey the impression that she is passing the issue to the United Nations only after she herself had explored all possible avenues of settlement. She has, of course, done nothing of the sort. What the Bevin-Attlee school have sought is to try to implement a solution favorable to the Arabs. The notion that it is not in the power of His Majesty's Government to set up a Jewish sovereignty is as assiduously cultivated as it is disingenuous. This is a twilight zone over which international lawyers and the Law Officers of the Crown may debate endlessly. In the realm of practical politics the road is clear. Why cannot His Majesty's Government do for cis-Jordania what they have already done for Transjordania? Having within the mandated area once accorded sovereignty, with the foreknowledge and consent of the two 1946 world Assemblies—that of the expiring League and that of the nascent United Nations—Mr. Bevin really must not throw dust in the eyes of mankind about his incapacity to do it a second time.

As a result of the steps which they took or approved over Transjordan, neither the British Government nor the United Nations General Assembly can now consistently interpose technical obstacles of a legal character if any similar procedure were adopted to facilitate the establish-

ment of a Jewish State. In their present irascible temper, the Bevin-Attlee group of Ministers may care as little for consistency as they do, over the Palestine issue, for the fair name of their Party and Cabinet. But the United Nations not only have their own standards of conduct and good faith to uphold and cherish; there are not a few shame-faced and bewildered subjects of His Britannic Majesty who will thank them for doing it. The Mandate for Palestine being the same instrument in each case, the Transjordan precedent is identical and precise. Sauce for the Transjordan-Arab goose is sauce for the Jewish-Palestine gander.

It is true, nevertheless, that on the Transjordan model a Jewish State might not be accepted as a member of the United Nations. Transjordan's application has, at any rate, so far been turned down. But everything here turns upon the conditions under which the new State would be launched. Transjordan has been regarded by those who voted against her application as so dependent on Britain, financially and militarily, that she is not genuinely eligible for independent membership. The strategic outlook in the Middle East may be obscure, but Anglo-Zionist relations at the moment scarcely portend that a Jewish State is likely to be disqualified on grounds such as these; on Palestine, Mr. Bevin and his predecessors have, from the point of view of enlightened Imperial self-interest, been too wilfully biting off the British nose to spite the Jewish face. Yet as the Powers court the Arabs, it is not hard to fancy their wooers voting against the application of a Jewish State.

But what if Jewish Statehood had nevertheless been conferred under conditions, strategic, diplomatic, or political, in which the Jews could acquiesce, yet which precluded membership in the United Nations? It is quite feasible for a Jewish State to exist even if it fails to be admitted into the United Nations. Nor is diplomatic recognition by all Powers a prerequisite for political independence. Non-recognition is a familiar circumstance in the history of international relations. The American doctrine of non-recognition occupies an important chapter in the foreign policy of the United States. It is better to be recognized by other Powers in the traditional diplomatic manner; it is preferable that a Jewish State also be a member of the United Nations. But a Jewish State can carry on without those advantages if it must.

FIRST things come first. And these the United Nations will have to be told by spokesmen for the Jews. The merit of sovereignty is manifest. Being masters in their own household and able to run their own show, the Palestine Jews and no outside bureaucrats could

decide for themselves the rate of immigration to ease the desperate plight of their displaced brethren in Europe; they might regulate their economy in the interests of their own people at home or abroad; with self-government resting in their own hands, barriers to land purchase would disappear. And the likelihood of a tranquil relationship either with Britain, Russia, the United States or even neighboring Arab countries might be enhanced if friction over such matters were thus eliminated.

The United Nations, moreover, will have to be informed that few of these objectives could be attained in a bi-national Palestinian State. For in any such frame of governance there would have to be equality of rights between the Jewish and Arab entities—something which must demand that the numerical disproportion of populations be frozen at its current or a fixed level. It is difficult, because of the fundamental clash in aim and purpose between the two communities, to envisage a constitutional mechanism which would work in Palestine as it does in multi-national States such as Canada or Switzerland. On the one hand, the Arab effendis would wish to maintain the *status quo*; on the other, the Jews, as a progressive, dynamic element, must ceaselessly endeavor to alter it. The Arabs will always struggle against Jewish immigration and free land purchase, just as it is these goals precisely for which the Jews must tirelessly labor. A bi-national State would be in a state of perpetual deadlock.

ANOTHER plan which the United Nations will have to consider is that of Trusteeship. And this, too, would be a solution which could not satisfy the Jews. A Trusteeship might be either a British one, a joint one such as an Anglo-American cooperative scheme would furnish, or a project directly administered under the United Nations. To all of these approaches, there are common objections. One of the most serious is that, in them, the provisions of the Mandate for a Jewish National Homeland may not be renewed or revalidated. Under the Charter, the ambiguous right of "states directly concerned" to have a voice in Trusteeship settlements might give Arab countries, and any other hostile Powers, a further brake on Jewish aspirations. Some of the latter, suspicious of the Jews as a novel species of Western semi-imperialist intruders, may take a narrow, unimaginative view which stresses the "welfare" of the indigenous inhabitants of a Trust territory (even on a lower standard of living) and minimizes Jewish claims, as well as the pervasive social value of the Jewish contribution.

A Trusteeship proposal by its very nature assumes, moreover, some kind of dependence on a superior ruler or rulers. The Jewish community in Palestine enjoys a sufficient political maturity to warrant complete independence; it does not require, and perhaps could no longer tolerate, any transitional period of constitutional tutelage—British, Anglo-American or United Nations. Much of the trouble between Britain and Palestine Jewry has indeed arisen from the fact that the British colonial bureaucracy have held sway over a

group which is, to say the least, by no means culturally or technically more backward than they themselves. The problem is, after all, not one of Jews being trained for self-government but that, being perfectly capable of self-government on the highest level, they alone are still denied in Palestine the right of self-determination.

Independence might signify equality for Palestine Jewry as a full-fledged member of the United Nations; Trusteeship entails subordination to one or more State members of the United Nations. What the Jews of Palestine would like is independent membership by the Jewish State within the United Nations and not under it—or a sovereign status entirely outside its orbit. To abjure for Palestine Jewry an inferior political stature is one of Zionism's chief aims.

The danger of a Trusteeship is, then, that at best it might only be the Mandate reborn or writ afresh. And this would be true of any Trusteeship, whether British, Anglo-American or administered directly by the United Nations.

AND WHAT would the formal submission of the Palestine issue to the United Nations mean in terms of Britain's Imperial interests? Will the Labor Government contend, if the problem does go forward and goes forward unconditionally, and with no strings attached, that this proves how altruistic British motives in Palestine have always been?

Yet what if Britain still nourishes the secret hope that somehow, in the end, her defensive stake in that vital Middle Eastern sector need not be abandoned? It is clear that, after renouncing her ascendancy momentarily and for bargaining purposes, she would have to be singularly confident of her voting strength, to count on the United Nations restoring it. Washington may be the clue. Perhaps Britain expects that the United States again has no choice but to throw the weight and influence of American diplomacy on the British side. If the United States has been impelled to back materially the far-flung British system in Greece and Turkey, can she do less in Palestine? Britain may be gambling on a solution being found within the fold of the United Nations. She might, on the other hand, and as a calculated risk, be seeking to drive the United States into a corner—one from which a prior Anglo-American agreement on Palestine will emerge and which the United Nations would be asked afterwards to approve but not basically form.

In such an event, the immediate future of Zionism depends on whose terms prevail. Everything hinges on the firmness with which, inside or outside the United Nations, the Truman Administration adheres to policies such as those laid down in their statements on Palestine of October, 1946. For by ostensibly washing their hands of the problem, by throwing themselves with presumed innocence on the tender mercies of the United Nations, the Labor Government may in fact be trying to revive at Washington projects so heedless of Jewish rights and needs as those devised by Messrs. Morrison, Grady and Bevin. These may be unacceptable to the United States, but so also might be a western power

vacuum in Palestine—the alternative implied by any British withdrawal. For Britain, through her recent moves, has challenged the American Government to reconcile the particular sympathies they have expressed towards Zionism with their new, general interventionist policy of stabilizing Mediterranean affairs.

Is it a challenge which can be taken up, there even more than elsewhere, in any language other than that of tangible guarantees? For what may have begun as a trial of strength between Britain and the United States within the context of Anglo-American friendship, could at one bound become another dramatic phase of an epoch-making process which relates the larger world power of America to its consequent moral and political responsibilities. And while the tune may be called by he who pays the piper, any such refrain must not, in Zionist ears, be a harsh one.

