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

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

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Reel  
106

Box  
37

Folder  
329

Pamphlets, articles, reprints, etc., 1946.

# THERE IS A LIMIT TO WHAT EVEN JEWS CAN ENDURE

## *An Appeal to the Conscience of Civilized Mankind*

We make this statement because we are outraged by the continued insensitiveness of that portion of the world which we call civilized to the greatest human tragedy of all time.

**6,000,000** Jews have met horrible death in Hitler's extermination camps and ghettos.

**1,500,000** or less are left alive in Europe today—most of them homeless, unwanted and destitute, kept alive by one aim: to quit the scene of their degradation and emigrate to Palestine.

**100,000**—at least a fraction of those for whom continued existence in Europe has become impossible—*could be saved immediately*. But at the very moment when action is most sorely needed, there are new delays and further equivocation.

We submit that there can be no valid reason for failure to act now! The European war ended a year ago. Dean Earl Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania, was sent by the President of the United States to investigate the condition of the Jewish survivors in Europe. He submitted a report to the President which made it clear that any delay in the transfer of these unfortunate people to Palestine would result in misery and death. President Truman thereupon sent a letter to Prime Minister Attlee on August 31, 1945 requesting that 100,000 of these displaced European Jews be permitted to emigrate to Palestine at once.

The request was rejected by the British Government. Instead, an investigation of the situation—another investigation!—was proposed by Great Britain. The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was set up.

After four months of investigation this committee unanimously recommended what President Truman proposed

in the first place—the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. During all these months of investigation Jews who could be leading useful, happy lives in Palestine, suffered and died.

One would think that not a moment would now be lost in carrying out this act of elemental humanity. But no! "Conditions" which had been considered and rejected by the Committee are now being demanded by Prime Minister Attlee. And our own State Department continues in practice a procedure of "consultations" which may delay indefinitely the attainment of the noble objective to which our Government is fully committed.

Are we to condemn these pitiful Jewish survivors to an indefinite hopeless existence in the internment camps where they now languish? Are they to be left at the mercy of the hostile populations that surround them? Every observer who has recently returned from Europe has warned that there may be mass-suicide among these terribly harassed people who have for so long lived under tension and strain unless they are permitted to leave for Palestine without delay.

*America refuses to be an accomplice in such an outrageous act of inhumanity!*

These displaced Jews can be moved to Palestine in a matter of weeks. The American people want them saved! We look to President Truman to stand firm on this matter and to direct the State Department to implement what is now the accepted policy of the United States.

We look to the British Government to carry out the unanimous recommendation of its own representatives on the Joint Committee, calling for the immediate transfer of these 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

*We demand justice for a tragic people now.*

Louis Adamic  
Maxwell Anderson  
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson  
Roger N. Baldwin  
Tallulah Bankhead  
Manchester Boddy  
Van Wyck Brooks  
Henry Seldel Canby  
Eddie Cantor  
James B. Carey  
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt  
Dr. Emmanuel Chapman  
Marquis Childs  
Dr. George L. Cross  
Ely Culbertson  
Walter Damrosch  
Jonathan Daniels

Prof. John Dewey  
Major-General William Donovan  
Melvyn Douglas  
Dr. Stephen Duggan  
Bishop Angus Dun  
Prof. Albert Einstein  
Major George Fielding Elliot  
Dorothy Canfield Fisher  
Gene Fowler  
Frank Gannett  
Lewis S. Gannett  
James W. Gerard  
Frank Gervasi  
Dorothy Gish  
Samuel Goldwyn  
Morton Gould  
William Green

Bishop Francis J. Haas  
Moss Hart  
Rev. John Haynes Holmes  
Dr. B. J. Hovde  
Quincy Howe  
Faonia Hurst  
Dr. Alvin S. Johnson  
Dr. Robert L. Johnson  
Rockwell Kent  
Serge Koussevitzky  
Albert Lasker  
Herbert H. Lehman  
Dr. Emil Lengyel  
Dr. Eduard G. Lindeman  
Dr. Walter G. Lowdermilk  
Isador Lubin

Henry Luca  
Thomas Mann  
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather  
Prof. Francis E. McMahon  
George Meany  
Edgar Ansel Mowrer  
Paul Muni  
Philip Murray  
Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr  
Louis Nizer  
Dr. Harry N. Overstreet  
Dr. Raymond R. Paty  
Rev. Norman Vincent Peale  
Ferdinand Pecora  
Brock Pemberton  
Dr. Daniel A. Pelling  
Walter P. Reuther

Quentin Reynolds  
Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rolfe  
Arthur M. Schlesinger  
Dr. Harlow Shapley  
Dr. Guy Emery Shipley  
Spyros Skouras  
Rev. Ralph W. Sockman  
Estelle M. Sternberger  
Rex Stout  
Nathan Straus  
Herbert Bayard Swope  
Mark Van Doren  
Walter Wanger  
Thornton Wilder  
Ira Wolfert  
Dr. Mary E. Woolley  
Darryl Zanuck



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# PALESTINE in CRISIS

by Freda Kirchwey

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# Palestine and Bevin

(In *The Nation* of June 22, 1946)

*Cairo, June 15*

I HAVE seen no report of the American reaction to the Palestine remarks made by Bevin at Bournemouth, but read here in the context of events in the Levant, in Egypt, and in Palestine itself, they seemed most ominous. For a Foreign Minister to say that "the agitation in the United States . . . for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine is because they do not want too many of them in New York" is to offer an unjust and untrue simplification of a complex problem; it is hard to believe that Bevin would have ventured it if he were not casting about for an alibi to cover his own failure to meet the issue. Also when he says, "If you have to raise the Arabs' life to the standard of the Jews, you cannot do it if you take away their land," he is distorting both the recommendations of the Inquiry Committee and the intentions of the Jews. But more significant and disturbing was Bevin's assertion that "if we put 100,000 Jews in Palestine tomorrow I would have to put another division of troops there," coupled with the demand for the Jews and Arabs to lay down their arms. Reading this, one realizes how little Bevin has learned from the inquiry, indeed from the long record of British colonial policy: he still believes that order is a prerequisite to policy, an idea easily converted into the theory that order is a substitute for policy. This mistake was responsible for the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, for the Amritsar massacre, and for a dozen other bloody events easy to recall. If persisted in, it will have the same ugly results in Palestine.

For almost five weeks I have been watching developments and talking to informed people—Jews, Christians, Moslems—in Palestine, Lebanon, and Egypt, and I am sure that if real trouble starts it will not be because 100,000 Jews are brought to Palestine but because of the stalling and hedging of the British government, its painful reluctance to apply any clear-cut policy, and the behavior of many of its agents, military and civilian, who do everything but openly invite an Arab revolt. As days pass without a decision on Palestine, the Moslem world becomes more and more convinced that blackmail pays and that the Western powers can be frightened into sacrificing the Jews just as they have already abandoned the Christians in Lebanon. The country the

Arabs are uneasy about is the United States. They believe that if 100,000 Jews come to Palestine it will be because Truman insists they come. They know that an uncompromising stand in Washington, backed by solid promises of material help, would go far to offset Arab threats and the warnings of Bevin's advisers out here.

If our government takes such a stand, it will alter in a most salutary way the balance of forces in the eastern Mediterranean. But I wonder whether we can be counted on to do it. We are not accustomed to following an independent line, and we depend heavily on the British for the defense of our interests. Nor are we immune to Arab propaganda. Today at Payne Field, a huge airport outside of Cairo which our government has just sold to Egypt, I encountered several American oil men on their way home from Arabia. They agreed that Ibn Saud was an old fox and had scared Standard Oil to death by threatening to destroy installations in the oil fields and to end concessions if we did not quit supporting the Jews. "Would he do it?" I asked. They didn't know but thought he figured he wouldn't have to; he counted on threats to turn the trick. "He could wreck the whole works in three hours," one of them said. "But then of course he wouldn't get the money." Concessions are the lifeblood of Oriental absolutism, and Ibn Saud is perhaps more fox than fanatic.

I have been much disappointed by the recent words of another Britisher, R. H. S. Crossman, a good writer and a member of the Diquiry Committee who is supposed to have been working hard—with indifferent success, one must conclude—to convert Messrs. Attlee and Bevin to the report. In Palestine Crossman was generally regarded as the ablest member of the committee. This being the case, I wonder why he should have taken particular pains, in a talk the other day at the London School of Economics, to ridicule the American role in relation to Palestine. When he rejected the idea of British-American condominium—proposed by nobody so far as I know—by saying that "it is difficult enough to run the country under the Colonial Office, but it would be quite impossible under a Tammany regime," I could not help recalling somewhat cynically the massive rolls of barbed wire I saw festooning every British official building in Palestine, and the iron censorship, and the political prisoners, also behind barbed wire. Against this backdrop Tammany seemed by contrast quite like the benevolent society it was originally supposed to be. But what I found more gratuitous and

politically rather questionable was Crossman's remark, greeted with "laughter," that "poor Truman was neatly caught when he demanded the entry of 100,000 and was asked by Bevin to send American commissioners," and his further ironic comment on the anxiety of Americans, including the American Jews, to deflect Jewish immigration toward Palestine.

I do not intend to dispute these points; I want only to suggest that Bevin's speech indicates the political use to which such remarks are bound to be put. Assuming that Crossman was honest in his desire to win Cabinet approval for the report, his chances were hardly improved by a deliberate attempt to discredit American influence. If Truman was tricked by Bevin, it would seem good strategy in a political fight to welcome the support of Washington rather than undermine it, especially since the most encouraging note in Bevin's discussion of Jewish immigration to Palestine was the suggestion that Britain and the United States should together consider implementation of the report.

But the Foreign Minister's statements at Bournemouth demand examination on their merits. Is it true that the arrival of 100,000 Jewish D. P.'s would necessitate another division of British troops? To a recent visitor in Palestine the assertion sounds like convention oratory. I do not know how many divisions are already there or, indeed, whether the entire British and American armies combined could prevent guerrilla attacks by armed and bitter citizens. The German army could not do it in France. But I know that Palestine is an occupied country from end to end. Jews and Arabs alike live under military rule while civilian officials shelter behind sandbags and armed guards. In Barclay's Bank in Jerusalem a Tommy armed with a machine-gun is prominently posted on the balcony overlooking the main room. Press censorship is complete. No explanation need be given for suspensions or prohibitions. The following item, printed while I was in Jerusalem shows how it is done:

*Haifa, Saturday.* The editor of the local afternoon paper, *Zohorayim*, was informed that "the High Commissioner in Council, being of the opinion that matter appearing in said paper is likely to endanger the public peace," has ordered its suspension for a fortnight.

Arrests are frequently made under similar emergency decrees.

Though I had read about the concentration of military and police forces in Palestine, I had no idea



until I went there how overpowering it had become. Convoys of British tanks and trucks move along the roads holding up civilian traffic. The public barracks, located at strategic points only a few miles apart, are really forts, concrete structures formidable in size and solidity, and everywhere one sees contingents of the Transjordan Frontier Force, Arab troops originally recruited for the purpose the name implies, policing towns and highways in Palestine; nothing could be better calculated to provoke Jewish resentment.

But if Bevin really needs that extra division, one might remind him that he is pledged to the withdrawal of the whole British naval and military establishment now stationed here in Egypt. The size of these forces is not public property, but the British-owned *Egyptian Gazette* today gives 50,000 as "near the mark"—surely a conservative figure. When negotiations with Egypt are happily ended, Bevin will have two or three extra divisions to send to Palestine, which Britain obviously intends to make its chief stronghold in the Middle East. In the light of these facts I think we need not take too seriously Bevin's military worries.

The real question is the one asked at the beginning: can the British government achieve order in Palestine by continuing to pile up force, while encouraging the Arabs to resist even the recommendations of its own Committee of Inquiry? If a peaceful Palestine is what Bevin wants, it is hard to explain the behavior, for example, of Glubb Pasha—a man who seems to have been clipped, name and all, right out of Kipling. Glubb Pasha is the British brigadier commanding the Arab Legion in Transjordan and is besides Deputy Inspector General of Police for Palestine. In a recent interview Glubb announced flatly that if the committee report is implemented, "British will be at war with the Arab League." "I doubt," said the Pasha, "whether the British forces available are adequate to enforce the committee's recommendations. . . . Palestine would become the scene of murder, sabotage, severed communications, and convoy attacks. In Arab countries outside of Palestine disturbances would take the form of pogroms, attacks on British subjects and premises, and sabotage of Anglo-American oil concerns." Glubb Pasha concluded by calling for twelve to fifteen divisions to handle the situation.

This sort of "warning" is, of course, an open invitation to Arab extremists to launch a holy war. As the *Palestine Post* put it, his statement was "an in-

citement to mass pillage and murder . . . and to war against his own country."

Glubb's is only a flamboyant example of a point of view which largely dominates the British ruling group in Palestine. Little as Arab leaders like British control, it is none the less heavily weighted on their side. Today this is more than ever true, since the bitter events in Europe and the restrictions of the White Paper have combined to drive the Jews to acts of resistance which are entirely alien to their tradition. Terrorism is still regarded with profound disapproval by official Jewish opinion, but the effort to build and equip a strong defense force and to smuggle refugees through the immigration barriers is universally applauded. A Zionist would no more oppose illegal immigration or Haganah than a patriotic Frenchman would have opposed the F. F. I. during the Nazi occupation. Terrorist acts will increase as long as the present state of suspense continues. And the tactics used by jittery police officials and the military have the effect of creating sympathy for the terrorists—still only a handful—and weakening the authority of responsible leaders.

I could multiply the instances of bias against Jews displayed by British officials. One which came to a climax while I was in Jerusalem will serve as an illustration. On May 1 a government communiqué reported that a kitbag packed with explosives had been found over the magazine of H. M. S. *Chevron* in Haifa harbor, with detonators fitted, and that "thirteen Palestinian naval ratings" had been arrested, explosives being found on several of them. The story was dressed up with colorful details: one of the arrested men was described as "a well-known terrorist" and the ship as having been engaged in intercepting illegal immigrants. In London the *Daily Telegraph* headed the story "Attempt to Blow up Destroyer" and converted the thirteen Palestinians into thirteen Jewish ratings. It appeared on the day the inquiry recommendations were published. By the time I reached Palestine the accused had faced court-martial and one Jewish sailor had been found guilty of illegal possession of explosives. What was interesting was the collapse of the story put out by the Palestine Information Office. The detonators were not fitted; the position of the kitbag was found to have been accidental; the "Palestinian ratings" were Cypriot, Arab, Armenian, and Jewish; the "several" with explosives became one; no attempt to blow up the warship was found. The offender is in prison. But the P. I. O. official who doctored the story is presumably

still carrying on as usual. Such tactics, applied day after day and in every relationship, insure the continuance of tension and bitterness in Palestine and make nonsense of Bevin's demand that the Jews and Arabs disarm.

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## Will the Arabs Revolt?

(In *The Nation* of July 13, 1946)

**T**HE FEROCITY of the British military attack on the Jewish establishments in Palestine can be explained only by panic or by a desire to prove that the situation is too tense and unstable to permit the admission of 100,000 new immigrants. Perhaps both emotions are involved.

When I was in Palestine last month, panic was plainly observable in British reactions. Official alarm seemed out of proportion even then to the isolated acts of violence committed by Jewish extremists. And the authorities were unwilling to acknowledge any distinction between terrorist acts, condemned by all but a small minority of Jews, and those other illegal operations, such as the smuggling of immigrants and the organization of defense forces, which had the support and approval of the whole Jewish community. The British in Palestine behaved as if they went in deadly fear of the Jews; the provocative warnings of Glubb Pasha mentioned in my last article, although more hysterical in tone than the comments of ordinary officials, were otherwise typical. Their composite attitude was something like this: "We must at all costs put an end to Jewish resistance and if possible prevent any new immigration; otherwise we shall have war arising out of the justified resentment of the Arab majority."

How realistic are these fears? Would the admission of more Jews into Palestine actually touch off civil war or, even more terrifying, start a general Islamic revolt? Such questions must be answered before one passes final judgment on British behavior.

From the day the Joint Inquiry Committee's report was issued, Arab leaders and the Arab press have carried on a steady campaign of threats and protests. They have promised everything from local acts of terror to a Holy War. A collection of newspaper headlines over the last three months indicates that the city room of an Arab newspaper has no lessons

to learn from Mr. Hearst. One of the most imaginative appeared above the story of Truman's first statement on the Palestine report: "Hitler Has Been Found Alive—In The White House!"

It is instructive, however, to contrast the fury of the press, and of leaders aiming their words at public opinion, with the reserve displayed in private conversation as well as in the decisions reached at the recent Arab conferences at Inchass and Bludan. In Jerusalem I talked to the two most influential Arab leaders then in the country. The first, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, is a man whose volcanic flood of oratory conceals genuine patriotic feeling. He is an old hand at the nationalist game, having attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 with Feisal and participated in various subsequent negotiations with the British. He knows the documents by heart and lays the pertinent passages before you. The mandate Auni Bey does not recognize; it was illegal, since the Arabs were promised independence. But even granting the validity of the mandate, its execution by the British has been in violation of the League Covenant. Whereas Iraq and later Transjordan had their own governments under Britain, and Syria and Lebanon theirs under France, Palestine has been ruled directly by the British like a crown colony. "This, of course, is because the Jews were colonized in our country for Britain's imperialist purposes and they had to be protected by British arms."

But Britain is the old adversary, accepted and almost tolerated—like Satan in the Christian theology. The whole explosive fury of Auni Bey's invective was aimed at the United States. He shook his finger under my nose and asked what business the United States had coming into Palestine and running its affairs, installing a plan that would "kill the Arabs?" "Kill?" I asked. "Will 100,000 additional Jews kill the Arabs?" He did not stop to explain but from the general direction of his talk I gathered that more Jewish immigration would, in his opinion, squeeze the Arabs off their land, create a non-Arab life in Palestine, and end age-long established customs and relationships. "You can do this," he said. "With money, with the atom bomb, America can kill every Arab who protests because the promises have all been broken and the foreigners have been forced into this country. Is that what you wish?" I could not have offered a defense of the Committee's report or of America's role if I had tried, for Auni Bey's questions were strictly rhetorical. I only asked, because this



was what I had hoped to hear from him, whether he and the other Arab leaders had agreed on a specific plan of action in case the Committee's report was accepted in London. I got no real reply but only deflected a little the direction of the flow. "What can we do? You can kill us. We can die. What else? We are not prepared to wage war against Britain and the United States and the Jews. But in time, we will be vindicated. If it takes a thousand years, justice will finally be done." And then, a little abruptly he mentioned Russia. "We don't wish to call upon Stalin for help. But if necessary we can do so." "What about the United Nations?" I asked. "Will the Arab League lay the Palestine issue before the Council or the Assembly?" To this question Auni Bey gave no answer. What was evident from his conversation was the uncertainty that lay behind his genuine indignation.

From one of the other leaders, a very different man, I got the same impression. Mr. Hussein Khalidi, formerly Mayor of Jerusalem, is a successful lawyer and a member of the Arab Higher Executive. He is as quiet and smooth as Auni Bey is violent. He talks with you, meets objections, appears to weigh arguments. He, too, leans heavily on documents, and uses them well. He showed me the verbatim testimony, never published, taken at the London Conference in 1939 which resulted in the White Paper. He was there as one of the Palestine Arab delegates. At this meeting Malcolm MacDonald promised, without the slightest equivocation, in answer to detailed questions by himself and another delegate, that the Arabs would have permanent and final control over Jewish immigration after five years; during that period 75,000 Jews would be admitted under the British plan. If the quota were not filled during the allotted time, the remainder would not be admitted after the period ended. It was there, black on white, question and promise. On the record the Arabs have an unanswerable case (And so, of course, have the Jews; and the issue therefore cannot be decided on the record at all, but must be dealt with, as the Joint Committee honestly attempted to do, on its political and human merits.)

Khalidi, like Auni Bey, having proved his point and expressed his profound distaste for American interference, became vague as to Arab policy. He predicted trouble—but how much and what sort, he didn't say. Would the other Arab states help the Palestinian Arabs?, I asked. He wouldn't commit

himself on that either. Both leaders were restrained by their knowledge that the meeting at Inchass of the Arab kings and chiefs of state, then in progress, was debating this very problem, and by the more intimate fact that the Palestinian Arab parties had just split into two "higher" committees over the question of appealing to the United Nations.

The decisions reached at Inchass were never fully disclosed, but when the Arab League met in extraordinary session at Bludan on June 8 to consider the Palestine issue, the press announced that it was acting, not as an independent policy-making body, but under directives from the Arab rulers. In fact, the secretary-general of the Arab League, Abdul Rahman Azzam, himself declared that the League had become the "executive agent" of the Arab chiefs of state. After a series of defiant and menacing speeches, the League went into closed session and at last emerged with a program which must have disappointed the pan-Arab fire-eaters. Talk of a Holy War had disappeared altogether; so had the expected demand for Palestine independence. No mention was made of an appeal to the United Nations for action against the Committee's report. The resolutions adopted merely called for the creation of a committee representing all the Arab states to "supervise all questions concerning Palestine"; the setting up in Palestine of a new Arab Higher Executive to supercede or unite the two competing "higher" committees; the demobilization and disarming of all Jewish troops (no mention of Arab military organizations); and various proposals to end land sales to Jews and strengthen the boycott of Jewish goods.

Arab nationalism is a real force. No one who has been in Egypt and the Levant can deny it. It does not go as deep as its leaders want you to think but it has enough popular backing so that foreigners, and non-Moslems, foreign or native, face growing hostility in Moslem countries. The poor masses in the villages are probably almost unaware of the issue; in the cities there is plenty of explosive material for the politicians to use. Nationalist feeling backed up and inflamed by religious fanaticism is unquestionably growing.

Will it explode in Palestine? This is the question raised in acute form by British action there. To me the answer seems so obvious that I find it hard to take seriously the feverish warnings of British officials and Arab propagandists. The caution displayed by the Arab leaders when they sit down to consider pol-

icy is far more convincing. Unless all political signs fail, no general rising of Arabs would result from the application of the Committee's proposals. Doubtless there would be sporadic attacks and local disorders, though even these would, I am convinced, be reduced by the general respect in which the Jewish defense organization is held. But no Holy War, no invasion from neighboring countries, not even civil war in Palestine.

Britain may be executing a slow retreat in the Middle East: its economic hold may be threatened by American competition, its ultimate political control by Russian penetration. But the Empire has enormous staying power and up to the present time it has been able to manipulate the ambitions of Arab leaders, and especially the divisions among them, to buttress its strategic positions.

No Arab state or combination of states can start a war in Palestine without British connivance. The Arab leaders know this well; they may bark loudly, but they have very few teeth to bite with. Egypt will never endanger its present negotiations with Britain by seriously involving itself in Palestine. King Farouk has huge ambitions, encompassing the whole Arab world. But his present need is to win a diplomatic triumph through the withdrawal, on favorable terms, of British forces from Egypt. Farouk is playing a cagey game and doing everything politically possible to minimize—while using—the growing Xenophobia of opposition parties and fanatic organizations like the Moslem Brotherhood. No Holy War will start in Egypt in the early future.

Transjordan's newly crowned king, Abdullah, is in Britain's pocket—not only because the whole independence farce was staged and run off by the British; not only because the treaty with Britain secures that power's predominant interest; but above all because Transjordan's army is officered by Britishers and is in fact an integral part of Britain's armed forces in the Middle East. To imagine an incursion from Transjordan into Palestine without Britain's consent is a little difficult. In Iraq, British control is only a little less overt. Since the overthrow of Rashid Ali in 1941, the Iraqi government and army have operated under strict British supervision.

There remain Syria and Lebanon. Ostensibly independent since the French were evicted, these countries might possibly cause trouble across the border. Syria is now militantly pan-Arab and has taken the lead in boycotting Jewish goods from Palestine.

Lebanon, torn between Arab propaganda and the fears of the Christian population, is more inhibited. But both are deeply beholden to the British. The liquidation of French control was accomplished by a series of maneuvers which have never been fully exposed. In the process, local politicians, bought and paid for, were established in power by their new overlords. The financial by-products of office are great in the Levant and it will be some time, I imagine, before these officials will think it discreet to kick over the traces. If they did, their ability to make trouble in Palestine would be severely restricted by the almost complete collapse of the Levantine armies since the French moved out.

Apart from direct British influence, however, there are all sorts of minor pressures at work to prevent united Arab action in Palestine. The Arab states may adopt a common attitude on Jewish immigration, but they can never stage a general revolt as long as they continue to be split by cross-currents of interest and feeling. King Farouk's ambition to dominate an inclusive Arab union—even to revive the Caliphate—is in direct conflict with King Abdullah's ambition to rule over a Greater Syria comprising Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan, a plan supposedly encouraged by the British. Both projects are opposed by Ibn Saud, absolute monarch of Arabia, who looks upon himself as the legitimate leader of the Moslem world and nourishes an ancient feud with the Hashimite family, to which Abdullah belongs. Even within the Greater Syria orbit, the interests of Abdallah clash with those of many Syrian politicians who benefit from their country's role as an "independent" republic with a seat in the United Nations.

If an Arab revolt on a big scale is out of the question, as I believe these facts indicate, how can one explain the fears of British officials in Palestine and the ugly events of the past week? The answer is to be found in the history of Arab blackmail and British appeasement. During the years before the outbreak of war, Nazi agents in every Arab country spread the charge that the British intended to subject the Moslems to Jewish domination. Arab attacks on Jewish settlements in the late '30's were largely the product of this untiring propaganda, and by the end of 1938 the Colonial Office had pretty well convinced the government that the loyalty of Jewish Palestine would be more than offset, in case of war, by the hostility of the Arab chieftains. Quite abruptly, and without regard for past commitments, the British in-



stituted a sweeping program of appeasement. For the first time Arab notables were invited to join in discussions of the Palestine problem. Then the whole policy based on the Balfour declaration and embodied in the Mandate was reversed by the provisions of the White Paper. Through these moves the British hoped to counter Axis propaganda and insure the loyalty of the Arabs.

The results of this maneuver are well remembered. With very few exceptions Arab leaders in Palestine and outside were either openly pro-Axis or unreliable and shifting in their allegiance. The behavior of the Mufti—today again at large and ready to resume his dominant role in the Middle East—was only a dramatic expression of the general Arab attitude.

But the failure of appeasement during the war did not discourage the engineers of Britain's colonial policy. Victory wiped out the power of the Axis; it did not guarantee the security of the Empire. In the offing they see the looming threat of Soviet power pressing toward the warm-water ports and oil resources of the Middle East. A bloc of Arab states linked to Britain by concessions, favors, and a well-grounded fear of communism still seems to the conventional colonial mind the best available bulwark against Russia's penetration.

Such hopes would be frustrated by the growth of Jewish strength in Palestine. For the energy and progressive social program of the Jews menace, far more imminently than does Russia, the hierarchic feudalism of the Moslem world from which the Arab ruling class derives its wealth and power. To encourage the Jews would be to plant dynamite under that decadent system. It would make further appeasement impossible. If the Arab leaders cannot stage a revolt, they can make plenty of trouble of other sorts. They might even, as a maneuver in power politics, carry out their threat and call upon Russia for help. The frightened colonial official sees these possibilities crowding in on him, and his single impulse is to step on the Jews. Heaven knows he does not want social change any more than the Arabs; he wants the old system and men on top with whom he can make satisfactory deals. If military force can do it, and if Mr. Blevins continues to back him up, he will wipe out the Jewish defense forces while there is still time and stop the smuggling of D. P.'s from Europe. And with his last breath he will oppose the recommendations of the joint Committee of Inquiry.

# Obligations in Palestine

(In The Nation of July 27, 1946)

**A**S DISCUSSIONS on the Palestine issue proceed in London behind sealed doors, it is important for Americans to keep in mind a few basic facts. If we forget them we are likely to fall into a mood of exaggerated compunction which will help neither our own position nor those of the peoples more directly involved.

The first of these facts is that the Mandate for Palestine, with its explicit obligations to the Jews, was accepted by Britain for obvious political reasons. If altruistic ends were served they were, let us admit without reproach, incidental or at least subsidiary. But the obligations were undertaken none the less and the adoption in 1939 of the policy described in the White Paper, whatever its immediate justification in terms of imperial strategy, in no way absolved Britain of a commitment which had been accepted by both the League of Nations and the United States as one of the basic conditions of the Mandate. The White Paper merely violated the terms of the Mandate, as the League declared and as leading British statesmen, including the present Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his predecessor, Mr. Churchill, charged at the time. A mandate is not a private enterprise to be administered as a person might administer his country estate; it is an international public trust and its violation is every nation's business.

The facts that financial support for the Jewish National Home has come largely from the United States, and that our large Jewish population overwhelmingly favors the Zionist development admittedly give this country no special political rights in Palestine. They do, however, create a special interest which is legitimate as well as inevitable and which has always been admitted by Britain. That the voting strength of Jews, especially in large centers like New York and Chicago, has influenced the attitude of the Administration and of both major parties cannot even be questioned; I wonder in what democratic country this would not be the case. Jewish influence has served partly to offset contrary pressures, such as those of the great oil interests, in determining this nation's policy in Palestine and the Middle East generally. It is a political factor which must be given its full weight in analyzing the balance of forces in America; but only an anti-Semite would be tempted to convert it into an accusation.

When the President proposed that Palestine admit 100,000 displaced persons from Europe, he had no reason to think that his advice would be considered an intrusion into Britain's national affairs; nor indeed had he any right to assume that the Labor Government was intending to continue in Palestine a policy for which it had bitterly attacked the Tories. The Labor Party had been explicit in its campaign promises: it was committed to the abolition of the White Paper. Like liberals in other countries, British Labor had taken the view that the Empire's interests would be served rather than injured by carrying out the purposes of the Mandate; and the plight of Europe's surviving Jews, and even the difficulty and expense of providing a minimum of protection and food for those who had flocked into the D. P. camps in the British and American zones of occupation, counseled speedy action. Once in office, however, and confronted with the intransigence of Colonial officials in Palestine and the threats of Arab agitators, the Labor ministers drew back from the logic of their own arguments. The Anglo-American Joint Committee of Inquiry was called into being to serve several purposes at once: first, to delay a final decision; second, to commit the United States to the proposition that if it wanted to give advice, it should also be prepared to accept responsibility; and third, to acquaint the United States at first hand with the thorny difficulties in the way of the mandate.

How far the British Government hoped also to implicate this country in the actual defense and administration of Palestine still remains a question. But from our point of view, participation in the Joint Inquiry committed us to nothing beyond the terms of the inquiry itself, and the unanimous report which resulted assumed the continuing responsibility of the British Government as the mandatory power. Only after the report had been published, and after Mr. Truman had reiterated his hope that at least the recommendation to admit 100,000 refugees would be promptly carried out, was the idea that America should become permanently involved in Palestine put forward in England.

Never has this idea been fully explored. Its first official appearance was in Mr. Attlee's speech of May 1 in which he said that "His Majesty's Government wish to be satisfied that they will not be called upon to implement a policy that would involve them single-handed in such commitments, and . . . they wish to ascertain to what extent the government of

the United States will be prepared to share the resultant military and financial responsibilities." It has cropped up since then in various forms, official and otherwise. And by repetition and gradual extension it is coming to imply that America has no business to press for action in Palestine unless it is prepared to back up such action with arms.

This implication the United States should refuse to tolerate. Assuming for the purposes of discussion that Britain has a right to request American military help in carrying out its policy in Palestine—an assumption which would, I believe, be sharply challenged in the Security Council—we have an equal right to consider such a proposal strictly on its merits. Nothing we have said or done about Palestine imposes upon us an obligation to say yes. And if we decide to say no, we do not thereby forfeit our right—which is also a duty—to insist that Britain live up to the terms of the mandate under which it governs Palestine. Nothing could be more unfortunate than to allow ourselves to be jockeyed into a position where we feel we must keep our mouths closed or dispatch an armed force to Haifa. A "put up or shut up" attitude in London won't help soften Anglo-American tension.

On the other hand, not as a quid pro quo but as a contribution to good relations and an early solution of the refugee problem, we should recognize Britain's anxieties and do what we can to mitigate them. First of all we should erase the impression that we intend to sit back with our heels on the table offering advice while Jews, Arabs, and British slug it out in Palestine, and Russia watches from the side-lines. The United States has already offered to undertake the transfer of the 100,000 D.P.'s, if they are admitted to Palestine, and provide funds for their settlement and rehabilitation. American Jewish agencies have promised full support, and enormous sums of money have already been raised to enable the Jewish community in Palestine to absorb the refugees with as little internal dislocation as possible. But this is not enough. What the United States must do if it is to reassure even the most friendly and pro-Zionist Labor people in England, is to indicate a willingness to help solve the tangled problems of the Middle East of which Palestine is only the most unyielding. British leaders know very well that powerful economic interests, notably oil and aviation, strongly opposed to the Committee report and the President's attitude, are doing their best to undermine both. They know that



key men in the State Department and in diplomatic posts in the Middle East are bitterly anti-Zionist and can be counted upon to encourage Arab resistance to any change of policy. Leaders like Laski who are trying to induce their government to accept the report would be immensely helped if they could believe the United States would stand firm, after election day as well as before, and would refuse to take advantage of Britain if the ending of Arab appeasement should result in penalties to British interests.

Above all, our position would be strengthened in England and in Palestine if we were to agree to accept a fair proportion of those European Jews who wish to emigrate but do not insist on going to Palestine. Small or large, the number is unimportant. What is needed is proof that our concern for the fate of a dispossessed people is generous enough to induce us to open our own doors. By an understandable paradox, it would be the most effective method we could use to pry open the doors of Palestine.

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## The Battle of Palestine

(In *The Nation* of August 3, 1946)

THE partition plan for Palestine, as it was described in the *New York Times* last Friday, is almost too bad to be believed. The story was not carried in any other paper and the full text of the plan has not been published as I write, so it is possible that the *Times* correspondent, who evidently benefited by a news leak in the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, was misinformed as to the details. Indeed it seems almost incredible that the new committee, after weeks of labor, should have brought forth so vicious and provocative a mouse; far better to have adjourned without any decision. For the plan outlined in the *Times* invites immediate rejection by Jews as well as Arabs and is guaranteed to inflame the anger of both. It would divide the country into Zionist, Arab, and British districts with a British-controlled central government holding final and all-but-absolute power over the whole country. The Jewish and Arab areas would, says the *Times*, "have considerably less autonomy than was enjoyed by Britain's American colonies in the eighteenth century." The British would directly control defense, foreign relations, excise taxes, police, prisons, communications,

customs, civil aviation, broadcasting, and antiquities for the whole country. They would run the Jewish port of Haifa. They would also, according to the summary, retain final authority over immigration, "but the provincial governments would have the right of appeal to the United Nations Trusteeship Council"—if and when.

The provinces would have their own assemblies but the central government would appoint speakers without whose approval no bill could become law. The executive authority in the provinces would be vested in councils of ministers appointed by the British High Commissioner. He would have emergency power to supersede a provincial government in whole or in part.

The Jewish province under the plan would be a thin strip of territory zigzagging north and east and north again, from the coast below Jaffa to the Lebanese border. It would include about 1,500 square miles, a little more than half the area proposed in the Peel partition plan in 1936. To put the final touch on this constitutional monstrosity, the report is said to provide that the admission of 100,000 homeless Jews now in European camps, urged as an immediate step by the Committee of Inquiry, be made conditional on acceptance of the "federalization" scheme.

One can only hope the full text, which may have appeared before this comment does, will dispel the fear aroused by the preliminary report. For Palestine is in no state to survive much more stupid and ill-considered treatment; politically, its condition is already desperate. Even in June when I left there it was easy to predict steadily increasing trouble. In my first article, commenting on the British Foreign Minister's speech at Bournemouth, I wrote: "Reading this, one realizes how little Bevin has learned from the [Anglo-American] inquiry, indeed from the long record of British colonial policy: he still believes that order is a prerequisite to policy, an idea easily converted into the theory that order is a substitute for policy. This mistake was responsible for the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, for the Anritsar massacre, and for a dozen other bloody events easy to recall. If persisted in, it will have the same ugly results in Palestine." The prognosis took no particular foresight, but events have borne it out more precisely and rapidly than I could have guessed then.