WHAT are the prospects in a parliamentary sense for the Palestine issue if it ever does reach the United Nations? Opinions differ over whether the Security Council or the General Assembly offer the best chance for justice to the Jews. The Security Council, if the case were submitted as a threat to peace, might provide quicker and more continuous treatment. Syria is an Arab non-permanent member; there, and in the General Assembly, the Jewish Agency would have no voice of its own. Yet Britain herself, under Security Council procedure, would be in the dock; while the Jews could thus air their case, it might, in the battle of the veto, ultimately get nowhere. In the Security Council and General Assembly alike, the Jews must have a Great Power openly and resolutely to sponsor them. It would be vain to speculate upon the diplomatic factors operating behind the Long Island facade, and in the Chancellories elsewhere, which must fashion the voting position—with or without a Great Power to champion the Jews.

Experience with other international issues before the various organs of the United Nations does, however, furnish scant reassurance about the way in which its awkward machinery will function; we can only be sure of the degree to which delay, partisanship, motives external to the questions themselves and apart from their merits, dominate the scene. Between the rivalries of the Anglo-American partnership with the Russian *bloc*, the tendency of some Asiatic Powers to combine by themselves or with another set of members, the undue voting strength of the Arab States, doubts about the goodwill of other Powers large and small, Jewish Palestine may become a helpless pawn in a bigger game. The tendency has been to conceive of the United Nations as a nostrum which would cure all diseases of the Jewish body politic merely by invoking its magic name. There could be no greater illusion. Yet if the Palestine issue moves from Downing Street and Washington to Lake Success or Flushing Meadow, it will speedily become a major test not only of Anglo-American statesmanship, but of the United Nations itself and of the entire post-war order.

Tommy in Palestine

by Lt.-Col. M. M. C. Charteris

J THINK when the soldier arrives and has had time to look around, he is enormously impressed by what he sees on all sides. Perhaps he arrives with a superiority complex. Well, that gets a bit of a shock when he finds that most of the people who live in this country are "super-intelligent;" they make rings round him with their apologetics. He finds that when it comes to argument they have him tied up in a tangle of knots. This leads to bewilderment because although the arguments are all convincing, as like as not they are completely contrary. The same thing happens when he studies the press; this, of course, is brought to him through the digest of the press produced by the Public Information Office. He finds that the Army and the Government are always wrong. He finds that half the press says one thing and the other half says the opposite. He notices that the only point in which everyone is in agreement is in blaming him and his Government for their inefficiency, dishonesty and self-interest. So he says: "What the hell?" . . .

THE soldier is a bird of passage. At the most, he is here for three years, probably much less. His profession is soldiering, not the Palestine Problem. Most people in Palestine are here for their lives, or at least for their working lives. The Zionists who live here and those who want to live here, the Arabs who live here, and the other civilians, are all more or less professionals at the Palestine Problem. It is their life. But for the soldier, it is largely a "fatigue." It is additional to his life of training for war and, generally speaking, it is a great interference to it. There are, of course, many exceptions to this rule. Many people in the Army study the problem because they are interested or because they feel that it is their duty to do so; but for the general run it is as I have said. . . .

He wants to go home, to live a normal life with his wife and family instead of seeing them every other year, or he wants to go home and marry the girl who is beginning to wonder how much longer she can wait. He is full of unexpended energy and boundless youth. His life is made wretched by guards, fatigues, alarms and excursions. Some of his friends get killed, and being, as I say unthinking, he inevitably allocates the blame in his own mind on a broader basis than is really justified by the facts. It is not altogether surprising that sometimes things happen that everyone regrets. Remember, too, that they are regretted as deeply by the vast majority of soldiers in this country as they are by anyone else. I have often been told, and I know it to be true, that the terrorists form but a small minority in this country. Well, the same is true about the Army. The rowdy element is a very small minority. . . .

—From *Journal of the Middle East Society*

Anglo-Jewry's Dilemma

by S. Levenberg

"Mr. Bevin argued that had he had to deal only with British Jewry he could have secured a temporary settlement while a more permanent arrangement was worked out. American Jewry had, however, proved much more intransigent"—*News Chronicle*, London, February 20, 1947, reporting on a meeting of the Parliamentary Labor Party.

WHERE stands British Jewry in the Palestine crisis? The posing of this question—often heard in the U. S. A. and Palestine—itself indicates a realization that Anglo-Jewry holds a special position in this matter.

Truism though it be, it ought, I think, be pointed out that when Jews in America and other countries criticize British policy on Palestine they thereby attack a foreign government which, incidentally, on a number of different grounds, comes for censure from other sections of the community as well. Jews outside Britain have, therefore, no need to hesitate. They can speak their minds and many do so to the apparent discomfiture of Foreign Secretary Bevin and a goodly part of the Press.

What of the 400,000 Jews of Britain—the country of the mandatory? Clearly they are in a different position. Owing to circumstances outside their control they are at loggerheads with their Government over Palestine—have been over a lengthy period of time. Painful though it is, they are compelled, week in, week out, to criticize British policy in regard to a country which is a vital link in Imperial communications.

Another point to be borne in mind is that the Jews of Britain attained full emancipation only in the middle of the last century. Admittedly they enjoy the full rights offered by a democracy; nevertheless there are elements in the country which lose no opportunity of dwelling on the "hospitality" extended to the Jews and who consciously or unconsciously, regard the majority of Jews as foreigners and in a class apart.

Thus the position of Anglo-Jewry in relation to Palestine is by no means an easy one; indeed one must go further and admit that it is a matter of deep concern, certainly to more thoughtful community spokesmen. Nevertheless, taking all the aforementioned factors into account, it remains true that on the whole the Jews of Britain have displayed courage and acted with deep faith in the righteousness of the national cause. In short, Jews in Britain have nothing to be ashamed of in their loyalty to the *Yishuv* and their devotion to the upbuilding of the National Home. This loyalty and devotion is strengthened by their deep conviction that the establishment of a Jewish State is in the best interests of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the cause of peace and liberty throughout the world.

IN THE history of Anglo-Jewry of the past 30 years a number of important events have taken place. Three of them stand out as landmarks—1917, when the "notables" rushed into print in opposition to the Balfour Declaration; 1943, when the Zionists won a majority at the Board of Deputies of British Jews; and 1946, when London Jews marched in protest to Trafalgar Square after the "brass-hats" had initiated military operations against the *Yishuv* and arrested the leaders of the Jewish Agency.

British Jewry was not always so forthright, so outspoken, as it is today. Deep down in its memory lies the shameful episode of 1917 when the so-called leaders of the community sought to stop the publication of the Balfour Declaration. The betrayal by the "assimilationists" of 30 years ago is written in black letters in the history of Anglo-Jewry.

The facts are on record. At a time when the negotiations between the British Government and the Zionist leaders—Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues—were known to have reached a decisive stage, an anti-Zionist letter, signed by the Presidents of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association appeared in the *London Times* of May 24, 1917. Paying lip service to the historic interest which Palestine holds for the Jewish community, the letter gave a completely false interpretation of Zionist aims, thus seeking to create confusion in the minds of British statesmen and public opinion. The letter—as might have been expected—created a sensation and on the following day the *Times* announced:

"We have received more letters than we can find room for from Jewish correspondents taking strong exception to the statement of the Conjoint Foreign Committee."

Among those who immediately protested were Lord Rothschild and the late Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, Dr. Joseph H. Hertz. Their letters, along with a statement by Dr. Weizmann, were given a prominent place in the *Times* of May 28th. This and a consequent exchange of letters precipitated a first-class crisis and might well have prevented the publication of the historic document which announced the British Government's sympathy with the idea of a Jewish National Home. Fortunately, a meeting of the Board of Deputies held on June 15th, 1917, decided by 56 votes to 51, to repudiate the leaders of the community; profound disapproval of their action was expressed. The adoption of a resolution in these terms was at once followed by the resignation of the President of the Board of Deputies and his principal colleagues. Thus ended a dark chapter in internal Jewish history.

Prior to 1940 the Board of Deputies was almost entirely controlled by the non-Zionists. When hostilities broke out, leading Zionists began to think seriously of the necessity of preparing the community for the great battle of securing Jewish rights in the "brave new world" that was to come.

Thus the elections to the Board of Deputies in 1943—which resulted in a majority for the Progressive Zionist Group—came as a shock to those who fondly believed that their claim to leadership was unchallengeable. So began a smear campaign by the defeated hierarchy, who accused the Zionists at the Board of partisanship, of reflecting the view of but a few individuals. But the Zionist group was not intimidated. Its first act was to dissolve the artificial agreement which existed between the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association—a small organization of “distinguished” British Jews who, although affiliated with and represented at the Board, claimed special rights to leadership in the field of foreign affairs.

Gradually the Zionists took over the leadership of the community. Thus deepened the process which began in 1940 with the election of Professor Selig Brodetsky, well-known Zionist leader of East European extraction. Eighteen months after the Zionist victory at the Board—on November 5th, 1944, the plenary session of that body passed a resolution in favor of a Jewish State. The vote was 159 for, 18 against.

HOW STRONG is national feeling among Anglo-Jewry? A good answer was provided by the London Trafalgar Square demonstration which took place on July 7th of last year, after the arrests of the Jewish Agency leaders in Palestine. In 1917 the exalted in the community felt their positions threatened—and they reacted with a display of cowardice; in 1946 the masses saw their national existence menaced—and they reacted with courage and a dignified protest. The following description of the march taken from the *Zionist Review* of July 12, 1946, gives a clear picture of the feelings of the Jewish masses in relation to the events in Palestine.

“The urgency of the situation found London Jewry ready and unafraid. At the call of the Zionist Federation, thousands stepped forward to march behind the elected leadership in complete solidarity with the *Yishuv*. . . . “It was an inspiring sight to see the hundreds of young Zionists in their various contingents, lined up ready to take their places in the procession. The street was a mass of blue and white, banner and clothing portraying the Jewish colors—Bachad, Habonim, Hechalutz, F.Z.Y., Hashomer Hatzair, University students, Betar, Bnei Akivah, all had their banner. . . .

“In another side street were the bulk of the general public. A solid array of Jewish ex-Servicemen wearing their war ribbons, were ready to take their place, as of right, at the head of the procession. In their front rank was the British Jew who had received in the war the highest decoration for valor the British Empire can bestow, Thomas Gould, former Petty Officer of H.M. Submarine Thrasher, holder of the Victoria Cross. Behind him were veterans of every campaign fought by the British Armed Forces in both this war and the First Great War. Men who had fought at Dunkirk, who had stood shoulder to shoulder with the fighting men of the Empire at Alamein, across Africa and Italy, France

and Burma. Men who had served in the Jewish Brigade and men who had witnessed personally the despair of the Jews of Palestine when confronted with the successive policies of the British Government. These men carried both the Union Jack and the Magen David Flag of Zion, symbolic of their faith in Britain's ability to right a grievous wrong, and their sincere belief in Jewry's just cause.”

It would be an exaggeration to say that all Jews in Britain are Zionist-minded. Organizations such as the Anglo-Jewish Association (counterpart of the American Jewish Committee) and the Jewish Fellowship (counterpart of the American Council for Judaism) command a certain amount of support. Jewish Communists, too, are vocal. There are many thousands of Jews who take no part in the life of the community: there are many inter-marriages. Jewish cultural life as it finds expression in Hebrew or Yiddish is on a small scale. Jewish education is in its infancy. But all this cannot detract from the fact that the bulk of Anglo-Jewry stands solidly behind the *Yishuv* in its hour of trial. Let there be no mistake. staunchly patriotic, proud of England and its great traditions, the Jews of Britain feel that they are struggling for a noble cause and, incidentally, for the honor of a country which has ever been proud of keeping her pledges and maintaining faith with the oppressed.

Possibly Jews in Palestine, the United States and other countries think that Anglo-Jewry is not doing enough to bring home to their fellow citizens the great Jewish tragedy on the Continent and the tribulations of the *Yishuv*. Maybe the charge is a good one. But let it not be forgotten that in the political struggle of the last 25 years British Zionists have shouldered a great burden. It was they who brought home to M.P.'s the story of Jewish achievements; it was they who arranged great public meetings addressed by Jews and non-Jews; it was they who wrote to the British Press and kept the justice of the Jewish cause constantly before the eyes of the public in the land of the Mandatory. It is certainly not their fault if relations between Jewish Palestine and the British Government have deteriorated in recent years. Jews in Britain have done their best.

What next? It would be foolish to underestimate the difficulties of the Anglo-Jewish position. Events in Palestine have undoubtedly led to an increase in anti-Semitism in Britain; press stories about “Jewish terrorists” have not contributed to friendly relations between the Jew and his next door neighbor. The leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community are fully aware of the dangers inherent in the situation. For them, events in Palestine have ceased to be of academic or philanthropic interest; what happens in Palestine today has a direct bearing on the Anglo-Jewish position.

All who witnessed the memorable meeting of the Board of Deputies on June 30, 1946, the day after the detention of the Agency leaders, are hopeful of at least one thing. This generation of British Jews will know how to hold themselves erect—come what may.

The Economic Factor

by Edward Malkin



ONE OF the immediate sequels, it is too early to say results, of the new Truman Doctrine and its first application to the Mediterranean, has been the lifting of martial law in Palestine. It is of little importance to trace a necessary connection between the two events, but it is already perfectly obvious that the new American pronouncement has the most profound implications for Palestine, and the whole Middle East.

Britain's de facto "mandate" in Greece is unworkable. The United States will now take it over. The mandate in Palestine is "unworkable." The United Nations will take it over. But in by-passing the United Nations on the Greek and Turkish problem, the United States and Great Britain have made it plain that they consider Mediterranean policy too crucial to await resolution via the dubious processes of the immature U. N.

Basically, the fact that the Palestine mandate is deemed unworkable is only one aspect of a larger reality—the British Empire itself is palpably unworkable. One need no longer seek manifestations of hidden or open intent on the part of the mandatory power to deprive Palestine of such "economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home," as provided for in Article 2 of the mandate.

The plain fact is that Britain must cut its suit according to its cloth. It must produce at least 50 percent more in the coming year, and cut consumption to the bone, in order to pay for a level of imports only equal to that of 1938. In addition to putting forth every effort to increase exports to the hard currency countries, chiefly the United States, it must sell heavily as well to the countries in the sterling bloc in order to reduce its indebtedness.

Palestine is a creditor of Britain to the tune of \$600,000,000. The bill will have to be paid in goods. So that far from being concerned with fostering a healthy Jewish economy in Palestine the British must strive by every expedient to force their products onto the markets of Palestine and neighboring countries where they compete with local products as well as the exports of other major countries.

Britain's imperious need for dollars as the American credits near exhaustion comes into conflict with the requirements of Palestine industry and agriculture for re-equipment and expansion of productive facilities worked to capacity during the war. The dollars required to buy this material, ranging from building supplies and machinery to motor trucks and combines, chiefly available in the United States, flow into Palestine in sufficient amounts. However, instead of being freely available for the purchase of supplies desperately needed by Palestine's economy they form

part of the British Empire dollar pool and are doled out in the shape of allocations to countries in the sterling area.

In this connection, the mandate has been shown to be quite "workable," that is, it worked very well for Britain. While Palestine always had a dollar income far exceeding that of any other country in the Middle East, its allocations from the dollar pool were incomparably smaller. Total exports of Egypt to the United States ran to some \$10,000,000 during the war and its dollar allocations to \$60,000,000; Iraq sold some \$600,000 of goods in the U. S. and drew \$14,000,000 from the dollar pool. Palestine, which contributed to the pool an amount almost equal to the United Kingdom's income from exports to the U. S. always received far less than its contribution.

It is too much to continue to ask of the young Jewish nation, struggling to build an economic framework for the absorption of the uprooted 1,000,000 Jews of Europe, that it carry also the burden of winning friends and influencing people for Britain throughout the Middle East.

THE effects of martial law and the threat of its possible resumption hang too like a pall over the economy of the country. The Jewish Agency Executive, it is reported, will lay before the U. N. a claim for \$4,000,000 in damages suffered by the Jewish community in Palestine under British martial law.

Shipment of the citrus crop was in its climactic phase when martial law was clamped down. The industry was placing great hopes on the movement of this year's crop after the virtual cutting off of markets during the war and previous years of poor marketing conditions.

With the closing of the major ports the oranges had to be routed via rail through Egypt at considerable additional expense and at considerable profit to Egyptian handlers.