First came the British raids on the Zionist organi-

zations and the arrest of leading officials of the Jewish Agency, clearly announcing the intention of the government to create a situation which would rule out early application of the Inquiry report. Second, the bombing of the King David hotel. This stupid crime cannot be condoned on grounds of intolerable provocation, nor can the Irgun try to hide behind alleged "warnings" which are unprovable and have been flatly denied by the British. The bombing was calculated with nicety to hamstring the efforts of Zionist leaders, in Palestine and London, to crack the fatal circle of terror and reprisal. Just as the British drive on June 29 weakened the influence of the moderate leaders over their Jewish followers, so the Irgun bombing weakened their position vis-a-vis the British authorities. But it is impossible to doubt, none the less, that the first tragic error played an important part in bringing about the second. Palestinian Jews, seeing their leaders in jail and their defense organization threatened with suppression and the seizure of its weapons, undoubtedly moved closer to the position that counsels of moderation had failed and violence was inevitable. Terrorism began to take on the dangerous and attractive guise of justified reprisal.

Representatives of the Agency and other Jewish leaders have expressed unqualified condemnation of the bomb outrage. Whether they will officially cooperate in rounding up members of the terrorist organizations has not been decided as I write. But whatever they say or do, their efforts will be effective only in the degree to which their prestige is re-established by action in London. They cannot be discredited by continued failure and still be expected to win their followers to a new trust in the virtues of restraint. They cannot say: "Look, we have got nowhere; but will you please lay down your arms and leave everything to us and the British?"

The latest White Paper was clearly intended to justify the British army's raid on the Jewish Agency and Haganah. The evidence it presents of acts of violence condoned and even supported by the Zionist officials and of limited cooperation between the Agency and terrorist groups would indicate, if proved valid, that the undeclared war in Palestine has partly closed the ranks of the Jewish "resistance forces."

The Jewish Agency has indignantly denied the authenticity of the incriminating telegrams published in the White Paper, and no one has a right to accept them on their face value. The mood of British of-

ficial as I encountered it in Palestine is one which would lead them to give ready credence to fabricated evidence of Zionist conspiracy. But, true or false, the document may well serve to justify British toughness in the mind of the general public. Unfortunately, it will at the same time blur the issue, for the common or strap-hanging reader will not make nice distinctions between Jewish violence that might at least have had some military purpose, and violence that had no reason other than sheer terror. The broader effect of the White Paper will be to discredit, along with the "dissidents," men who have tried to carry on the fight with as little bloodshed and general destruction as possible.

#### JEWISH LEADERS ARE MILITANT

Britain's strategy of repression and delay has turned every Jewish leader into a militant; even those known as "moderates" unanimously and openly back illegal efforts to circumvent the immigration restrictions and resist military measures. But if the British intend to offer concessions in Palestine—in other words, if the new proposals from London turn out to be more generous and realistic than the *Times'* story indicates—it would seem reckless to toss into disrepute the Jewish leaders still capable of compromise. Such men are not expendable. Nothing but their prompt rehabilitation will prevent power from slipping into the hands of the elements whose anger and intransigence they have attempted to control. If that happens, the struggle in Palestine can only become more and more bloody and embittered.

For Jews are not Arabs, full of noisy threats but incapable of united, organized, sustained action. And the Jews of today are not the Jews of 1936 to 1939, so eager to prove their pacific and constructive intentions that they all but fell backward in their effort to avoid violence. Today the Jews trust no one but themselves. They are organized and prepared. They believe that they are fighting, not just for their families and their homeland as in the thirties, but for the survival of their people. The horror of the past six years is alive in every Jew in Palestine whether he suffered it in his own person or through the bodies and minds of his fellow Jews in Europe. His feeling is inflamed by every sign of easy indifference, in Britain or elsewhere, to the fate of the remnant of refugees in Europe. It is reinforced by each boatload of survivors that slips into Haifa harbor.

The impact of Jewish Palestine strikes you in full

force the moment you cross the Lebanese border. Perhaps that is the best way to meet it, for with Lebanon as a background, Palestine takes on a special quality; the contrast is startling. In "free" Lebanon, the Christian community lives in a state of constant apprehension and constraint. In British-ruled Palestine, the Jews are obviously a "free" people. I had expected to find courage and determination, even confidence, for it is out of these ingredients that the miracle of Jewish Palestine has been compounded. But I was surprised to find the Jews "free" in the full moral meaning of the word. Where Christians in Lebanon discuss in unhappy undertones their chance of survival, reduced to the thinnest sliver by the ousting of the French, Jews in Palestine talk openly, without restraint, in not-too-well-modulated voices, about the whole state of affairs in their occupied country. Their press is free as the wind, until it is censored or suspended; in Lebanon the press, with a few notable exceptions, is both timid and corrupt. The Lebanese Christians expect to be submerged in a Moslem flood if they are not rescued by some outside agency. The Jews walk the earth of Palestine as if they belonged there, not like refugees or immigrants. This phenomenon of Jewish freedom in one of the world's least free lands gives the visitor an impression of solidity and permanence which every other circumstance tries vainly to erase.

I talked to political leaders in Palestine—several of them now in prison—and to men and women in a dozen or more collective farms and cooperatives. I saw refugees from extermination camps serving their apprenticeship in the colonies. I saw Jews at work in factories owned by Histadruth, the labor federation. I visited the hospital and the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus. I talked to the newspaper men and women of Jerusalem. The sum of these varied contacts produced a surprisingly homogenous impression upon me. And since this article cannot deal in details, I shall try to make a composite of the attitudes I find recorded in my notes.

First, the assumption that the survivors of Nazi terror would eventually surely get to Palestine. Not a single Jew even suggested that the immigration could be stopped. Legally or illegally, under protection or as smuggled goods, the D.E.'s would come and the other would-be refugees would follow, and all Palestine Jews would help them.

A leader in Haifa asked me if no American ship-owner could be found who would go into refugee-

running on a big scale. He pointed out that we were not bound by Britain's restrictions, and marvelled that no American Jew had yet launched such an enterprise.

Every Jew openly defended illegal action to assist the refugees in landing and prevent their deportation if that should again be attempted.

Every institution, from the magnificent Hadassah hospital to individual homes in cooperative farms, was preparing to make room for the 100,000 or whatever number, smaller or greater, might arrive. New quarters were being built in collectives; new land acquired within the strangling limits of the White Paper restrictions. Plans for training and settling the future arrivals were rapidly taking shape, together with realistic preparations to provide for the physical and psychological rehabilitation of people who have been seriously damaged by the horrors they have lived through.

Second, the determination of Jewish Palestine to survive at whatever cost. I have said the Jews are now all militants. What this means in practice is that they are prepared to fight for the right to control their own institutions and decide their own destiny. I put it in these imprecise terms because Jews disagree about the exact political basis on which their future should rest. Most of them, of course, want a democratic state with a Jewish majority within Palestine's present boundaries. An earnest minority wants a bi-national state, equally balanced in population and political power between Jews and Arabs. Some Jews are quite prepared to accept a partition plan which would limit the Homeland to an area containing a Jewish majority or able to attain a majority when the 100,000 have been added. The suggestion of a democratic federated state embracing separate Jewish and Arab administrative areas would be regarded by many Jews as an unhappy but acceptable compromise. The proposal set forth in the *Times* would be rejected by both these groups.

#### NO SURRENDER OF BASIC RIGHTS

No Jew I talked to would agree that the community should surrender its basic right of self-government and self-defense. Training for defense is as nearly compulsory as social pressure can make it. Every young person gives a year's service to the community, and if he is needed for the defense forces, that is where he goes. No secret is made of the existence and activities of Haganah; the fact that it is out-

lawed under British regulations merely induces a moderate discretion in talking about it.

Jews are filled with bitter contempt for the government's condemnation of "illegal armed forces." For Haganah supplied the British army with thousands of able fighters. The chairman of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Bernard Joseph, told me that the recruiting drive of the Zionist organizations was limited only by British reluctance to accept Jewish soldiers in numbers so totally disproportionate to the handful of Arabs who served. Haganah was, of course, fully recognized during the Arab raids in the late thirties. It was this force, then ill-equipped and poorly trained, that defended the scattered settlements while British troops concentrated on the maintenance of general order and the protection of pipe lines. Today Haganah has come to be looked upon not only as a defense organization to be held in readiness for possible future trouble with the Arabs, but as an Army of Liberation upon which the Jews will depend if negotiations fail and the British try to maintain the status quo by force of arms.

There are other things the Jews want.

They are passionately eager to reclaim the land; one of the reasons partition would be a hard concession to make is that it would endanger if not end the hope of putting into effect the Jordan Valley plan and other large-scale projects designed to open great desert areas for farming.

They want to raise the standard of living of the whole country and level up to their own the standard of the Arabs. This is partly altruistic; partly it is in order to make possible an economic and political stability which can only be reached if the Arab masses are somehow drawn into the twentieth century.

Some Jews, wiser than the majority, want to make common cause with other threatened minority groups in the Arab states—particularly with their neighbors, the Christians of Lebanon.

But the basic desires of the Jews I talked with are wrapped up in the first two attitudes I have described. Put together they were expressed briefly by one of the wisest Palestinian leaders. He said to me: "Under no circumstances will we give up. We will fight to open Palestine to all Jews who want to come. We will fight to maintain Jewish Palestine. We have no other choice. We cannot go on from here. This is the stopping place—the end of the road. We will stay here or die."

# Palestine and Bevin

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

Cairo, June 15

I HAVE seen no report of the American reaction to the Palestine remarks made by Bevin at Bournemouth, but read here in the context of events in the Levant, in Egypt, and in Palestine itself, they seemed most ominous. For a Foreign Minister to say that "the agitation in the United States . . . for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine is because they do not want too many of them in New York" is to offer an unjust and untrue simplification of a complex problem; it is hard to believe that Bevin would have ventured it if he were not casting about for an alibi to cover his own failure to meet the issue. Also when he says, "If you have to raise the Arabs' life to the standard of the Jews, you cannot do it if you take away their land," he is distorting both the recommendations of the Inquiry Committee and the intentions of the Jews. But more significant and disturbing was Bevin's assertion that "if we put 100,000 Jews in Palestine tomorrow I would have to put another division of troops there," coupled with the demand for the Jews and Arabs to lay down their arms. Reading this, one realizes how little Bevin has learned from the inquiry, indeed from the long record of British colonial policy: he still believes that order is a prerequisite to policy, an idea easily converted into the theory that order is a substitute for policy. This mistake was responsible for the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, for the Amritsar massacre, and for a dozen other bloody events easy to recall. If persisted in, it will have the same ugly results in Palestine.

For almost five weeks I have been watching developments and talking to informed people—Jews, Christians, Moslems—in Palestine, Lebanon, and Egypt, and I am sure that if real trouble starts it will not be because 100,000 Jews are brought to Palestine but because of the stalling and hedging of the British government, its painful reluctance to apply any clear-cut policy, and the behavior of many of its agents, military and civilian, who do everything but openly invite an Arab revolt. As days pass without a decision on Palestine, the Moslem world becomes more and more convinced that blackmail pays and that the Western powers can be frightened into sacrificing the Jews just as they have already abandoned the Christians in Lebanon. One country the Arabs are uneasy about is the United States. They believe that if 100,000 Jews come to Palestine it will be because Truman insists they come. They know that an uncompromising stand in Washington, backed by solid promises of material help, would go far to offset the Arab threats and the warnings of Bevin's advisers out here.

If our government takes such a stand, it will alter in a most salutary way the balance of forces in the eastern Mediterranean. But I wonder whether we can be counted on to do it. We are not accustomed to following an independent line, and we depend heavily on the British for the defense of our interests. Nor are we immune to Arab propaganda. Today at Payne Field, a huge airport outside of Cairo which our government has just sold to

Egypt, I encountered several American oil men on their way home from Arabia. They agreed that Ibn Saud was an old fox and had scared Standard Oil to death by threatening to destroy installations in the oil fields and to end concessions if we did not quit supporting the Jews. "Would he do it?" I asked. They didn't know but thought he figured he wouldn't have to; he counted on threats to turn the trick. "He could wreck the whole works in three hours," one of them said. "But then of course he wouldn't get the money." Concessions are the lifeblood of Oriental absolutism, and Ibn Saud is perhaps more fox than fanatic.

I have been much disappointed by the recent words of another Britisher, R. H. S. Crossman, a good writer and a member of the Inquiry Committee who is supposed to have been working hard—with indifferent success, one must conclude—to convert Messrs. Attlee and Bevin to the report. In Palestine Crossman was generally regarded as the ablest member of the committee. This being the case, I wonder why he should have taken particular pains, in a talk the other day at the London School of Economics, to ridicule the American role in relation to Palestine. When he rejected the idea of British-American condominium—proposed by nobody so far as I know—by saying that "it is difficult enough to run the country under the Colonial Office, but it would be quite impossible under a Tammany regime," I could not help recalling somewhat cynically the massive rolls of barbed wire I saw festooning every British official building in Palestine, and the iron censorship, and the political prisoners, also behind barbed wire. Against this backdrop Tammany seemed by contrast quite like the benevolent society it was originally supposed to be. But what I found more gratuitous and politically rather questionable was Crossman's remark, greeted with "laughter," that "poor Truman was neatly caught when he demanded the entry of 100,000 and was asked by Bevin to send American commissioners," and his further ironic comment on the anxiety of Americans, including the American Jews, to deflect Jewish immigration toward Palestine.

I do not intend to dispute these points; I want only to suggest that Bevin's speech indicates the political use to which such remarks are bound to be put. Assuming that Crossman was honest in his desire to win Cabinet approval for the report, his chances were hardly improved by a deliberate attempt to discredit American influence. If Truman was tricked by Bevin, it would seem good strategy in a political fight to welcome the support of Washington rather than undermine it, especially since the most encouraging note in Bevin's discussion of Jewish immigration to Palestine was the suggestion that Britain and the United States should together consider implementation of the report.

But the Foreign Minister's statements at Bournemouth demand examination on their merits. Is it true that the



arrival of 100,000 Jewish D. P.'s would necessitate another division of British troops? To a recent visitor in Palestine the assertion sounds like convention oratory. I do not know how many divisions are already there or, indeed, whether the entire British and American armies combined could prevent guerrilla attacks by armed and bitter citizens. The German army could not do it in France. But I know that Palestine is an occupied country from end to end. The Jews and Arabs alike live under military rule while civilian officials take shelter behind sandbags and armed guards. In Barclay's Bank in Jerusalem a Tommy armed with a machine-gun is prominently posted on the balcony overlooking the main room. Press censorship is complete. No explanation need be given for suspensions or prohibitions. The following item, printed while I was in Jerusalem, shows how it is done:

*Haifa, Saturday.* The editor of the local afternoon paper, *Zoharayim*, was informed that "the High Commissioner in Council, being of the opinion that matter appearing in said paper is likely to endanger the public peace," has ordered its suspension for a fortnight.

Arrests are frequently made under similar emergency decrees.

Though I had read about the concentration of military and police forces in Palestine, I had no idea until I went there how overpowering it had become. Convoys of British tanks and trucks move along the roads holding up civilian traffic. The public barracks, located at strategic points only a few miles apart, are really forts, concrete structures formidable in size and solidity, and everywhere one sees contingents of the Transjordan Frontier Force, Arab troops originally recruited for the purpose the name implies, policing towns and highways; nothing could be better calculated to provoke Jewish resentment.

But if Bevin really needs that extra division, one might remind him that he is pledged to the withdrawal of the whole naval and military establishment now stationed here in Egypt. The size of these forces is not public property, but the British-owned *Egyptian Gazette* today gives 50,000 as "near the mark"—surely a conservative figure. When negotiations with Egypt are happily ended, Bevin will have two or three extra divisions to send to Palestine, which Britain obviously intends to make its chief stronghold in the Middle East. In the light of these facts I think we need not take too seriously Bevin's military worries.

The real question is the one asked at the beginning: can the British government achieve order in Palestine by continuing to pile up force, while encouraging the Arabs to resist even the recommendations of its own Committee of Inquiry? If a peaceful Palestine is what Bevin wants, it is hard to explain the behavior, for example, of Glubb Pasha—a man who seems to have been clipped, name and all, right out of Kipling. Glubb Pasha is the British brigadier commanding the Arab Legion in Transjordan and is besides Deputy Inspector General of Police for Palestine. In a recent interview Glubb announced flatly that if the committee report is implemented, "British will be at war with the Arab League." "I doubt," said the Pasha, "whether the British forces available are adequate to enforce the committee's recommendations. . . . Palestine would become the scene of murder, sabotage, severed communications, and convoy attacks. In Arab countries outside of Palestine dis-

turbances would take the form of pogroms, attacks on British subjects and premises, and sabotage of Anglo-American oil concerns." Glubb Pasha concluded by calling for twelve to fifteen divisions to handle the situation.

This sort of "warning" is, of course, an open invitation to Arab extremists to launch a holy war. As the *Palestine Post* put it, his statement was "an incitement to mass pillage and murder . . . and to war against his own country."

Glubb's is only a flamboyant example of a point of view which largely dominates the British ruling group in Palestine. Little as Arab leaders like British control, it is none the less heavily weighted on their side. Today this is more than ever true, since the bitter events in Europe and the restrictions of the White Paper have combined to drive the Jews to acts of resistance which are entirely alien to their tradition. Terrorism is still regarded with profound disapproval by official Jewish opinion, but the effort to build and equip a strong defense force and to smuggle refugees through the immigration barriers is universally applauded. A Zionist would no more oppose illegal immigration or Haganah than a patriotic Frenchman would have opposed the F. F. I. during the Nazi occupation. Terrorist acts will increase as long as the present state of suspense continues. And the tactics used by jittery police officials and the military have the effect of creating sympathy for the terrorists—still only a handful—and weakening the authority of responsible leaders.

I could multiply the instances of bias against Jews displayed by British officials. One which came to a climax while I was in Jerusalem will serve as an illustration. On May 1 a government communiqué reported that a kitbag packed with explosives had been found over the magazine of H. M. S. *Chevron* in Haifa harbor, with detonators fitted, and that "thirteen Palestinian naval ratings" had been arrested, explosives being found on several of them. The story was dressed up with colorful details: one of the arrested men was described as "a well-known terrorist" and the ship as having been engaged in intercepting illegal immigrants. In London the *Daily Telegraph* headed the story "Attempt to Blow up Destroyer" and converted the thirteen Palestinians into thirteen Jewish ratings. It appeared on the day the inquiry recommendations were published. By the time I reached Palestine the accused had faced court-martial and one Jewish sailor had been found guilty of illegal possession of explosives. What was interesting was the collapse of the story put out by the Palestine Information Office. The detonators were not fitted; the position of the kitbag was found to have been accidental; the "Palestinian ratings" were Cypriot, Arab, Armenian, and Jewish; the "several" with explosives became one; no attempt to blow up the warship was found. The offender is in prison. But the P. I. O. official who doctored the story is presumably still carrying on as usual. Such tactics, applied day after day and in every relationship, insure the continuance of tension and bitterness in Palestine and make nonsense of Bevin's demand that the Jews and Arabs disarm.

[In her next article, based on interviews with Arab and Jewish leaders in Palestine, Miss Kirchway will deal with the possibility of Arab revolt and the views of Arab leaders, particularly their attitude toward the United States.]

Reprinted from the Nation, July 13, 1946

# Will the Arabs Revolt?

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE FEROCITY of the British military attack on the Jewish establishments in Palestine can be explained only by panic or by a desire to prove that the situation is too tense and unstable to permit the admission of 100,000 new immigrants. Perhaps both emotions are involved.

When I was in Palestine last month, panic was plainly observable in British reactions. Official alarm seemed out of proportion even then to the isolated acts of violence committed by Jewish extremists. And the authorities were unwilling to acknowledge any distinction between terrorist acts, condemned by all but a small minority of Jews, and those other illegal operations, such as the smuggling of immigrants and the organization of defense forces, which had the support and approval of the whole Jewish community. The British in Palestine behaved as if they went in deadly fear of the Jews; the provocative warnings of Glubb Pasha mentioned in my last article,\* although more hysterical in tone than the comments of ordinary officials, were otherwise typical. Their composite attitude was something like this: "We must at all costs put an end to Jewish resistance and if possible prevent any new immigration; otherwise we shall have war arising out of the justified resentment of the Arab majority."

How realistic are these fears? Would the admission of more Jews into Palestine actually touch off civil war or, even more terrifying, start a general Islamic revolt? Such questions must be answered before one passes final judgment on British behavior.

From the day the Joint Inquiry Committee's report was issued, Arab leaders and the Arab press have carried on a steady campaign of threats and protests. They have promised everything from local acts of terror to a Holy War. A collection of newspaper headlines over the last three months indicates that the city room of an Arab newspaper has no lessons to learn from Mr. Hearst. One of the most imaginative appeared above the story of Truman's first statement on the Palestine report: "Hitler Has Been Found Alive—In The White House!"

It is instructive, however, to contrast the fury of the

\* "Palestine and Berlin," June 22, 1946

press, and of leaders aiming their words at public opinion, with the reserve displayed in private conversation as well as in the decisions reached at the recent Arab conferences at Inchass and Bludan. In Jerusalem I talked to the two most influential Arab leaders then in the country. The first, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, is a man whose volcanic flood of oratory conceals genuine patriotic feeling. He is an old hand at the nationalist game, having attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 with Feisal and participated in various subsequent negotiations with the British. He knows the documents by heart and lays the pertinent passages before you. The mandate Auni Bey does not recognize; it was illegal, since the Arabs were promised independence. But even granting the validity of the mandate, its execution by the British has been in violation of the League Covenant. Whereas Iraq and later Transjordan had their own governments under Britain, and Syria and Lebanon theirs under France, Palestine has been ruled directly by the British like a crown colony. "This, of course, is because the Jews were colonized in our country for Britain's imperialist purposes and they had to be protected by British arms."

But Britain is the old adversary, accepted and almost tolerated—like Satan in the Christian theology. The whole explosive fury of Auni Bey's invective was aimed at the United States. He shook his finger under my nose and asked what business the United States had coming into Palestine and running its affairs, installing a plan that would "kill the Arabs?" "Kill?" I asked. "Will 100,000 additional Jews kill the Arabs?" He did not stop to explain but from the general direction of his talk I gathered that more Jewish immigration would, in his opinion, squeeze the Arabs off their land, create a non-Arab life in Palestine, and end age-long established customs and relationships. "You can do this," he said. "With money, with the atom bomb, America can kill every Arab who protests because the promises have all been broken and the foreigners have been forced into this country. Is that what you wish?" I could not have offered a defense of the Committee's report or of America's role if I had tried, for Auni Bey's questions were strictly rhetorical. I only asked, because this was what I had hoped to hear from him, whether he and the other Arab leaders had agreed on a specific plan of action in case the Committee's report was accepted in London. I got no real reply but only deflected a little the direction of the flow. "What can we do? You can kill us. We can die. What else? We are not prepared to wage war against Britain and the United States and the Jews. But in time, we will be vindicated. If it takes a thousand years, justice

FREDA KIRCHWEY has just returned from a two-months trip to Europe and the Middle East. Her analysis of Arab strength, organization and intentions is particularly timely in view of current developments in Palestine and throughout the Moslem world.

will finally be done." And then, a little abruptly he mentioned Russia. "We don't wish to call upon Stalin for help. But if necessary we can do so." "What about the United Nations?" I asked. "Will the Arab League lay the Palestine issue before the Council or the Assembly?" To this question Auni Bey gave no answer. What was evident from his conversation was the uncertainty that lay behind his genuine indignation.

From one of the other leaders, a very different man, I got the same impression. Dr. Hussein Khalidi, formerly Mayor of Jerusalem, is a successful lawyer and a member of the Arab Higher Executive. He is as quiet and smooth as Auni Bey is violent. He talks with you, meets objections, appears to weigh arguments. He, too, leans heavily on documents, and uses them well. He showed me the verbatim testimony, never published, taken at the London Conference in 1939 which resulted in the White Paper. He was there as one of the Palestine Arab delegates. At this meeting Malcolm MacDonald promised, without the slightest equivocation, in answer to detailed questions by himself and another delegate, that the Arabs would have permanent and final control over Jewish immigration after five years; during that period 75,000 Jews would be admitted under the British plan. If the quota were not filled during the allotted time, the remainder would not be admitted after the period ended. It was there, black on white, question and promise. On the record the Arabs have an unanswerable case. (And so, of course, have the Jews; and the issue therefore cannot be decided on the record at all, but must be dealt with, as the Joint Committee honestly attempted to do, on its political and human merits.)

Khalidi, like Auni Bey, having proved his point and expressed his profound distaste for American interference, became vague as to Arab policy. He predicted trouble—but how much and what sort, he didn't say. Would the other Arab states help the Palestinian Arabs?, I asked. He wouldn't commit himself on that either. Both leaders were restrained by their knowledge that the meeting at Inchass of the Arab kings and chiefs of state, then in progress, was debating this very problem, and by the more intimate fact that the Palestinian Arab parties had just split into two "higher" committees over the question of appealing to the United Nations.

The decisions reached at Inchass were never fully disclosed, but when the Arab League met in extraordinary session at Bludan on June 8 to consider the Palestine issue, the press announced that it was acting, not as an independent policy-making body, but under directives from the Arab rulers. In fact, the secretary-general of the Arab League, Abdul Rahman Azzam, himself declared that the League had become the "executive agent" of the Arab chiefs of state. After a series of defiant and deafening speeches, the League went into closed session and at last emerged with a program which must have disappointed the pan-Arab fire-eaters. Talk of a Holy War had disappeared altogether; so had the expected demand

for Palestine independence. No mention was made of an appeal to the United Nations for action against the Committee's report. The resolutions adopted merely called for the creation of a committee representing all the Arab states to "supervise all questions concerning Palestine"; the setting up in Palestine of a new Arab Higher Executive to supercede or unite the two competing "higher" committees; the demobilization and disarming of all Jewish troops (no mention of Arab military organizations); and various proposals to end land sales to Jews and strengthen the boycott of Jewish goods.

Arab nationalism is a real force. No one who has been in Egypt and the Levant can deny it. It does not go as deep as its leaders want you to think but it has enough popular backing so that foreigners, and non-Moslems, foreign or native, face growing hostility in Moslem countries. The poor masses in the villages are probably almost unaware of the issue; in the cities there is plenty of explosive material for the politicians to use. Nationalist feeling backed up and inflamed by religious fanaticism is unquestionably growing.

Will it explode in Palestine? This is the question raised in acute form by British action there. To me the answer seems so obvious that I find it hard to take seriously the feverish warnings of British officials and Arab propagandists. The caution displayed by the Arab leaders when they sit down to consider policy is far more convincing. Unless all political signs fail, no general rising of Arabs would result from the application of the Committee's proposals. Doubtless there would be sporadic attacks and local disorders, though even these would, I am convinced, be reduced by the general respect in which the Jewish defense organization is held. But no Holy War, no invasion from neighboring countries, not even civil war in Palestine.

Britain may be executing a slow retreat in the Middle East: its economic hold may be threatened by American competition, its ultimate political control by Russian penetration. But the Empire has enormous staying power and up to the present time it has been able to manipulate the ambitions of Arab leaders, and especially the divisions among them, to buttress its strategic positions.

No Arab state or combination of states can start a war in Palestine without British connivance. The Arab leaders know this well; they may bark loudly, but they have very few teeth to bite with. Egypt will never endanger its present negotiations with Britain by seriously involving itself in Palestine. King Farouk has huge ambitions, encompassing the whole Arab world. But his present need is to win a diplomatic triumph through the withdrawal, on favorable terms, of British forces from Egypt. Farouk is playing a cagey game and doing everything politically possible to minimize—while using—the growing Xenophobia of opposition parties and fanatic organizations like the Moslem Brotherhood. No Holy War will start in Egypt in the early future.



Transjordan's newly crowned king, Abdullah, is in Britain's pocket—not only because the whole independence farce was staged and run off by the British; not only because the treaty with Britain secures that power's predominant interest; but above all because Transjordan's army is officered by Britishers and is in fact an integral part of Britain's armed forces in the Middle East. To imagine an incursion from Transjordan into Palestine without Britain's consent is a little difficult. In Iraq, British control is only a little less overt. Since the overthrow of Rashid Ali in 1941, the Iraqi government and army have operated under strict British supervision.

There remain Syria and Lebanon. Ostensibly independent since the French were evicted, these countries might possibly cause trouble across the border. Syria is now militantly pan-Arab and has taken the lead in boycotting Jewish goods from Palestine. Lebanon, torn between Arab propaganda and the fears of the Christian population, is more inhibited. But both are deeply beholden to the British. The liquidation of French control was accomplished by a series of maneuvers which have never been fully exposed. In the process, local politicians, bought and paid for, were established in power by their new overlords. The financial by-products of office are great in the Levant and it will be some time, I imagine, before these officials will think it discreet to kick over the traces. If they did, their ability to make trouble in Palestine would be severely restricted by the almost complete collapse of the Levantine armies since the French moved out.

Apart from direct British influence, however, there are all sorts of minor pressures at work to prevent united Arab action in Palestine. The Arab states may adopt a common attitude of Jewish immigration, but they can never stage a general revolt as long as they continue to be split by cross-currents of interest and feeling. King Farouk's ambition to dominate an inclusive Arab union—even to revive the Caliphate—is in direct conflict with King Abdullah's ambition to rule over a Greater Syria comprising Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan, a plan supposedly encouraged by the British. Both projects are opposed by Ibn Saud, absolute monarch of Arabia, who looks upon himself as the legitimate leader of the Moslem world and nourishes an ancient feud with the Hashimite family, to which Abdullah belongs. Even within the Greater Syria orbit, the interests of Abdullah clash with those of many Syrian politicians who benefit from their country's role as an "independent" republic with a seat in the United Nations.

If an Arab revolt on a big scale is out of the question, as I believe these facts indicate, how can one explain the fears of British officials in Palestine and the ugly events of the past week? The answer is to be found in the history of Arab blackmail and British appeasement. During the years before the outbreak of war, Nazi agents in every Arab country spread the charge that the British intended

to subject the Moslems to Jewish domination. Arab attacks on Jewish settlements in the late '30's were largely the product of this untiring propaganda, and by the end of 1938 the Colonial Office had pretty well convinced the government that the loyalty of Jewish Palestine would be more than offset, in case of war, by the hostility of the Arab chieftains. Quite abruptly, and without regard for past commitments, the British instituted a sweeping program of appeasement. For the first time Arab notables were invited to join in discussions of the Palestine problem. Then the whole policy based on the Balfour declaration and embodied in the Mandate was reversed by the provisions of the White Paper. Through these moves the British hoped to counter Axis propaganda and insure the loyalty of the Arabs.

The results of this maneuver are well remembered. With very few exceptions Arab leaders in Palestine and outside were either openly pro-Axis or unreliable and shifting in their allegiance. The behavior of the Mufti—today again at large and ready to resume his dominant role in the Middle East—was only a dramatic expression of the general Arab attitude.

But the failure of appeasement during the war did not discourage the engineers of Britain's colonial policy. Victory wiped out the power of the Axis; it did not guarantee the security of the Empire. In the offing they see the looming threat of Soviet power pressing toward the warm-water ports and oil resources of the Middle East. A bloc of Arab states linked to Britain by concessions, favors, and a well-grounded fear of communism still seems to the conventional colonial mind the best available bulwark against Russia's penetration.

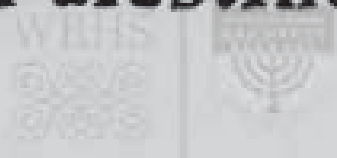
Such hopes would be frustrated by the growth of Jewish strength in Palestine. For the energy and progressive social program of the Jews menace, far more imminently than does Russia, the hierarchic feudalism of the Moslem world from which the Arab ruling class derives its wealth and power. To encourage the Jews would be to plant dynamite under that decadent system. It would make further appeasement impossible. If the Arab leaders cannot stage a revolt, they can make plenty of trouble of other sorts. They might even, as a maneuver in power politics, carry out their threat and call upon Russia for help. The frightened colonial official sees these possibilities crowding in on him, and his single impulse is to step on the Jews. Heaven knows he does not want social change any more than the Arabs; he wants the old system and men on top with whom he can make satisfactory deals. If military force can do it, and if Mr. Bevin continues to back him up, he will wipe out the Jewish defense forces while there is still time and stop the smuggling of D. P.'s from Europe. And with his last breath he will oppose the recommendations of the Joint Committee of Inquiry.

[Miss Kirby's next article on the Middle East will analyze the Jewish position in the struggle over Palestine.]



4/13/46

# Benj. Franklin on Palestine



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



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An excerpt from a Radio Address by Don Lyon,  
on Station WHN, New York, August 13, 1946

**T**HINKING of the situation in Palestine as it stands at the moment, one is struck by the curious applicability to it of some of the statements written by Benjamin Franklin when he was in England in the years preceding the Revolutionary War.

Franklin had believed in peace and union with Britain. Not until later did he see how hopeless the achievement of such a situation was. When America was ablaze with opposition to the Stamp and Revenue Acts, Franklin wrote:

"And yet there remains among the people so much respect, veneration and affection for Britain that if cultivated prudently with a kind usage and tenderness for their privileges they might easily be governed for ages without force or any considerable expense, but I don't see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom that is necessary to produce such a conduct and I lament the want of it."

Speaking of union between Britain and America, Franklin said:

"If such a union were now established, it would probably subsist as long as Britain shall continue a nation. This people, however, is too proud and too



much despises the Americans to bear the thought of admitting them to such an equitable participation in the government as a whole. Every man in England seems to consider himself a piece of a sovereign over America. Angry writers use their utmost efforts to persuade us that this war with the colonies (for a war it will be) is a national cause, when in fact it is a ministerial one.

"The British have no idea that any people can act from any other principle but that of interest, and they believe that threepence in a pound of tea is sufficient to overcome all the patriotism in America. The English feel; they do not see. That is, they are sensible of inconveniences when they are present, but do not take sufficient care to prevent them."

In the next paragraph, I am going to substitute the word *Palestine* for colonies and *Jews* for colonists.

"Palestine is rapidly increasing in wealth and numbers. In the last war the Jews maintained an army (and here Franklin said 25,000, referring to the colonists). A country able to do that is no contemptible ally. In another war the Jews may perhaps do twice as much with equal ease. Whenever a war happens their aid will be wished for, their friendship courted. This is the time to say: redress your grievances. You take money (you can substitute here the word immigration) away from us by

force. If you would have our free gifts, desist from your compulsive methods and acknowledge our rights and secure our future employment of them."

**M**UCH later, just before the Revolutionary War, Franklin lost all patience with the mother country and wrote what he called "Rules by Which a Great Empire May Be Reduced to a Small One." Here are some of the "rules" as Franklin wrote them.

"You are to consider that a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished *at the edges*. Forget that the colonies were founded at their own expense. Suppose they are always inclined to revolt and treat them accordingly. By this means, like the husband who uses his wife ill because of suspicion, you may in time convert your suspicions into realities.

"Choose inferior and pettifogging men for governors and judges. Deprive the colonies of their constitutional liberties such as the right of habeas corpus or freedom from seizure of property without warrant. Convert the brave, honest officers of your Navy into pimping tide-waiters and colony officers of the customs. Let those who fought gallantly in war in defense of their country, in peace be taught to prey upon it. Let them learn to scour, with armed boats, every bay, harbor, river, creek, cove or nook

throughout the coast of your colonies; stop and detain every coaster, every woodboat, every fisherman; tumble their cargoes inside out and upside down and let the whole be seized and confiscated.