The textile industry is centered in Tel Aviv. Manufacturers of fashion merchandise recently received substantial orders from France and other countries of Europe. With martial law cutting off deliveries of yarns and goods it was impossible to produce and ship the orders. Disrupted communications generally cut off industry's access to raw materials. In Tel Aviv alone, with its annual production total of \$90,000,000, involving the labor of 30,000 employees, the losses due to martial law were some \$2,000,000 a week.

It was impossible to move currency by truck from Barclay's Bank, the government depository in Jerusalem, to banks in Tel Aviv. Banks in Tel Aviv were unable to pay out their depositors in full despite the fact that funds were

available. Payrolls could not be met. Tenants were unable to meet their rent tax with the result that the municipality will be unable to pay the salaries of its teachers and other civic servants. In Jerusalem public funds were used up and therefore unavailable for use in feeding people thrown out of work by the direct effects of martial law.

All this was accomplished by martial law. What else the martial law accomplished is not quite clear. The dissident factions of the underground continued to strike at the very centers of the British military establishment like the G. H. Q. in Tel Aviv and the Officers Club.

Perhaps, with the new dispensation in the Mediterranean, the whole sorry history of Palestine's economic mismanagement under the mandate may be started toward its end: the pre-war experiments in laissez-faire economics which left the unprotected country open to the dumping of cheap foreign goods at a time when it was struggling to establish its own infant industries; the lack of effective governmental action against the Arab boycott; the restrictions on imports and the free use of the country's trade balances for purchases of goods direly needed from the United States.

If despite these burdens the absorptive capacity of the country has been increased in the last twenty-five years to permit a rise in the Jewish population from less than 100,000 to more than 600,000 and the non-Jewish population from 650,000 to well over a million, the results of ten years of free economic and political development should prove to be amazing.

The land and its industries need the 1,000,000 Jews of Europe, desperately anxious to immigrate; the uprooted million need the land and the homes and work it will provide.

Even now opportunities for employment in Jewish industry are expanding at an explosive rate. While the job potential of Jewish industry doubled during the war this was by no means an artificial by-product of war conditions, since in the years immediately preceding the war employment capacity underwent a three-fold growth. By the end of 1945 the number employed in Jewish industry had grown to 55,000. An additional 70,000 wage earners would be engaged in the building industry.

A recent analysis by the Palestine Manufacturers Association showed that under favorable conditions Palestine's Jewish labor force could be doubled within a decade, even without substantial immigration. The demands for goods and services which would result from the immigration of an additional 1,000,000 Jews from Europe would require a total labor force of 200,000, it is estimated.

How much do American non-Jews know about Palestine? Very little, probably. Unavoidably their picture of the country has been compounded of "terrorists," grimy, sodden refugees arriving like cattle in stinking boats only to be shipped to the pens of Cyprus. In the background they barely suspect the harbors, the citrus groves, the modern factories, the theatres, cafes and cultural life of Tel Aviv, the potash works, the irrigation stations, the power plants, and, still less, the myriad forms of

social existence, the agricultural communes, the co-operatives, the factories owned and run by labor, the religious communities and the educational institutions.

It has been like news of a war, with patrol actions, skirmishes, bombings, occupations and the stern figure of General Montgomery debarking to take over occupation. Communiques handed to correspondents by the British; communiques openly passed out by Irgun, and the Sternists as well as Haganah.

At this juncture, fortuitously, there arises a first-rate opportunity to bring the picture back into proper focus. On May 1 the Economic Bureau of the Palestine Foundation Fund will present in the Museum of Science and Industry at Radio City, New York, the most comprehensive exhibit of Palestine industrial products, arts and crafts ever assembled. More than 1,500 products of Palestine industry and agriculture will be on display, ranging from earthenware to highly technical instruments and from corsets to beautiful temple ornaments.

It will stay in New York from three to six months and then go on tour through twenty-five major cities over a period of a year and one-half. Millions of people in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and San Francisco will gain a direct, visual impression not only of Palestine's actuality as a flourishing, going country, but of its potentialities as well.

Striking the spectator's eye as he enters the showing will be a huge spectacular display, twenty feet long by eight feet high, bearing the theme of the exhibit, "Palestine—Democracy at Work." A panorama will show individual farms and communes, modern roads bearing modern vehicles, busy harbors and manufacturing centers. Camel caravans will bring in the idea of Palestine's rapidly receding past. In the foreground will be figures of workers and collective farmers.

A feature of the exhibit will be a working model of the Jordan Valley Authority, showing graphically, by means of colored lights, what this Palestinian T.V.A. will do for the entire country in terms of irrigation, electric power and the rise in populated areas. In general, the show will highlight the fact that Palestine is the one country in the Middle East where western ideas prevail.

By featuring Palestine's absorptive capacity for American-made products it will point up the possibilities for an important two-way commerce between Palestine and the United States once restrictions are removed, and show the possibilities for American participation in the country's expansion.

But chiefly, the exhibit, showing the successful fruition of a pioneering venture which for its size is a saga second to none in the whole history of the world, should stir responsive chords here among a people who have always been sympathetic with enterprise, endeavor and high courage. And, further than that, among a people who in large measure hold in their hands the possibility of uttering the decisive words which will permit Palestine to forge ahead to the attainments now clearly visible.

Realistic Zionist Policy

(Continued from Page 104)

this time through use of high-sounding but non-committal references to the United Nations.

These all-give-and-no-take tactics of our government are the more mistaken since the recent British requests for American support of Greece and Turkey, and the requests that are to follow, are not solely designed to ensure "international stability." They are also intended to aid in the internal rehabilitation of England. There is a wide-spread erroneous notion in this country that Britain will ask soon for another major American loan. Britain does not need such a loan now or in the near future. The credits still unused from last year's loan will last for another 18 months, and the credits now to be opened by America to third countries at British request will go a long way in stretching British resources still further, since a large part of the dollar exchange ostensibly made available to those countries will in reality, through trade and currency arrangements, be made available to England.

As long as the State Department keeps the Palestine issue under cellophane, as a problem apart from the give-and-take of American-British relations, its Palestine policy is doomed to failure. To convince the State Department and Congress of this mistake, and of the need to rectify it, has become a pressing task for all true friends of Jewish Palestine.

But to persuade our Government to make use of the only *method* which will result in Britain's becoming more reasonable is not enough. In addition, it will be necessary to convince the United States Government of the need for taking the *initiative* in proposing a just solution for the Palestine question. Until now, this has been done only with respect to an interim emergency measure—the speedy admission to Palestine of 100,000 Jews. Now, in connection with the approaching crisis in Palestine affairs and the obvious desire of Great Britain to let the matter drift indefinitely, it will be necessary for our Government to propose solutions for the future as well as for the interim. Whether this initiative be taken within the framework of the United Nations or in direct negotiations with Britain, is a secondary matter.

This much now requires emphasis: no decision on Palestine will be taken under present circumstances by the United Nations against the opposition of Britain and the United States. Now that Great Britain has herself invited the United States to assume major responsibilities in the Near East, it is certainly proper for the United States to put forward proposals with regard to that area, and the use of the quid-pro-quo method is likely to produce results where previous pleas, unsupported by diplomatic pressure, produced none.

The "Discussions"

by Harold P. Manson

SO MUCH has happened so quickly during the past month that the story of the talks in London between the British Government and the Jewish Agency—about which the editors of *The New Palestine* have asked me to write—has been pushed into the background of memory. Furthermore, a comprehensive report and analysis of what transpired at and during those talks has already been made available to the Zionists of America by Emanuel Neumann. A number of pointed personal observations and impressions may be of more than passing interest to the reader, however.

London in the winter of 1947 was a gloomy, angry city. Slush was not only on the streets, but fell from the skies in the form of a hail-like substance which cannot properly be described as snow. The tiny fireplaces were a poor match for the icy dampness which was everywhere. The sun was something to be remembered with longing. The food available to the average Londoner was so bad that even the legendary English digestive system was finally vanquished. People spat out their "I beg your pardon" when they bumped you on the street. It was a very bitter place.

This was the setting for the formal Anglo-Arab Conference on Palestine and the informal talks between leaders of the Jewish Agency and the British Government, which took place during the latter part of January and early in February. One can only say that the atmosphere was remarkably well suited to the altogether depressing spectacle staged by Mr. Bevin. Inasmuch as the British Foreign Secretary had decided to assume the role of the hero in his own show—the part of an altruistic arbitrator who struggles to bring two antagonistic groups together to work out an "agreed solution"—we were in a clumsy farce, doomed to failure from the outset.