"Then let these boat crews land upon every farm in their way, rob orchards, steal the pigs and cattle and poultry and insult the inhabitants.

"If the injured and exasperated farmers, unable to procure other justice, should attack the aggressors, drub them, call this high treason and rebellion, order fleets and armies into their country and threaten to carry all offenders 3,000 miles to be hanged, drawn and quartered. Ah, this will work admirably.

"Send armies into their country under the pretense of protecting your inhabitants, but instead of garrisoning the forts with troops to prevent incursions, demolish these forts and order the troops into the heart of the country that the savages may be encouraged to attack the frontiers and that the troops may be protected by the inhabitants.

"Lastly, invest the general of your army in the provinces with great and uncontested powers and free him from control of even your own civil governors. Let him have troops enough under his command, and who knows, he may take it into his head to set up for himself. If he should, and you have carefully practiced these few excellent rules of mine,

take my word for it, all the provinces will immediately join him and you will that day, if you have not done it sooner, get rid of the trouble of governing them forever." Q. E. D.

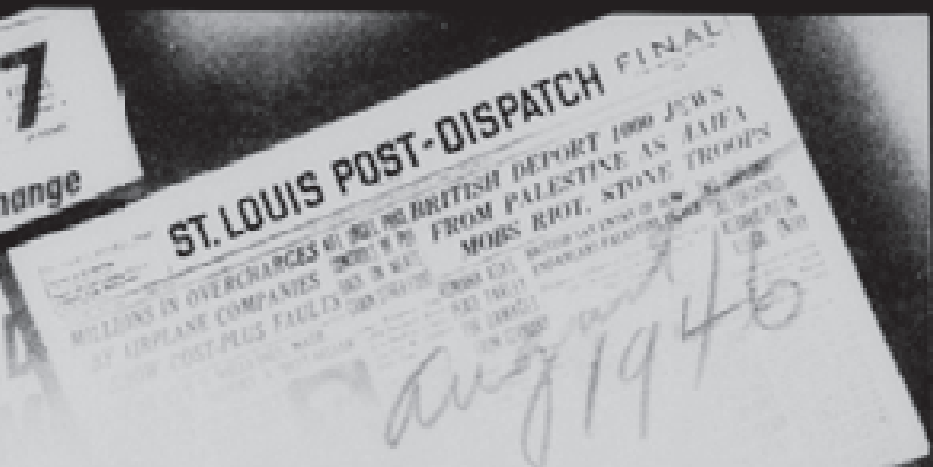
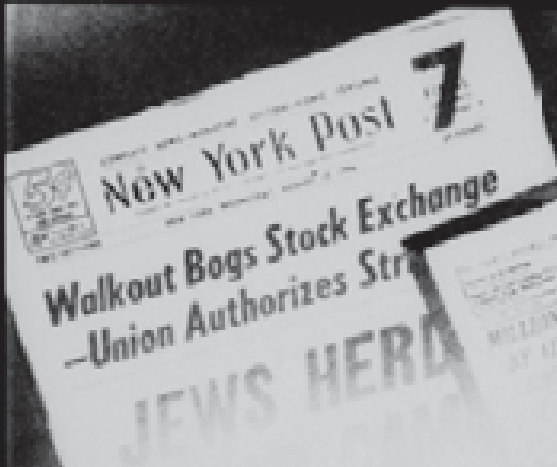
**P**ERHAPS no more damning indictment of the British colonial system can be found than in the aptness with which these quotations from the writings of Benjamin Franklin fit the present situation in Palestine.

It is a damning indictment because it proves that in the last 170 years the British as a colonial power (or a mandate power in the case of Palestine) have not in any way improved their techniques of governing minority people. When such a startling similarity between the measures used against the American colonists and those used against the Jews in Palestine is disclosed from merely checking back into history a bit, it cannot be called coincidental. On the contrary, it is evidence of a traditional British policy that has not been changed, and that refuses to recognize the desire for freedom and home-country which exists in the heart of practically every man of every religion or race.

I can't and won't try to condemn the British. Franklin has done that for me very well. But I

would like to point out that if ever history gave any nation a lesson to take to heart, the American Revolution provided Britain with a lesson that can be applied to Palestine.

To say as the British did today, that Americans are responsible for the present influx of immigration into Palestine because money from this country has supported the underground railway in Europe, is only to admit that British policy makes money necessary for obtaining one's freedom from death, hunger and disease. That Americans should be **BLAMED** for supporting immigration into Palestine is stupid; rather they should be praised. Freedom, gentlemen, is high-priced . . . when a man is fighting for freedom, the only way you will stop him is to give him that thing for which he is willing to die.



# PALESTINE



# IN THE PRESS



*A Selection of Articles and Editorials in America's Press  
of August 1948*



# *Inside Story...*

# **MAN to MAN**

by HAROLD L. ICKES

The road to Hell may be paved with good intentions, but this cannot be said of the road to Palestine.

If there ever was any doubt that Jews who want to go to Palestine should be allowed to go, that doubt was resolved by the bloody pogrom recently in Kielce, Poland—a pogrom that has been followed by more murders of helpless men, women and children.

And while Jews are being made a blood-sacrifice to ignorance and superstition in Poland, the United States of America, and its only slightly less powerful particeps criminis, Great Britain, are allowing more tarnish to gather upon the faith that we have pledged to the Jews. Instead of redeeming the promise of the Balfour Declaration that Palestine should become a "National Jewish Home," the British are encouraging the King of Saudi Arabia in his resistance to further Jewish immigration. And so, it seems, is the United States.

## **What's The Game?**

I have before me the Saudi Arabian budget for 1945. It opens with the exhortation "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate," which of course means neither mercy nor compassion for the Jews. This budget shows these interesting items under the heading, "Subsidies received during the year":

Remainder of minted riyals" received from America under 1943 agreement 9,000,000 riyals (or about \$2,700,000).

Value of 200,000 sovereigns received from British Government 8,000,000 (or about \$2,400,000).

Value of £150,000 received from the British Government 5,972,727 (or about \$1,800,000).



Value of £92,013 received from the British Government for the account of the Saudi Legations 1,221,267 (or about \$400,000).

Received from the American Government out of the 10,000,000 riyals (1944 agreement) 4,000,000 (or about \$1,200,000).

Total 28,193,994 riyals (or about \$8,500,000).

\*The value of the riyal is roughly 30 cents in U. S. currency.

In other words, the American Government has been subsidizing a foreign potentate whose announced purpose it is to defeat the policy that we have announced with respect to Palestine.

### **Lifting The Curtain of Secrecy**

Almost a year ago the Secretary of the Interior was asked to join in a recommendation that the Congress appropriate \$20,000,000 to "lend" to King Ibn Saud. He refused. Now it appears that, without the consent, or even the knowledge, of the American people, we have been contributing to King Ibn Saud through some convenient device such as the Export-Import Bank, Lend-Lease, or the RFC.

However, the operation has assumed a different form. Saudi Arabia is now applying for a "loan" of \$10,000,000 from the Export-Import Bank. There has been no publicity in connection with this negotiation. In this, as in other instances, the United States seems to be able to operate behind an iron curtain of its own.

This "loan" is to be secured by the royalties to be earned at some time in the future by Saudi Arabia under its oil concession to the Arabian-American Oil Company, which is owned in equal parts by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company. This oil company has already advanced royalties of some \$12,000,000 to the King, and it is fair to presume that further demands will be made.

### **Shameful Treatment of President Truman's Recommendations**

In the meantime, the 100,000 homeless Jews who have been counting upon President Truman's support of their wish to emigrate to Palestine are wondering with dread whether they will be able to establish themselves there in time to escape the death that other ignorant and blood-thirsty mobs may inflict upon them.

In the meantime, also, the American representatives on the so-called Anglo-American Cabinet Committee now in London made

a mock of President Truman's recommendation of a year ago, after the shocking Harrison report, that there be admitted to Palestine immediately the 100,000 homeless European Jews about whom we talk so much and do so little.

The President again made this urgent recommendation two months ago, when the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, after four arduous months of travel and first-hand investigation, reported unanimously that the 100,000 must be allowed to go to Palestine immediately. They regarded this as an emergency life-saving measure.

As has happened so often in the past, in foreign affairs America has cut her suit to a pattern imposed by the British. I regret this both as an American and as one who has a deep sense of respect and liking for the British. (from *The Evening Star*, Washington, D.C.)

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## Man to Man

By Harold L. Ickes

The United States should do its own thinking on international policies and stand on its own feet. Too often in the past have we allowed ourselves to be put in leading strings by 10 Downing Street. We appeased with Chamberlain. We genuflected with the British in the direction of both Hitler and Mussolini until our knees would bend no further. We followed the British line with respect to Spain and the Argentine and now we are breaking faith as to Palestine.

The Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry that spent four months studying the Palestine question made a unanimous recom-

recommendation to both London and Washington that 100,000 homeless European Jews be admitted to Palestine immediately. Last May, following the report of this commission, President Truman announced that this ought to be done.

But this did not suit the British. And then, in true Washington fashion, we agreed to the appointment of what we euphonically called a "Cabinet Committee," composed of the Secretaries of State, Treasury and War, whose sole purpose was supposedly to implement the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. Three men were appointed as alternates for the Cabinet members—the Messrs. Henry F. Grady for the Secretary of State, Herbert E. Gaston for the Secretary of the Treasury and Goldthwaite H. Lorr for the Secretary of War.

These men sat down in London with their British opposites and apparently were converted to the British point of view. It would seem that the British are not going to make good on this humane recommendation with respect to the 100,000 Jews. The three diplomatic white mice that we sent to London under such a high sounding title will return home leaving their tails behind them.

The British appear to have two definite objectives with respect to the land that had been promised as a national Jewish homeland. It is understood that the British strongly desire to fortify Palestine and make it their military base on the southern shore of the Mediterranean in the Middle East. The second apparent objective of the British is to divide Palestine into three separate areas—a small area of 1,500 square miles for the Jews, a larger strip for the Arabs and still another for the British themselves.

Instead of sovereignty for either the Jews or the Arabs, according to dispatches from London, political powers would be granted no greater in extent than those possessed by a county in the United States. All of the real powers would be held by the British.

Both the Arabs and the Jews will resist to the utmost any proposed solution which solves nothing. Instead of insisting vigorously upon the carrying out of the recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission President Truman's "Cabinet Committee" apparently surrendered the policy that had been laid down and supported by the President himself.

President Truman is to be commended on losing no time in recalling these three men—I hope for the double purpose of re-

pudiating their extraordinary action and of serving notice that Presidential policy once set can only be changed by the President himself. It is unthinkable that the United States should be willing to postpone action with respect to those 100,000 homeless Jews to force a surrender by Jews and Arabs alike of the right of self-government in Palestine.

The Jews and the Arabs ought to be permitted to settle their own difficulties. I am confident that they could do this, especially if the United States and Great Britain should advance a reasonable sum of money for the physical development of Palestine for the benefit of both races. The terrible outrages in Palestine have reacted against the Jews but suppression and a forcible division of territory are all too likely to be an incitement to further resistance and reckless acts resulting from desperation.

The Jews and the Arabs could learn to live together if Great Britain and the United States could bring themselves to an attitude of sympathetic understanding and a willingness, instead of giving orders and dictating policy from the outside, to help these two peoples to help themselves.

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*From the N. Y. Post Aug. 5, 1946*

## **Welles Assails Partition Plans In Palestine, Bids U. N. Step In**

**Denounces British Policy in Holy Land as Unilateral  
and Calls on U. S. to Take Lead in Assembly  
for Equitable Trusteeship Arrangement**

**By Sumner Welles**

*Former Under Secretary of State*

The proposal of the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee for the partition of Palestine, initiated by the British Cabinet, should be summarily rejected. It deserves denunciation by public opinion throughout the world.

It would leave the Jewish residents of Palestine at the mercy of a British central authority for an indefinite period. It would gerrymander Palestine in such a way that the Jewish national homeland promised by the Balfour Declaration could never be established. It would eliminate the opportunities for economic development envisaged in Dr. Lowdermilk's report. It would impede the ultimate establishment of a regional economic federation in which the Arab republics and an independent Jewish state in Palestine might profitably take part.

The partition proposed would forever prevent great numbers of European Jews from finding a permanent home in Palestine. The area of 1,300 square miles allotted to the Jews by this proposal is far smaller even than that suggested by the Peel commission in 1937.

Rabbi Silver's characterization of the proposal as "a plan for the ghettoization of the Jews in their own homeland" is thoroughly justified.

The British government is patently using the desperate plight of the Jewish refugees in Europe as a club over the Jewish communities to force their acceptance of this plan. Its effort to persuade this government that the long-promised admission of 100,000 refugees into Palestine must be linked with its partition proposal should not be countenanced.

#### **U. S. Policy Assailed**

In its handling of the Palestine problem the American government has been guided by humanitarian motives. But it has rarely shown less moral courage or greater incapacity in making this nation's influence effective. Through its agreement to take part in the Anglo-American Palestine Commission, and in the more recent

Anglo-American Cabinet Committee, it was led by the British government to assume responsibility without securing in return any commensurate authority.

Secretary Byrnes has been forced to admit that the partition proposal was endorsed by the official representatives of this government on the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee. Even if the President withholds his approval, there is no way in which the United States can now avoid moral responsibility for the proposal made.

The British government in order to summon Arab and Jewish leaders to a round-table conference to consider the partition proposal. Thereafter, it is reported from London, this solution will be "imposed" whether "with or without American co-operation."

#### **British Rights Outlined**

The British government is thus asserting its right unilaterally to "impose" its own decisions in Palestine. Yet Palestine is not British territory. Great Britain was merely delegated mandate powers in Palestine by the League of Nations. The League has ceased to exist. An international trusteeship system has been established by the United Nations Charter. Article 77 of the charter provides for the transfer of all mandated territories to the authority of the Trusteeship Council by means of individual trusteeship agreements.

The Trusteeship Council has not been set up by the United Nations, primarily because the British government has not yet submitted such trusteeship agreements.

Now that the United Nations is functioning, Great Britain possesses no moral or legal right to impose her unilateral decisions in

Palestine, particularly when those decisions will result in accomplished facts destined to have disastrous consequences for the community of nations.

Unless the solution found for the Palestine problem carries out the pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration as endorsed by repeated joint resolutions of the American Congress, a lasting peace cannot be established in the Near East. The question of Palestine is one which affects every member of the United Nations.

#### **Terrorists Condemned**

Yet the government of the United States during the last twelve months has acquiesced in the assertion by the British government of its alleged right to take such action in Palestine as it saw fit. This government has at no time insisted that the problem of Palestine was one which only the United Nations could legitimately solve. It has acted as if Great Britain and the United States were alone concerned, and as if the United States were a very junior partner in the enterprise.

No condemnation can be too severe for the outrages committed by the Irgun and Stern terrorists.

But the policies carried out by the British authorities in Palestine offer convincing evidence that the British mandate over Palestine should immediately be terminated by the Assembly of the United Nations. The British government has demonstrated that it can no longer be considered an impartial trustee for the inhabitants of Palestine.

The military orders issued by General Barker, by which he held all of the Jewish people responsible for the recent acts of terrorism and directed his troops "to

snow contempt" for the Jews, might have been issued by one of Hitler's lieutenants. Can we expect any fair or constructive settlement of the Palestine question, or one which will be in harmony with the principles of the four freedoms, if it is to be undertaken under such auspices as these?

#### **U. S. Must Withdraw**

Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, a British member of the Anglo-American Palestine Commission, stated the issue clearly when he recently said: "We may well find ourselves drifting, involuntarily, into an Anglo-Jewish war, as disastrous and as inconclusive as the hostilities in Ireland which preceded the formation of the Irish Free State."

The United States must withdraw from its present implication in the formulation of British policy concerning Palestine. It should demand that the Assembly of the United Nations at its September meeting at once assume responsibility for the administration of Palestine. At that meeting the United States should lead in securing an equitable and lasting solution for the Palestine problem by the Trusteeship Council.

If the British government persists in maintaining that the determination of the future of Palestine rests solely in its own hands, an exceedingly grave threat to world peace will thereby be raised.

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*From the  
N.Y. Herald Tribune  
Aug. 7, 1946*

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# Communication

## *Holes In The Palestine Plan*

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

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

It is, to begin, merely an extension of the 1939 White Paper policy which was recognized as unlawful by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. It amounts to a repudiation of the mandate itself and of the Anglo-American Palestine Treaty of 1924. It is inconsistent with American policy on Palestine as envisioned in congressional resolutions adopted in December, 1943, and expressed by both the Democratic and Republican Parties in their national conventions in 1944.

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

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

The superficial impression conveyed by the plan is that the authorities of the Jewish province would all but determine the rate at which further immi-

gration should be permitted, and that the British High Commissioner would only have to fulfill the formality of giving his consent. But the Jewish authorities who are to recommend the number of immigrants to be admitted are themselves appointees of the British commissioner and subject to removal by him.

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

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

How can one, on the one hand, mention oil concessions in the Negev, and therefore opportunities for industrial development, and, on the other hand, say that the Negev cannot support any

population? And why if the Negev is good should it only be leased to the Jews, while if it is bad it should be given to the Arabs? And what will the Arabs do with the Negev if it is uninhabitable?

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

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

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AN IDEA which underlies the British plan is the statement that the experts (meaning the Englishmen and Americans who came together in London) had come to the conclusion that Palestine is too small to absorb the European Jews who cannot remain in or return to their present countries. The trick in this statement is the reference to the "experts." With all due respect for the three Americans who were sent to London—one a president of a California shipping company, another a Wall st. lawyer, and the third a Treasury official—who had stud-



led the question of Palestine a few weeks, it is permissible to ask what makes them "experts" to determine this question. There is no need, of course, to discuss the expertness of the British representatives, since in their case we have an avowed government policy which does not wish for a large Jewish immigration into Palestine.

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

543

THE PLAN overlooks entirely not only the existing international legal documents concerning Palestine, but—what is more important—the fundamental political and sociological reason for the world's interest in the Jewish National Home. But the main reason why the world is interested in the Jewish National Home is because it would contribute to a very large extent to the solution of an otherwise insoluble international problem—the problem of the unwanted Jews of Europe, who are equally unwanted in Europe and on other continents. The plan proposed by the British makes it almost impossible, both through restrictions in territory and through the wide scope of powers which it allots to an unsympathetic British administration, for Palestine

to absorb any large number of Jewish refugees. Therefore, the British plan is not a solution, since it does not permit solution of the very problem the Jewish National Home was intended to solve.

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

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

544

THIS PLAN not only blackmails the Jews. It also attempts to get the United States to bribe the Arabs in and out of Palestine to the tune of 340 million dollars. Insofar as the Arabs of Palestine

would be concerned, this money would be spent under the control, and therefore presumably in the interest, of the British Empire. But all of the Arab countries remain linked to a large extent with Great Britain, and the British plan, without materially helping the Jews, would amount in the final analysis to enriching another British-controlled part of the world by 300 million dollars.

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

FRANK GERVASI.

Washington.

Editor's Note: Mr. Gervasi is the author of a recent book, *To Whom Palestine?*

*From the  
Washington Post  
Aug. 8, 1946*

# Mowrer On World Affairs

## Uneasy Partnership

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

The British brutality and trickery in Palestine represents a moral sickness of an overstrained people who—in the words of Mr. Wickham Steed—have suffered so much in the last seven years that they now live in “a world beyond ethics.” Substitute the word below for beyond, and you get the only possible explanation of a scandalously un-English behavior toward world Jewry.

For six years Britain fought to defend its right to survival. Victory brought not surcease, but new danger, this time from Russia. The Soviet pressure on overstrained British nerves has produced imperialist hysteria. The systematic beating of Palestinian Jews by British soldiers on orders from above is something that no desperate acts of violence by isolated Jewish terrorists can explain or excuse. Of this same nature is the threat to stop the “illegal Jewish immigrants” from going into Palestine by the Red Devils of the 87th Airborne Division and the cruiser Ajax.

These acts are all part of a cold-blooded plan adopted by the British Government some months ago and supported—unhappily—by some equally hysterical Americans in the War and State Depts.

In June, in Washington, certain unbalanced British and American individuals deliberately fomented the war scare. It was positively stated by one prominent American Colonel that "in view of the necessity of clearing the decks for the coming struggle with Russia, Zionism will have to be liquidated."

The British are now "liquidating Zionism" or think that they are. The chances are they will not succeed. The Jewish Agency leaders now meeting here have resolved to fight rather than to accept the partition scheme, which would have the Jews with less than one twenty-fourth of the homeland originally promised them, namely all Palestine with Transjordan. It is almost inconceivable that the British people would permit their leaders to wage Hitlerian war against the Palestinian Jew reinforced by world Jewry.

Even if they would, the British position in Palestine is without legal basis, as Mr. Sumner Welles has demonstrated. At the United Nations Assembly, any member can ask to have the Palestine Mandate stripped from Britain on the ground of maladministration, illegality and moral unfitness. It should not be forgotten that the League of Nations, through the Permanent Mandates Commission, condemned the White Paper policy as illegal. The present line goes far beyond the White Paper in naked lawlessness.

The British threat to "renounce the mandate" unless permitted to continue mistreating the Jews is sheerest bluff. Without Palestine, British Imperialist positions in the Near East would fall apart. The British are establishing a military base and liquidating Zionism in Palestine precisely because they are having to leave Egypt. Their hold in Iraq is weak-

ening. Their popularity in Syria and the Lebanon—despite their shameful liquidation of French interests as a pretended war measure—is on the wane. Communism is growing fast in the entire area and shootings won't stop it.

These plain facts are inviolable to Attlee and Bevin. Therefore the time has come for Truman to act as becomes necessary when man's partner becomes demented and requires shock.

Truman should refuse all discussion of a ridiculous partition plan. Instead he should invite Attlee urgently to come to Washington. There he should inform the British Premier that further British repudiation of Zionism endangers the unwritten Anglo-American partnership. This partnership—Truman should explain—rests on single aim—the struggle for world legality against anarchy and an atomic war.

Americans can accept the British as partners only in so far as the British support world legality. In the Near-Eastern struggle between British Jew-baiters and Soviet totalitarians, the American people will refuse to participate. If this refusal results in the spread of a Soviet empire at British expense, then so much the worse for Britain.

At this point Attlee is likely to interrupt "and if we throw our weight to Zionism will you promise full support regardless of the consequences?" Here Truman must put up or shut up. Unless the answer is a firmative, unless we Americans intend to defend world legality, the United Nations is a sham and the partnership with Britain—as the Communists maintain—is merely joint imperialism.

*From the N.Y. Post  
Aug. 10, 1946*

# Letters to The Times

## Dividing Greater Palestine

### Separation of Trans-Jordan Is Opposed as Violating Geographic Unity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The recent announcement in the press of the partition of Palestine and that Trans-Jordan of the original Palestine mandate is about to be set up as an independent state capable of making treaties with Great Britain is surprising. For such separation of Trans-Jordan violates the geographic unity of Greater Palestine of the Mandate and prevents the carrying out of a coordinated and full development of irrigation and power possibilities of this unique area.

It also prevents a demonstration of how the economy of grazing may be harmonized with that of farming, a harmony that is needed to remove from the Holy Lands the persisting conflict between the Bedouin and the Fellahs. Such a separation works to the disadvantage of the people of the Jordan Valley and maritime slopes of Palestine, including Arabs, Christians and Jews.

Especially will geographers find this move hard to understand in view of established possibilities of a Jordan Valley Authority. This proposed project has been engineered and passed upon favorably by able engineers of international reputation. John L. Savage, in his report on the project, states that the irrigation and hydroelectric power development should pay out in fifty years at 3 per cent.

In my original estimates, the first cost was considered as a war expenditure, for the survival of a people rather than a commercial venture.

#### Financing Valley Project

Elemental justice would dictate that the Jordan Valley Authority be fi-

nanced to the extent of \$250,000,000 from restitutions of the \$8,000,000,000 and more of Jewish property destroyed, confiscated and appropriated by Governments in the Nazi dominated countries. If restitution could not be worked out on the basis of separate Jewish properties, then the amount necessary to finance the Jordan Valley Authority would seem to be a reasonable and just item in the treaty of peace.

Greater Palestine of the Mandate is very similar to southern California in topography, in climate, in dry-land and other crops, and in possibilities for irrigation of fertile lands. Like southern California, Palestine has more good land suitable for irrigation than water for this purpose. Water is the limiting factor in both areas. Moreover, Palestine is better favored in rainfall than is southern California. The Mount Hermon heights of 9,500 feet receive about 60 to 70 inches of precipitation per annum whereas Mount Baldy, 10,000 feet, the corresponding peak in southern California, gets about 30 inches. Tel Aviv averages five inches more rain than Los Angeles.

In both areas rainfall drops to less than five inches in corresponding deserts, and seas below sea level. In between, rainfall favors dry-land crops, tree crops, and forests on appropriate sites. What is possible in southern California is possible in Greater Palestine on a proportionate basis.

The principal difference and handicap in Palestine is the damaged condition of the land brought on through the breakdown of highly developed agriculture of the former Jewish period and the denudation and erosion of soils from uplands through centuries of neglect, misuse and underuse of resources of the area.

#### Feat of Reclamation

But the Jewish settlements and enterprises, particularly in reclaiming old

and damaged land, have demonstrated that the land of Palestine may be made much more productive. These people have performed works that have benefited themselves, the Arabs and Christians alike.

Trans-Jordan, according to reports, is a parasitic area. Its separation from the mandate in 1922 was not justified from the point of view of best development of the mandate. It was unable to raise running expenses under its backward and undeveloped condition. It is inconceivable how this detached area can become a self-supporting country. Separated, the two areas cannot be developed to full possibilities of their unique features and resources.

Such a move shows up either a regrettable ignorance of the necessary geographic sufficiency for a country or an effort to thwart the constructive development of the Jordan Valley Authority.

When people are drawn together in working out a common project for their daily bread and other essentials of life, many ideological differences fall away, unless such differences are worked up from outside for ulterior purposes. When people get down to work in constructive undertakings with forward-looking objectives for their present and future welfare, there is less possibility of differences.

The Jordan Valley Authority, set up according to the logic of geography, and designed to make full use of unique resources, and if carried out according to the principles of conservation, furnishes, in my opinion, a constructive solution to most important long-range differences in Palestine.

The Jordan Valley Authority would also permit all Jewish refugees of Europe who want to go to Palestine to work out their salvation in dignity and liberty to their own benefit and to the improvement of the miserable lot of the fellahs and position of the Arabs throughout the Middle East.

To set up Trans-Jordan as a separate state can neither be in the interests of the Arabs nor of the Jews, nor of the land. It is a violation of the geographic unity of the area and of principles of conservation, and is a barrier to a long-range constructive solution to the problem of Palestine.

No political set-up can long endure unless supported by land in a state of sustained production. Geographers, engineers, agriculturists, economists and men of good-will, in my opinion, will find little justification for the separation of Trans-Jordan from Greater Palestine. Such action cannot long endure and must endanger the welfare and peace of the Holy Lands.

W. C. LOWDERMILK.

Washington, Aug. 2, 1946.

*From the New York Times Aug. 10, '46*

## Truman and Palestine

The President's summons to his Cabinet committee, now in London to return home for "further discussions" indicates, at least for the present, that Mr. Truman dissociates the United States from Britain's abominable partition plan for Palestine.

This good news is doubly reassuring, for it comes on the heels of as disquieting a display of Presidential brusqueness and petulance as the nation has seen in a long time.

According to reliable stories, the Chief Executive on

Tuesday told a group of 9 New York Congressmen that he didn't have time to listen to talk about Palestine. After more of the same, the delegation was abruptly ushered to the door. The incident was unpleasant and completely unjustified.

For we would remind the President that in protesting the partition "solution" the 9 Congressmen took up a position that differs not one whit from the stand he himself enunciated last April when the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission report was released.

At that time Mr. Truman declared he was pleased "that the request I made for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine has been unanimously endorsed . . ." He added "I am also pleased that the Committee recommends in effect the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939, including existing restrictions on immigration and land acquisition . . ."

The British partition proposal is anything but a plan for the "immediate admission" of the 100,000. Not one of the pitiful handful would be admitted until Britain had succeeded in gaining acquiescence to all of her imperialist objectives in the Holy Land.

As for the "restrictions on immigration and land acquisition," the partition scheme, far from abrogating them, represents instead an attempt to codify these ghetto provisions into permanent law, with America's blessing.

Unless Pres. Truman has abandoned his position of last April, which is unthinkable, he should have thanked the 9 Congressmen for their support and directed his wrath against the originators of the partition plan and their State Department supporters in the U. S. This group goes from one delaying tactic to another in a constant effort to frustrate the just settlement that Mr. Truman, in common with most Americans, desires.

The recall of the Cabinet committee must now be followed by a definite U. S. counter-proposal that rejects colonial status for a ghetto-ized Palestine and insists instead upon a solution that is fair, workable and therefore lasting.

The problem that roused Mr. Truman to unwarranted, ill-concealed anger the other day will never be laid to rest so long as the U. S. continues to allow British imperial interests to call the tune on the Palestine settlement.

*From the New York Post Aug 1, 1946*

# HOPE OF A PEOPLE

Stripped of all the obscuring smoke of armed clashes, smuggled aliens, Arab agitation, bombings, curfews and repressive military measures — the Jewish problem in Palestine still stands forth as the last desperate hope of a people hunted, persecuted and robbed for whom the continent of Europe is no longer tenable.

Victory over the prime prophet of anti-Semitism, Hitler, was expected to provide peace, security and a restoration of property rights to persecuted Jews in Europe. At least, that is what propagandists promised if only the American people would gird their loins and bring an end to Hitler.

The unexampled fury and cruelty of the campaign of extermination of the Jews was suspected long before the defeat of Hitler, but, the hecatombs of dead piled up in the concentration camps staggered the world. The reality was far worse than the suspicion.

It is time for the world to address a question to its conscience. It is time to stop the hypocrisy and face the question squarely. Is it more important to protect British interests in the Near and Middle East, and aid and abet the policy of keeping the Arabs and the Jews divided, or is it more important to provide a refuge for the hapless remnant of a persecuted people?

The Soviet Union winks at the

pogroms in Poland, the pressure against Jews in Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and eastern Germany and points with sanctimonious smirks at a desolate land in Siberia set apart as an autonomous Jewish republic.

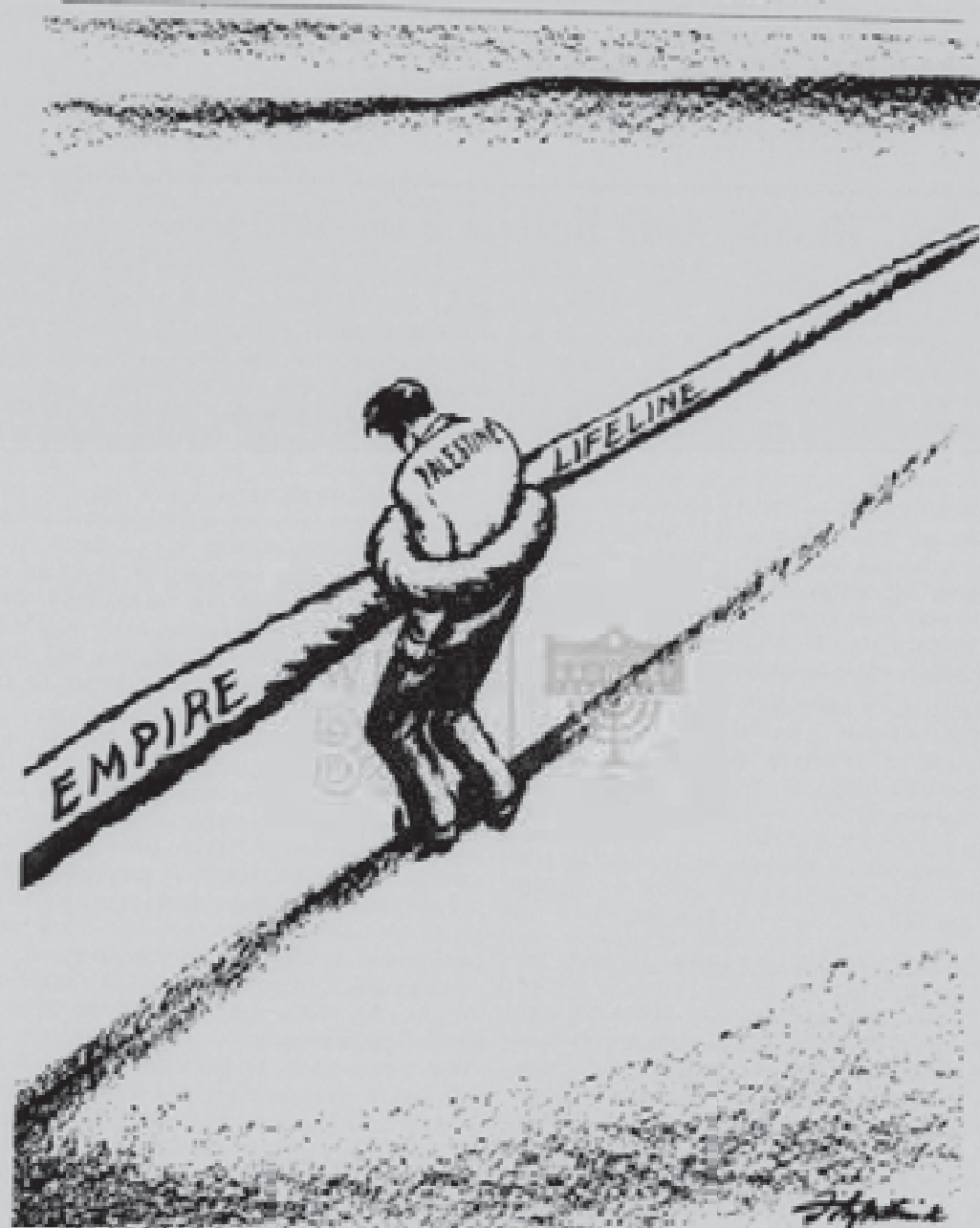
The plain truth is that Hitler's anti-Semitic campaign did not die with him. It gained new strength with the victory, except that the new anti-Semitism is cloaked by a pretense of concern for the fate of the Jews.

British policy in Palestine is not new or different. It is cut from the same cloth as the old British policy on Irish home rule and the old imperial policy in India. A rash wing of the militant Jews bombs a hotel, killing British subjects. The wail of anguish that arises from British sources convinces the world that the poor British are dealing with a race of gangsters and assassins.

Actually these are people who are scrambling in frenzied fear out of Europe while the breath of life still is in them. Anything, even going up against British guns in Palestine, is better than the slow death of their miserable existence in Europe.

Whether the Jewish people are to get their chance to walk with heads erect, self-sufficient and free, is not a narrow question of the need of Great Britain for a free hand in the Near East, but one for the aroused conscience of the whole world.

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, MONDAY, AUGUST 12, 1946



CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE



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## Bombs And Bullets For Refugees

That it is the British who are bombing and bludgeoning Palestinian Jews in a way all too reminiscent of a Polish pogrom or a Nazi concentration camp rises as a scandal before all the world—a scandal that moves as much to sadness as to anger. In their ancient devotion to the dignity of the individual man and his right to walk in safety and in freedom, the British yield to no other people. And yet their government—and, at that, a liberal Labor government which is lowering the colors of empire in India and Egypt—is sanctioning conduct such as has not besmirched the Union Jack since that 1916 Easter week in Dublin.

Yesterday's account of the deportation of Jewish refugees from Haifa to Cyprus is complete in shocking detail down to the barbed-wire cages on the transports. And the Zionist Jews, now organized into an underground resistance movement like those that undermined the Nazi conqueror on the Continent, obviously have come to regard the British as persecuting enemies.