No good could come of talks with the British Government so long as that Government persisted in its refusal to alter its repressive Palestine policy. No solution was possible if it was to be made dependent on Arab consent—for the Palestine Arabs at the London Conference, backed by their "big brother" delegates from the Arab States, spoke for the Mufti and made it clear from the moment of their arrival in the British Capital that they would oppose the immigration to Palestine of an additional Jew. The Silver-Neumann-Sneh appraisal of the situation at the Zionist Congress, which was reflected in the now-famous resolution refusing participation in the London Conference under present circumstances, was more realistic than ever when viewed from the point of origin of British policy. I searched in vain for the hopeful signs which Dr. Nahum

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Goldmann and others had mentioned repeatedly in the past. I found only confirmation of our worst fears.

IN THESE circumstances we faced grave dangers in the talks—albeit informal ones—with the British Government. The British were bending every effort to emphasize that they were conducting "parallel negotiations" with the Jews while meeting formally with the Arabs. With their guns pointed at the heart of the *Yishuv*, they were trying to maneuver the Jewish Agency into discussions for the achievement of an "agreed solution." The "solution" they had in mind is now all too clear: a worse edition of the Morrison Plan for the ghettoization of the Jewish people in its National Home. This is what they hoped to cram down our throats in these talks. Fortunately, the Jewish Agency's spokesmen did not fall into the many traps which awaited them at every turn in the conversations.

I must at this point pay tribute to the role played by Emanuel Neumann and Dr. Sneh in London. I am afraid that the Jewish Agency's course during these discussions might have been charted quite differently had they not been on the scene. Along with Shragai (who arrived in London during the later stages of the conferences), they represented the majority viewpoint of the Zionist Congress. They were, however, part of a minority in the Agency Executive in London. In this difficult position, they performed a great task in influencing a course of action that would adhere to the intent and purpose of the Basle decisions.

77 Great Russell Street, headquarters of the Jewish Agency, is an old—very old—house. It faces the British Museum. Its rooms are dark and gloomy, its corridors draughty, its floors rickety. In short, it has tradition—British style.

In this (to me) depressing atmosphere I was amazed to find a group of men whose outlook on the London conference was resolutely optimistic. Time and again I was astonished to hear some officials, with a far-away look in their eyes, talk about the great prospects of success in negotiations with the British Government—when I could discover nothing tangible in the picture to warrant such high hopes. For example, on January 14th—the day after my arrival in London—I met with a few Agency officials, and from each I heard the following story: the Government has indicated in a number of ways that it will finally put forward a decent partition proposal, and therefore the forthcoming talks may assume a definite character. Not one of the officials with whom I spoke seemed to doubt for a moment that the Government would not be compelled to advance partition as its solution during the course of the talks.

I searched everywhere to find a sound basis for this rosy outlook, but met a solid wall of facts which pointed in a diametrically opposite direction. I have since asked myself repeatedly why it is that intelligent, able men should have had such illusory conceptions of a situation which—if it was to be dealt with effectively—had to be viewed

realistically. I believe that the answer lies in a combination of factors—emotional, psychological and political.

First, it was much easier for me—an American—to accept the realities of British diplomacy than it was for the Agency officials, who are good and patriotic Englishmen. They recall the days when the British Government was a partner with the Jewish people in the glorious enterprise of Zionism, and they cannot accept what to an American is an unhappy, but indubitable fact: that the British Government dissolved that partnership some time ago and now seeks to destroy the very concept of the Jewish National Home. That is the bitter pill which my friends in London could not bring themselves to swallow.

One must also consider that in England today there is a rising tide of anti-Semitism, which influences the thinking of British Jews generally. In the case of Zionist leaders and officials the effect of this growing anti-Jewish feeling is, perhaps, subtle and unconscious—but the effect is there. Scare headlines in the yellow London press (which makes even our most sensational American tabloids seem like models of restraint and accurate reporting by comparison) scream about "Terrorist Bombs In London Cinema" (and a careful reading of the story discloses that there were no terrorists and there was no bomb, but only a crank's phone call). The newsreel commentators weep for the Tommies in Palestine, with hardly a passing reference to the plight of the Jews. Jew-haters make capital of all this, of course.

Anti-Semitism is becoming "fashionable" in England now. London's smartest musical review included a vulgar anti-Jewish wisecrack uttered, to my chagrin, by an actress who was clearly a Daughter of Israel. This situation will become worse, I fear, if the British Government continues its present, fatally obtuse policy in Palestine. I can understand, therefore, why my friends at 77 Great Russell Street should choose to hope to the last that the British Government is not all that we blunt Americans say that it is with respect to Palestine.

IN THE down-to-earth political level, however, I believe that my friends were taken in by a shrewd bit of British psychological warfare. The London press had been proclaiming for some time that the British Government would shortly announce that it has decided on a policy of partition. Furthermore, the influential *London Times* had advocated partition editorially, as had a number of prominent personalities in and out of the government in private conversations. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech-Jones, had himself indicated that he favored such a solution. Was it not reasonable to assume, then, that such was the case and that the government would at long last try to break the deadlock by putting forward a reasonable proposal as a basis for discussion?

I discussed this possibility with various people innumerable times, particularly with Dr. Neumann, who had been consistently accurate in sizing up developments. My conclusions on this score were stated in two dispatches which

(Continued on Page 127)

BOOKS

Comment on Writing

To the various philosemitic novels of recent years, Gwetholyn Grahame's "Earth and High Heaven" and Arthur Miller's "Focus," there is now added "Gentleman's Agreement" by Laura Z. Hobson (Simon and Schuster, \$2.75). The book is making a noise in the world; it is being touted from every roof-top; the film rights have been sold; its wretched, mouldy fallacies are likely to have a long echo. And this fact, were she capable of grasping it, would distress Miss Hobson. For her concern is sincere, even passionate. It is indeed so powerful that the intensity of her feeling gradually raises the book slightly above the sleazy "slick" magazine manner and technique of her beginning.

The device by which she sets her action going is clever enough. A journalist, having been commissioned to write a series of articles on antisemitism for a magazine of national circulation, decides to pose as a Jew in order to experience exactly what Jews experience. He need not even change his name, which is Philip Green. Well, what does he discover? That eminent medical practitioners speak with subtle slights of their Jewish colleagues which, being pressed, they at once withdraw, and that there are hotels and residential districts that do not, as the saying goes, desire Hebrew patronage. It is no doubt handsome of Miss Hobson to become so eloquent concerning these trivialities. The dangerous restrictions in economic and educational opportunity, the six million martyrs, the monstrous theft of all Jewish property over half the world, the closed doors of America, these things, and I am speaking from *her* angle, seem not even to be within her grasp or knowledge. I ask myself how she could have read the daily papers and preserved an innocence so immaculate.

Her difficulty is a common one. She does not seem to realize that it is one of the sordid afflictions of our situation in a hostile world that so and so many Jews—an inconsiderable

minority—are subconsciously determined to flee from their destiny, to desert, to betray, to sell out their people and their heritage, and that these Jews rationalize their cowardice and degradation by an appeal to the pseudo-science of yesterday and to the withered slogans of mid-nineteenth century liberalism.

She delineates two Jews at some length, David Goldman and Professor Lieberman. Goldman is a typical self-hating Jew ("A two-thousand year start on the master-race business . . .") who is determined to work for a universal Utopia even if it costs the life of every Jew in the world. Lieberman is the equally typical "scientist." Because acquired characters are not inherited, *therefore* the children of Greeks are not Greeks nor of Swedes Swedes nor of Jews Jews; therefore there are no peoples nor, logically, a Jewish people, therefore. . . .

Well, I'll present Miss Hobson and her admirers (and Mr. Rosenwald and his minions) with their argument in a nut-shell, so to speak. It assumes two shapes: A. Don't kick the cat. The cat is a dog. It barks. It has forgotten how to mew. If it ever mews it's only in church. Let it mew in church. It never goes to church anyhow: Therefore it mews no more or, anyhow, less and less. Universal chorus: Bow-Wow. B. Don't kick the cat. There *is* no cat. It's a vertebrate; it's a mammal. Aren't we all mammalian vertebrates? Why should one mammalian vertebrate kick another mammalian vertebrate? . . . Both arguments boil down to this: Don't persecute the Jews because there are no Jews. Meanwhile, Miss Hobson, there exists this eternal, tragic, aspiring Jewish people, bent upon its redemption which alone—*alone*—could help to redeem Christendom from its unparalleled guilt, and yet *you*, full of goodwill as you are, have done your bit to strew an extra pinch of salt into that people's gaping wounds.

I am ashamed to have given so much space to the trivial but, unluckily, insidious fallacies of a best-selling novel

when the first volume of Martin Buber's "Tales of the Hasidim" has just appeared. (Schocken Books, \$3.75). This work is not identical with the *Chasidische Buecher*, famous now for many years. The material has been reworked and created anew in *Eretz Yisrael*. "Our sages say," Dr. Buber writes, "that the land makes one wise; to me it has granted a different gift: the strength to make a new beginning." And so this very great work is now in its final form. Of it there is this to be said: that the evangels of Hasidism, the last great religious movement among the Western peoples, are as definitively transmitted to the world and to posterity in the form which Buber has given them as any scripture of any kind ever emerged in its final and permanent form from the hand of him who wrote it as we have it. When doubt was cast upon the Mosaic authorship of the Torah, Franz Rosenzweig used to say to his disciples: "Well, then, whoever wrote these books as they have come to us, *he is Rabbenu*, our master." In precisely that sense Martin Buber is the immortal master by whose hand these books have been given to mankind. Jewish literature in English is immeasurably enriched by this publication, even though the present translation—which will and must be succeeded by others—is disfigured by innumerable barbarisms and solecisms and grotesque lapses in taste and tact.

American Jews will, I hope, read with pride and pleasure Maurice Samuel's "Web of Lucifer" (Alfred A. Knopf, \$3.00). The story is not without Jewish pertinence, seeing that it delineates the glittering rise and obscene decay of the first Fascist movement in history, namely that whose chief was Cesare Borgia and whose philosopher was Machiavelli. What, in addition, may pardonably delight us is the circumstance that this great Jew and Zionist has produced a work of art, an example of English prose, quite unrivalled in the contemporary literature of the English-speaking peoples.

—LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Interesting, Revealing

Behind the Silken Curtain, by Bartley C. Crum. (Simon and Schuster, New York. \$3.00)

One of the first of what will probably become a considerable number of books growing out of the work of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine has appeared with the publication of Bartley Crum's "Behind the Silken Curtain." The books of other participants may prove more objective, more analytical, better supplied with the factual data which the future historian will wish to have recorded. It is highly unlikely that any of them will be more popularly and interestingly written or more revealing of the character and outlook of their authors.

Bartley Crum, the youngest of the six American members of the joint Anglo-American Committee appointed late in 1945 to report upon the condition of the Jews of Europe and the situation in Palestine, is a Roman Catholic, a successful lawyer, and a pronounced liberal. These facts are important for they help to explain his pro-Zionist approach to the Palestine problem—an approach sometimes in terms of moral values, as in his search for the greater justice when faced with the rival Arab and Jewish claims, often in legalistic terms as in his stress upon the fundamental importance of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate and the illegality of the White Paper of 1939, most frequently in terms of the need to spread political and social democracy, as in his concern for the development of freedom and economic well-being in the whole of the Middle East.

"Behind the Silken Curtain," which its author describes as a personal account of Anglo-American diplomacy in Palestine and the Middle East, traces the work of the Anglo-American Committee in Washington and London, in Germany, Austria, and Italy, in Cairo and Palestine, and at Lausanne where the final report was drafted in April, 1946. The members of the Committee, particularly the English members, are brought to life with a few deft strokes. The testimony of many of the more important witnesses is summarized and in certain instances is quoted verbatim but always with a discrimination and verve which prevents the pages from dragging as the hearings themselves unquestionably did at times.

His contacts with the Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution in the DP camps of Germany and Austria made a tremendous impression on Crum and the chapters dealing with the European investigations of the Committee leave the reader with a conviction, which was driven home to the author by his experiences of continuing anti-Semitism, that the overwhelming majority of the Jews of central and eastern Europe must emigrate. Their passionate determination to go to Palestine is clearly revealed.

In the Middle East Crum was struck by the backward, semi-feudal, non-democratic regimes of the Arab lands on the one hand and by the progressive, liberal, and democratic Jewish community in Palestine on the other. He saw in some of the younger Arab intelligentsia and in the Arab masses under proper guidance and a changed economic and political system hopes for a bright future, but he deplored the existent Arab leadership. He became convinced that Arab-Jewish friction in Palestine was by no means inherent in the contacts of the two peoples but was largely an outgrowth of propaganda and agitation on the part of the upper class Arabs with vested interests in the existent order, backed on occasion by local British officials whom he felt to be largely unsympathetic or actively opposed to Zionist objectives.

Enough of the divergence of opinions and the clash of personalities at Lausanne is revealed to go far in explaining why the report of the Anglo-Amer-

ican Committee was lacking in perfect clarity and coordination and failed to advance a more definite program for long-term political development in Palestine. The majority of the British members tended to regard the National Home as already created, to view further Jewish immigration as a purely humanitarian matter, and to deprecate the existence and current activities of the Jewish Agency and Haganah. The majority of the American members felt that the National Home could survive only as a growing, autonomous community free of Arab domination, that continued immigration was necessary for the fulfillment of international promises made to the Jews, and that the Jewish Agency was an essential instrument for the creation of the Jewish Home. Crum himself and Richard Crossman of the British section favored a partition proposal which would grant to the Jews a state in a viable area while according to the Arabs their demand for independence in the remainder of the country, but they bowed to the action of the majority in rejecting this

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clear-cut solution. The report was a compromise which recommended the admission of 100,000 Jews at once and continued Jewish immigration in the future but looked forward only in vague terms to a United Nations trusteeship and the ultimate creation of a binational Palestinian state.

"Behind the Silken Curtain" concludes with a plea for an American policy of support for Zionism. Crum writes, "We can throw our lot in with the forces of reaction who prop up feudalistic regimes in the Arab states in the hope that these will serve as . . . a *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet. . . . Or we can throw our lot in with the progressive forces of the Middle East. We can recognize that there is a slow rising of its peoples and that we must place ourselves on the side of this inevitable development toward literacy, health, and a decent way of life . . . we must encourage this development, a development of which Jewish Palestine is thus far the outstanding example, holding great promise for the future of all its neighbors."

—PAUL L. HANNA

Partition?

Palestine Mission: A Personal Record, by Richard Crossman. (Harper and Brothers. \$2.75)

Dick Crossman, easily the most brilliant member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, has turned out an extremely competent book. As one would expect, "Palestine Mission" is ably done, persuasively written, convincingly documented. If it should seem unsatisfactory in any respect to those of us who have become partisan it is because Crossman is objective, judicial and restrained, and states the case for all sides with equal objectivity. Personally I have yet to see a law suit in which both the plaintiff and the defendant won and I have not forgotten that even in the celebrated judgment of Solomon the threat of dividing the baby was merely to test the credibility of the witnesses. The mother was awarded the baby.

"Palestine Mission" is in essence a plea for the partition of Palestine. I grant that there is much to be said for Crossman's argument that partition may be the only immediate solution, if it

could be done. Everybody interested in the tragedy of Palestine and the 20th Century betrayal of the Jews should read his arguments for partition with care and attention, particularly in the light of the present world crisis. For in a world governed by Power Politics partition may be the only way to save the Jewish National Home and the fragment of European Jewry.

In "Palestine Mission" Crossman presents three partition plans, all of them based upon studies made by him. Two of them, it is clear, would obviously not work. Plan 1 would call for an allocation of a small part of the coastal area to a "Jewish State." It would transfer the Nablus north of Jerusalem and the whole of the Negeb to an Arab State. Plan 3 would confine the Jewish National Home to a coastal area beginning just below Haifa and ending at Jaffa. The northern part of Palestine would remain under British Mandate together with the area around Jerusalem and the Negeb. The balance of Palestine, including the Dead Sea area, would be transferred to an Arab State. Plan 1, therefore, would be a "Token State" such as the Vatican; plan 3 would set



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up merely an enlarged ghetto.

Plan 2, which includes the entire coastal area of Palestine, all of the Negeb and a part of the Dead Sea in a "Jewish State," is the only one, in my opinion, which would offer any possibility of working. The difficulty about partition, however, is that if the Western Democracies are sufficiently unmoral to refuse to carry out the terms of the Mandate they are certainly not going to support any partition plan which could be accepted.