Under these circumstances, it does not help to say that the British have no choice but to put down rioting; that above all they must maintain order. The real question is how this desperate threat to order came into being. Having endured a bitter hard war for the sake of freedom—not only their own freedom, but also that of all the persecuted of Europe—how is it that the British now stand against freedom in the white-washed, sun-bleached streets of the Holy Land?

Law—which is the only acceptable basis for freedom—is all against the British. There are the promises made during World War I and the obligations accepted with the League of Nations mandate. There is the morally binding recommendation of the Anglo-American committee for the immediate admission of at least 100,000 homeless Jews. And there is the rejection of the partitioning proposal both by the Anglo-Ameri-

can committee and the 1937 Peel Commission. And, above all, there is—a year after the liberation of Europe—the humane obligation to provide the basis for a new and decent life for the dispossessed.

The official excuse, of course, is a shift of blame to the Arabs. But one cannot help suspecting that London would not be too greatly disturbed were it not for the new Arab threat to turn toward the Soviet Union. It would be just as easy to put down Arab rioters as Zionists; and, since the country is large enough to absorb many more than 100,000 immigrants, there probably would be little Arab agitation but for the fact that Moslem leaders have found London so responsive to the Russian scare.

Even though committed to freedom for India, Westminster becomes pawkily at the suggestion that a Russian imperialism may replace the Empire in the Middle East. This fear has stampeded Britain into ill-considered action, and today it is not improbable that Russia may be gaining more by Britain's sacrifice of respect than she could hope for if asked to champion the Arab cause.

The Palestinian case has become too complicated for an immediate solution. That is all the more reason for not trying now to force a bad plan like partition on the Jews and the Arabs—and on the United States, too, by making it a pre-condition for acceptance of the Anglo-American report. But there must be immediate shelter for the homeless. It was in that spirit that the Anglo-American committee made its recommendations. President Truman did well to recall his representatives when the partition proposal was made, and he should not allow himself to be pressured into its acceptance now. Through the United Nations, we can help in the eventual settlement, but for the present we should insist that this is a matter of providing immediate shelter for the homeless. And London had better realize that there is no answer in bullets and smoke bombs and detention camps on Cyprus.

# THE BOSTON HERALD

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1946

## Harassed Palestine

It is almost a year since Earl G. Harrison made his blistering report on Displaced Persons camps in the American zones of Germany and Austria and urged the prompt migration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. President Truman promptly endorsed the proposal and very often gave it re-endorsements. It won the approval of one Anglo-American Committee about four months ago and of another two or three weeks ago. Zionists, non-Zionists, anti-Zionists, leading Christian organizations and Democratic and Republican congressmen have pressed for immediate action.

Two plans in each of which the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine is fundamental are now under consideration in Washington and London. Just why England should complicate the whole vexatious problem at this time by a system of blockade, deportation and concentration camps in Cyprus and further complicate the problem is difficult to understand. The reaction is certain to be hostile in Palestine and to occasion additional resistance and terrorism. The curfew to be imposed will antagonize Arabs as well as Jews. American opinion will be adverse to the British.

The first Anglo-American Committee recommended the immediate issuance of 100,000 immigration certificates and enforcement of ordinary national laws against illegal entries. The second committee favored the immigration but made it conditional on Jewish and Arab acquiescence in cantonization, the limitation of Jews to 1500 of the 10,500 square miles of Palestine, a small degree of local autonomy, tight control of immigration quotas by the Palestine government, and grants of about \$300,000,000 from the United States for Palestine and the Middle East generally.

Whether the Jews or the Arabs will accept cantonization on partition is doubtful. The strong probability is that both will reject it in its present or even an

amplified form. As England has virtually discarded the report of the first Anglo-American group and the United States does not favor the report of the second, the Palestine problem is no nearer a solution now than when Mr. Harrison made his dramatic findings.

"Illegal immigration" means one thing to the Jews and another to the English. The former argue that the White Paper which put a ban on all immigration after the admission of 75,000 Jews—a total already exhausted—is illegal; and a few Englishmen argue to the contrary. The Palestine government on the other hand regards itself free to restrict and forbid immigration, legal or illegal, without consulting Arabs, Jews, the United States, or any source except the British Foreign or Colonial office. It is in accordance with that theory the British government has now ordered the blockade and the complete cessation of immigration.

The chances are that if England had made a beginning two or three months ago of a liberal policy of immigration, Palestine would now be a peaceful land. Arabs and Jews could have accommodated themselves to the new policy and the turmoil which has marred the Holy Land for years would have been terminated with satisfaction to all concerned.

The British statement issued Monday contains few facts which have not been known for months. There has certainly been an "underground railway" from Europe to Palestine for a long time, and neither the British nor the Americans have cared to check the flow of displaced Jews from the DP camps toward Palestine. It is a question now whether the exodus can be prevented or even checked until, first, the gates of Palestine are declared open to a large, stipulated number of Jews in the DP camps; and, secondly, until havens are provided later for additional Jews in other countries. Efforts to provide for them in various parts of the world are now under way but progress is terribly slow.

A general easing would be greatly ac-

celerated if Palestine itself were opened to the number of Jews who could be absorbed there; and persons familiar with the situation see no reason to doubt that 100,000 could be absorbed readily within twelve months. A magnanimous sign

from England, with the United States co-operating, of a willingness to initiate the process would do more than divisions of soldiers, curfews, deportations, and concentration camps to bring law and order to Palestine.

## **An Anglo-Arab Palestine?**

Because the British Empire is caught in a power squeeze in the Middle East, British troops are furiously slaughtering defenseless Jews.

Could Britain let in the shiploads of harassed, homeless Jews and still establish a military base in Palestine? Of course she could.

But she is afraid that if she did, the ultra-nationalist Arab League would turn towards Russia, which is again reported to be massing troops on the northern border of Iran and bringing pressure on Turkey for outright imperialist control of the Dardanelles.

But bribery and appeasement of the Arab League is a hopeless, rat-trap policy for the British Empire. The League is loyal only to the nationalist ambitions of the big sheiks who control it.

If the Arab League is so friendly to Britain, why has Egypt just kicked the British out of their military position there?

Unlike the hunted Jews, the Arabs possess a number of huge, under-populated countries in the Middle East, which are more than big enough for their needs but never big enough for the nationalist ambitions of their rulers.

But last year Britain bribed the Arab League by amputating Trans-Jordan from Palestine, of which it was a part under the original mandate, and giving it to the Arabs. She is supporting its admission to the United Nations so that it will thereby be established as a sovereign nation and no longer in question as part of Palestine.

### **How Palestine Is Whittled Away**

As long as the Palestine question is not settled acceptably, the United States should oppose the admission of Transjordan to the United Nations, and refuse to make this piece of British diplomatic trickery a fait accompli by recognizing Transjordan.

Amputating Transjordan reduced the area of Palestine, with one stroke, from 45 thousand square miles to less than 11 thousand.

Now Britain is proposing to finish off the question of a Jewish homeland for good, by simply dividing most of the remainder of Palestine between the British and the Arabs, and handing the Jews a pitiful face-saving strip of about 15 hundred square miles.

President Truman should refuse to be pushed into accepting any compromise version whatever of that partition plan. For American policy has the simple aim of saving the lives of the remnant of the Jews left after Hitler slaughtered six million.

And if these persecuted people are squeezed into the tiny coastal strip, they would be forced to support the inhuman British policy of limiting immigration, for they would not have room for the hundreds of thousands—one used to write millions—of Jews from Europe.

### **Should America Pay British Bribes?**

How thoroughly the British partition plan is based on the twin policies of gaining a permanent military base and appeasing the Arab League is shown by the fantastic request for the U. S. to give the Arabs 300 million dollars.

Of that amount, a quarter of a billion dollars would not even go to the Arabs of Palestine. It would be paid by our Treasury as a bribe to the Arabs outside of Palestine.

In the midst of this intensifying power politics, British soldiers are shooting Jews and thrusting them into concentration camps in Cyprus.

Neither Britain nor any other nation, including those with vast unsettled spaces, has suggested where the bulk of these homeless people may go, if not to Palestine, that their lives may be saved.

Certainly, Britain cannot extricate herself from the problems of a weakening empire and growing Russian power by ignominiously turning her mighty fleet and army against a few defenseless Jews.

Our tottering world cannot be saved by abandoning the moral and spiritual standard of democratic leadership. The United States must stand firm for an honest fulfillment of the Palestine pledges which will save the lives of the persecuted.

*from the N.Y. Post 8/15/46*

## Text of Statement by U. S. Zionists

*The text of a statement issued yesterday by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, which speaks for the entire Zionist movement in the United States:*

(1) The British Government, seemingly intent on demonstrating that it will stop at no measure of suppression—however extreme and costly—in its current war against the helpless Jewish survivors of Europe, has now begun to deport to the Island of Cyprus and elsewhere those Jewish refugees who have succeeded in reaching Palestine. At the same time, Britain has mobilized its fleet and air force in the Mediterranean and great numbers of troops in Palestine to blockade the Palestine coast against the entry of these remnants of European Jewry.

What a glorious page in British military history is now being written by these men and ships and guns whose mission it is to close the gates of the Jewish national home against the despairing survivors of the Nazi holocaust!

(2) It behooves us to point out to the British Government that the arrival of these boatloads of refugees at Palestine is a direct consequence of the policy of delay pursued by the British Government on President Truman's year-old request for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine. The Jews of Europe cannot and will not remain on the scene of their degradation and suffering. They are willing to take every conceivable risk and undergo any hardship to reach Palestine, which to them spells salvation.

### New "Catastrophes" Seen

We must warn that, if Britain continues to deport these refu-

gees, unprecedented catastrophes reminiscent of the tragedies of the Patria and the Struma are inevitable.

(3) The British Government's official statement on the halting of Jewish immigration to Palestine is a document exceptional in its hypocrisy. Its repeated protestations of "friendship" for the Jewish people, while in fact condemning these victims of Hitler to linger in a condition which is neither death nor life, are morally offensive.

The statement of the British Government points up the fact that "it was under the British Mandate that nearly 500,000 Jews settled legally in Palestine, where a great Jewish community now exists." The Jewish people will never forget that it was a British Government which was responsible for the Balfour Declaration, which promised the reconstitution of the Jewish national home in Palestine. But its bitterness is the greater that the successors of men like Balfour and Lloyd George should drag this noble conception in the dust and seek now to destroy even what the Jews have already achieved in Palestine, in the face of every difficulty and discouragement placed in their way by a hostile Colonial Administration. And at a time when the Jews of Europe were meeting horrible death in the Nazi extermination camps and ghettos, and when many thousands—perhaps millions—could have been saved if they had been permitted to emigrate to Palestine, the British Government kept the doors of the Jewish national homeland sealed to all but a trickle of Jewish refugees.

This, then, was how Britain "mitigated the lot" of European Jewry. The one avenue of escape for the Nazis' Jewish victims was closed to them. Under the circumstances, Britain's current efforts to represent herself as a friend and rescuer of the Jews is

little less than revolting.

(4) "When it (Palestine) was threatened with Nazi invasion—a terrible threat to the Palestinian Jews"—the British statement continues—"British arms prevented that dread possibility."

It would almost seem that the British Government would now have us believe that the military campaign of General Montgomery in Africa was designed to protect the Jewish community of Palestine against the Nazis and that the interests of the British Empire were perhaps merely incidental at the time. Inasmuch as the memory of British officialdom has proved remarkably short on the true facts of that campaign and on Jewish Palestine's participation in it, we take the liberty of pointing out that the British assertion that "the Jews in Palestine were given arms so that they might be equipped for their own defense" \* \* \* and to enable them to take a part in the common struggle" is one of those half-truths which conceals far more than it reveals. For years the Jews in Palestine begged to be allowed to play a full part in the fight against the Nazi enemy. If, in the end, they sent their young men and women by the thousands to fight and die on the battlefields of the world, it was despite many hindrances and discouragements placed in their way by the British Administration and British officialdom in Palestine.

#### Jews' "Help to Empire" Cited

We have learned enough about the British Government's behavior not to expect any expression of gratitude to the Jews of Palestine for helping to save a crumbling British Empire, while the Arab nations waited to welcome the enemy with open arms—but the least one has a right to expect in the circumstances is that the British Government would not now represent itself in the rôle of the altruistic savior of Jewish Palestine.

(5) As a further indication of its great-hearted "benevolence" the British Government points to

the fact that, even after the quota of 75,000 Jewish immigrants to enter Palestine under the White Paper of 1939 was exhausted, His Majesty's Government authorized the continuation of Jewish immigration at the rate of 1,500 a month. The British statement fails to mention that the White Paper of 1939 was an illegal document, condemned as such by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, not to mention the leaders of the present Labor Government of Britain. The policy of the White Paper was unilaterally imposed by Great Britain in violation of the international agreements concerning Palestine, which provide for the facilitation of Jewish immigration into that country and the continued development of the Jewish national home.

In view of these facts, the term "illegal" Jewish immigration into Palestine is a misnomer. Jewish refugees entering that country are coming to the land which was set aside as their national home by the nations of the world. It is the British policy of barring these immigrants which is illegal, and no assurances of "sympathy for the suffering of the Jewish people in Europe" can alter the fact that Britain is today ruling Palestine with a brutality typical of all police states. Once again it must be emphasized that Britain's sole justification for being in Palestine at all is to carry out the terms of the Mandate granted her by the League of Nations, and that that Mandate provides for facilitating, not the exclusion, of Jewish immigration.

#### "Unconscious Humor"

(6) With unconscious humor the British Government describes its Palestine policy to date as one of "patience, forbearance and humanity." We wonder whether the miserable inmates of the displaced persons' camps of Europe would subscribe to this British self-adulation. We wonder, too, whether the American people will accept these words at their face value, when the Empire which

utters them is responsible for acts of shameless brutality which the world now witnesses.

"Patience, forbearance and humanity. . . ." One need only recall the case of the *Patria*, which carried a boatload of refugees to Palestine in the winter of 1940. When it became known that the British Government had refused them permission to land the desperate people aboard scuttled the boat in the port of Haifa and several hundreds of their number lost their lives. Evidently the British Government intends to apply the same principles of "humanity" to those unfortunate Jewish refugees who are at this moment languishing on boats in Haifa harbor.

President Truman's humanitarian appeal of a year ago that 100,000 displaced European Jews be admitted into Palestine immediately was ignored by the British Labor Government. The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry's recommendation that these 100,000 men, women and children—a fraction of those for whom it is now Palestine or death—be admitted to Palestine at once was rejected. Instead the British Labor Government has instituted a long procedure of "consultations" on the question. Thus far, nothing has been done to save these people. Yet Britain takes pride in her patience, forbearance and humanity.

#### "Defamation" Charged

(7) His Majesty's Government is "distressed to receive reports of persecution and pogroms against Jews in eastern and south-eastern Europe." The extent of that distress may be inferred from the renewed campaign of defamation against the efforts of the helpless Jews to reach salvation and safety. These efforts are condemned as "illicit" and the attempts of men of good-will to aid them in reaching their destination as "unscrupulous" and "shameful."

(8) It is clear that Britain's present purpose is to compel the Jewish people to submit to a political decision on Palestine which

would virtually abrogate the internationally-guaranteed Jewish rights to Palestine. Britain believes that, by imposing her tyranny on the Jews now she will terrorize them into accepting her political policies. In this, too, Britain is sadly mistaken. The Jews of Palestine are prepared to resist this tyranny to the last man; the Jews of Europe are prepared to undergo any sacrifice to reach their homeland; and the Jews of America are prepared to work and fight relentlessly until justice has been done to their brethren.

In this we are confident that we have the support of the American people as a whole.

## American Jews and the Administration

By LOUIS SEGAL

*Louis Segal, General Secretary of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, is a prominent labor Zionist leader. This article, translated from the Jewish Morning Journal of August 8, 1948, expresses the viewpoint of great numbers of American Jews.*

The Jewish masses in the United States have many pointed and painful questions to put to our Government.

There was a time when Jews abroad who were persecuted by reactionary governments, found some consolation in the fact that the American Government and the American people were genuinely sympathetic with them, and on many occasions took action on their behalf. Precisely when such sympathy and action were most needed, however, a profound y dis-

turbing change took place. There has been no darker time in Jewish history than the years since 1933, but in all that dreadful period of mass expulsion, starvation and finally extermination, no effective step was taken by our Government to halt the Nazis in their murderous course or even to alleviate the plight of their victims.

This failure to act was by no means due to lack of concrete proposals by American Jewish organizations. As early as 1933 they made vigorous attempts to convince President Roosevelt and the entire administration that it was not enough to issue statements of condemnation against Hitler and expressions of sympathy for the persecuted Jews. Concrete steps taken in those initial years of the Nazi regime, might have helped to save countless lives. Later on when Jews were starving to death in the great ghettos set up by the Nazis during the first part of the War, American Jews pleaded with the Government to be allowed to send food to the ghettos. They were told that such action would be at variance with the plans of the Allied High Command, since it ran counter to the economic blockade of Germany and her satellites. It will readily be conceded that there was a measure of truth in these arguments which, incidentally, were always supported by the British Government. But it is also true that when Governments during wartime wish to help their prisoners of war, they do not give excessive heed to practical considerations. The Jews in the ghettos

were actually Allied prisoners of war held by the Nazis; had there been humane understanding of their plight, emergency measures on their behalf would have been altogether possible.

Even more painful is the memory of the saga of the War Refugee Board. It was not, we remember, till June 1944 that the Board was created by President Roosevelt. That was the time when the terrifying cry for help from across the Atlantic rose to so intense a pitch that it was almost humanly impossible to disregard it. When the War Refugee Board was created, the three ranking members of the American Cabinet were made its members. But the Administration overlooked one rather necessary detail: it forgot to give the Board a budget. A budget would seem rather useful in carrying out activities for the rescue of victims of Nazi oppression.

Thus it was that the War Refugee Board, set up during the great War by the President of the United States and composed of his Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and Secretary of the Treasury, had to approach Jewish organizations for financial aid. When upon its dissolution the Board published a report of its activities and an accounting of its financial operations, we were shocked to learn that it had spent a million and several hundred thousand dollars, of which over 90 per cent came from the Joint Distribution Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the American



Jewish Conference, and other Jewish bodies!

But it is America's Palestine policy during the last fifteen years that has been the most intensely and bitterly disappointing to Jews in this country. On the one hand, we have heard one pro-Zionist pronouncement after another from both the late Mr. Roosevelt and from President Truman, and, on the other hand, we have seen how neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Truman undertook any effective action to implement their words of sympathy.

The United States has committed itself very clearly on the Palestine issue. Even a brief review, touching only on the high points, is instructive. In 1922 a Joint Congressional Resolution unequivocally endorsed the Balfour Declaration; in 1945 a Congressional Resolution endorsed the upbuilding of Palestine as a free and democratic Commonwealth and urged free Jewish immigration to the land internationally recognized as the Jewish National Home. Both the Republican and the Democratic Parties at their Conventions in Chicago in 1944 adopted clear-cut resolutions supporting the free entry of Jews into Palestine and the upbuilding there of a Jewish Commonwealth. President Roosevelt had prior knowledge of the resolution placed before the Democratic Convention and supported it. President Truman was a member of the Resolutions Committee which voted to accept the resolution as part of the Party's campaign platform.

It is no secret, however, that despite our Government's many public statements in favor of Zion-

ist aspirations, our State Department and particularly its Near East Division have consistently worked against Jewish interests in Palestine. It is, in fact, becoming increasingly clear that the State Department has decided to support British policy with reference to Palestine. It is hard to believe that the British Government would have treated the Jewish community of Palestine and the leaders of the Jewish Agency in the brutal manner they did, unless they had some basis for believing that, in the final analysis, their conduct would receive the acquiescence of the American Government.

Shall we be so naive as to believe that President Truman is not fully acquainted with the actions of his own State Department, or that he would tolerate a State Department which implemented policies contrary to his own proposals and plans?

We have been particularly disturbed and agitated by this thought during the critical weeks since August 1, when the "Federalization" plan for Palestine was first made public. During this period it became clear that Secretary Byrnes, and possibly President Truman himself, were prepared to accept the British "Federalization" plan which would give exclusive rights to England in almost every phase of Palestine's life and cripple the reconstructive efforts of the Jewish people there.

This means, in effect, that the highest officials of our Government were prepared to forget all the commitments of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations to

the Jewish people in relation to Palestine; that they were prepared also to forget the pro-Zionist resolutions adopted by Congress and by the Democratic Party. They were quite ready to show the world that the pledges of the American Government and its highest officials have little significance when expediency enters the picture. Not only Jews but great numbers of non-Jewish Americans are deeply dismayed and angered by such immoral power politics. And millions of people throughout the world will find themselves compelled to reach the conclusion that in its foreign policy democratic America is a mere tail to the British imperial kite — a rather ironic situation in the light of Britain's very obvious dependence upon the United States.

The Palestine situation has reached such a tragic point that American Jews are tired of protesting and of hoping against hope for action on the part of our Government. We realize that American democratic processes offer us the possibility of giving more con-

crete expression to our opposition to present American policy on Palestine.

Just as American workers have the right and the means, through their voting strength, to oppose an American political leadership which is detrimental to their vital interests, Jews, and with them liberal and understanding non-Jewish Americans, have the right on election day to contest the continuance in power of an Administration which has made a mockery of its moral and political commitments. When in 1946 and 1948 the Democratic Party will again ask the people for support, we shall have the opportunity to register in no uncertain terms our condemnation of the policies and actions of our Government with relation to one of the most tragic and crucial issues of the postwar world, an issue that means life or death for the Jewish people, and democracy or reaction for the entire Middle East. We have the right, indeed the duty, to ask an accounting . . .

## *The British and 'Legality' in Palestine*

The label "illegal" which the British Government applies to Jewish immigrants to Palestine is a term which has been developed by constant repetition into an ugly weapon. The refugees behind Britain's barbed wire in the Holy Land and on the island of Cyprus may be "unauthorized" but they are not "illegal."

The "law" which bars Jews from Palestine is the so-called White Paper of 1939 and it, itself, is illegal because it is a repudiation of commitments to which Britain is obligated by treaty. That is a matter of law, wholly apart from any question of the ethics of Britain's exclu-

sion of Jews from Palestine for the past seven years.

### *Morrison vs. Morrison*

The opinion that Britain has violated her obligations, that she has acted without the assent of her treaty partners and contrary to their intentions, was held, among others, by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, Winston Churchill, the British Labor Party and Herbert Morrison who, as a member of the Attlee Government, is a principal manipulator of Britain's Palestine policy.

Under the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, which made the British

trustee—not master of Palestine, Britain accepted four important conditions all of which were repudiated by the 1939 White Paper. Britain, it was agreed, would:

¶ "... Facilitate Jewish immigration" into Palestine insofar as the rights and position of other sections of the population were not prejudiced.

¶ "... Encourage ... close settlement by Jews on the land."

¶ "... Be responsible for ... conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home."

¶ See that "no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language."

The Mandate was incorporated bodily later in the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, a treaty by which the U. S. A. joined the 52 "co-makers" of the Palestine Mandate. Article VII of the convention stipulated that "nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

### *Pledges Repudiated*

From the mere fact that the White Paper was enforced without the assent of the U. S. A. it was a repudiation of a British treaty obligation. FDR declared that "the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939."

But the White Paper was irreconcilable with British obligations for far more basic reasons.

It provided, as to immigration, for admission of 10,000 Jews a year maximum "if economic absorptive capacity permits" for five years plus another 25,000 "as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem."

As to land, it gave the High Commissioner for Palestine general powers to "prohibit and regulate transfers of land." The subsequent Land Transfer Regulations of 1940 set up a "free" zone of about 500 square miles, a "prohibited" zone and a "restricted" zone which, in effect, barred Jewish land settlement in 95 per cent of Palestine.

Those regulations were explicit violations of the requirement on Britain to "facilitate" Jewish immigration, to foster "close settlement" of the land and to

avoid discrimination on racial or religious grounds. They are, just as clearly, a violation of Britain's obligation to "secure the Jewish National Home."

It was only by a narrow margin—and under extraordinary circumstances—that Parliament approved the White Paper. The date of its promulgation, May, 1939, was during Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's peace-in-our-time "appeasement phase; Britain was sacrificing her friends to placate her enemies. The White Paper was a sop of the Arabs who, for three years, has been keeping the Holy Land in turmoil under the anti-British and anti-Jewish campaign promoted by Hitler and Mussolini and directed by such leaders as Haj Amin el Husseini, the Axis-collaborator ex-Mufti of Jerusalem.

### *What They Said*

It was not approved without some strong voices in British affairs being raised against it. For instance:

Winston Churchill: "A plain breach of a solemn obligation."

Herbert Morrison: "We regard this White Paper and the policy in it as a cynical breach of pledges given to the Jews and the world, including America ... If we do this thing today we shall have done a thing which is dishonorable to our name, which is discreditable to our capacity to govern and which is dangerous to British security, to peace and to the economic interests of the world in general and our own country."

### *Labour's View*

The British Labour Party (at the Southport Conference, May, 1939): "Violates the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate."

Although Britain neglected to seek U. S. assent, it did try to get clearance with the League of Nations. After long argument of its case before the Permanent Mandate Commission, the seven commission members handed back the answer that it was their unanimous decision that the White Paper was not in accordance with the Palestine Mandate.

Nowhere, except in the statements of the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office and in the British military rule which herds refugees from pogroms into barbed wire cages, is the White Paper of 1939 "law." It is purely and simply the law of force.

—BARNETT BILDERSEE

From P.M. 8/19/46



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## Letters to the Editor

### AMERICAN OPINION AND PALESTINE

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—At this moment the British Government, in its blindness, seems to be transforming the friendly attitude towards the United Kingdom of Americans who used to be traditionally pro-British and who showed their deep-rooted friendship during the first and second world wars, especially during the period when the United States were not yet actively engaged in those wars and when the enemy had facilities to foster Anglophobe sentiments. This applies particularly to the question of Palestine. The effects in the United States of that crisis have for a long time been mistaken by the British Government as propaganda fostered by American Zionists only. This I believe to be a cardinal misinterpretation of what is happening.

The general feeling in the United States, which seems to have escaped the British Government's attention, can be summarised in the statement made by a coloured bootblack who cleaned my shoes this morning outside the Hotel Rice, in Houston, Texas: "Mister, when you is shore from England you all can tell your people they needs a Abraham Lincoln, now." There seems to be one issue upon which the two principal political parties in the United States are united: a deep feeling ranging from regret to outspoken anger about Palestine, and this at a time when an election is pending. It should be remembered that the influence of coloured people on any political issue, whether they are bootblacks or judges, is practically nil—in this case it is the country as a whole.

Of course there is more to it than just public emotion. The Democratic party has steadily lost support in the country and they now stand only an almost equal chance with the Republicans in some important States, especially New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. In these States the powerful and now united Jewish vote will no doubt deter-

mine the issue. No party can ignore this and they are clearly taking account of it.

It is incomprehensible to the most intelligent leaders here that the British Army was ordered in Palestine to play a role which seems to have a faint Hitlerian odour. The explanation given by the British Government is usually dismissed by the word "bunkum"—an eloquent word needing no translation.

This state of affairs has been arrived at without the broadsides of American Zionism, which seem to be presented to the people in Britain by the Labour Government as an explanation of the feeling of the American people. During a recent journey through thirty-two States the writer has not once seen any clear evidence of the existence of American Zionists. But there was not one town which did not discuss the fate of the refugees stopped by the Royal Navy outside Haifa.

The question has often been asked by Americans whether the people in Britain are fully informed by their press of what is happening and whether the press is afraid to report some things which might be uncomfortable to the Government. The imagination of many Americans is already painting the gloom picture of the British press being afraid of the threat of nationalisation by the Labour Government, and it takes hours of fact and argument to convince them of the contrary. In fact, the task of convincing anybody in America of the good faith of the British Government is almost impossible while the Government continues on its present course.

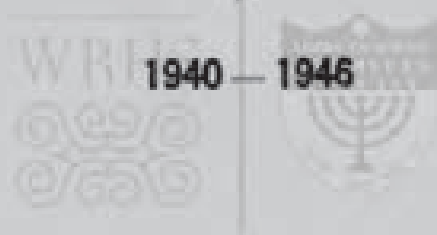
There is a rumour that the Zionists are about to form two regiments of their war veterans, which would volunteer for service in Palestine should the need occur. The significance of that rumour may be seen perhaps in the summary comment made upon it by a Mid-Western newspaper after reporting it: "Good luck to you fellows."—Yours, &c., W. E. HART.

Houston, Texas, August 24.

American Zionism

# אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עמערדזשענסי קאנסיל

טעטיגקייטס באריכט



ניו יארק

## גרינדונג פון דעם קאנסיל

די גרינדונג פון דעם אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישען עסערדזשענסי קאנסיל איז פארגעקומען ביים אַנטייב פון דער וועלט מלחמה, שפעט אין אויגוסט 1939 בעת דער אפהאלטונג פון דעם 21-טען ציוניסטישען קאנגרעס אין גענע. שוין בעת דעם קאנגרעס האבען זיך באוויזען די שאמענס פון דער בערפארשטעהענדער קאמאסטיאפע, אזוי אז דער קאנגרעס האט געמוזט כמעט אינטערבראכען ווערען צוליעב דער שליסונג פון די פארשידענע גרעניצען און צוליעב דער נויטווענדיג-קייט פאר די דעלעגאטען וואס ניכער צו דערגרייכען זייערע היימי-לענדער. אריף א באראטונג פון דער אלועקסליכער ציוניסטישער עקזעקוטיוו וואס איז אפגעהאלטען געווארען אין יענע לעצטע אונ-רוהיגע טעג אין וועלכער עס האבען זיך אויך באטייליגט די פיהרער פון דער אמעריקאנער דעלעגאציע צום קאנגרעס, זיינען באטראכט געווארען די פראבלעמען פון דער ציוניסטישער באוועגונג און זייערע קריטישע באמערקונגען אין דער גאנצער צוקונפט און עס איז בא-שלאסען געווארען צו ארגאניזירען א ספעציעלען עסערדזשענסי קא-מיטעי אין די פאראייניגטע שטאטען פאר דער צייט פון דער מלחמה. „דער עסערדזשענסי קאמיטעי פאר ציוניסטישע אנגעלעגענהיי-טען“, ווי מען האט איהם צו ערשט אנגערופען, איז לכתחילה גע-גרינדעט געווארען צוליעב צוויי צוועקען. ערשטענס האט מען פאראויסגעזעהן אז צוליעב דער מלחמה קען די צענטראלע פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע אין ירושלים, אלס רעזולטאט פון א סעני-ליכער אינוואזיע אדער אנדערע סיבות, ווערען אפגעשניטען פון דער באוועגונג אין הויז לאנד. עס איז דערפאר געווען ווינשענסווערט אז אין אמעריקע זאל עקזיסטירען א קערפערשאפט וואס זאל קענען אין טיטפאל איבערנעמען די אויסארייטע און די פונקציעס פון דער ציוניסטישער פיהרערשאפט. צווייטענס איז אויך אנערקענט געווארען



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אויפקלעההונג און די קאאפערירונג פון דער ציוניסטישער פאליטיק אין אמעריקע ארום וועלכער די מעטינגקייט פון דעם עסערדזשענסי קאמיטעט האט זיך קאנצענטרירט. דער ספעציפישער כאראקטער פון דעם קאמיטעט האט זיך אויסגעדרוקט אין דער ענדערונג פון זיין נאמען. „אמעריקאנער עסערדזשענסי קאמיטעט פאר ציוניסטישע אגידעלענענהייטען“ (וואס איז שפעטער באצייכענט געווארען מיט'ן נאָמען „אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עסערדזשענסי קאונסיל“) ווי אויך אין די קאנסטיטוציאנעלע רעגולאציעס וואס זיינען אנגענומען געווארען אין יאנואר 1942. היינט צו טאג באשטעהט דער קאונסיל פון עקס-און-צוואנגציג מיטגלידער. אין איהם געהערן אריין פארטרעטער פון די עקזקוטיווע קאמיטעטען פון דעם אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע, פון „הדסה“, „מורח“ און „פועלי ציון“. צוזאמען מיט א צאהל פיהרענדע אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען וועלכע זיי גען צוגעצויגען געווארען אין וויער פערזענליכער אייגענשאפט. אין קאונסיל געהערן אויך אריין א צאהל „באאכאכטער“ פון אנדערע ציוניסטישע גרופען ווי אויך די מיטגלידער פון גרויסע ציוניסטישע אקציענס קאמיטעט וועלכע געפינען זיך אין אמעריקע. אריינרעכענענדיג די מיטגלידער פון די פארשידענע ארגאניזאציעס און גרופען פארטרעט דער קאונסיל א מיטגלידער-צאהל פון העכער א האלב טויזנט.

אין דער אנפאנגס-פעריאדע איז באלד באשאפען געווארען א פרעזידענט באשטעהענדיג פון דר. סטיפן ג. וויין, סר. לואיס ליפסקי, און דר. שלמה באלדמאן, שטעהענדיג בראש פון דעם קאונסיל. שפעטער איז דר. סטיפן ג. וויין באשטימט געווארען אלס פארזיצער בעת ריכטער לואיס ג. לעווינסהאל איז באשטימט געווארען אלס פארזיצער פון דעם עקזקוטיוו קאמיטעט פון דעם קאונסיל. אן ענגע-דער עקזקוטיוו קאמיטעט האט עפערס אפגעהאלטען כאראמונגען און איז געווען פאראנטווארטליך צום גאנצען קאונסיל.

אין די ערשטע חדשים פון זיין עקזיסטענץ האט דער עסערדזשענסי קאונסיל פונקציאנירט ביכער ווי א צווישען-פארטייאישע קערפער-שאפט כדי אויסצוהערען באריכטען און באשליסען ווענען אנגעלעגענע הייטען פון א געמיינזאמען אינטערעס פאר די גרופען וועלכע זיינען

אז אליקאיינס צי אמעריקע וועט יא אדער ניט אריין אין קריעג, וועט די האלבונג פון אמעריקע העכסט-ווארשיינליך ויין פון אן ענטשיידענדער וויכטיגקייט אין דער באשטימונג פון דער צוקונפט פון דער אידישער נאציאנאלער היים. קיין ספק ניט, מיט דעם טראניק פון די אידישע קהילות אין צענטראל און מזרח-איראפע, וועט דער שווערפונקט פון ציביוס, אויסערהאלב ארץ ישראל, קלאהר און קאמענאריש אריבערגעהען צום אמעריקאנישען קאנטינענט. אויף די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטן וועלען אזוי ארום ארויפגעלייגט ווערען פליכטען און פאר-אנטווארטליכקייטען פון וועמעס ערפילונג עס וועט שטארק אפהענגען דער גורל פון אידישען פאלק אין ארץ ישראל. האבענדיג דאס אין זינען איז אנערקענט געווארען אלס העכסט וויכטיג אז עס זאל בא-שאפען ווערען א ווירקזאמער אינסטרומענט מיט'ן צוועק קלאהר צו מאכען דעם אמעריקאנער קולם און די אמעריקאנער פאליטישע. פיה-דער ווענען די גויטען פון די אידען אלס א פאלק און וואס ארץ ישראל מיינט פאר דער אידישער צוקונפט. מיר זיינען אזוי ארום געשטעלט געווארען פאר א אנגעהויבער שווערער אויפגאבע אויפ'ן נעביס פון דער אייפקלערונג פון דער עפענטליכער מיינונג און פון פאליטישער אקטיוויטעט, אן אויפגאבע וואס האט געפאדערט די קאנצענטרירונג פון אלע אנווענדבארע כוחות אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם.

די ערשטע באדראהענדע עווענטואליטעט וועלכע די עקזעקוטיווע האט געהאט אין זייען ביי דער גרינדונג פון דעם עמערדזשענסי קא-מיטעט האט גליקליכערווייזע ניט פאסירט. בראץ צייטען פון באלדי-גער גמפאר איז ארץ ישראל און דער ישוב געבליבען פארשווינט פון דער מלחמה.

די ציוניסטישע פארבינדונג דורך פאסט און טעלעגראף מיט דער אידישער וועלט, אויסערהאלב איראפע, כאטש אונטערווארפען די פארשידענע שוועריגקייטען פון די מלחמה רעגולאציעס זיינען אג-געגאנגען אהן אויפערברעכונג. די ציוניסטישע עקזעקוטיווע אין ירושלים איז געווען ביכולת פארטצוועצען איהרע פונקציעס און פון צייט צו צייט צו דעלעגירען עפליכע פון איהרע פיהרענדע מיטגלידער קיין דעם לאנד כדי צו באראמען און צו אי-פארטירען די באוועגונג. אזוי ארום איז עס געווען די צווייטע אויפגאבע, געמליך, די אגפיהרונג,

מען טיט ד"ר ווייז און פארזיצענדער פון דעם עקזעקוטיווקאמיטעט פונ'ם קאונסיל.

כדי צו רעאליזירן א ברייטען איבער'ן גאנצען לאנד פארצווייגטען אויפקלעהרונגס-פראגראם איז דער קאונסיל גרינדליך רעארגאניזירט גע-ווארען. עס איז פארזיכערט געווארען א פיעל גרעסערער בודזשעט אין דער בעאמטען-שטאב ווי אויך דער ארבייטס-פראגראם וויינען באדיי-טענדיג פארברעסערט געווארען. עס וויינען געשאפט געווארען א צאהל פון ספעציעלע דעפארטמענטען אונטערפיהרט פון עקספערטען אין וויערע ענטשפערעכענדע געביטען און צווישען די דאזיגע דעפארטמענטען האבען פארנומען נאר א וויכטיגען פלאץ די אפטיילונגען וועלכע האבען זיך אפגעענטבען מיט אינפארמאציע, קאאפעראציע מיט די קהילות איבער'ן לאנד, פרעסע-אפטיילונג, צונריימונג פון רעדנער, פאליטישע-קאנאמישע וויסענשאפטליכע פארשונגס-ארבייט, אויפקלעהרונג צווישען קריסטען, קאנטאקט מיט אמעריקאנער אידישע רעליגיעזע גרופען, קאנטאקט מיט די גרויסע אמעריקאנער ארבייטער-פארטייען, ספעציעלע עפענטליכע ארגאניזירונגען און אזוי ווייטער. באזונדערס בעאכטונגס-ווערט איז גע-ווען די גרינדונג איבער'ן לאנד פון העכער 400 לאקאלע ציוניסטישע עסערדזשענסי קאמיטעטען רעפרעזענטירענדיג אלע ציוניסטישע פאר-טייען. אלע די דאזיגע פיער הונדערט קאמיטעטען וועלכע וויינען ארגא-ניזירט געווארען פאר פאליטישע אקציעס און עפענטליכער אויפקלעה-רונגס-ארבייט באקומען דעגולער אינפארמאציע און וועג-ווייזונג פון דעם קאונסיל אין ניויארק.

טויזעטער לייט-ארטיקלען אין די גרויסע מעגליכע אמעריקאנער צייטונגען אין ניויארק און איבער'ן לאנד, אונטערהילגע מעלעגראמעס און בריעף וואס וויינען געשיקט געווארען קיין וואשינגטאן פון אלע טיילען פון לאנד ווי אויך די אונטערהיינער גרויסע צאהל מאסן-פארזאמלונגען, רא-דיא-דעדיקט פון אידישע און נישט-אידישע פיהרערע פערזענליכקייטען האבען ערדט געוואנט פאר דער נייער אויפלעבונג וואס האט דורכגע-דרונגען דעם אמעריקאנער ציוניזם ווייט דער רעארגאניזירונג פון עסער-דזשענסי קאונסיל.

פארטרעטן אין קאנסיל, איידער ווי אן איניציאטאר און לייסער פון אן אקטיווען פאליטישען פראגראם אין דער אמעריקאנער עפענטי-ליבקיט. ערשט שפעט אין 1940 איז א ספעציעלער סעקרעטאר באשטימט געווארען פאר דעם קאנסיל מיט אן אייגענעם ענטשפרע-כענדעם ביורא. אין פארלויף פון דער דרינגענדער ענטוויקלונג פון דער ארבייט האט עס זיך אין יאנואר 1941 גרויסגעוויזען פאר נייטיג צו באשטימען מר. עמנואל ניומאן אלס הויפט פון דעם דעפארטמענט פאר עפענטיכער אויפקלעהרונג און פאליטישער אקציע (אן אפט פון וועלכען ער האט רעזיגנירט אין דעצעמבער 1942), ווי אויך צו באשטימען דעם פארשטאנדענעם מר. רחביה לעווין-עפשטיין אלס דירעקטאר פון דעם עקאנאמישען דעפארטמענט פון דעם קאנסיל.

## אמעריקאנער ציונים אקטיוויזירט

**אבער** נישט קוקענדיג דערויף וואס אין פארלויף פון דער דאזיגער פעריאדע האט דער קאנסיל דערבנעפיהרט א ריזיגע וויכטיגע אקטיו-וויסעסן איז עס קלאר געווארען אז די ציוניסטישע פאליטישע און עפענטיכע ארבייט ווערט אין די ברייטע אמעריקאנער קרייזען פאר-וויקליכט נישט אין דער נייטיגער סאם און געהעריגער ווירקזאמקייט. די פיהרער פון אונזער באוועגונג אין ארץ ישראל, ווי אויך אמעריקע האבען גרינדליך איינגעזעהן אז עס איז נייטיג אנטוועהמען מעהר ענערגישע שריט פאר דער אויסארבייטונג פון אן אליאמפאסענדען טעטיגקייט-פראגראם כדי צו אקטיוויזירען די אמעריקאניש-ציוניסטישע מאסען פון אלע פארטייען און דורכצופיהרען א שטארק צענטראלי-זירטע דירעקציע פון די אנגעלעגענהייטען. פאלגליך איז אין אויגוסט 1943 דורכגעפיהרט געווארען א פולשטענדיגע דעארגאניזירונג פון דעם קאנסיל און ד"ר אבא הלל סילווער האט אויפ'ן וואונש פון ד"ר חיים ווייצמאן און ד"ר ספיפען ס. ווייז, דעם דענסטאבלינען טשערמאן פון דעם קאנסיל אנגענומען די פיהרערשאפט פון דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטיש-פאליטישער און עפענטיכער אויפקלעהרונגס-אקטיוויטעט. ד"ר סילווער איז געווארען מיט-פאזיציענדער פון דעם קאנסיל צווא-

וידענט הוועלט אין פרעזידענט טרוסאן בעת זייערע קאנפערענצען אין יאלטא אין פאסטאם.

צווישן אנדערע אנגעלעגנהייטען, מיט וועלכע דער קאנסיל האט זיך באשעפטיגט אין דער ערשטער קריגס-פעריאדע, איז אויך געווען די פראגע פון א רייה פראמינענטע ציוניסטען וועלכע זיינען אנטרווען גע-ווארען פון דער נייט-אקופירטער אייראפא און האבען געפונען א צייט-ווייליגען צפלוכטס-פלאץ אין טעריטאריעס וואס זיינען אקופירט געווא-רען פון דער סאטעמישער ערטיי, אין דער נייט-אקופירטער פראנקרייך און אנדערשוואו, פאר וועלכע עס האט דענסטאל גיט עקסיסטירט קיין מעגליכקייט צו דערגרייכען ארץ ישראל און פאר וועלכע עס איז דער-מעגליכט געווארען צו קומען קיין אסעריקא. אין שייכות דערמיט האט דער קאנסיל געארבייט אין געהענטען קאנסאקס מיט דעם פארזיצער פון דעם פרעזידענט'ס באראטונגס קאמיטעט וועזען פליכטלינגע. די האלטונג פון דעם סטייט דעפארטמענט אין דער הינזיכט וואס האט זיך אין אנפאנג איינגעצייכענט מיט איהר גרייטווייליגער קאאפעראציע, האט זיך שארף געענדערט אין סעפטעמבער און אקטאבער 1940, ווען עס איז פארגעקומען א פאקטישע אפשטעלונג פון נייט-זיוואס פאר צייטווייליגע באזוכער. שפעטער אבער איז יא פארגעקומען א געוויסע בעסערונג אין דער האלטונג פון דעם דעפארטמענט און א קליינע אבער שטענדיג אנהאלטענדע צאהל פון וויזעס פאר ציוניסטישע פליכטלינגע זיינען באויליגט געווארען לויט דער אינציאטיווע פון דעם קאנסיל.

### די בילטמאר קאנפערענץ.

די ברייטערע פראבלעמען פון דער נאך-מלחמה פעריאדע בנוגע ארץ ישראל זיינען אלץ שארפער ארויסגעשטעלט געווארען אין דער עפענטליכקייט אלס א דעוולטאט פון דער אויסגראדענטליכער ציו-ניסטישער קאנפערענץ וואס איז איינגארופען געווארען לויט דעם בא-שלוס פון אסעריקאנער ציוניסטישען עסערוזשענטי קאנסיל און איז אפגעהאלטען געווארען פון דעם 9-טען ביז צום 11-טען מאי 1941 אין דעם בילטמאר האטעל אין ניו-יארק. די באדייטונג פון דער בילטמאר קאנפערענץ וועלכע האט אהן א סאך אנגעהויבען א גאנצן נאציאנאל

## פאליטישע רעפערענצנאציעס.

דער קאנסיל, ווייטער עקסיסטירט איז געשטאנען אין דויערנדער פארבינדונג מיט דעם סטייט-דעפארטמענט (אויסלאנדס-מיניסטעריום פון דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג אין וואשינגטאן) א שטענדיגער ביורא פון דעם קאנסיל איז געגרינדעט געווארען אין וואשינגטאן שפעט אין 1943 אונטער דער לייזונג פון ראביי לעאן י. פייער). מיט דער בריטישער גע-זאנדשאפט און געלעגענטליך מיט די אסכאסאדארען און פארטרעטער פון אנדערע אויסלענדישער מדינות אין שייכות צו פארשידענע פא-ליטישע פראבלעמען וואס וויינען פון צייט צו צייט געשטעלט געווארען אויפ'ן פדר-הויס. אזוי וויינען געמאכט געווארען רעפערענצנאציעס דורך דער צושטעלונג פון דעמאילירטע מעטאראנאדוס וועגען די פאלגענדע פראבלעמען: די שאפונג פון אן ארץ ישראל'דיגער אידישער ארמיי; די אריבערפיהרונג קיין ארץ ישראל פון 800 פליכטלינגס-קינדער פון טעהערען וועמען די רעגירונג פון איראק האט פארווייגערט דורכרייזע וויזעס; אידישע איינוואונדערונג אין ארץ ישראל אין אלגעמיין; די באזונדערע ערשיינענדע טראגעדיע מיט די שיפען „סמרוטא“, „אמלאני טא“, „פאטריא“ און נאך און נאך שיפען אויף וועלכע עס האבען זיך געפונען די אנטרוגענע פון די נאצישע פארניכטונגס לאגערן; די דע-פארטירטע קיין מאריציוס; די בערמודא קאנפערענץ וועגען פליכט-לינגע; די פראגע וועגען אידישער פארטרעטונג אויף דער קאנפערענץ פון די „יוניטעד ניישאנס“ אין סאן פראנציסקא; די לעצטענס ארויס-געשטעלטע פארדערהג וועגען דער באלדיגער בראנספערירונג קיין ארץ ישראל פון 100 טויזענד פליכטלינגע וועלכע געפינען זיך אין די דייטשע און עסטרייכישע קעמפס; די אנקלאגע געגען דעם בויפטי אלס קריגס-פארברעכער און די פראגע וועגען דער אנערקענונג פון עבר הירדן אלס אן אונאפהענגיגען שטאַט. אויספיהרליכע מעטאראנאדוס וויינען צונע-שטעלט געווארען צו די אמעריקאנער אויסאריבעטען ביי טעהרערע גע-לעגנהייטען בנוגע פונדאמענטאלע פראגען וועגען דער פאליטישער צו-קונפט פון ארץ ישראל און דער גרינדונג פון א אידישער קאמאנוועלטה. צווישען די דאזיגע מעטאראנאדוס וויינען געווען דעמאילירטע ערקלעה-רונגען וועלכע וויינען צונעשטעלט געווארען פאר באטראכטונג פון פרע-

פון די אידן אין אמעריקא פאר דער אונטערשיצונג פון דעם בילטמאר פראגראם. פון יענעם מאמענט אן קען עס נאר גיט זיין קיין פראגע אז די אידן פון אמעריקא אלס א גרופע שטעהען מיט באגייסטערטער צושטימונג הינטער דעם פראגראם פון דער אידישער קאמאנוועלט.

### מאמען-דעמאנסטראציעס

**ב"י** פארשידענע געלעגנהייטן זיינען דורך דעם ציוניסטישען עסערדזשענטי קאונסיל, אליין אדער מיט דער באטייליגונג פון אנדערע קערפערשאפטן, אפגעהאלטען געווארען א רייע גרויסע עפענטליכע מאס-טייטשען. די ערשטע פון די דאזיגע דעמאנסטראציעס איז אפגע-האלטען געווארען אין יולי 1941 אין דעם גרויסן סעדיסאן סקווער גארדען אין ניו-יארק אין צוזאמענהאנג מיט דער פראגעדיע פון די אי-דען אין דער נאצי-אקופירטער אייראפא. אן ענליכע מאמען-דעמאנס-טראציע, גרוב דעם אין-קראפט אריינברענגען פון „זייטען פאפיר“, איז אפגעהאלטען געווארען אין דעם לואיסאן סטאדיום אין ניו-יארק אין אפריל 1945, אין וועלכער ארום 60,000 פערזאן האבען זיך בא-טייליגט. אויך די דאזיגע טעכטיגע פארזאמלונג איז געווען פארהעלט-ניסעסיג א קליינע אין פארגלייך מיט דער שפעטער אפגעהאלטענער דעמאנסטראציע אונטער'ן פרייען הימל אין סעדיסאן סקווער פארק, אלס פראצעסט געגען דער בריטישער פאליטיק אין ארץ ישראל. אין דער דאזיגער פארזאמלונג האבען זיך באטייליגט העכער 200,000 פערזאן. ענליכע טייטשען זיינען אויך אפגעהאלטען געווארען אין א רייע גרעסערע אמעריקאנער שטעט איבער'ן לאנד, וואס האבען געמאכט א שטארקען איינדרוק אויף דער גאנצער באפעלקערונג.

### אמעריקאנער קריסטליכער פאלעסטינא קאמיטעט

צוויי פראמינענטע ים-אידישע גרופען האבען גענומען א שטארקען אנטווייל אין די באטיהונגען פון דעם אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישען עסער-דזשענטי קאונסיל וועגען דעם ארץ ישראל פראבלעם — דער „אמערי-קאנער פאלעסטינא קאמיטעט“, געגרינדעט אין אפריל 1941 אונטער'ן פארווייז פון סענאטאר ראבערט פ. וואגנער, און דער „קריסטליכער קאונ-“







אנגעזעהענע אסעריקאנער ווי אויך פארטרעטער פון פארשידענע אויס-  
 לענדישע רעגירונגען. פון באזונדערען אינטערעס זיינען אויך געווען די  
 שטארק-באוועגטע דיסקוסיע-סיטינגען, וואס זיינען לעצטענס אפגעהאל-  
 טען געווארען אין פארלוף פון א גאנצען טאג. א הויז דעם האבען די  
 דאזיגע קריסטליכע גרופען אפגעהאלטען א ריזיגע וויכטיגע רעגיאנאלע  
 קאנפערענצען וועגען ארץ ישראל אין פארשידענע גרעסערע אסעריקא-  
 נער שטעט, באזונדערס אין ניו-יארק, באסטאן, שיקאגא, סם. לואיס,  
 סינסינעטי, דעטרויט, הויסטאן, פילאדעלפיא און אנדערע צענטערן.  
 פראמינענטע רעדנער האבען געהאלטען רעדעס אויף די דאזיגע פאר-  
 זאמלונגען, אין וועלכע עס האבען זיך באטייליגט פיעלע צעהנדליגער  
 טויזענדער פערזאנען. איינדרוקספול און ווירקזאם זיינען געווען וויערע  
 קאנפערענצען, וואס זיי האבען ארגאניזירט אין פרינסטאן און ארבעט-  
 סיטי אין פארלוף פון די לעצטע צוויי יאָהר, וואו ספעציעלע קורסען  
 זיינען ארגאניזירט געווארען פאר רעדנער און אנדערע אקטיווע פער-  
 זאנען וועלכע זיינען טיפער פאראינטערעסירט אין דעם ציוניסטישען  
 פראבלעם.

אן אקציע פון א גאר באדייטענדען פארגעס איז געווען די דע-  
 קלאראציע פאר וועלכער דער אסעריקאנער פאלעסטינא קאמיטעט האט  
 באקומען אונטערשריפטען פון סעחר ווי צווייידריטעל מיטגלידער פון  
 סענאט און אינטעלעקטואל 200 מיטגלידער פון קאנגרעס, אייכנדיקענדיג  
 וויער סימפאטיע און אינטערעסירטע פאר דער אידישער גאציאנאלער  
 היים. די דאזיגע דעקלאראציע, וואס האט געטראגען דעם טיטל „דער  
 אלגעמיינער ציעל פון דער ציוויליזירטער מענטשהייט“, איז פארשפרייט  
 געווארען אין פיעלע צעהנדליגער טויזענדער עקזעמפלארען. דאס איז  
 געווען א וויכטיגע צוגרייטונגס-ארבייט פאר דער קלארישטעלונג פון  
 דער מיינונג און האלטונג פון קאנגרעס, בעת ביי א שפעטערער געלע-  
 גענחייט איז אריינגעטראגען געווארען אין דעם קאנגרעס די באקאנטע  
 „פאלעסטינא רעזאלוציע“.



ישראל פראצע אין די לאקאלע געמיינדעס, אין די אניווערוויטעטען, קירכען און שרייען-קלובען, ווי אויך פאר דער אראנזשירונג פון ראדיא-רעדעס איבערן לאנד. פאר די אלע צוועקען האבען זיי צוגעשטעלט די געהעריגע רעדנער און אויפקלעהרער. דורך דעם דאווענען פראגראם אין די קלובען זיינען דערצויגען און ענטוויקעלט געווארען א רייהע פראמינענטע נישט-אידישע רעדנער און לעקטארען. אזוי אז היינטיג צייטן פארמאגען פיר אין אמעריקא עטליכע הונדערט ציוניסטישע-געשעפטע קריסטליכע רעדנער און עפעקטיווע דיסקוסאנטען. אזוי ארום איז עס דערמעגליכט געווארען צוריקצושטויסען די בריטישע און אראבישע אנט-ציוניסטישע פראפאגאנדיסטען אין פארשידענע קרייזען, מיט'ן רעזולטאט, אז די ציוניסטישע פאזיציע ווערט געהעריג און ווירקזאם אויפגעקלעהט אין כמעט אלע טיילען פון לאנד.

## אלוועלטליכע קריסטליכע קאנפערענץ ווענען ארץ ישראל

**אנפאנג** נאָוועמבער 1945 איז אין וואשינגטאן אפגעהאלטען גע-ווארען אן אינטערנאציאנאלע קריסטליכע קאנפערענץ ווענען ארץ ישראל, אין וועלכער עס האבען זיך באטייליגט פארטרעטער פון נישט-זיינדיגער ווי דרייסיג פעלקער און לענדער. צווישען די פראמינענטע געסט, וועלכע זיינען געקומען קיין אמעריקא, כדי אנטייל-צוגעסען אין דער קאנפערענץ, זיינען געווען סאדאם לארנא זיינגעיס, די אלמנה פון דעם בריטישען גענעראל ארדע שארלס זיינגעיס, און סענאטאר גאנאולעס ווידעלא, וועלכער איז לעצטענס דערוועהלט געווארען אלס פרעזידענט פון דער רעפובליק פון טשילע. אלס רעזולטאט פון דער קאנפערענץ איז געגרינדעט געווארען אן „אלוועלטליכער קאמיטעט פאר ארץ ישראל" מיט בער עלטווארטה פלאוועל פון קאנאדע אלס פארזיצענדער. דער וועלט-קאמיטעט פאר פאלעסטינא האט געארבייט האנט-אין-האנט מיט דעם אמעריקאנער קריסטליכען פאלעסטינא קא-מיטעט און האט זיך ספעציעל אפגעגעבען מיט די ייד-אמעריקאנער לענדער און מיט קאנאדע. לעצטענס האט דער וועלט-קאמיטעט אראפ-זשירט א סך אין די ייד-אמעריקאנער לענדער פאר דר. נוסמאווא גר-טיערען, א פראמינענטער שטאטסמאן פון קובא, וועלכער האט זיך

## קאנגרעסלייט, סטעיט-געוועזענעכער און גאווערנאָרס פארזיכערען זייער אונטערשטיצונג

ארום 1944-45 איז פארשפרייט געוואָרען אַ בריעף צום פרעזידענט פון די פאראייניגטע שטאטן, מיט דער אונטערשריפט פון 55 סענאטארען און 261 קאנגרעסלייט, פאדערנדיג אַ באשטימטע אַקציע אין די אינטערעסען פון ישוב אין ארץ ישראל און פאר דער גרינדונג פון אַ געזעצטער קאמאנוועלט.

דער אלעקסענדער אינטערעס פון דער אמעריקאנער עפענטליכער מיינונג אין דעם ארץ ישראל פראבלעם האט אויך ווייטער געפונען זיין אויסדрук אין דער אנגעהאנג פון די רעזאלוציעס פאר דער איינציקער מאניפעסטאציע היים און דער ווידערהערשטעלונג פון דער איינציקער קאמאנוועלט דורך די געזעצגעבערישע קערפערשאפטען אין אַ ריזיג פאמאטען איבער'ן לאנד. נישט ווייניגער די 41 שטאטלעניסלאטרייטע וועלכע פארטרעטען אויסגעפעהר 85 פראצענט פון דער באפעלקערונג פון די פאראייניגטע שטאטען, האבען אנגענומען רעזאלוציעס אין דעם דאזיגן זין.

די דאזיגע אקטיוויטעט איז דערגעניצט געוואָרען דורך אַ פעסטיגע מיט אן עהנליכער פאדערונג וואס איז אונטערגעשריבען געוואָרען פון 40 סטייט-גאווערנאָרס און צוגעשטעלט געוואָרען צום פרעזידענט ערב זיין אפרייזע צו דער היסטארישער קאנפערענץ מיט דעם בריטישען פרעמיער-מיניסטער און סארשאל סטאלין אין בערלין. די דאזיגע פעסטיגע איז צושטאנד געקומען אַ דאנק דער איניציאטיווע און ברייטער אונטערשטיצונג פון גאווערנאָר סור פון יומא, אלס פארזיצער פון דער קאנפערענץ פון די סטייט-גאווערנאָרס, מיט דער קאאפעראציע פון די גאווערנאָרס פון ניו-יאָרק, סאטאשווסקעס, רהאדיאילאנד און קאנעקטיקאט.

### לעקציעס און אינפארמאציעס אין קלובען

דער אמעריקאנער פאלעסטינא קאמיטעט און דער קריסטלעכער קאונסיל האבען געמיינט ארגאניזירט אַ בירא פאר לעקציעס און אינפארמאציעס מיט'ן צוועק ארויסצורופען אן אינטערעס פאר דער ארץ

פון דער פאלעסטינא רעוואלוציע אין אמעריקאנער קאנגרעס און פאר  
דער עטאבלירונג פון א אידישער קאמאנוועלטה.

### אויפקלערונגס-ליטעראטור

דער אמעריקאנער פאלעסטינא קאמיטעט און דער קריסטליכער  
קאונסיל האבען פארעפענטליכט א באדייטענדע צאהל פון בראשורען,  
וועלכע זייען שטארק פארשפרייט געווארען. צווישען אנדערע אויס-  
גאבען געפינען זיך די פאלגענדע: „די שטימע פון דער קריסטליכער  
אמעריקא“; „סאמענער וועלט'עס“; „די גערעכטע לייונג פון ארץ ישראל  
פראבלעם“; „די אראבער און פאלעסטינא“ פון אלבערט איינשטיין און  
עריק קאהלער; „פאר'ן געריכט פון דער געשיכטע“; „א דיסקוסיע  
וועגען דער אראבישער פראגע“ פון רעוועננד ווענדעל פיליפס; „פאר-  
לעסטינא, א פרוביר-שטיין פאר דער דעמאקראטיע“, פון פראפעסאר  
עדווארד לינדעסאן. עס זיינען אויך דערשינען אמעריקאנער אויסגאבען  
פון די וועק פון רעוועננד דר. גארטאן סאקלין און וויקטאר גאלאני, אין  
וועלכע די אנגעזעהענע פארפאסער דריקען אויס זייער שארפטע פאר-  
אורטיילונג פון ענגלאנד'ס איינוואנדערונגס פאליטיק אונטער'ן „זוי-  
סען פאפיר“.

דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל האט אויך  
פארעפענטליכט א גרויסע צאהל בראשורען, וועלכע זיינען פארשפרייט  
געווארען אין צעהנדליגע פויגענדער עקזעמפלארען. צווישען בא-  
שטימטע גרופען און פערזענליכקייטען איבער'ן לאנד. צווישען די דא-  
זיגע בראשורען האבען זיך געפונען: „אידען, אראבער און דער גא-  
הענטער כורח“ פון אפרים ברוידא; „א מעטאראדום וועגען „ענגלאנד  
און ארץ ישראל“ פון גרמור לוריע; „מיר ווילען זיך ניט צוריקקעה-  
רען צו דער פארנאנגענעזייט“ פון דר. חיים ווייצמאן; „די פאדערונג  
פון אידישען פאלק“ — א מעטאראדום צוגעגרייט ספעציעל פאר די  
דעלעגאטען פון די יוניטעד ניישאנס קאנפערענץ אין סאן פראנציס-  
קא; „פאלעסטינא אין דער אמעריקאנער פרעסע“ — א זאמלונג פון  
צייטונגס-באטערילאל פון חודש אויגוסט 1946; „אן אפענער בריעף  
צו ערנסט בעווין“ פון קרנסט פראנקענשטיין; „אן אמעריקאנער אויס-

טייע פאראינטערעסירט מיט די פראבלעמען פון אידישען פאלק און ארץ ישראל (וועלכע ער האט לעצטענס באזוכט) און האט געשאפען אין פארלויף פון זיין ריזע אין מעהרערע קרטער פריינטשאפטליכע באציהונגען צום אידישען הייטלאנד-געדאנק.

## פאלעסטינא קאמיטעט פון די אמעריקאנער אידישע ארבייטער יוניאנס

אײך די ארגאניזירטע אמעריקאנער ארבייטערשאפט האט געמאכט גאר א וויכטיגען ביטראג צו די ציוניסטישע באציהונגען. פיעלע ארבייטער-פיהרער, פערזענליך, ווי אויך צאהלרייכע ארבייטער יוניאנס, האבען זיך פייערליך דערקלעהרט גיטסטיג צו די ציוניסטישע שטרעבונגען. די אמעריקאנער אידישע טרעדייוניאן, מיט סר. סאקס זאריצקי בראש, איז אין א גאנץ באזונדערער סאם געווען עפעקטיוו אין דער פארזיכערונג פון אונטערשטיצונג פאר דעם ציוניסטישען פראגראם סצד די פערעראטיווע טרעדייוניאן גרופען. די פאזיטיווע באציהונג פון דער ארגאניזירטער ארבייטערשאפט צו די אידישע האפע-ניגנען אין ארץ ישראל דעמאנסטרירט זיך אמבעסטען דורך די פאלגענדיגע וויכטיגע מהאסיזאפען: דעם 11-טען סעפטעמבער 1944 האט די ניו-יארקער סטעיט קאנפערענץ פון „סי-איי-א“ אנגענומען א פאלעס-טינא רעזאלוציע עהנליך צו דער, וועלכע איז פארגעלייגט געווארען פאר'ן אמעריקאנער קאנגרעס; דעם 21-טען סעפטעמבער 1944 און 23-טען אקטאבער 1945 האבען די „אהייא סטעיט פעדעריישאן און לעיבאר“ און די „גרוזשורוי סטעיט פעדעריישאן פון דער סי-איי-א“ גלייכפאלס אנגענומען די פרא-פאלעסטינא רעזאלוציעס; דעם 13-טען נאוועמבער 1944 האט די לאנדעס-קאנפערענץ און די אמעריקאנער אר-בייטער פעדעראציע איינשטימיג גוטגעהייסען די פאלעסטינא רעזאלו-ציע וואס איז פארגעלייגט געווארען פאר דער קאנפערענץ און האט איי-סטרוואירט איהר פרעזידענט, סר. וויליאם נרוין, אויסנוצען זיין איי-פלוס גאר דער דערברייכונג פון די ציעלען וואס זיינען באשאפט געווא-רען אין דער רעזאלוציע. דער קאונסיל פון דער „סי-איי-א“ האט אויף איהר לאנדעס-קאנפערענץ זיך גלייכווייז ארויסגעזאגט צו גוטסטען

שונגס-מאפעריאלען אין שייכות צו ארץ ישראל. דער פארשונגסידע-  
פארטמעגל נים ארויס א מאנאטליכע איבערזיכט אונטערן טיטול  
„פראבלעמען פון פאלעסטיין“ וואו די ארץ ישראל'דיגע ענינים ווע-  
רען באהאנדעלט פון א וויסענשאפטליכען שטאנדפונקט, וועלכע ווערט  
זעהר ווארים אויפגענומען אין אקאדעמישע און אין אנדערע קרייזען.  
א דאנקבארע אונטערשטיצונג האט דער דעפארטמענט געפונען אין  
דעם ציוניסטישען „ארכיוואון-ביבליאטעק“ אלס א קוואל פון דערגעני-  
צענדער אינפארמאציע און מאטעריאל פאר שטודיעס און פארשונג.

## די ארץ ישראל רעזאלוציע אין דעם אמעריקאנער קאנגרעס

דער וויכטיגסטער שריט וואס דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער  
עסערדזשענסי קאנסיל האט אונטערגענומען אויפ'ן פאליטישען פראגמאט  
איז געווען דאס אריינברענגען פון דער ארץ-ישראל רעזאלוציע אין ביידע  
הייזער פון סענאט און קאנגרעס. דאס איז געווען אין 1944 ווען ס'האט  
זיך דערגעהענטערט דער פאטאלער דאמוס פינ'ס ווייסען פאפיר וועל-  
כער איז באשטימט געווארען אויף צו דערשטיקען די אידישע איינוואנ-  
דערונג קיין ארץ ישראל. נים נאר איז שוין געווען צייט, אז דער אמע-  
ריקאנער קאנגרעס זאל, נאך א אונטערברעכונג פון כמעט א פערטעל  
יארהונדערט, באנייען זיין קאמפאטאטע פריינדשאפט-ערקלעהרונג  
פאר דער אידישער היימלאנד-אידעע, נאר דער עצם פאקט וואס אונז  
זער פראבלעם איז באהאנדעלט געווארען און דיסקודירט געווארען  
אויף דער דאזיגער גרויסער טריבונע פון דער אמעריקאנער עפענט-  
ליכער מיינונג, איז שוין געווען א גרויסע פאליטישע געשעהעניש. דער  
קאנסיל האט אין דער רעזאלוציע געזעהען א ציטל-פונקט ארום וועל-  
כען ער האט געקענט קאנצענטרירען זיין אויפקלעהרונגס-טעטיגקייט  
אויף א גרויסען מאסשאב. עס איז געווען א שריט וואס איז אנגע-  
נומען געווארען נאר נאך א לאנגער און קריטישער באטראכטונג און  
נאך א גרינדליכער און סיסטעמאטישער אונטערזוכונג פון דער מיי-  
נונג און שטעלונג פון די קאנגרעס-סימבאליקער, וואס איז דורכגעפיהרט  
געווארען דורך די לאקאלע עסערדזשענסי-קאמיטעטען און דורך אונז  
זער ביורא אין וואשינגטאן. איידער די רעזאלוציע איז אריינגעבראכט



גאנצע „די סאלדאטען פון יהודה“, א באשרייבונג פון די ארץ ישראל-דינגע אידישע מיליטערישע גרופען, פון ראביי לואיס ראבינאוויץ, פרי-הערדיגער פעלד-הויפט-ראבינער פון דער בריטישער אבטער ארמיי, ווי אויך א יובילעאום אויסגאבע פון סעאדאר הערצעל'ס „יוגענטשאפט“. אחוץ דעם האט דער קאנסיל זיך שטארק באטייליגט אין דער פאר-שפרייטונג פון די וויכטיגע שריפטען „גערעכטיקייט פאר מיין פאלק“ פון ערנסט פראנקענשטיין, „אמעריקאנער פאליטיק לנגי ארץ ישראל“ פון קארל פרידריך, דר. וועלטער לאודערמילקס באריהטס ווערק — „פאלעסטינא, דאס פארשפראכענע לאנד“, און „צו וועמען געהערט ארץ ישראל!“ פון פראנק גערוואוי.

דער עסערוזשענסי קאנסיל גיט אויך ארויס א מאנאטליכען בולע-טין אונטער'ן טיטל „פאלעסטיין“, וואס ווערט ווייט פארשפרייט צווי-שען רעגירונגס-קרייזען ווי אויך צווישען די אקאדעמישע און שורנא-ליסטישע קרייזען. דער קאנסיל האט אויך ארויסגעגעבען אין 1945 דאס וויכטיגע ווערק „אמעריקא און פאלעסטיין“, וואו עס ווערט גע-געבען א היסטארישער איבערבליק פון אמעריקא'ס טיעפען און אג-האלטענדען אינטערעס פאר דער אידישער נאציאנאלער היים אין פאר-לויף פון פיעלע יאָהרען. דאס בוך ענטהאלט אויך אלע וויכטיגע דא-קומענטען, וואו עס ווערען רעגיסטרירט די טייגונגען פון העכער 400 מיטגלידער פון אמעריקאנער קאנגרעס — וועלכע האבען דעמאנסטרא-רעפרעזענטירט 77 פראצענט פון גאנצען „האוז“ — פאר דער אונ-טערשטיצונג פון די ציוניסטישע פאדערונגען.

### פארשונגס-דעפארטמענט

אין 1943 האט דער עסערוזשענסי קאנסיל געשאפען א פארשונגס-דעפארטמענט מיט דר. י. ב. בערקסאן אן דער שפיץ, וועלכער האט אנגעהאלטען זיין ארט ביז 1946. דער דאזיגער דעפארטמענט האט זיך ארויסגעוויזען אלס פאר א וויכטיגער אינסטרומענט אין דער ארכייט פון דעם קאנסיל. דער דעפארטמענט האט געהאט אין זיין רשות די ווערשפילע זאמלונג פון דער „עסקא פאנווייטשאן“ און האט אליין צווייפונקטעלט א באדייטענדע קאלעקציע פון דאקומענטען און פאר-



פון געבראכען געווארען. נאך מיט א קנאפען יאהר צוריק האט עקי-  
זיסטירט די געפאהר אז א אפיציעלע פאדערונג זאל ארויסגעשטעלט  
ווערען, געשטיצט פון די רעגירונגס-אויסאריטעטן פון אמעריקא און  
ענגלאנד, אז יעדע דיסקוסיע וועט דער ארץ ישראל-פראגע זאל צייט-  
ווייליג אפגעשטעלט ווערען. דער דאזיקער פארשלאג איז צוריקגע-  
צויגען געווארען נאר נאך די גרעסטע אנשטרענגונגען וועלכע זיינען  
געמאכט געווארען ס'זיך די פיהרער פונ'ם קאנסיל. איצט איז  
ארץ ישראל קאמפאקטירט אוועקגעשטעלט געווארען אויפ'ן סדר-  
היום פון דער עפענטליכער מיינונג אלס איינע פון די העכסט-וויכטיג-  
סטע פראבלעמען פון דער שעה, און די בארעכטיגונג פאר דער פא-  
דערונג פון א אידישער ארץ ישראל איז געבראכט געווארען צו דער  
אויסערקוואסייט פונ'ם אמעריקאנער פאלק ווי נאך קיינמאל נישט  
פריהער.