There can be no doubt that Crossman thoroughly understands the problem, not only in Palestine, but in the whole Middle East. There could be, I think, no more articulate representative of the British point of view than his. Indeed, many of the arguments which he put forward to the members of our Committee, which were then merely in the realm of argument, have since become hard, brutal facts.

He correctly states that the Anglo-American Committee's Report "embarrassed the British Government because it challenged implicitly the principles of British imperial policy just at the moment when a new struggle was beginning for the control of the Middle East." Through his carefully chosen words, the picture emerges. Crossman sensed, from the attitude of the Parliamentary secretaries, that "the weather over our report was distinctly bad." An urgent interview with Prime Minister Attlee confirmed his impression that the British Labor Government had rejected the Anglo-American Committee's unanimous report the moment it was in its hands.

The new struggle for control of the Middle East has, of course, now come into the open with President Truman's proposal for aid to Greece and to Turkey. As Crossman puts it: "Since 1946, when the Anglo-American Committee began its inquiries in Washington, what had been tendencies and symptoms had become explicit policies of the Great Powers. The division of the world into two blocs—one Anglo-American, and one Russian,—was not an indisputable fact, and nowhere was this struggle sharper than in the Middle East." It is Crossman's view that these new factors only reinforce the case for partition. I do not agree. The return to power politics only reinforces the "practical" case for the "White Paper of 1939."

It has been said that the history of democracies is largely the history of minorities, with constitutional protection guaranteed to them against the occasional tyranny of majorities. Those who are concerned with their future in the world should heed Crossman's ominous words, that if the present tendency continues and the world divides into a Communist and an Anti-Communist bloc, the Jews in the dispersal will become increasingly insecure.

There are several matters of criticism which I should like to voice. Crossman joins Mr. Bevin and Mr. Attlee in attacking President Truman for his insistence that the gates of Palestine be opened. For my part, I emphatically disagree. The President was everlastingly right. Had Britain opened the gates of Palestine to the homeless Jews of Europe, in accordance with the explicit terms of the Mandate, Britain and the United States would not today be in the position of being charged with playing sordid power politics in the Middle East. Besides, it is quite clear from other portions of Crossman's book (see page 190 *et sequitur*) that the

entire Anglo-American Committee's Report was jettisoned by the British Committee "of service and civilian officials"—a collection of persons unknown to the general public. Apparently neither the Prime Minister nor Mr. Bevin had any intention at any time of carrying it out, despite Mr. Bevin's assurance to our Committee. They relied upon the judgment of the same officials, upon whom, presumably, we had been sitting in judgment.

We Americans, and I firmly believe, our British colleagues, were thus, if I may use a crude phrase, "played for suckers." But when the history of this sad and shabby era is written, I predict it will show that if we join with Britain to preserve a feudalistic status-quo in the Middle East, such a policy is doomed to failure. If, on the other hand, we insist upon the carrying out of the terms of the Mandate for Palestine, the return to us will be great. Progress and freedom will once again be synonyms for America, and we shall reap the reward which will inevitably come to us from such a policy.

—BARTLEY C. CRUM

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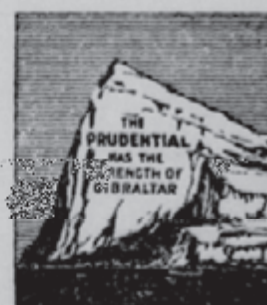
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Briefs

Jacob's Dream, by Richard Beer-Hofmann. (Jewish Publication Society. \$2.50)

It is a great pity that Dr. Beer-Hofmann did not live to see the publication of this version of his profound and beautiful poetic drama. It is a great poet's and a great modern personality's view of Israel's election and destiny. It answers the demand, often heard, for a Jewish play of high quality and dramatic effectiveness. It ends with Jacob's eloquent summing up of the whole matter:

Lord, what Thy will imposes soon
or late—
I'll bear it not as yoke, but as a
crown.

Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, by Gershom G. Scholem. (Schocken Books. \$5.00)

Scholars but, it is to be hoped, laymen, too, will welcome this revised and augmented edition of an epoch-making

work, which has been out of print for several years. Never meant, of course, as a work of Jewish apologetics, it is nevertheless destined in the long run to revise current and wretched interpretations of Jewish temper and Jewish faith as dry and legalistic. It develops the long history of Jewish mysticism from the Gnostic movements of later antiquity to Hasidism with a matchless blending of scholarship and grace of presentation.

With Firmness in the Right, by Cyrus Adler and Aaron M. Margalith. (American Jewish Committee, \$4)

What began over forty years ago as a brief paper on American diplomatic action affecting Jews, has here grown into an imposing volume of almost 500 pages. On page after page are to be found the precedents for American intervention overseas in behalf of the weak and the oppressed. Mr. Bevin, who seems to be under the impression that President Truman discovered Palestine, should read Chapter IV, in which he will find a record of sustained American interest in Palestine dating back well over fifty years. The record is brought right down to 1945 in a final chapter dealing with the war years. While the general story of American abrogation of the trade treaty with Russia is well known, other facts in this book, dealing with American action in behalf of Jews in Turkey, Persia, Poland, Switzerland, Italy and elsewhere are not as well known.

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Koestler Controversy

Arthur Koestler's "Thieves in the Night" is the first novel on Jewish life in Palestine to arouse great interest in this country. In the past five months the distinguished firm of Macmillan has printed 75,000 copies, and it has long been on the best-sellers list of *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune* and *Publisher's Weekly*. *Time* magazine called it "one of the year's best books," and four outstanding critics included it in their lists of the "ten best" books of 1946. Mention it at any social gathering, Jewish or otherwise, and you are bound to start a heated discussion!

Reviews of the book have been given more space than has been devoted to a novel in recent years, and rightly so. For this story of the colonists of Ezra's Tower, of their hopes and fears, their thoughts and actions is more, or at least different than an ordinary novel. It is occupied with one of the root problems of modern man in an era of turmoil, namely, with the burning question: "When, if ever, and to what degree is terrorism justifiable?" But

there is a second, no less important question aroused by the book: "To what extent, if at all, is Jewish terrorism in Palestine justifiable?"

The critics are divided as to whether they should consider "Thieves in the Night" a novel, a thinly disguised political tract, or a mixture of both. The author himself must have been aware of this dilemma when he chose to designate the book a "Chronicle of an Experiment," asserting, in an introductory note: "The characters in this chronicle are fictitious; the happenings are not." Ludwig Lewisohn's minority opinion that Koestler's latest opus is a fine novel, the characters of which are well drawn (*The New Palestine*, December 13, 1946) is supported by Marvin Lowenthal (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, November 3, 1946), Robert Pick (*Saturday Review of Literature*, October 29, 1946) and Lewis Gannet (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, October 29, 1946), the latter going so far as to declare that the book establishes Koestler as one of the foremost novelists of our time.

In general, however, the critics are less concerned with the book's aesthe-

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tic values than with the politico-philosophical message it carries. Max Lerner (*PM*, November 13, 1946) calls "Thieves in the Night" a "political history dressed up as fiction," asserting that Koestler was "less a novelist than a seismograph to register the convulsive upheavals of the liberal mind and conscience." Similarly, Edmund Wilson (*The New Yorker*, November 18, 1946) praises the book, not as a novel, but as "one of the most valuable reports that have been written about the recent events of our bewildered and appalling period."

Reviewers See Its Political Significance

But all reviewers, even those who, like Clement Greenberg (*Partisan Review*, November-December, 1946) or Hugh Stevenson Tigner (*The Christian Century*, December 4, 1946) consider the volume almost negligible from the purely artistic viewpoint, accredit it with considerable political significance. They are divided into Koestlerites and anti-Koestlerites, and one can find Jewish and Gentile, radical and conservative critics in either camp. Among those who seem to agree completely with Koestler is Marvin Lowenthal, who approvingly quotes the novelist's remark that "a race which remains objective when its life is at stake will lose it." Lowenthal conjures up the shadows of Sam Adams, Nathan Hale, and John Brown who, we are told, would have understood and welcomed Joseph's ultimate decision to join the terrorists. Moral indignation also colors the outbursts of a reviewer in *Harper's Monthly* (December, 1946) who praises Koestler's ability to "pierce the shame and hypocrisies that lie thickly around us," and who lays bare the callousness of this world which, allegedly, had fought the last war for the sake of liberty and humanity: "We do not let Jews into the Western World: instead we force them to seek an outlet in the Near East, and then shoot them when they try to wade ashore near Haifa."

In fact, nearly all reviewers seem to repudiate strongly Britain's stand in Palestine, even those who equally strongly deplore Koestler's endorsement of Jewish terrorism. *PM's* Max Lerner attempts to find extenuating circumstances to defend the novelist's attitude by distinguishing between the inhuman terror

The NEW PALESTINE

by a powerful state against dissenting groups, and the understandable terror by a small desperate people struggling against its oppressors.

Other reviewers are even more outspoken in their criticism of the book. "What is its message?" Robert Pick asks in *SRL*. "That terror alone is the answer to the Palestine problem? Or going a step further—as the level of Koestler's writing suggests—that terror alone can right wrongs anywhere?" Diana Trilling (*The Nation*, November 9, 1946) does not even doubt that Koestler defends, not merely the use of terror in Palestine, but also the principle of terror. While admitting that the Jews in Palestine cannot help using arms to defend themselves, she claims that this fact "does not justify the formulation of a philosophy of extreme action at the comfortable distance of literary and political theorizing."

While thus most reviewers lament that Koestler, "formerly so valiant a foe of tyranny," had now "succumbed to the general infection and joined the Commissars" (Orville Prescott, *New York Times*, October 29, 1946), other critics advanced different reasons for disagreement. Raymond Mortimer (*The Atlantic*, November, 1946) charges that Koestler's anti-British attitude is unjustifiable ("No people has treated the Jewish citizens better than the British") and he predicts, gloomily and maliciously, that Koestler will, some day, abandon his Zionism as he once left Moscow disillusioned: "His loyalty is to no abiding place on earth."

Of a different nature are the reviews that appeared in two leading sectarian magazines. In *The Christian Century* (December 4, 1946), a Protestant weekly, Hugh Stevenson Tigner sheds tears because Koestler who lost a faith (i.e., the belief in Leninism) was not converted to a new faith (read: Protestantism): "A man who once had an absolute and has not found another is at sea amid relativities. . . . He should have undergone a positive conversion and found a moral absolute in Christianity to take the place of the political absolute he discarded." Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn (*The Catholic World*, January, 1947) charges that the Zionist idea is "at least as grotesque as the establishment of an Aryan, but purely Hindu state in Ohio" and is

bitter about Koestler because the latter does not even once mention Christ or Christianity ("This amply testifies to the world-wide flight from the cross"—as though the Jew Koestler would have to propagate Christianity!) Finally he urges Koestler and his fellow-Jews to give up Zionism, that "shrewdest attempt to lure the desperate people of our Lord into the worst death-trap the world has ever seen," and he declares, apodictically: "Only in Catholicism will Judaism find its fulfillment."

As far as the Anglo-Jewish press is concerned, the critics are divided into three camps: those who praise it without any reservations; those who welcome it not without certain misgivings, and those who condemn it outright. To the first category of reviewers belong Mildred Barish Vermont (*Opinion*, December, 1946. "We cannot fight British betrayal or Arab machinations with the Psalms of David"), Ashley Montagu (who, in *The Chicago Jewish Forum*, Winter 1946, calls the book a "brilliant and penetratingly illuminating analysis" of the modern Jew), Mark Krug (*The National Jewish Monthly*, January 1947: "The over-all picture will make the heart of every Jew beat faster with admiration and respect for

the toiling and fighting sons and daughters of Israel") and Brom Weber (*Jewish Frontier*, December, 1946: "'Thieves in the Night' should be read in order to know at first hand the confluence of events and emotions which have driven people like Joseph to choose the morality of self-defense against the legality of the Palestinian government").

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ORANGES AND GRAPEFRUIT

Rahv (*Commentary*, December, 1946) who defends Koestler against his critic, Isaac Rosenfeld: "It is impermissible to forget that there is a world of difference between the violence of the underdogs, who fight for their rights no matter by what desperate means, and the violence of the top-dogs, defending their status as a rule elite."

Ludwig Lewisohn can be reckoned in the second category. He regrets that Koestler is "absurdly unjust" to the Jewish Agency and to Tel Aviv, but he still believes that this "single lack of balance seems scarcely to matter," since the book is "neither tract nor treatise" but "deeply and authentically creative."

Those Who Firmly Reject

Finally, there are those Jewish reviewers who definitely reject Koestler's views, whether or not they admire his craftsmanship. Nathan Glazer ("The Parlor Terrorists," *Commentary*, January, 1947) fears lest the Jews take the book seriously, as it could be as harmful as it is frivolous. He regrets that Koestler gives the Extremists credit for achievements for which Haganah is responsible (such as the reception of "illegal" immigrants), and he is strongly hostile to the author's "parlor adventurism," as he calls it: "We must recognize Koestler's call for the abdication of intelligence in favor of the primacy of the sympathetic nervous system for what it is, a vulgar invitation to intellectual—and not only intellectual—suicide."

Harold U. Ribalow ("Terrorism Through Ignorance," *Congress Weekly*, November 11, 1946) is bewildered by Koestler's cynicism, self-hatred and lack of Jewish knowledge. The novelist is interested in the Jews "mainly as vehicles for his ideas." According to this frank reviewer, Judaism penetrates the novelist "with the blunt edge of negativity: it is blunt, but it goes through his heart. He is, in his confusion and despair, the spokesman for a segment of a generation. He is in a sense a profounder and intellectualized Ben Hecht. He rides into the field of Judaism roughly, with the arrogance of ignorance and with misdirected sensitivity."

Probably the most violent anti-Koestlerite is Zvi Frisch (*Youth and Nation*, December, 1946) who seems to have a personal knowledge of the milieu described in the novel, and who asserts

that the author completely failed to understand the spirit of the *kibbutz* movement. Koestler's description of the *sabras* (native youth) as "primitive and dull . . . arse-slapping young Tarzans" is entirely wrong: "He could have found beneath the sometimes rough behavior . . . much sensitivity, deep social feeling, and a great deal more education and independent thinking than I have observed on the campus in America." What makes things worse, Koestler failed to grasp the spirit and ideology of the *kibbutz*: "There is no broader gap conceivable than that between the social and political conceptions of the *kibbutz* movement and Revisionists," i.e., the political party of

which the extremists are offsprings.

The controversy about "Thieves in the Night" is far from finished, though, and the recent tragic events in Palestine have added fuel to it. Whatever faults the book may have, and however biased the author may seem to some people, it ought to be perused by everyone interested in the future of the Jewish nation in Palestine. Koestler has his likes and prejudices, that is true, but he should be able to excuse himself with the words of the great 19th century Swiss poet, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer: ". . . *Ich bin kein ausgekluegelt Buch, Ich bin ein Mensch mit seiner Wider-spruch!*"—I am no work of fiction; I am a Man with all his contradiction!

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The Discussions

(Continued from Page 117)

I cabled to America late in January and on February 1st. The first cable read:

"The situation in the Cabinet appears to be developing along the following lines: Creech-Jones seems inclined towards a positive partition solution, but this is opposed by Bevin and the War Office. The 'optimistic' view here is that a majority of the members of the Cabinet are personally inclined towards partition, but this is by no means certain. Even if true, it would mean very little against the combined weight of the War Office, Bevin and Attlee—who is expected to back Bevin."

And on February 1st:

"While the British press continues to speak of 'the Government's plan for partition,' as if such a plan were actually in existence and a matter of British policy, it is now unmistakably clear that there has been no such decision and the British Foreign Office is today as far from such a policy as it ever was. I believe that the aforementioned press stories, and the frequent hints emanating from official spokesmen that partition will be the solution, have reference to a British plan for cantonization or federalization which is being represented as partition."

"It will be recalled that such partition talk was similarly widespread and took identical forms last summer, just before the Jewish Agency adopted its famous pro-partition resolution. Thus there is reason to consider the possibility that the present emphasis on partition in important British quarters is designed to achieve a result similar to the one brought about last summer—induce the Jews to bring forward a partition plan, this time with all the i's dotted and all the t's crossed, as the solution favored by the Zionists. Naturally, any final compromise must fall somewhere between such partition and the cantonization plan favored by the Foreign Office."

Nothing has happened since February 1st to lead me to change these conclusions.

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