אויסגלייכערווייזע, אין א קריטישען מאמענט, בשעת די רעזא-  
לוציע איז גאטראכט געווארען דורך דעם קאנגרעס-קאמיטעט פאר אויס-  
לענדישע אנגעלעגנהייטן, האט דער קריגס-סיניסעריום אויסגע-  
פיהרט, אז דער ענין זאל אפגעלייגט ווערען צוליב סיליסערישע אור-  
זאכען. ס'איז פונדעם-וועגן געווען קלאר פאר דער אמעריקאנער  
רעגירונג אז דער איבערוויינענדער טייל פונ'ם קאנגרעס איז געווען  
פאר דער רעזאלוציע און אז א גרויסער טייל פון דער געזעלשאפטליכער  
מיינונג איז טיף באווארגט וועט דער אפלייגונג פון האנדלונג אין  
דער דאזיקער אנגעלעגנהייט. אינמיט דעם דאזיקען שטארקען גע-  
זעלשאפטליכען דרוק האט דער פרעזידענט, דעם 9-טען מערץ 1944,  
פארעפענטליכט א ערקלעהרונג וואס איז געווען דער ערשטער קלאר-  
רער סימפאטיע-אויסדרוק פאר די ציוניסטישע צילען, וואס איז ווען-עס-  
איז געקומען פון א פיהרער פון איינער פון די גרויסע מלוכות ווייט  
דעם אנהויב פון דער מלחמה. דער פרעזידענט האט באפולמעכטיגט דר.  
סילווער און דר. ווייז, די פארויצענדע פונ'ם קאנסיל, ארויסצוגעבען אין  
זיין נאמען א עפענטליכע ערקלעהרונג, אז „די אמעריקאנער רעגירונג  
האט קיינמאל נישט געקענט איהר צושטימונג צום ווייסען פאפיר פון  
1939... און אז ווען ס'וועלען באשטימט ווערען די צוקונפטיגע בא-  
שלוסען וועט פולע גערעכטיגקייט געטאן ווערען צו די יעניגע וועלכע

געווארען אין קאנגרעס וויינען פארעפנטליכט געווארען צעהלדייכע ווארימע און דערמוטיגענדע ערקלעהרונגען פון די פיהרערס פון ביידע גרויסע אמעריקאנער פאליטישע פארטייען, די דעמאקראטען און די רעפובליקאנער. דאס זעלבע איז אויך געשעהן מיט דער רעזאלוציע וואס איז אריינגעבראכט געווארען אין סענאט מיט דער אינטערשטיי- צונג פון די סענאטארען וואנגער און מאפט. ד איז נאך פריהער בא- גריסט געווארען פון די סאיאריסטע-און סינאריסטע-פיהרער פונ'ם סענאט. אין פארלויף פון פיר טעג, אין חודש פעברואר 1944, זיי- גען אפהענגאלטען געווארען „אויסהערונגען“ אה דעם קאנגרעס-קאמי- טעט פאר אויסלענדישע אנגעלעגענהייטען. די ציוניסטישע שטעלונג איז פרומעטירט געווארען מיט גרויס אויסצייכענונג דורך די ציוניס- טישע פיהרערס, צווישען וועלכע ס'האבען זיך געפונען דר. סילווער, דר. ווייז, סר. קעמנאל ניומאן, דר. ישראל גאלדשטיין, סר. ווערטהיים, סרס. יהודית עפשטיין, דר. דושייטס ג. העלער און אנדערע פערזענ- ליכקייטען. וועלכע וויינען ניט דירעקט אנגעשלאסען אין די ציוניס- טישע ארגאניזאציעס. די פארעפנטליכטע אפיציעלע רעפארטען פון די „אויסהערונגען“ שטעלען מיט זיך סאמועכליך פאר איינע פון די פולסטע באגרינדעטסטע און איבערצייגענדע ערקלעהרונגען וועגען דער צייטישער פאדערונג, וועלכע וויינען בכלל ביי אונז פאראן. די לאקאלע קאמיטעטען האבען אינטערשטיצט אונזערע באטיהונגען אויף א גרויספארטיגען אופן. פון אלע שטעט איבער'ן לאנד, גרויס און קליין, האבען געשטראמט הונדערטע טויזענדער ברייף, פאסטקארטלעך און טעלעגראמעס צו די הימלידער פונ'ם סענאט און קאנגרעס. די קאני- גרעסלייט וויינען גערען איינשטימיג דארין, אז אזא מערקווירדיגער אויסדרוק פון געזעלשאפטליכען אינטערעס פאר א לעגיסלאטיווען פונקט איז זעלשטען ווער-עס-איז געוועהן געווארען.

## **די פארשווייבונג-קאנספיראציע ווערט געבראכען**

**איינער** פון די באדיינע רעזולטאטען פון דעם אלעמען איז געווען דאס וואס די פארשווייבונג-קאנספיראציע פון דער ארץ ישראל-פראגע וואס האט זיך, ווייזט אויס, ענטוויקעלט אין דאשינגטאן, איז עפעק-

אין ווייטערען פארלויף, דעם 15-טען אקטאבער 1944, האט דער פארשטארבענער פרעזידענט רוזוועלט, אין זיין הימפארישער דעקלאראציע צו דער קאנווענשאן פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע פון אמעריקא, אויסגעדרוקט זיין אונטערשטיצונג צום ארץ ישראל פראגראם פון דער דעמאקראטישער פלאטפארמע און האט ערקלעהרט:

„באמיינענע וועלען געמאכט ווערען צו געפינען פאסענדע וועגען און מיטלען אויף דורכצופירען די דאזיגע ריכטליניע פון שטעל ווי מעגליך. איך וויל זייס לאנג און איבערגעגעבען דאס אידישע פאלק האט געארבייט און מחלל געווען פאר דער עטאבלירונג פון ארץ ישראל אלס א פרייע און דעמאקראטישע אידישע קאמאנוועלט. איך בין איבערצייגט, אז דאס אמעריקאנער פאלק גיט זיין אונטערשטיצונג צו דעם דאזיגען צוועק און אויב איר וועל ווידער-ערוועהלט ווערען וועל איך דעלפען איהם צו פאר-ווירקליכען“.

די דאזיגע שטעלונג איז ווידער באשטעטיגט געווארען דורך דעם פרעזידענט דעם 16-טען מערץ 1945 — נאנט קורץ פאר זיין טויט. פינף וואכען שפעטער, דעם 20-טען אפריל 1945, האט פרעזידענט טרוימאן אויטאריזירט די פארעפנטליכונג פון אן ערקלעהרונג, „אז ער האט בדעה דורכצופירען פרעזידענט רוזוועלט'ס ריכטליניע, מיט וועלכער ער איז גרינדליך באקאנט“.

### דאס ווידער אריינברענגען פון דער רעזאלוציע; די רעזאנאציע פון דר. סילווער

אין אקטאבער 1944 איז די סילימערשע נענערשאפט צו דער דורכפיהרונג פון דער קאנגרעסידעזאלוציע צוריקגעצויגען געווארען. געסענדיג אין באטראכט די אנגענומענע ארץ ישראל-פלאטפארם פון די דעמאקראטישע און דעפובליקאנישע פארטייען און די דעקלאראציע פון פרעזידענט רוזוועלט פונ'ם 15-טען אקטאבער איז באשלאסן גען געווארען אז ס'זאלען געמאכט ווערען באמיינענע ווידער צו בא-נייען די ארבייט פאר דער דורכפיהרונג פון דער קאנגרעסידעזאלוציע וואס איז אפגעלעגט גערארען זייט מערץ. איידעם ס'איז אנגעהויבען געווארען די סעמינארים אויף דעם געביט האט דער קאונסיל גע-וואלט ארויסקריגען א ערקלעהרונג פון פרעזידענט רוזוועלט און סר. סעמיניוס, אז זיי זיינען גיט קעגען דער אנגענומענע פון דער רעזא-

פארלאנגען א אידישע נאציאנאלע היים". דעם פרעזידענט'ס ערקלעה-  
רונג האט נאך געהאט א גרעסערע באדייטונג דערפאר ווייל זי איז  
געקומען נאך א רייהע פראטעסטען וואס זיינען געשיקט געווארען קיין  
וואשינגטאן מצד פארשיידענע אראבישע מדינות, וועלכע האבען אויס-  
געדריקט זייער באאוסדרוהיגונג וועגען דער אסעריקאנער שטעלונג  
צו דער ארץ-ישראל-פראגע.

## די פארטיי-פלאטפארמען פון די רעפובליקאנער און די דעמאקראטען

נ״מ קוקענדיג דארויף וואס די קאנגרעס-האנדלונג וועגען דער ארץ  
ישראל-רעזאלוציע איז צייטווייליג אפגעלייגט געווארען, האט פונדעסט-  
וועגען דער קאנסיל נ״מ אפגעשטעלט זיינע סג'יגקייטען. אין ווער  
פון 1944 האבען ביידע פארטייען, די רעפובליקאנער און די דעמאקרא-  
טען, אפגעהאלטען זייערע אלגעמיינע קאנזענשאנס — ערב די אסע-  
ריקאנער וואלען — אין דער קאנסיל האט דערפאר איבערגערוקט זיין  
פאליטישען פראגם פון וואשינגטאן קיין שיקאגא, וואו די דאזיגע קאנ-  
זענשאנס זיינען אפגעהאלטען געווארען.

אין יאנואר 1944 האט די רעפובליקאנער פארטיי אנגענומען א קלאה-  
רע פלאטפארם וועגען ארץ ישראל, פארזיכערנדיג איהר פעסטע אונ-  
טערשטעצונג צום פולען ציוניסטישען פראגראם. דאס איז נאכגעפאלגט  
געווארען אין יולי 1944 דורך דעם ארץ ישראל-פראגראם אין דער  
פלאטפארם פון דער דעמאקראטישער פארטיי, וואס האט פארפליכטעט  
די רעגירונגס-פארטיי ווי פאלגט:

„מיד זיינען פאר דער עפענונג פון ארץ-ישראל פאר אומבאשרענקטער  
אידישער איינוואוינערונג און קאלאניזאציע און פאר אזא ריכטליגער, וואס  
זאל דארט פיהרן צו דער גרינדונג פון א פרייער און דעמאקראטישער  
אידישער קאמאנוועלט“.

די דאזיגע פלאטפארמען האבען מיט זיך פארגעשטעלט א אויסער-  
געווענהייך-זעלטענעם אקט אין דער אסעריקאנער פאליטישער געשיכ-  
טע, און האבען אויף א דראמאטישען אופן באוויזען, אז דאס אסערי-  
קאנער פאלק, אין זיין איבערוויגענדען טייל, סימפאטיזירט מיט די צילען  
פון דער באוועגונג.

צום באווערען האבען די פארטרעטער פון די דאזיגע צוויי סייטונגען אויך אונטערגענומען געגענעזעצטע שריט אין וואשינגטאן. אזוי אז צו דער זעלבער צייט ווען דר. סילווער האט זיך באמיהט דורכ צופיהרען דעם קאנסיל'ס באשלוס צו באוועגען די רעגירונג צוריק ציהען איר גענערשאפט, האבען אנדערע ציוניסטישע פיהרערס אינ פארטירט די אפיציעלע קרייזן פון וואשינגטאן, אז זיי איבען גיט אויס קיין דרוק פאר דער רעזאלוציע. נאך דער אפלייזונג פון דער ארץ-ישראל-רעזאלוציע האבען די מיעפע חילוקי-דעות אינ'ם קאנ- סיל דערגרייכט צו דער העכסטער שטופע ווען דר. סילווער האט רע- זיגנירט פון זיין אסט אלס איינער פון די פארזיצענדע פונ'ם קאנ- סיל און אלס פארזיצענדער פון דעם עקזעקוטיוו-קאמיטעט.

ביי דער רעארגאניזאציע וואס האט גאכגעפאלנט אין דר. ווייז ערוועהלט געווארען אלס פארזיצענדער, און דר. היים גרינבערג איז געווארען פארזיצענדער פון דעם עקזעקוטיוו-קאמיטעט, און דער פארשטאנדענער סר. הערשאן שולמאן איז געווארען פארזיצענדער פונ'ם ענגערן אדמיניסטראטיווען קאמיטעט.

די אידענדערטאנע חילוקי-דעות זיינען גיט בלויז געווען צווי- שטען דער ציוניסטישער פיהרערשאפט נאר זיי האבען אויך ארויסגע- רופען אויפגענוג איבער'ן גאנצען לאנד צווישען די ציוניסטישע סא- סען. אין די גאכפאלגענדע חדשים איז דער ענין דיסקוטירט געווא- רען איבער גאנץ אמעריקא און ס'איז קלאר געווארען אז די אנשוי- אונג וואס ווערט פארטראסטען דורך דר. סילווער — וועגען אנגעסען א פראגראם פון סיליסאבטישער פאליטישער האנדלונג צו באוועגען די רעגירונג גאכצופאלגען א ליניע פון סקיים זיין אירע אייגענע עפענטליכע הכחחות — האט געזיגט אין דער עפענטליכער סייזונג. די פאדערונג וועגען א שטארקער צוזאמענשליסונג פון די ציוניס- טישע ריזען און וועגען דער ווידער-צוציהונג פון דר. סילווער צו אקטיווער פיהרערשאפט איז געווארען אליין שטארקער, ביי, ענדליך, אין יולי 1945, איז ווידער פארגעקומען א רעארגאניזאציע. דר. סיל- ווער און דר. ווייז זיינען ביידע געווארען די פארזיצענדע פונ'ם קאנ- סיל און דר. סילווער איז ערוועהלט געווארען אלס פארזיצענדער פון דעם עקזעקוטיוו-קאמיטעט.

לוציע: אבער אנשטאט דער ערווארטעטער סיטחילף פון דער רע-  
גירונג האט זיך דער קאונסיל אנגעשטויסען אן א שטארקער געני-  
גערשאפט מצד דעם פרעזידענט און מר. סטעיניוס. שפעט אין נא-  
וועמבער איז די טאפט-וואגנער רעזאלוציע זיידער געבראכט געווא-  
רען פאר דעם סענאט'ס קאמיטעט פאר אויסלענדישע אנגעלעגעני-  
הייטען, וואו זי איז באהאנדעלט געווארען אויף דריי ויצונגען. דער  
סטייט-דעפארטמענט מיט'ן פרעזידענט ווינען אבער געבליבען אייני-  
געשפארט און זיך געהאלטען ביי זייער מיינונג אז די צייט איז נישט  
גינסטיג פאר דער דורכפיהרונג פון דער רעזאלוציע. דער ענין איז  
פארגעבראכט געווארען צו אפשטימונג אינעם סענאט'ס קאמיטעט  
פאר אויסלענדישע אנגעלעגענהייטען דעם 11-טען דעצעמבער 1944.  
ביי דער געלעגנהייט איז מר. סטעיניוס ווידער ערשינען נאך א רייע  
פרייהעדיגע פערזענליכע אויפטריטען, צום לעצטען סאל פאר דעם  
קאמיטעט און אינ'ם גאנצן פון דער רעגירונג געפאדערט נישט דורכ-  
צופיהרען די רעזאלוציע. אזוי דרוק מצד די העכסטע ארגאנען פון  
דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג האט געטאכט אויסגעלייך די באשטעטי-  
גונג פון דער רעזאלוציע און זי איז ענדליך אפגעלייגט געווארען דורך  
א קליינער מערהייט אינ'ם סענאט'ס קאמיטעט פאר אויסלענדישע  
אנגעלעגענהייטען.

שטארקע חילוקי-דעות האבען זיך ענטוויקעלט אינקערהאלב דעם  
קאונסיל נאכדעם ווער האט זיך אנגעשטויסען אן דער רעגירונג'ס  
געגנערשאפט צו דער רעזאלוציע. אייניגע מיטגלידער פונ'ם קאונסיל  
האבען געדענקט, אז ס'איז נישט ראטונג פארשצוועצען דעם ענין און  
זיי האבען פארזיכערט די פארטרעטער פון דער רעגירונג אז זיי ווע-  
לען נישט דריקען פאר דער אנגעטונג פון דער רעזאלוציע אקעגען  
דעם ווילען פון דער רעגירונג. דר. סילווער וועלכער איז אונטער-  
שטיצט געווארען פון אנדערע מיטגלידער פונ'ם קאונסיל, האט גע-  
האט אן אנדער מיינונג וועגען דער סיטואציע. ער האט געהאל-  
טען, אז יעדע באסידיונג דארף געטאכט ווערען צו באאיינפלוסען די  
רעגירונג צוריקצוהיען איר געגנערשאפט צו דער רעזאלוציע וועלכע  
איז אין געגענטאץ צו דער שטעלונג וואס איר עפענטליך אנגענומען  
געווארען דורך פרעזידענט רוזוועלט און זיין פארטיי.

קיין זין צו אינגארייזען דעם פאקט אז די אטעריקאנער רעגירונג האט אין דער פארגאנגענהייט נישט שטארק אכטונג געגעבן דערויף אז די געפיהלען און דער ווילען פון אטעריקאנער זאלן און פון קאנדי גרעס זאלען געפינען וויער אויסדרוק אין דער פארווירקליכונג און טהאטען. צום באווייזען, איז עס צו אפט קלאר געווארען אז עס איז פאראן אן ערנסטער געגענווארן צווישען די אטעריקאנער אפיציעלע דערקלערונגען צו טונסטען פון א אידישער נאציאנאלער היים און צווישען די קאנקרעטע טהאטזאכען וואס זאלען די דאוויגע דערקלע-  
רונגען פארווירקליכען.

אויז איז דעם פרעזידענט'ס דעקלאראציע פון סערין 1944, אז די פאראייניגטע שטאטען האבען קיינמאל נישט נומערהייסען דעם „ווייסען פאפיר“ און אז פילע גערעכטיגקייט וואל נעמאן ווערען לנבי די וועלכע שטרעבען צו דער שאפונג פון א אידישער נאציאנאלער היים, נישט נאכגעפאלגט געווארען דורך אירגענד וועלכער אפיציעלער רעפרעזענטאציע צו דער בריטישער רעגירונג. להיפך, עס האט זיך כמעט געשאפען דער איינהרוק, אז כדי מען וואל נישט דענקען אז די אטעריקאנער רעגירונג נעמט אן א נייע ריכט-ליניע לנבי ארץ-ישראל, האט דער ספייט דעפארטמענט אפגעשיקט א טעלעגראמע מיט דער נומערהייט פון דעם פרעזידענט צו די הויפטען פון די אראבישע לענדער, באגלייגנדיג צו זיי די פריהערדיגע פארוויכערונגען, אז קיין שום נומערהייט ווענען ארץ ישראל וועט נישט נעמאכט ווערען אהן דער פילער באראטונג מיט אראבער און אידען. דאס וועלכע איז געשען נאך פרעזידענט רוזוועלט'ס אויסגעזייכענטער דערקלע-  
רונג צו דער קאנווענשאן פון דער אטעריקאנער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע, דעם 15-טען אקטאבער, 1944. זי איז נישט נאכגעפאלגט געווארען דורך קיין שום טהאטזאכעליכער האנדלונג און אקציע. להיפך, זיי שוין אנגעהויבען, ווען באטיהונגען ווינען נעמאכט געווארען כדי אויסצוגלייכען די ארץ ישראל-דעקלאראציע אין קאנגרעס, נאך דעם-זיי זי איז צוריקגעצויגען געווארען צוליב דער גענעראלע פון קריגס-סיניסטישע, האבען ביידע, דער פרעזידענט און דער ספייט-סעקרעטערי סטעיניוס, ארויסגעוויזען נענען דעם א שטארקע אפאזיציע. די זאך איז ארויסגעקומען אין דער גענעראלייזאציע, ווען

## אמעריקאנער קאנגרעס נעמט אן די ארץ ישראל רעזאלוציע.

די ארץ ישראל רעזאלוציע איז דערויף ווידער אריינגעטראגן געווארען אין קאנגרעס מיט געוויסע ענדערונגען און דאס סאל איז נאך א קורצען „פארהער“ אין דעם סענאט קאסיטעט פאר אויס- לענדישע אנגעלעגנהייטען וואו די ציוניסטישע פאזיציע איז ווידר- זאם פארטרעטען געווארען פון מר. עמנואל גיוסאן און נאך אן אויס- פיהרליכע דעבאטע אין סענאט שליסליך אנגענומען געווארען מיט אן איבערדוועלטיגענדער צאל שטימען דעם 17טען דעצעמבער 1945 אין סענאט און דעם 19טען דעצעמבער 1945 אין קאנגרעס. די געטייגטע רעזאלוציע פארענדיגט זיך ווי פאלגט: ...

... דערפאר באשליסט דער סענאט (אין איינסלאנג מיט דער אפי- שטימונג פון קאנגרעס) אז דער אינטערעס וואס דער פרעזידענט ווילט ארויס פאר דער לייזונג פון דעם פראבלעם ווערט אנערקענט מיט לויב און אז די רעגירונג פון די פאראייניגטע שטאטען זאל באנוצען איהר איינפלוס ביי דער מאנדאט מאכט מיט דעם צוועק אז ארץ ישראל זאל געשפענט ווערען פאר פרייע אריינגאנג פאר אידען אין דעם דאזיגען לאנד ביז צו דעם מאקסימום פון איהרע לאנדווירטשאפטליכע און עקאנאמישע מעגליכקייטען און אז פולע געלעגענהייטען זאלען דארטען געגעבען ווערען פאר קאלאניזאציע און ענטוויקלונג אזוי אז זיי זאלען קענען פריי אננעמען מיט דעם אויפבוי פון ארץ ישראל אלס די אידישע נאציאנאלע היים און געמיינזאם מיט אלע עלעמענטען פון דער באפעל- קערונג מאכען פון ארץ ישראל א דעמאקראטישע קאמאנוועלט וואו אלע אהן אונטערשייד פון ראסע אדער גלויבען. זאלען האבען גלייכע רעכט.

דאס דורכגעהען פון דער ארץ ישראל רעזאלוציע אין אמעריקא- נער קאנגרעס און סענאט האט אזוי ארום באשפעטיגט אז אלע אוי- בענדערשאפטע עפענטליכע ערקלערונגען פאר דער אונטערשטיצונג פון ציוניזם זיינען דער יחוד פאר דעם אמעריקאנער ריכטליניע ווענען דער ליידינג פון דער ארץ ישראל פראגע.

### די האלטונג פון דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג

ניט קוקענדיג אויף די קלארע אפיציעלע פארויסקערונגען צו אונ- טערשטיצען די ציוניסטישע פאזיציע, וואלט עס אבער נישט געהאט



זיין צו אינטערוויערען אין דער ארץ ישראל-פראגע און אויך א סוף צו מאכען צו א צושטאנד פון געפערליכער אומאקסיוויטעט.

## די קאנפערענץ פון די "יוניטעד ניישאנס" אין סאן-פראנציסקא

**פארט־עטער** פון דעם אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישען עטערדזשיענסי קאמיטיל האבען געשפילט א גאר טעטיגע ראלע אין בשותפות'דיגער ארבייט מיט דער אידישער אנגעטור פאר ארץ ישראל, ווענדט צו באשיצען די אידישע רעכט אין ארץ ישראל ביי דער קאנפערענץ פון די פאראייניגטע פעלקער, וואס איז אפגעהאלטען געווארען אין סאן-פראנציסקא, אפריל און מאי, 1945. די ציוניסטישע פארשטעהער זיינען געווען אין כסדר'דיגער באזירונג מיט אלע וויכטיגע דעלעגאטן, פארשפרייטענדיג פארטיי-צונעגרייטע פעסאראנדומס און א גרע ווערפולע שריפטליכע מאטעריאלען, וועלכע האבען אינפאר-סירט די דעלעגאטן איבער דעם ציוניסטישען שטאנדפונקט. אט די ארבייט אין געווען אזוי דערפאלגרייך, אז א ספעציעלער באווארד-נונגס-פונקט איז צוגעשטעלט געווארען צו ארטיקל 80 פון דעם טראסטטיש-טייל פון דעם פארטער פון דער ניוער אינטערנאציאנאלער ארגאניזאציע, מיט דעם צוועק צו פארזיכערען די אידישע רעכט אונטער דעם פאלעסטינא מאנדאט. דאס, פארשטעהט זיך, פאר-ענטפערט נישט די פונדאמענטאלע פראגע אין שייכות מיט דער פאלי-טישער עקזיסטענץ און זיכונג פון דעם אידישען פאלק אין זיין נא-ציאנאלער היים, ווייל אזא ענטזשלינגע קנטשיידונג איז נישט געווען די אויסגאבע פון איז געווען אויסער די גרעניצען פון דער סאן-פראנ-ציסקא קאנפערענץ, וועמעס צוועק עס איז געווען צו באהאנדלען אלגעמיינע פרינציפיעלע, נישט קיין איינצעלנע ספיריטואלע געגעני-שטאנדען. גלייכצייטיג איז די איינשליסונג פונ'ם באווארענונגס-פונקט פארם זעהר וויכטיג, ווייל איינשליסענדיג אט דעם פונקט פאר ספעציעלע אידישע רעכט אין שייכות מיט ארץ ישראל, קען עס ווע-רען א באזיס פאר אן אלגעמיינעם פרינציפ-טייל פון טראסטטיש צו רעספעקטירען אומאפהענגיגע טעריטאריעס אין אלגעמיין.

דער סטייט-סעקרעטערי בוירנס האט אין אקטאבער 1945 פארעפענטליכט דעם בריעף-אויסמויש צווישען פרעזידענט רוזוועלט און קעניג איבן סאאוד. געטענדיג א שטעלונג צו דעם דאזיגען בריעף-אויס-מויש, האט דער עטערדזשענסי קאנסיל פארעפענטליכט א ערקלערונג, וואס איז שטארק פארשפרייט געווארען, און אין דער דאזיגער ערקלערונג ווייזט דער קאנסיל דערויף אן, אז נישט קוקענדיג אויף די שטענדיג ווידערהאלטע פרא-ציוניסטישע הבטחות און דער קלערונגען פון דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג, וויינען זיי קיינמאל נישט פארזיידקליכט געווארען אין לעבען, און אן פארקערט, דורך צאל-רייכע האנדלונגען און פארפעסלונגען ס'זיך דער רעגירונג וויינען די אראבישע פיהרער געשטארקט געווארען אין גלויבען, אז די אמעריקאנער רעגירונג האלט אין אמת'ן גאר צוריק איר אונטערשטיצונג פון די ציוניסטישע פארערוונגען. די ערקלערונג פון דעם עטערדזשענסי קאנסיל, וואס איז פארעפענטליכט געווארען אין דער פארם פון א בריעף צום סטייט סעקרעטאר, האט געגעבען א גענויעם איבערייכט איבער דער לאגע אין ליכט פון איבן סאאוד'ס בריעף און איז געקומען צו דעם באקענטמאכען איינפיהר, אז ווארשיינליך פון לענדער, וועלכע האבען אפילו נישט צוגעלייגט קיין פינגער פאר וויער אייגענער פארשיידענע אין דער צייט פון דער מלחמה, האבען קיין רעכט נישט אפצולייסען די רעגירונג פון די פאראייניגטע שטאטען פון א גערעכטער זאך, וואס האט באקומען די צוטייטונג פון דער איבער-וועקערער סערהייט פון אמעריקאנער פאלק.

עס שיינט צו זיין קלאר, אז ערשט שפעט אין אויגוסט 1945 האט די אמעריקאנער רעגירונג גענומען וועלכע נישט איז שריט אדער גע-סאכט רעפרעזענטאציעס צו דער בריטישער רעגירונג מיט'ן פאר-שלאג, אז זי זאל עפענען די טויערען פון ארץ ישראל פאר אידישער איינוואנדערונג און דערפילען די פארפליכטונגען וואס זי האט אויף זיך געבומען. אין יענעם חודש האט אויך פרעזידענט טרוטאן אפגע-שיקט צו פרעמיער מיניסטער אמלי זיין איז-באריסטען בריף מיט דעם באטראג אז 100,000 סערטיפיקאטען זאלען באווייליגט ווערען פאר דער איינוואנדערונג פון אידען קיין ארץ ישראל. אזוי ארום איז געמאכט געווארען דער ערשטער שריט אין דער ריכטונג אק-

פארנעמען מיט דער פראגע פון אידישע סליכטלינגע און אידישער איד מינאציע. אלע די דאזיגע פארוועקע האבען זיך בענדיגט מיט א דורכ-פאל. די טויערען פון ארץ ישראל זיינען נאך אלץ געבליבען אונגע-זעצליך פארשלאסען פאר אידישער איינזאנדערונג דורך דער ענגלישער רעגירונג. וועלכע ווענדט נאך אלץ אן דעם „וויסען פאפיר“ פון 1939. מיר בעטען אייך מער נישט פארטצוועצען קיין ווייטערע קאמיסיעס און פארשונגען אויף דער רעכענונג פון מענשליכע לעבענס און מענש-ליכע מאטערישע. וועלכע זיינען שוין גאנץ גוט באוואוסט. „זאט עס דארף בעטאן ווערען. איז נישט קיין ווייטערע עקספעדי-ציעס אין צייט פארשווענדעדישע אונטערזונגען. נאך צו נעמען קאג-קרעט שריט אין איינקלאנג מיט דער ריכטלינג וואס איז שוין לאנג עטאבלירט און קלאר אויסגעדרוקט געווארען אין די אינטערנאציאנאלע פארשענדונגען. קיין אנדער פארשטענדיגונג קען נישט אנגענומען ווערען. וואס איז נישט אין איינקלאנג מיט דער אינטערנאציאנאלער אנער-קענונג און רעכט פאר א נאציאנאלער אידישע הויז אין ארץ ישראל. אט די אלע קאמיסיעס, אויב נישט באגרינדעט אויף די געזעצליכע און פאר-ליטישע רעכט פון אידישען פאלק אין זיין אייגען לאנד. איז זיי זיך צו לאזען אויפ'ן גרויסען ים אהן א קאמפאס און אהן אן האפען וואו צו אנקע-רען. עס איז זיכער, אז קאמיסיעס קענען נישט פארנעמען דעם פלאץ פון טהאטען וועלכע זיינען אהיי קלאר אנגעצייכענט.“

נאך א סטייטמענט אין ארויסגעגעבען געווארען פונ'ם קאונסיל אין נאיוועמבער דעם 14-טען, 1945, אלס ענטפער אויף דער באקאנט-סאכונג ווענען דער באשטימטונג אן אויספארשונגס קאמיטעט, און ווע-נען די באגערקונגען וואס דער ענגלישער אייסקערן מיניסטער פאר בע-זין האט דערביי געמאכט.

דער אויספארשונגס-קאמיטעט האט געעפענט די פארהערען אין וואשינגטאן אין יאנואר, 1946. דר. סילווער איז געווען מיט דער מיי-נונג, אז דער קאמיטעט איז בלויז א מיטעל און איסרייד כדי צו פאר-ציהען די אמת'ע ארבייט און גארנישט מאן, און האט דערפאר גערעסען דער באוועגונג צו איינפירען דעם קאמיטעט אין נישט אויפטרעטען פאר איהם, דאך אין איינקלאנג מיט דער ענטשיידונג פון דער ציו-ניסטישער וועלט-עקזעקוטיווע צו קאאפערירען מיט דעם קאמיטעט, איז א רעפרעזענטאציע פון דעם ציוניסטישען עמגרודזשענסי קאונסיל ערשינען אויף די ויצונג פונ'ם קאמיטעט צוזאמען מיט אנדערע ציו-ניסטישע פיהרער. פארלייגענדיג וויכטיגע דאקומענטען אין ווערט-פולע אינפארמאציע ווענען די פראבלעמען וועלכע זיינען געווען פון איי-נערעם פאר דעם קאמיטעט.

## ענגליש-אמעריקאנער אויספארשונגס קאמיטעט

אין אויגוסט און אין סעפטעמבער 1945 איז געווארען קלאר, אז די ארבייטער-דענירונג אין ענגלאנד וואלט זיך ארויסצודרעהען פון אירע אייגענע פארשפרייטונגען און צוואנגען פון א בך יאהרען פריהער איי-דער וי איז געווארען די ארבייטער-דענירונג אין שייכות צו דער איי-דישער נאציאנאלער היים. סעפטעמבער דעם 23-טען האבען דר. סילווער און דר. וויין ארויסגעגעבען א סטייטמענט, אז אידען וועלען באקעמפן ביי צו דער ביטערער קינד דעם באשלוס פון ענגלאנד אג-צוהאלטען ווייטער דעם „ווייטען פאפיר“. כוי צו לאזען הערען די שטימע פון די אמעריקאנער אידען ווענען דעם ענגלישען פארראט, איז ספאנטאן אראנושירט געווארען פאר סעפטעמבער דעם 30-טען א ריזיגע דעמאנסטראציע אין סעדיסאן סקווער נאדדען מיט 20,000 מענטשען אינגעווייניג און 45,000 אדער מער, ארום נאדדען. מאסען-דעמאנסטראציעס זיינען אויך אפגעהאלטען געווארען אין דרייסיג אנדערע צענטערס איבער'ן לאנד. אין אנדערע שטעט ויינען די ענגלישע קאנסולאטען געווען באלאדען מיט פיקעטס, א חודש שפע-טער איז, ווי שוין דערמאנט, אפגעהאלטען געווארען א ריזיגע דעמאנ-סטראציע אונטער'ן פרייען הימל אין סעדיסאן סקווער פארק מיט אן עולם פון אריבער צוויי הונדערט טויזענט מענטשען.

## נאך א צייט-פארשווענדערישע אונטערזוכונג

אין דער וועלכער צייט איז באריכטעט געווארען אין דער פרעסע, אז אן ענגליש-אמעריקאנער אויספארשונגס-קאמיטעט ווערט באשטימט אויסצונאָרשען די לאגע פון די אידען אין אייראפא און אויך די סי-טואציע אין ארץ ישראל. אקטאבער דעם 30-טען האבען דר. סילווער און דר. וויין, ביידע פארויצענדע פונ'ם קאנסיל, איבערגעגעבען צו פרעזידענט טרוטאן א סטייטמענט פון וועלכען אינ'ם ליכט פון די פא-סירונגען איז אינטערעסאנט צו ציטירען פאלגנדעס:

„זינט די לעצטע זיבען יאר, זיינען שוין געווען דריי גרויסע רעגיר-רעגס-קאנסערוועטען אין קאמיטעט — א חוץ אונזער אייגענעם ראטה פאר סלחמה-פליכטלינגע. וואס איז באשטימט געווארען אין 1944, זיך צו

רעטאר אין פארבינדונג מיט די נייע באראמונגען וואס ווערען פאר-  
געשלאגען. מאכענדיג קלאר, אז אס די באראמונגען האבען נאכמיט  
צו זאן מיט דער רעקאמענדאציע פון דעם ענגליש-אמעריקאנעם קאמיטעט  
אריינצולאזן 100,000 אידען. אין דער טעלעגראפע איז אויך אויס-  
געדריקט געווארען איבערראשונג און באדויערען, וואס אין געגענואסן  
צום פרעזידענט'ס פארלאנג צום ענגלישען פרעזיער אריינצולאזען  
הונדערט טויזענט אידען אין ארץ ישראל, לויט דער איינשטימונגער  
רעקאמענדאציע פון דעם ענגליש-אמעריקאנעם קאמיטעט, שטאכטען  
נאך, איצט, 8 חדשים נאכ'ן פרעזידענט'ס פארלאנג, די אומגליקליכע,  
לעבען-געבליבענע אידען פון נאצי-גיהנום, אין די קאנצענטראציע-  
קעמפס. אכטטאט דאס באלייגט אריבערפיהרען די 100,000 אידען  
קין ארץ ישראל, האלט מען אין איין אפלייגען מיט דעם כלומר'שטען  
אייסרייד פון דער גויסווענדיגקייט פאר נייע באראמונגען.

די ועלכע קריטיק איז אויך איינגעדריקט געווארען אין אן ענט-  
פער צום סטייט-דעפארטמענט אייף א קאמוניקאציע וואס מיר האבען  
דערהאלטען סיי דעם 20-טען, וואו מיר וויינען איינגעלאדען געוואר-  
ען צו געבן אונזער מיינונג אין מאכען פארשלאגען אין שייכות מיט  
דעם באריכט פון דעם ענגליש-אמעריקאנעם אויספארשונגס-קאמיטעט.  
מיר האבען אנגעוויזען, אז די רעקאמענדאציע גלייך אריינצולאזען  
הונדערט טויזענט אידען קין ארץ ישראל, האט בלויז באשטעטיגט דעם  
פרעזידענט'ס פארלאנג און אויך באשטעטיגט דעם באריכט פון מר.  
אוירל העריסאן און א ריזע אנדערע באריכט-אפגעבער. דער קאמי-  
טעט האט, אלזא, נישט אויסגעבראכט קיין שום נייע פאקטען, וועלכע  
וויינען נישט גאוואוסט. אנדער די אויסשטענדען וויינען ווייטערע מיי-  
נונגען און פארשלאגען ווערטלאז, עס וועט בלויז פארטונקלען און צו-  
מישען די אמת'ע אויפגאבע, וואס איז שוין לאנג ועלבסטפארשטענד-  
ליך און קלאר.

## דער מאריסאן-פלאן און דער אמעריקאנער אפרוח

**דעם 11טען יוני, 1946,** האט דער פרעזידענט באשטימט א ספע-  
ציעלען קאמיטעט-קאמיטעט, וואס וועל ויך אפגעבן מיט ארץ ישראל

כדי צו שמען אין פארבינדונג מיט דער ארבייט פונ'ם אויפפאר-  
שונגס-קאמיטעט דורך דער צייט, ווען זיינע סימבלישע האנדלען אנגע-  
פירט זייערע אויספארשונגען אין אייראפא און אין נאךגעטען מורח —  
זיינען געשאפען געווארען די מעגליכקייטען פאר די פארטרעטער פון  
דעם עטערדזשענסי קאונסיל, אומאפיציעל ביצואונאזיגען די ויצונגען  
פון דעם קאמיטעט אויף זייער רייזע, אום צו האלטען דעם קאונסיל אינ-  
פארטירט ווענען אלע ענטוויקלונגען, וואס וועלען אויפקומען ביי די פאר-  
הערען.

### דעם אויספארשונגס-קאמיטעט באדייכט און דער אפרוה פון אמעריקא

דער קאמיטעט-באדייכט איז ארויסגעגעבען געווארען סוף 1946  
ריל 1946. א קורצע צייט פריהער איידער דער באדייכט איז פאר-  
עפנטליכט געווארען, איז די פיהרער פונ'ם עטערדזשענסי קאונסיל  
שוין געווען באוואוסט, אז כאטש דער באדייכט ענטהאלט עטליכע פאר-  
זיטונג פארשלאגען, ווי די רעקאמענדאציע גלייך אריינצולאזען חוץ-  
דערט צווישענע אויסגעווארצעלטע אידען קיין ארץ ישראל און די אפי-  
שאפונג פונ'ם ווייסען פאפיר — זיינען אבער די רעקאמענדאציעס ניט  
געווען אועלכע, וועלכע דער ציטיוס וואל ווין וויליג אנצוקערקענען. אלס  
רעזולטאט פון א רעפרעזענטאציע, וואס איז גלייך געסאכט געווארען  
אין וואשינגטאן, האט דער פרעזידענט ארויסגעגעבן דעם אינהאלט  
פון באדייכט, איהם באגלייט מיט א וויכטיגען סטייטמענט, וואס האט  
באטאן דעם אינטערשיד צווישען די רעקאמענדאציעס פאר דער  
באלדימער צייט און פאר די וואס זיינען בארעכענט פאר א ווייטערער  
צוקונפט. אום דער סטייטמענט פון פרעזידענט האט באשאפען א בא-  
זיס פאר ווייטערדיגער ציוניסטישער טעטיגקייט אין די פאראייניגטע  
שטאטען, ביי עס איז באשאפען געווארען א נייע סימבאלישע סימן  
אנגעסען א רעזאלוציע דורך דער וועלט-עקזעקוטיווע אין אויגוסט 1946,  
אויסדריקענדיג די גרייטקייט צו פארהאנדלען אויף דעם באזיס פון א  
אידישען שטאט און א טייל פון ארץ ישראל. א מעלעגראמע איז אפי-  
נעשיקט געווארען דעם 18-טען מאי, 1946 צום עקסינג סטייטסעק-  
רעט.

קײן וואַשינגטאָן, וואו אַ דעפּוטאַציע פון ווי איז אויפגענומען געוואָרען פון פרעזידענט טרומאַן, פון אונטער-סעקרעטאַר פון סטעיט-דעפּאַרט-מענט סר. אַטשעסאָן, און פון דעם ענגלישען אַמבאַסאַדאָר לאָרד אינ-ווערטישאַפּעל, אָן איינדרוקספולע דעמאָנסטראַציע וואָס איז געווען ברייט באַריכטעט אין דער אַמעריקאַנער פרעסע, אין די נייַעס-פּיטלס אין די טעאָטערען, און איבער אַלע ראַדיאָ-סטאַנציעס. אַט די דעמאָנסטראַציע האָט אַ סך געהאַלטען אויפצואוועקען די עפּענטליכע סייטונג פונ'ם אַמעריקאַנער פּאָלק, פאַר די ציוניסטישע פּאַדערונגען.

### די לעצטע ענטוויקלונגען

**עטליכע חדשים פאַר די אַנקומענדע וואַהלען,** גאָוועמבער דעם 5טען, איז דער עסערדזשענסי קאונסיל אַרויסגעטראָטען מיט אַ גאַנצ-נאַצי-פאַרצווייגטען סעטינגקייטס-פראָגראַם, צו דעמאָנסטרירען די אוי-צופרידענהייט פון די אַמעריקאַנער אידען מיט דעם רעקאָרד פון דער רעגירונג אין וואַשינגטאָן אין שייכות מיט ארץ ישראל. אַ ספּע-ציעלע גרופּע — די ציוניסטישע גרופּע פאַר אַקציע — מיט ריכטער בערגאָרד א. ראָוקענבלאַט אַלס פאַרויצער, לואיס סענאַל אַלס קאָסירער און ראַביי סאַקס קירשבלום אַלס סעקרעטאַר, האָט זיך געשאַפּען, כדי אַנצופירען אַ סעטינגקייט פאַר אַ סאַסען-אינפאַרמאַציע, אויפצוקלערען דעם אַמעריקאַנער עולם וועגען דעם פּעהלער פון דער אַמעריקאַנער רעגירונג, צי רעאגירען זיי געהעריג בנוגע אייגענע פאַרשפּרעכונגען וועגען ארץ ישראל. עס איז געווען קלאַר, אז אין אויפהויבען די שטימע אַנטקעגען דער אַמעריקאַנער רעגירונג פאַר דער באַלדיגער דורכפירונג פון די דאָזיגע פאַרשפּרעכונגען, האָט דער עסערדזשענסי קאונסיל געהאַט די אונטערשטיצונג און שטאַטטע פון גרעסטען טייל פונ'ם אַמעריקאַ-נער פּאָלק.

דער רעזולטאַט פון דעם דאָזיגען קאַספּיי, האָט זיך טאַקע גלייך אָפּגעשפּיגעלט אין די שוויט וואָס די רעגירונג האָט גענומען אין פאַר-לויף פון חודש אַקטאָבער, 1946. דעם 4טען אַקטאָבער האָט פרעזידענט טרומאַן אַרויסגעגעבען אַ סטעיטמענט, אין וועלכען ער האָט דערקלערט, אז: „א גרעסערע אימיגראַציע קײן ארץ ישראל קען נישט וואַרטען ביז

און איהרע שייכות'דיגע פראבלעמען. דער קאמיטעט איז באשטאנען פון דעם קריגס-מיניסטער און פינאנץ-מיניסטער. דער ציעל איז געווען צו העלפען דעם פרעזידענט אין דער באלידענער באטראכטונג פון די רעקאמענדאציעס פון דעם ענגליש-אמעריקאנער אויספארשונגס-קאמיטעט, אין אנבליק פון דער דרינגליכער נויטווענדיקייט צו לייזען וואס זיכער דעם פראבלעם פון די אידען אין אייראפא און אין א"י. פאר דעם צוועק זיינען אמעריקאנער טעכניקער-עקספערטען געשיקט געווארען קיין לאנדאן אויסצוארבייטען מיט די ענגלישע עקספערטען די בעסטע סיטלען און וועגען. ווי אזוי אריבערצושיקען די הונדערט טויזענט אידען קיין ארץ ישראל. ענדליך האבען זיי די דריי אמעריקאנער קאבינעט מיטגלידער מיט מר. הענרי גריידי בראש, צוזאמענגע-געטראפען מיט דער ענגלישער גרופע צו פארהאנדלען וועגען דער דורכ-פירונג פון די רעקאמענדאציעס פון דעם אויספארשונגס-קאמיטעט. דער רעזולטאט פון די פארהאנדלונגען איז געווען דער גריידי-מאריסאן בא-ריכט, וואס האט זיך ראדיקאל אנטערשיידען פון די רעקאמענדאציעס פון דעם אויספארשונגס-קאמיטעט. דער גריידי-מאריסאן פארשלאג, פאר „פראווינציאלע איםאנאמיע" אין ארץ ישראל, האט געוואלט אריינקוועטשן דעם אידישען ישוב אין „גאנצע" 1400 סקווער מייל; און וואס ס'איז שוין וועגען אימיגראציע וועט זי אלץ נאך זיין אפהענגיק פון דער ענטשיידענדער באשטימונג פון דער סאנדאט סאכט. אט דער פארשלאג פון דעם פאראייניגטען קאמיטעט, האט ארויסגע-רופען א שטארקע פארביסערונג און גענעטהאנדלונג ביי די ציוניסטען אין אמעריקע. עס זיינען גלייך געטוטען געווארען ענערגישע שריט אין וואשינגטאן, און אבסער דעם דרוק פון דער אמעריקאנער עפענמליי-כער מיטונג, האט דער פרעזידענט זיך אפגעזאגט צו געבען זיין הסכמה צו אים דעם פלאן.

אין דעם אויסדיקליכען פארלאנג פון אמעריקאנער אידען, גלייך אריינצולאזען די ארמעניאנערעלסטע אידען פון אייראפע קיין פאלעס-טינע, האט דער קאנסיל באקומען א סך שטיצע און קאאפעראציע פון די אידישע סלחמה-עמעראנען פון די פאראייניגטע שטאמען. ביי א סלחמה-וועמעראנען פון דער ערשטער און צווייטער וועלט-סלחמה, האבען דעם 14טען יולי, 1946 זיך פאראייניגט אין א פראטעסט-מארש



קען אזוי ווייטער נישט אנגעהן. די רעגירונג מוז מאַכען אלע אנשטרענגונגן  
 גען, אז איהרע צוזאגען זאלען פארוואנדעלט ווערען אין טאטען"  
 אַקטאָבער דעם 25טען, האָט דער סטייט־סעקרעטאַר מר. בוירנס גע-  
 מאַכט אַן עפענטליכען סטייטמענט, אין וועלכען ער האָט אָפּגעלייַקענט, אַז  
 דער סטייט־דעפּאַרטמענט נישט נישט קיין שטיצע דער ריכטליניע פון דעם  
 פרעזידענט'ס ארץ ישראל פּאָליטיק. אין אַ ברייף צו דר. ווייז, האָט מר.  
 בוירנס דערקלערט, אַז „דער סטייטמענט וואָס איז געמאַכט געוואָרען פון  
 פרעזידענט אַקטאָבער דעם 4טען אין שייכות צו ארץ ישראל און אידישער  
 איינוואַנדערונג איז, פאַרשטעהט זיך, אַן אויסדרוק פון דער פּאָליטיק פון  
 דער רעגירונג. מיט אַז דער פּאָליטיק בין איך אין האַרציגער איינ-  
 שטימונג".

אַבער די אַמעריקאַנער ציוניסטען פאָדערען קאָנקרעטע האַנדלונגען  
 פון דער אַמעריקאַנער רעגירונג. און אַקטאָבער דעם 28טען האָט פרע-  
 זידענט טרוּפּאָן פאַרעפּענטליכט דעם סעקסט פון זיין ברייף צו קעניג  
 איבן סאַאוד אין וועלכען ער דערקלערט: „ס'איז נאָך נאָכטאָגליך....  
 אז די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירונג זאל אין דער איצטיגער צייט זיין נישטמיט  
 געשטימט פאַר דער פאָדערונג אַריינצולאָזען קיין ארץ־ישראל אַ באַ-  
 דייטענדע צאָהל אויסגעוואַרצלעטע אידען פון אייראָפּע, וואו זיי זאלען  
 שאַפּען נישט נאָר אַ צופּלונגס־אַרט, נאָר וואו זיי זאלען אויך קענען  
 ביישטייערען מיט זייערע פּענהינקייטען און ענערגיעס צו דער אויפ־  
 בויענע פון דער אידישער נאַציאָנאַלער היים".

נאָכמער, דער פרעזידענט האָט צוריקגעוויזען איבן סאַאוד'ס  
 באַשולדיגונגען אַנטקעגען די אידען דערקלערענדיג, אַז „ער איז זיכער,  
 אז פאַראַנשאַטליכע אידישע פיהרער האָבען נאָר נישט בדעה צו פאַ-  
 כען וועלכע עס איז אַנטקעגן געגען די אַראַבישע לענדער אין שכנות  
 פון ארץ ישראל".

ער האָט אויך צוריקגעוויזען איבן סאַאוד'ס באַהייפּטונג, אַז דעם  
 פרעזידענטס סטייטמענט ווידערשפּרעכט דער פאַרציע וואָס ער האָט  
 גענומען פריהער אין דער וועלכער פראגע.

דאָס איז געווען דאָס ערשטע מאַהל, וואָס דאָס אונבאַרעכטיגטע  
 אַריינמישען זיך פון איבן סאַאוד אין דער ארץ ישראל פראגע, איז גע-  
 קומפערט געוואָרען אויף אַ פאַסיגען און ווירדיגען אופן פון דעם פרע-  
 זידענט פון די פאַראייניגטע שטאַטען.

דער גאנצער ארץ ישראל-פראבלעם העט געלייזט ווערען — און מוז דעריבער גלייך אנגעהויבען ווערען. ווייטער זאגט דער פרעזידענט, אז: אין אנבאטראכט פון דער גרויסער אסעריקאנער געגענשאפט צום מאריסאן פלאן, קען ער נישט געבען נישט הסכמה צו דעם, ויך באציהענדיג אויף דעם פארשלאג פון דער אידישער אנקומה, אז: „ס'זאל באשאפען ווערען א לעבענס פעהיגער אידישער שטאט, מיט אן אייגענער דעה איבער אימיגראציע און עקאנאמיע אין א טייל פון ארץ ישראל אנשטאט אין גאנץ ארץ ישראל, האט דער פרעזידענט אויסגעדרוקט זיין גלויבן, אז א לייזונג אויף אזא אופן וועט קריגען די שטיצע פון דער עפענטליכער מיינונג אין די פאראייניגטע שטאטן.“

אין זיין ערקלעהרונג זאגט דער פרעזידענט ווייטער:

„איד קען נישט גלויבען, אז דער ריז צווישען די פארשלאגען, וואס זיינען געמאכט געווארען זאל זיין אזוי גרויס, אז מענטשען מיט שכל און משען ווילען זאלען נישט קענען בויען א בריק צווישען זיי. צו אזא לייזונג זאלט אונזער רעגירונג געגעבען איהר שטיצע.“

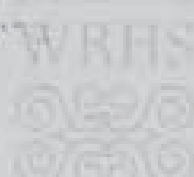
דער אפרוף פון די אסעריקאנער ציוניסטען צו אים דער דעקלערציע, איז געגעבען געווארען אין דעם סטיוטמענט פון דעם עסערוזשענסי קאונסיל דעם 1טען אקטאבער, וואו עס ווערט דעקלערט:

„מיט דעספערט און גרעסטען ערנסט ווענדען מיר זיך צום פרעזידענט אז באנוצען דעם איינפלוס און די אויטאריטעט פון זיין הויכען אסט, אלייך צו נעמען עפעקטיווע שריט דאס צו דערפילען און פארצענדערונג אינים גייסט פון זיין סטייטמענט. קיין אנדער זאך קען נישט צופרידענ' שטעלען דאס געוויסען פון דער עפענטליכקייט, אחוץ דאס אריינלאזען די היימלאזע און צויסגעווארצעלטע אידען קיין ארץ ישראל, און אז עס זאלען גלייך אפגעשטעלט ווערען די מעשי העתועים פון דער ענגלישער רעגירונג געגען די אידישע פליכטלינגע און די ברוטאלע אנפאלען אויפ'ן ישוב אין ארץ ישראל. נאר דאס אלייך וועט אנגענומען ווערען, ווי אן ערנסטער און געטוישענדער פארוואנדלונג אן נייע קאנסטרוקציע נייע פאליטיק, וואס זאל זיין אין איינקלאנג מיט דער סיטואציע, און וואס דער קריטישער מאמענט פאדערט...“

„אומגליקליכערדייזע, האבען די אלע דעפארטמענטן, וואס מיר האבען געהאט אין דער פארגאנגענהייט, אויפ'ן בלוז ווערען ביטערע ענטווישונגן, וועלכע האבען אויפ'ן געפיהרט צום באשלאג, אז ווי ערליך און פריינדליך געזינט די עפענטליכע מיינונג זאל נישט זיין, פארבעסערט עס נישט די לאגע. עס זעהט זיך מעהרער און בולטער ארויס דאס גרויזאמע פארארבעטן קענען א פאלק, וואס איז אויסגעוועזען צו דער גרעסטער ברוטאל' ייטעט פון מאסען-אויסשלאכטונג און כסדר'דיגער היימלאזקייט, דאס

נאך איך דעם גרויסען קוואל פון סימפאטיע און פריינדשאפט וואס  
 עקזיסטירט צווישען ברייטע שיכטען פון אמעריקאנערס פאלק אלס א  
 גאנצע סאר דעם אויפבויו און ענטוויקלונג פון דער אידישער גאציע-  
 גאלער היים דער קאנסיל באטראכט עס אלס זיין אויפגאבע פארט-  
 צועצען זיין טעטיגייט אין דער ריכטונג פון אינפארטירען און ער-  
 ציהען די אמעריקאנער עפענטליכע סיינונג כדי אז אמעריקע זאל  
 געבען דער שטרעבונג צו עטאבלירען די אידישע קאמאנוועלטס דעם  
 געוויכט פון איהר גרויסער מאראלישער און פאליטישער אויסאריסעס.

א. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	א. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
ב. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	ב. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
ג. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	ג. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
ד. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	ד. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
ה. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	ה. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
ו. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	ו. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
ז. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	ז. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
ח. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	ח. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
ט. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	ט. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס
י. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס	י. דער פאליטישער און מאראלישער אויסאריסעס



80

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## נאך די וואהלען

אין די וואהלען וואס וויינען פארנעקומען דעם 5-טען נאוועמבער, 1946, איז די רעפובליקאנער פארטיי ארויס די ווינערין. די רעפובליקאנער קאנסטאבלירען איצט ביידע הייזער, דעם קאנגרעס און סענאט, און וועלען דערפאר שפילען א וויכטיגע ראלע אין באשטימען די אמעריקאנער אויסלענדישע פאליטיק. די שמעלונג פון דער רעפובליקאנישער פארטיי אלס אויסנעהאלטענע שטיצער פון ציוניזם איז נישט באקאנט. צווישען איהרע איצטיגע פיהרער געפינען זיך שטאטמס-סענעט וועלכע וויינען באקאנט אין דער וועלט אלס באנייטערטע פארקעסער פון דער ציוניסטישער זאך. עס איז צו האפען, אז זייערע וואריסע ערקלעהרונגען וואס זיי האבען געמאכט אין דער פארגאנגענהייט, וועלען נאכגעפאלגט ווערען דורך באסיהונגען כדי צו באוועגן די אמעריקאנער רעגירונג צו שטיצען די פאדערונגען פון איר דישען פאלק מיט טהאטען אין אקציעס.

## דעוואטע

די שוידערליכע געשעהענישען אין פארלוף פון די לעצטע צעהן יאהר האבען ארויפגעלייגט אויף די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען א שיקאלשווערע פאראנמווארטליכקייט פאר דער צוקונפט פון איר דישען פאלק און פון ארץ ישראל. עס קען דערין קיין ספק נישט בא-שמעקן אז דאס אמעריקאנער אידענטום אלס א גאנצע איז טייער באוואוסטזיניג ווענען דער היסטארישער ראלע וואס עס האט אויס-צופיהרען. אין די באשלוסען וואס דארפען דערגרייכט ווערען בנוגע ארץ ישראל וועט דער איינפלוס פון דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג און דער אמעריקאנער געמיינליכער סיינונג געוויס זיין פון ענטשיידענדיגער באדייטונג.

דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עסטרודשקנטי קאונסיל האט זיך באמיהט צו דערהויבען און מאכען וואס ס'הער ווירקזאם נישט נאר דעם מאסען-סענטימנט פון אמעריקאנער אידענטום פאר ארץ ישראל

# אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל

האראלד ל. שאפירא, עקזעקוטיוו דירעקטאר

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AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue

New York 17, N. Y.

# **THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL**

**A REPORT OF ACTIVITIES**

**1940 — 1946**

# THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## A REPORT OF ACTIVITIES



1940 — 1946

Harold P. Mason



## ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COUNCIL

THE establishment of the American Zionist Emergency Council dates back to the beginning of World War II. Late in August, 1939, the 21st Zionist Congress met in Geneva. Its work was conducted in the shadow of the impending catastrophe, and was indeed cut short by the sudden closing of the international frontiers and the need for delegates to return to their homes without delay. At a meeting of the World Zionist Executive held in those last tense days, attended also by leaders of the American delegation to the Congress, the implications of the war crisis for the immediate future of the Zionist movement were considered, and it was decided, for the period of the war, to set up a special Emergency Committee in the United States.

The Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, as it was first called, was originally established with two purposes in view. The possibility was foreseen that, as a result of the war, the headquarters of the Zionist Organization in Jerusalem might, by reason of invasion or otherwise, be completely cut off from the rest of the movement. It was desirable, accordingly, that there should be in existence in America a body which could, if need be, assume the authority and the functions of Zionist leadership. But it was further recognized that, whether America entered the war or not, the attitude of that country was likely to be of decisive importance in determining the future of the Jewish National Home. With the eclipse of the Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe, the center of gravity for Zionism, outside Palestine, had moved clearly and unequivocally to the American continent. On American Zionists would now devolve duties and responsibilities, on the due discharge of which might well depend the fate of the Jewish people in Palestine. With this in mind, it was essential that an effective instrument be created, whose purpose it should be to bring home to the American public and to American political leaders the needs of the Jews as a people and the meaning of Palestine to the Jewish future. A major task of public relations, of political action and education was involved, requiring a concentration of all the available forces in American Zionism.

The first eventuality which the Executive had in mind in setting up the Emergency Committee was, happily, not realized. Despite periods of imminent danger, Palestine and the Yishuv remained safe during the war. Zionist communications by letter and cable with the rest of the Jewish world, outside of Europe, though subject to various wartime difficulties and restrictions, were maintained without interruption. In particular, the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem continued to function and from time to time sent out some of its leading members to guide and inform the movement abroad. It was, accordingly, on the second task—that of directing and coordinating Zionist public relations and policy in America—that the work of the Emergency Committee has been prima-



rily concentrated. The specifically American character of the Committee was emphasized by a change in title to that of the *American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs* (later contracted to "American Zionist Emergency Council"), as well as in the by-laws adopted in January, 1941. The Council today consists of twenty-six members. It comprises representatives of the Executive Committees of the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrahi and Poale Zion, together with a number of leading American Zionists nominated *ad personem*. The Council also includes a number of observers from other Zionist groups and from the members in America of the Zionist Actions Committee. In all, through its constituent and affiliated organizations, the Council represents bodies with a membership of more than 500,000.

A smaller Executive Committee which meets at frequent intervals carries on the business of the Council with responsibility to the full membership. In the initial period, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mr. Louis Lipsky and Dr. Solomon Goldman constituted a presidium at the head of the Council, and later Dr. Wise was nominated as its Chairman and Judge Louis E. Levinthal as Chairman of the Executive Committee.

During the earlier months of its existence, the Emergency Council functioned rather as an interparty body for receiving reports and for deciding on matters of common interest to the four constituent groups, than as the initiator and director of an active program of political action on the American scene. It was not till late in 1940 that a full-time Secretary was appointed and that the Council acquired offices of its own. The appointment, too, in January, 1941, of Mr. Emanuel Neumann as Executive Officer in charge of a Department of Public Relations and Political Action (a position from which he resigned in December, 1942), and of the late Rehavia Lewin-Epstein as Director of an Economic Department, marked an important development in the work of the Council.

#### **American Zionism Activized**

However, despite the fact that a number of important activities were initiated by the Council during this period, it was clear that Zionist political and public relations work was not being carried forward on the American scene with the required scope and effectiveness. The need for an over-all program of action to activate the American Zionist masses of all parties, and for strong centralized direction was widely recognized by the leaders of our movement in Palestine, London and the United States. Consequently, a complete reorganization of the Council was effected in August, 1943 when, at the request of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, as well as of Dr. Stephen S. Wise who had been serving as Chairman of the Council, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver accepted the leadership of American Zionist political and public relations work. Dr. Silver

became Co-Chairman of the Council with Dr. Wise, and Chairman of the Executive Committee.

With the object of initiating an extensive nation-wide public relations program, the Council was thoroughly reorganized, a much larger budget secured and its staff and scope of operations greatly enlarged. A number of special departments were established, headed by experts in their respective fields, including those dealing with Information, Community Contacts, Publications, Speakers, Research, Christian Opinion, American Jewish Religious Forces, Special Events, Labor Relations, etc. Of special significance was the establishment throughout the country of more than 400 local Zionist Emergency Committees, representing all Zionist parties, which were organized for political action and public relations activity in every major American community, and all of which continue to receive regular direction and guidance from the New York headquarters.

Thousands of editorials in papers ranging from country journals to metropolitan dailies, and innumerable telegrams and letters which bolstered the Council's work in Washington, as well as large numbers of rallies, radio addresses and articles by Jewish and non-Jewish leaders, testified to the new vitality permeating American Zionism following the reorganization of the Council.

## **POLITICAL REPRESENTATIONS**

Throughout its existence the Council has, through its representatives, been in communication with the Department of State in Washington (a permanent office of the Council, under the direction of Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, was established in Washington late in 1943), the British Embassy, or, on occasion, with the envoys of other foreign countries, in regard to various matters of political concern as they arose. Thus, representations were made and detailed memoranda submitted on such matters as the plan for the establishment of a Palestine Jewish Army; the questions associated with the transfer to Palestine of the 800 refugee children in Teheran to whom the Iraqi Government had refused transit facilities; the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine in general; and in particular the burning issue of the refugee ships — the *Struma*, the *Atlantic*, the *Patria* and so forth — with their tragic cargo of human beings fleeing the Nazi extermination camps; the repatriation of the Mauritius deportees; the Bermuda Conference; the question of Jewish representation at the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations; and, more recently, the demand for the immediate transfer to Palestine of 100,000 refugees from the German and Austrian camps; the indictment of the Mufti as a war criminal; and the question of the recognition of Transjordan as an independent state. Fundamental questions

concerning the political future of Palestine and its establishment as a Jewish Commonwealth were dealt with in comprehensive memoranda presented to the American authorities on a number of occasions. Among these were detailed statements submitted for the consideration of President Roosevelt and President Truman at the time of the Yalta and the Potsdam Conferences, respectively.

Among other matters with which the Council was concerned in the earlier part of the war was also the escape from unoccupied Europe of prominent Zionists who had obtained temporary haven in Soviet-occupied territory, in unoccupied France and elsewhere, for whom no possibility existed at the time to get to Palestine, and who were enabled to come to the United States. In this connection, the Council worked in close touch with the Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Refugees. The attitude of the State Department in this regard, which had originally been one of willing cooperation, underwent a change in September and October of 1940, when a virtual stop was put to the issuance of Emergency Visitors' Visas. Subsequently, however, there was some modification in the attitude of the Department and a small but steady stream of permits was issued to Zionist refugees on the initiative of the Council.

#### **THE BILTMORE CONFERENCE**

The wider issues of the post-war settlement in regard to Palestine began to come to the fore as a result of the calling together, at the instance of the Emergency Council, of the Extraordinary Zionist Conference which was convened at the Biltmore Hotel in New York on May 9-11, 1941. The Biltmore Conference, which undoubtedly marked a milestone in the development of Zionist policy, was significant as the first representative gathering in many years of all parties in American Zionism, and its importance was enhanced by the presence of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency, and of Mr. David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Executive. In its concluding Resolution the Conference was responsible for a clear and important enunciation of Zionist aims and principles, which has subsequently become famous as the Biltmore Resolution.

#### **AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE**

A further event of major importance in crystallizing and confirming American Jewish opinion on the Palestine issue was the inaugural gathering of the American Jewish Conference. The Conference, in the calling of which the American Zionist Emergency Council played an important role, met in the late summer of 1943, following several months of negotiations between Zionist and non-Zionist bodies. It constituted the first democratically-elected body, representative of the totality of American

Jewry and entitled to speak on its behalf, since World War I. The Conference was deeply concerned with the urgent problems of rescue and relief, but it saw them in their historic perspective, and devoted itself to the temporary as well as to the permanent solutions without sacrificing one to the other. The Resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority at the conclusion of the Conference, in effect registered the collective will of the Jews of America in support of the Biltmore Program. From that time on there could be no question that the Jews of America, as a group, were enthusiastically behind the Jewish Commonwealth program.

## **MASS DEMONSTRATIONS**

At different times the Zionist Emergency Council has been responsible for the holding (alone or with other bodies) of a number of great public meetings. The first of these demonstrations was that at Madison Square Garden, New York City, in July, 1941, in connection with the desperate plight of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. A similar gathering which drew a huge audience was held on the eve of the effective date of the White Paper, while another noteworthy mass rally, attended by some 60,000 people, took place in Lewisohn Stadium, New York, in April, 1945. Even this gathering was dwarfed, however, by a later open-air demonstration in Madison Square Park to protest British policy in Palestine, at which those present totalled more than 200,000. Such meetings in New York were generally followed or supplemented by other great gatherings in leading cities throughout the country. Further details on these and other demonstrations are included later in this report.

## **AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE**

Associated with the American Zionist Emergency Council in its efforts to present the Palestine issues before the public are two leading non-Jewish groups: the American Palestine Committee, founded in April, 1941 under the Chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner, and the Christian Council on Palestine headed by Dr. Henry A. Atkinson. The American Palestine Committee is composed of leading Americans distinguished in many walks of public life, who desire, through its medium, to signify their interest in and goodwill toward the movement to reestablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The membership of the Committee now exceeds 15,000, including 17 State Governors, 61 Senators, 150 Congressmen, as well as many others well known in the nation's civic and religious life.

The Christian Council on Palestine comprises a membership of 2,400 leading clergymen, representing all Christian denominations, and has taken an active part both in informing clerical groups and enlisting their support for the Jewish National Home.

In May, 1946, the two bodies merged as the American Christian



Palestine Committee. In addition to Senator Wagner and Dr. Atkinson as Founders and Honorary Chairmen, there were appointed as Co-Chairmen, Senator Owen Brewster, Senator James M. Mead and the Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss was appointed as Chairman of the Executive Council while Dean Howard M. LeSourd continued as Director of the joint organization.

The members of these bodies have been kept informed, by the circulation of memoranda and other material, of developments in the Palestine situation, and they have on various occasions taken action in support of the Zionist position. The American Palestine Committee has held a series of impressive annual dinners in Washington, attended by many distinguished Americans, as well as by the representatives of various foreign governments. Of special interest, too, have been the well-attended all-day discussion meetings associated with the more recent of these functions. In addition, the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine have sponsored a number of outstanding regional conferences on Palestine in several of the larger American cities, notably in New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, Houston and Philadelphia. These were addressed by prominent speakers and were attended by many tens of thousands of persons. Reference may also be made to the successful inception, during the last two years, in conferences held at Princeton and Ocean City, of annual seminars for speakers and others specially interested in a deeper study of the problems involved.

An important action initiated under the auspices of the American Palestine Committee as one of its earlier activities was the issuance of a Declaration signed by more than two-thirds of the Senate and approximately two hundred members of the House of Representatives, reiterating support of the Jewish National Home. The Declaration, entitled "The Common Purpose of Civilized Mankind," was published in many tens of thousands of copies and received wide distribution. It constituted a valuable pointer to Congressional opinion in connection with the introduction at a later date of the Palestine Resolution in the United States Congress.

**Congressmen,  
State Legislatures,  
Governors  
Pledge Support**

Again in 1944-1945, a "Letter to the President," urging action in behalf of Jewish settlement in Palestine and its establishment as a Jewish Commonwealth, was circulated among members of Congress and was signed by 55 Senators and 261 Representatives.

The growing public interest in the Palestine issue was further given expression by the passage of Resolutions by State Legislatures throughout the country in support of the Jewish National Home and of the reestablishment of the Jewish Commonwealth. No less than forty-one

State Legislatures, representing approximately 85% of the population of the United States, have adopted Resolutions along these lines.

This activity was supplemented by a Petition in similar terms signed by 40 State Governors and submitted to the President immediately prior to his departure for his historic conference with the British Prime Minister and Marshal Stalin in Berlin. The Petition was initiated under the sponsorship of Governor Moore of Utah, as Chairman of the Conference of State Governors, together with the Governors of New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut.

### **CLUB PROGRAM SERVICE**

The American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council jointly sponsor a lecture bureau, "Club Program Service," which stimulates an interest in the Palestine question on the part of community, college, church and women's groups, as well as radio broadcasting stations throughout the country, and also provides these groups with effective lecturers.

Club Program Service has also fostered the development of prominent non-Jewish platform personalities, and today has several hundred pro-Zionist Christian lecturers available to audiences in the United States. In this fashion the British and Arab anti-Zionist propagandists have been counteracted, and the Zionist position presented effectively throughout America.

### **INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE**

Early in November, 1945, there took place in Washington an International Christian Conference on Palestine, which was attended by representatives of no less than thirty nations. Among a number of distinguished guests who came to America to attend the Conference were Mrs. Lorna Wingate, widow of the British General, Orde Charles Wingate, and Senator Gonzalez Videla, recently elected President of the Republic of Chile. As a result of the Conference the "World Committee for Palestine" was established, with Sir Ellsworth Flavelle of Canada as Chairman. The World Committee for Palestine has been working in close association with the American Christian Palestine Committee and has concerned itself more particularly with the Latin American countries and Canada. The World Committee recently arranged for Dr. Gustavo Gutierrez, a prominent Cuban personality, who had become keenly interested in the problem of the Jewish people and of Palestine (which he has recently visited) to tour the South American countries, where he established many important contacts.

## **AMERICAN JEWISH TRADE UNION COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE**

Organized American labor, too, has made an important and positive contribution to the Zionist effort. Many labor leaders individually, as well as numerous trade unions, have placed themselves on record in support of Zionist aims. The American Jewish Trade Union Committee, headed by Mr. Max Zaritsky, has been especially effective in obtaining adherence to the Zionist program of the federated trade union groups. Indicative of the attitude of organized labor in behalf of Jewish aspirations in Palestine may be mentioned the following: On September 11, 1944, the New York State C.I.O. Conference adopted a resolution similar in terms to the Palestine Resolution then pending before Congress; on September 21, 1944 and October 23, 1945, the Ohio State Federation of Labor and the New Jersey State C.I.O. likewise adopted pro-Palestine resolutions; on November 13, 1944 the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously approved the Palestine resolution which was submitted to the Conference, and instructed its President, William Green, to use his good offices in behalf of the fulfillment of the purpose of the resolution. The Council of Industrial Organizations, at its National Convention, also placed itself on record in favor of the Palestine Resolution in Congress and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

The American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council have issued a considerable number of pamphlets which have been widely circulated. These include "The Voice of Christian America"; Sumner Welles' recent "Palestine's Rightful Destiny"; "The Arabs and Palestine" by Albert Einstein and Eric Kahler; "Before the Bar of History," a discussion of the Arab question by the Reverend Wendell Phillips; Professor Eduard Lindeman's "Palestine, Test of Democracy," and American editions of the Reverend Dr. Norman MacLean's scathing indictment of Britain's immigration policy under the White Paper, entitled "His Terrible Swift Sword," and of Victor Gollancz's "Nowhere to Lay Their Heads."

A large number of pamphlets were also issued by the American Zionist Emergency Council, and were distributed in many tens of thousands of copies to selected individuals and groups throughout the country. Some of these pamphlets are "Jews, Arabs and the Middle East" by Ephraim Broido; a legal memorandum on "Britain and Palestine" by Arthur Lourie; "We Do Not Want to Return to the Past" by Dr. Chaim Weizmann; "The Jewish Case," a statement prepared primarily for the delegates to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco; "Palestine in the Press"—being material from the American press of August 1946; Ernst Frankenstein's "Open Letter to Ernest Bevin"; an American edition of "Soldiers from Judaea," a description of the Palestine Jewish

Units by Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz, former Chief Chaplain of the British Eighth Army; and a jubilee edition of Herzl's "Jewish State." In addition, the Council has been actively concerned with the promotion of Ernst Frankenstein's "Justice for My People" (Dial Press), Professor Carl Friedrich's "American Policy Toward Palestine" (Public Affairs Press), Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk's now renowned volume "Palestine, Land of Promise" (Harper's), and "To Whom Palestine?" by Frank Gervasi (Appleton Century).

The Council publishes, further, a monthly bulletin of information and opinion called "Palestine," which is widely distributed among government, academic and journalistic circles. The Council was also responsible for the publication in 1945 of an important volume, "America and Palestine," which gives the history of America's deep and continuous interest in the Jewish National Home over a period of many years. The book includes all important documents bearing on the subject and records the opinions of over 400 members of the Congress of the United States at the time—77% of the entire body—in favor of Zionist aspirations.

#### **RESEARCH DEPARTMENT**

A Research Department of the Emergency Council was established in 1943 headed by Dr. I. B. Berkson, who directed its activities until 1946. This department proved an important adjunct to the work of the Council. It has had the use on loan of the valuable collection of the Esco Foundation, and has itself built up an extensive collection of documentary material relating to Palestine. The Research Department publishes a monthly review of developments with regard to Palestine, entitled "Palestine Affairs," which has been enthusiastically received in academic and other circles. The Zionist Archives and Library have also proved an invaluable supplementary source of reference and research.

#### **PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES**

The most important step taken by the American Zionist Emergency Council on the political front was the introduction of the Palestine Resolution in both Houses of Congress. In 1944, the effective date of the White Paper guillotine on Jewish immigration into Palestine was approaching. Not only was it timely that the Congress of the United States should again, after an interval of nearly a quarter of a century, place itself unequivocally on record in favor of Zionist aspirations, but the very discussion of our problem in this great forum of public opinion was in itself a political event. The Resolution served as a target, further, on which the Council could effectively concentrate its propaganda. It was a step taken only after long and critical deliberation and after a systematic canvass of Congressional opinion, both through the Local Emergency Committees and through the Washington Bureau, had been



made. The introduction of the Resolution in the House of Representatives was preceded by warm statements of endorsement on the part of the leaders of both of the great political parties. Similarly, the introduction of the Resolution in the Senate, under the sponsorship of Senators Wagner and Taft, was preceded by strong supporting statements by both the majority and minority leaders of that body. Hearings took place before the House Foreign Affairs Committee for four days in the month of February, 1944. The Zionist position was presented with great distinction by the Zionist leaders, including Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise, Mr. Emanuel Neumann, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mr. Herman Shulman, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mr. David Wertheim, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Dr. James G. Heller and others not directly associated with the Zionist organizations. The officially published reports of the Hearings, indeed, contain one of the most complete, well-documented and convincing statements of the Zionist case in existence. Magnificent support came from the Local Committees. From centers, large and small, throughout the country, hundreds of thousands of letters, postcards and telegrams poured in upon the Members of the Senate and the House. Congressmen were unanimous in stating that they had seldom seen such a remarkable expression of public interest in a piece of legislation.

**"Conspiracy  
of Silence"  
Broken**

One immediate result of all this was that the "conspiracy of silence" on the Palestine issue, which seemed to have developed in Washington, was effectively broken. Less than a year previously, there had even been the danger that an official demand might be issued, backed up by the authority of the chiefs of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, calling for a cessation for the time being of all discussion of the Palestine question. This proposal had been shelved only after the most strenuous efforts on the part of the then leaders of the Council. Now, Palestine was definitely placed on the agenda of public opinion as one of the vital issues of the hour, and the justice of the case for a Jewish Palestine was brought home to the American people as never before.

Unfortunately, at a critical moment in the consideration of the Resolution by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the War Department brought about a postponement of action on military grounds. It was nevertheless apparent to the National Administration that Congress was overwhelmingly in favor of the Resolution and that a large section of American public opinion was deeply concerned over the deferment of action on the measure. In response to this tremendous public pressure, the President, on March 9, 1944, issued what was the first clearcut expression of sympathy with Zionist aims to come from a leader of any of the great powers since the beginning of the war. The President

## REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORMS

authorized Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, Co-Chairmen of the Council, to issue in his name a public statement to the effect that "the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939 . . . and that when future decisions are reached full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home." The President's statement was the more significant coming as it did immediately following a series of protests to Washington from various Arab states expressing concern with the American attitude on the Palestine issue.

While Congressional action on the Palestine Resolution was for the time being deferred, the Council did not suspend its activities. In the summer of 1944 both the Republican and Democratic parties held their national conventions—prior to the national elections—and the Council therefore shifted its political front from Washington to Chicago, where these conventions were taking place.

In June, 1944, the Republican Party adopted a forthright plank on Palestine pledging unequivocal support to the full Zionist program. This was followed in July, 1944, by the Palestine plank in the platform of the Democratic Party, which put the party of the National Administration on record as follows:

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

These planks represented an act unprecedented in American political history and served dramatically to give notice that the American people were overwhelmingly in sympathy with the aims of the Zionist movement.

Subsequently, on October 15, 1944, in his historic message to the Zionist Organization of America, the late President Roosevelt gave his support to the plank in the Democratic platform and stated:

*"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as possible. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."*

This position was reaffirmed by the President on March 16, 1945—very shortly before his death. Five weeks later, on April 20, 1945, President Truman authorized the issuance of a statement to the effect that he intended to carry out President Roosevelt's policy, with which he was fully familiar.

**REINTRODUCTION  
OF THE  
RESOLUTION:  
RESIGNATION OF  
DR. SILVER**

In October 1944, the military objection to the passage of the Congressional Resolution was withdrawn. In the light of the planks adopted by both the Democratic and Republican Parties, as well as of the statement of October 15 of President Roosevelt, it was decided that an effort should be made to reopen the matter of the Congressional Resolution which had lain dormant since the previous March. Before taking action in the matter, however, clearance for the Resolution was sought from President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Stettinius; but, instead of the expected concurrence of the Administration, vigorous opposition on the part of the President and Mr. Stettinius was encountered. Late in November the Taft-Wagner Resolution, as it was called, came up for action again in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where it was considered at three successive meetings. The State Department and the President, however, remained obdurate in their position that the passage of the Resolution was inopportune. The matter came up for a vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on December 11, 1944. On this occasion Mr. Stettinius made the last in a series of personal appearances before the Committee, and, in the name of the National Administration, argued against its passage. Such pressure from the Executive branch of the American Government made it impossible to pass the Resolution, and it was finally tabled by a bare majority in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

A violent controversy had developed within the Council when the Administration's opposition to action on the Resolution was encountered. Some members of the Council thought it inadvisable to proceed with the matter and assured leaders of the Government that they would not press for the Palestine Resolution against the wishes of the Administration. Dr. Silver, supported by other members of the Council, took a different view of the situation. He felt that every effort should be made to induce the Administration to withdraw its opposition to the Resolution—which opposition was diametrically opposed to the stand taken publicly by President Roosevelt and his party.

Unfortunately, the proponents of these two different views also adopted conflicting procedures in Washington. Thus, while Dr. Silver sought to carry out the Council's decision to seek the removal of Administration opposition, other Zionist leaders informed official Washington that they were not pressing for the Resolution. Following the tabling of the Palestine Resolution, the far-reaching controversy within the Council culminated in the resignation of Dr. Silver from his position as Co-Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Executive Committee.

In the reorganization which followed, Dr. Wise was elected Chairman, and Dr. Hayim Greenberg became Chairman of the Executive

Committee, with the late Mr. Herman Shulman as Chairman of a small Administrative Committee.

The aforementioned controversy was not confined to the Zionist leadership, but also agitated the Zionist rank and file throughout the country. In the months that followed, the issues were debated throughout America and it became clear that the view represented by Dr. Silver—that favoring a program of militant political action to move the National Administration to follow a line in keeping with its own public pledges—was victorious in the arena of public opinion. The demand for a closing of Zionist ranks and for the recall of Dr. Silver to active leadership became ever more insistent, and finally, in July, 1945, there was a further reorganization. Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise became Joint Chairmen of the Council and Dr. Silver was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

#### **PASSAGE OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS**

The Resolution was subsequently reintroduced into Congress in somewhat revised form, and this time, after a further brief hearing in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where the Zionist position was effectively stated by Mr. Emanuel Neumann, and after a full debate on the floor of the Senate, was at length passed by overwhelming votes on December 17, 1945, in the Senate and on December 19, 1945, in the House. The Joint Resolution concluded as follows:

*"... Therefore be it RESOLVED by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."*

The passage of the Palestine Resolution by the Legislative branch of the United States Government thus confirmed as an expression of American policy all of the aforementioned public statements in support of Zionism. The Resolution also served notice on the British Government, as well as on the American National Administration, that the American people, speaking through Congress, continue to regard the international pledge of a Jewish National Home as morally and legally binding, and will seek its fulfillment.



## ATTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

Despite these striking expressions of official support for the Zionist position, it would be idle to ignore the fact that the Executive branch of the Government of the United States has not in the past been vigilant to secure that this sentiment of the American people and Congress should be reflected in action. Too often there has been an unfortunate contradiction between American official pronouncements favoring the Jewish National Home and concrete action towards their fulfillment.

Thus the declaration of the President of March 1944 that the United States had never approved the White Paper and that full justice would be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, was not in fact followed by any official representations to the British Government. Indeed, as if to indicate that it was not to be inferred from this declaration that the American Government was embarking on a new policy towards Palestine, a telegram was sent by the State Department, with the approval of the President, to the heads of the Arab countries, renewing assurances previously given that no decision on Palestine would be reached without full consultation between both Arabs and Jews. Similarly, President Roosevelt's admirable statement to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America of October 15, 1944, was not followed up by any action. On the contrary, as already indicated, when the Palestine Resolution was revived following the withdrawal of the objections of the War Department, strong opposition was encountered from the President and Secretary of State Stettinius. The matter was brought into the open in connection with the publication by Secretary of State Byrnes, in October, 1945, of the exchange of correspondence between President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud. In dealing with this correspondence, the Emergency Council issued a widely publicized statement in which it was pointed out that, despite the unbroken chain of pro-Zionist promises and pronouncements on the part of the American Government, the policy they expressed had not been translated into action and that, on the contrary, by numerous acts and omissions on the part of the Administration the Arab leaders had been emboldened to allege that the American Government was, in fact, withholding its support from the Zionist cause. The statement of the Emergency Council, which was issued in the form of a letter to the Secretary of State, went on to review the situation in the light of the Ibn Saud correspondence and concluded by pointing out that the menacing words of the spokesmen of countries which had not lifted a finger in their own defense during the war should not be allowed to deflect the United States Government from a just course of action which had received overwhelming endorsement on the part of the American people.

It seems clear that not until late in August, 1945 did the United States Government take any action or make any representations to the

British Government, either to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration or to live up to the obligations which it had assumed. In that month President Truman sent his now-famous letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that 100,000 certificates be granted for the immigration of Jews into Palestine. The first real step forward was thus taken in the direction of intervening actively in the Palestine situation and of putting an end to what had developed into a dangerous stalemate.

### **THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE AT SAN FRANCISCO**

Representatives of the American Zionist Emergency Council played a very active part, in collaboration with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in seeking to protect the rights of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in April and May, 1945. The Zionist representatives kept in close touch with developments in the Trusteeship and other relevant committees, and by establishing and maintaining contact with members of the key delegations, as well as by the circulation of specially prepared memoranda and other appropriate material, they kept the Conference delegates fully informed on the Zionist point of view. These efforts were successful, to the extent that a special safeguarding clause was eventually introduced into Article 80 of the Trusteeship Chapter of the Charter of the new International Organization, whose specific purpose it is to preserve existing Jewish rights under the Palestine Mandate. This does not, of course, provide an answer to the fundamental question regarding the political future of the Jewish National Home. Any decision on that question was outside the scope of the San Francisco Conference which was concerned with general principles and not with individual territories. At the same time the inclusion of the safeguarding clause was important, since without it the special rights and position of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine might well have been prejudiced by the statement of general principles laid down in the Trusteeship Chapter in respect to dependent territories as a whole.

### **ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY**

In August and September, 1945, it became evident that the Labor Government was about to repudiate the promises to which, as a party out of office, it had committed itself over many years in connection with the Jewish National Home. On September 23, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise issued a statement declaring that the Jewish people would resist to the bitter end the reported British decision to continue the White Paper policy. In order to give voice to the indignation of American Jewry at this betrayal of pledges, a demonstration was held at short notice at Madison Square Garden on September 30th, which was filled with a capacity audience of 22,000 together with a gathering outside of 45,000

more. Mass demonstrations were also held in approximately 30 other large centers throughout the country and in some cities the British Consulate was picketed. A month later a huge open-air demonstration (referred to earlier in this report) drew a crowd of 200,000 people to Madison Square Park.

**"Another  
Time-Consuming  
Investigation"**

At about this time reports appeared in the press to the effect that an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was to be set up to investigate the position of the Jews of Europe, as well as the situation in Palestine. On October 30, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, as Joint Chairmen of the Council, submitted a statement to the President from which, in the light of subsequent events, it is of interest to quote the following:

*"Within the last seven years, three major intergovernmental Conferences and Committees, in addition to our own War Refugee Board appointed in 1944 and already dissolved, have sought to deal with the question of Jewish refugees and of Jewish immigration . . . Each of these efforts ended in dismal failure, stemming from the central assumption that the doors of Palestine, unlawfully barred to Jewish immigration by the British Government under the terms of its White Paper of 1939, must remain barred. . .*

*"We beg of you not to countenance further commission; and inquiries at a continued cost in human life and human misery, which can only ascertain facts already well known.*

*"What is urgently needed, is not another roving expedition or a further time-consuming investigation, but immediate concrete measures in conformity with a policy long established and clearly defined by valid international agreements. No inquiry can be acceptable which does not base itself on the internationally recognized right of the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine. For such an International Commission to set out upon its quest without reference to these basic legal and political considerations, is to embark upon a sea, without chart or compass, without a point of departure or a port of destination . . . It is evident that commissions are no substitute for action clearly indicated."*

A further statement was issued by the Council on November 14, 1945, in response to the announcement of the appointment of the Committee of Inquiry and Mr. Bevin's accompanying remarks.

The Inquiry Committee opened its hearings in Washington in January, 1946. Dr. Silver was of the opinion that the Committee was a palpable delaying device and an excuse for inaction, and he therefore

urged that the movement should ignore the Committee and should not appear before it. However, in line with the decision taken by the World Zionist Executive to cooperate with the Committee, a full presentation of the Zionist case was made by representatives of the Emergency Council at the Committee's sessions in Washington. In addition to oral evidence by leaders of the Zionist movement in this country, printed briefs, including an excellent compendium of the relevant documents together with a brief running commentary, were submitted on different aspects of the problems with which the Committee of Inquiry was concerned.

In order to keep in touch with the work of the Committee of Inquiry as that body proceeded on its investigation in Europe and in the Near East, arrangements were made for representatives of the Emergency Council to attend the hearings of the Committee throughout its travels in an unofficial capacity, and to keep the Council informed of developments as they arose.

#### **Committee of Inquiry's Report: America's Reaction**

The Committee of Inquiry issued its Report at the end of April, 1946. Shortly before the publication of the Report, the leaders of the Emergency Council were apprised of its contents and it became clear immediately that while the Report had certain positive aspects—in particular a recommendation for the immediate transfer to Palestine of 100,000 Jews from the displaced persons' camps and the virtual abrogation of the White Paper—its long-term recommendations were not such as could commend themselves to the Zionist movement. In consequence of representations which were at once made in Washington, the President, in releasing the text of the Report, issued a statement which drew an important distinction between the immediate and the long-term recommendations. That statement formed the basis of further Zionist action in the United States until the new situation that was created by the adoption of the Resolution by the World Executive in August, 1946, expressing readiness to negotiate on the basis of a Jewish State in a part of Palestine. Thus on May 18, 1946, a telegram was sent by the Joint Chairmen of the Council to the Acting Secretary of State in connection with the new consultations which had now been proposed, urging that it be made immediately clear that the proposed consultations did not involve the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry for the immigration forthwith of 100,000 Jews. The telegram expressed astonishment and dismay that despite the admittedly urgent need for action to relieve the tragic plight of the survivors of Nazi terror; despite the lapse, further, of more than eight months from the President's initial request to the Prime Minister for their entry into Palestine; and finally despite the unanimous recommendation in this connection of the



Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, it appeared that instead of immediate action to transfer the 100,000 to Palestine, the whole matter would be further delayed and confused under cover of the alleged need for consultation.

The same criticism was expressed in response to a written communication subsequently received from the Department of State (May 20) inviting the comments or suggestions of the Council with regard to the various matters discussed in the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The Report, it was pointed out, in its recommendation for the immediate grant of 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine, while confirming the request of the President, had merely reaffirmed the findings of Mr. Earl Harrison and of numerous other official investigators. It had in this respect added nothing to facts well known at the time of its appointment. In the circumstances, further consultations and comments appeared meaningless except to produce delay where immediate action was called for and to confuse where the issue had long been altogether clear.

#### **Morrison Plan: American Reaction**

On June 11, 1946, the President appointed a Cabinet Committee on Palestine and Related Problems. The Committee consisted of the Secretaries of State, of War and of Treasury, and its stated purpose was to assist the President in the "early consideration of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry," in view of the urgency of the solution of various problems relating to the Jews in Europe and in Palestine. Thereafter, American technical experts were sent to London to work out with the British the logistics in connection with the transfer of the 100,000. And, finally, the Cabinet Committee dispatched its three deputy members, led by Mr. Henry F. Grady, to meet with a corresponding British group for the purpose of implementing the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. The product of these discussions, however, was the Grady-Morrison report, which represented a radical departure from the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. The Grady-Morrison proposal for a scheme of provincial "autonomy" in Palestine, in which the Jewish people would be restricted to an area of some 1,400 square miles, and in respect of which Jewish immigration would still be subject to the over-riding decision of the mandatory power, evoked the strongest reaction on the part of the Zionists of America. Immediate and energetic action was undertaken in Washington and under pressure of an aroused and indignant American public opinion, the President was dissuaded from giving American support to the scheme.

In expressing American Jewry's vigorous demand for immediate

action to admit the Jewish survivors of Europe into Palestine, the Council received magnificent cooperation from the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. Almost 5,000 veterans of World Wars One and Two converged on Washington on July 14, 1946 in a protest march against British policy in Palestine. The veterans' parade in Washington and their meetings with President Truman, Under-Secretary of State Acheson and Lord Inverchapel, the British Ambassador, were widely reported in the press, in newsreels and over the radio. This demonstration contributed greatly towards the mobilization of American public opinion in support of Zionist demands.

### THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

A few months prior to the recent elections of November 5, the Emergency Council launched a nationwide program of action to demonstrate American Jewry's deep dissatisfaction over the National Administration's record on Palestine. A special committee—the Zionist Actions Committee—was formed, with Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt as chairman, Louis Segal as treasurer and Rabbi Max Kirshblum as secretary, to conduct a program of mass education with regard to the National Administration's failure to act in accordance with its pledges on Palestine. It was clear that in voicing the demand that the American Government immediately fulfill its commitments regarding Palestine, the Emergency Council was supported by an overwhelming majority of the American people.

The results of this campaign were reflected in the steps which the Administration took during the month of October, 1946. On October 4, President Truman issued a statement in which he declared that "substantial immigration into Palestine cannot wait a solution to the Palestine problem and . . . should begin at once." The President said further that due to widespread American opposition to the Morrison plan he could not give his support to it. Referring to the Jewish Agency's proposal for "the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine instead of in the whole of Palestine," President Truman expressed his belief that "a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States," and went on to say:

*"I cannot believe that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward is too great to be bridged by men of reason and good will. To such a solution our Government could give its support."*

American Zionism's reaction to this declaration was contained in the Emergency Council's statement of October 9. That statement declared:

**"Public Expressions  
Do Not Suffice"**

*"... we most earnestly and respectfully urge the President to make full use of the influence and authority of his high office to the end that effective action be taken without delay in fulfillment of the spirit of his statement. Nothing can satisfy the public conscience save the early movement of displaced and homeless Jews into Palestine, the prompt cessation of British assaults on Jewish refugees and a halt to the brutal repression practiced in Palestine. This alone can be accepted as an earnest of a new and constructive policy resolutely to be pursued with all the vigor which the critical situation demands . . .*

*"Unbappily, past experience, the bitter disappointments and disillusionments which have followed upon earlier pronouncements have ripened into the conviction that public expressions, however sincere and well-meaning, do not suffice. It has become evident that the tragedy of a whole people exposed to bestial persecution, mass slaughter and continuing homelessness cannot and will not be remedied unless our Government exert sustained and vigorous effort to secure swift and favorable action to the end that heartening promises shall be realized in deeds."*

On October 25, Secretary of State Byrnes was moved to make public a statement denying that the State Department was not giving full support to the Palestine policy stated by the President. In a letter to Dr. Wise, Mr. Byrnes declared that "the statement made by the President on October 4th with regard to Palestine and to Jewish immigration into Palestine is, of course, an expression of the policy of this Government. With this policy I am in hearty accord."

However, American Zionism's demands for concrete action by the American Government continued unabated — and on October 28 President Truman issued the text of his letter to King Ibn Saud, in which he declared: "It is only natural . . . that this government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there, but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish national home."

The President furthermore rejected Ibn Saud's accusations against the Jews, declaring that he is "convinced that responsible Jewish leaders do not contemplate a policy of aggression against the Arab countries adjacent to Palestine." He rejected also Ibn Saud's charge that the President's statement of October 4 was inconsistent with the position he had taken earlier.

Thus, for the first time, the unwarranted interference of King Ibn Saud in the Palestine situation was dealt with in a forthright manner by the President of the United States.

## **AFTER THE ELECTIONS**

On November 5 the Republican Party was victorious at the polls. Republicans now control both Houses of the Congress of the United States and will hereafter occupy an important role in determining American foreign policy. The Republican Party's record of support for Zionism has been consistent, and its present leaders include some of the most vigorous champions of the Zionist cause in the world today. It is hoped that their warm statements of the past will now be followed by efforts to bring about action by the American Government in support of the Jewish people's just demands.

## **CONCLUSION**

The unbelievably tragic events of the past decade have placed upon American Zionists a fateful responsibility for the future of the Jewish people and of Palestine. There can be no doubt that the Jews of America as a whole are deeply conscious of the historic role which they have been called upon to play. In the decisions that are to be taken affecting Palestine, the influence of the American Government and of American public opinion may well be decisive.

The American Zionist Emergency Council has sought to channelize and make effective not only the mass sentiment of American Jewry for Palestine, but also the great fund of sympathy for the development of the Jewish National Home which exists amongst large circles of the American people as a whole. It will be the purpose of the Council to continue so to inform and educate American public opinion that the latter will lend to the aim of the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth the weight of its great moral and political authority.

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Executive Director, Harry L. Shapiro

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1946

# The Truman Administration and Palestine

**I**T was more than a year ago—on August 31, 1945—that President Truman wrote Prime Minister Attlee, urging the admission into Palestine of 100,000 displaced European Jews. This request was based on the report by Earl G. Harrison, United States member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, who, at the President's behest, investigated conditions among Jewish displaced persons in Europe.

President Truman's letter to Prime Minister Attlee was greeted with great enthusiasm by Jews throughout the country. It gave them hope that the Administration was not going to forsake them after all.

The publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence last spring had made it clear that at the very moment when our Government was pledging support of the Zionist program, it gave conflicting assurances to the Arab States. The reaction among the Jewish masses had been one of shock and let-down, and Jewish leaders and newspapers had begun to point out that in all the years of Jewish suffering since the advent of Hitler, the Democratic Administration had merely offered condolences to Jews but done nothing concrete to help them.

President Truman's letter seemed to indicate a turn of the tide. But its promise was not to be fulfilled. After prolonged correspondence between the President and Mr. Attlee, the former accepted the British proposal to appoint a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry which would investigate the entire problem of Palestine once again.

The British move was obviously a delaying tactic. After four months of exploration and investigation the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry issued a report which recommended what President Truman had requested in the first place—the immediate immigration of 100,000 homeless Jews to Palestine. In addition, the Report contained certain long-range political recommendations which, Zionist leaders pointed out, “can never be accepted by the Jewish people.”

It became evident that an embarrassing predicament had been created for the President—the United States was being asked to repudiate its own public policy with regard to Palestine as a condition for the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

Fortunately the President was prevailed upon to see the problem in correct perspective and on April 30 stated that he would take under advisement the long-range policies recommended by the Report, but he was definitely in favor of carrying out the short-range recommendations. These were the immediate admission of 100,000 homeless Jews to Palestine; the abrogation of the restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchase laid down by the White Paper of 1939; and the carrying out of large scale economic development projects in Palestine—such, for instance, as the Jordan Valley Authority Plan.

*This, then, was United States policy on Palestine, enunciated by the President himself.*

Weeks and months passed and still nothing was done. The British Government laid down impossible conditions, showing that it was clearly determined not to implement the Report. The State Department invited Arabs and Jews—once more—to present their views. The plight of the Jews in the Displaced Persons’ Camps became unendurable. The Jews of Palestine reached the depths of despair. The British became even more brutal in enforcing their illegal policy of excluding Jewish refugees from their internationally-guaranteed homeland.

*The American public could not understand—and still cannot understand—how the President of the United States can enunciate one policy publicly while his subordinates follow procedures diametrically opposed to that policy. Throughout the country people said—and continue to say—that the Administration is merely playing a clever game with the Jews and has no intention of carrying out its promises and pledges.*



That impression was strengthened by the next development in Anglo-American negotiations on Palestine. A joint cabinet committee met in London, supposedly to investigate the details involved in carrying out the recommendations of the Anglo-American Report. Actually it conducted its own investigations of the problem, reversed the policy repeatedly stated by the President and produced a British-sponsored plan for the "federalization" of Palestine.

This scheme was a complete surrender to British Colonial Office policy. It repudiated not only Mr. Truman's previous statements but every official American declaration on Palestine, including the plank in the platform of the Democratic Party, which reads:

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

*Would the President's Cabinet Committee have accepted this abominable "federalization" plan if its members had been convinced that the President sincerely wanted them to carry out American policy as stated by him?*

This question became even more pointed when the press began to carry accounts reporting that the President was taking a most unfriendly attitude towards those who called on him to repudiate the "federalization" or "Grady" plan, as it was called here.

Despite a determined effort by the State Department to keep the matter secret, the story of what had transpired in Washington with regard to the Grady Committee's proposals appeared in the press. The State Department's efforts to secure Mr. Truman's agreement to the Grady scheme as a basis for negotiations were defeated as a result of very vigorous pressure.

After numerous reports and rumors, many of them contradictory, had appeared on the front pages of the country's newspapers, the White House finally issued a statement regarding President Truman's reaction to the Federalization Plan. This statement has been interpreted in the press and elsewhere as a declaration by the President that he is "washing his hands" of the entire question—an interpretation which has also been advanced in private conversation by leading officials, including those of the State Department.

**"This government,"** the President's statement said, **"has not**

presented any plan of its own for the solution of the problem of Palestine." This after all the pledges, all the committees, investigations and consultations! Surely the resolutions of Congress and the platform of the Democratic Party should be regarded as commitments to a very clearly-defined program of action on Palestine. Yet the President had now decided to retreat from the entire issue at the very time when the British were employing the resources of their empire, both political and military, to liquidate the Jewish position.

Nor is public opinion in this country particularly impressed by the White House's assertion that "the President, on his part, is contemplating seeking the approval of Congress for special legislation authorizing the entry into the United States of a fixed number of these persons, including Jews." Assuming that such efforts can meet with a degree of success, it is clear to everyone that weeks, perhaps months, of Congressional debate on that question will ensue before any action can be taken. Welcome as relaxation of our immigration laws is, it has no bearing on the Palestine problem which is the central issue in the Jewish people's struggle for survival.

*This is the record of the Democratic Administration on Palestine. Let not the Administration believe that by issuing further declaration of sympathy, it will succeed in sugar-coating this bitter pill. Anything short of the oft-promised, but repeatedly delayed, concrete action will neither satisfy nor reassure the Jews of America and those many, many other men of good-will, sympathetic with Jewish needs and aspirations, who have reached the point when they must say in a loud and clear voice: "We have been betrayed again."*

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**YOUNG ZIONIST ACTIONS COMMITTEE**  
**342 Madison Avenue, New York City**

**AN OPEN LETTER**  
**to the**  
**DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE**  
**Mayflower Hotel                      Washington, D. C.**

At its last national convention, the Democratic Party of the United States declared:

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

This was part of the platform on which President Truman was elected. More than two years have passed since this clear and unequivocal pledge was made—two years of misery and persecution for the Jews of Europe, two years of increased brutality and treachery by Great Britain in Palestine.

No action has been taken by the United States Government to redeem this pledge.

On August 31, 1945 the President of the United States requested British Prime Minister Attlee to admit 100,000 homeless European Jews into Palestine. More than a year has passed since that request was made and the Jews of Europe are still languishing in detention camps.

We, citizens of the United States, find it impossible to believe that the Government of our great Nation does not possess sufficient prestige and power to bring about the entry into Palestine of these 100,000 homeless European Jews. We are shocked by the inaction of our Government at a time when Great Britain has created new concentration camps on Cyprus and is brutally seizing the pitifully small vessels carrying helpless refugees seeking entry into Palestine. These actions are in direct violation of the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, embracing the Palestine Mandate, which directed Britain as the mandatory for Palestine to "facilitate" immigration of Jews into Palestine.

We are approaching an election and we know that many of your spokesmen will again reaffirm adherence to American policy on Palestine as enunciated by Congress and our political parties. We will not be content with these speeches. We do not seek new promises. The old promises are good enough for us. What we ask—now—is that our Administration keep those old promises. We ask that the old pledges be fulfilled. We ask that American policy on Palestine be carried out *NOW*.

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1945 or 1946?

*Let the Promise  
Be Fulfilled*

DOROTHY THOMPSON

A Christian View of Palestine



Photos courtesy United Palestine Appeal

A Jewish Ploughman in Palestine

*David P. Harrison*

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OUR newspapers have recently brought us the indictment of the International Military Tribunal against the major Nazi war criminals. There are two things in that indictment to which I should like to call your attention. Under Count Four, "Crimes Against Humanity," the Nazi and military leaders are charged with planned extermination of the Jewish people in Europe. A quarter of a million are specifically numbered as having been *shot* to death in specified places, and whereas the number otherwise exterminated by planned starvation or by gassing to death, is not numbered, it is estimated, in the indictment, into the millions.

Under Count One, "Crimes Against the Peace," the Nazi leaders are accused, among other things, of violating international treaties, agreements, or *assurances*.

If these trials are to accomplish more than merely to register the indignation of the world and satisfy a widespread desire to be avenged, then we must consider them as the precursors to a new international law, and the forerunner of a permanent International Supreme Court of Justice, before whose bar nations and their leaders will, in the future, be prepared to stand if they participate in, condone, or further breaches of treaty, or solemn assurances, or crimes against humanity. These trials will either begin a great new era of international morality and justice, or they will merely end—and but temporarily end—a past era of monstrous injustice and betrayal.

The crimes against the Jewish people will not have been expunged by the sentencing of Streicher, Rosenberg, Frank and other Nazi Germans directly involved in their extermination. Those crimes can only be expunged and justice satisfied, when to agitate for the persecution of *any* race or nation of mankind is universally recognized as a

crime against humanity, and when those Jews who have remained alive after an era of torture which has lasted more than twice as long as the European war, are given the opportunity to live out their lives in freedom from want and fear. Nor will the crimes have been expunged until the solemn assurances given the Jews cease to be travestied or mocked by post facto interpretations clearly unintended in the original agreement.

## **The World's Pact with the Jews**

The agreements made with Zionist Jewry after the last war, and made, at the same time, with the Arabs, whose spokesman then was the Emir Faisal of Iraq, was clear to all reasonable minds and on numerous occasions was further clarified by statements from the then British Prime Minister, the then American President, Woodrow Wilson, and many other persons in positions of high governmental authority in London and in Washington. In view of the exchange of letters recently published, between Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, and the late President Roosevelt, it is highly necessary to recall that agreement.

The British Government and the Governments of the countries in the League of Nations, as well as the United States, agreed to the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish *National* Homeland. I wish especially to stress the word *national*. Statements made by Mr. Balfour, Lloyd George, President Wilson, Lord Robert Cecil, General Smuts, and much later—in 1937—by the Palestine Royal Commission, all stressed that although the Balfour Declaration did not establish a Jewish State in Palestine, such a state was implicit, *provided the Jews themselves were able sufficiently to extend the Home to become a State*. Mr. Balfour said, "It did not necessarily involve the *early* establishment of an *independent* Jewish state, which was a matter for gradual development in accordance with the ordinary laws of political evolution." President Wilson said in 1919, "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our Government, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish



Commonwealth." The Palestine Royal Commission stated, in 1937, "It is obvious that in any case His Majesty's Government could not commit itself to the establishment of a Jewish state. It could only undertake and facilitate the growth of a Home. It would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprise of the Jews whether the Home would grow big enough to become a State." Now I submit that to say to a people you may have a state if you can make it, and then deny them the opportunity to make it, is pure mockery.

It was on the basis of the agreement that in Palestine a Jewish national homeland should be established which might grow large enough to become a state, that Great Britain was given a mandate under the League of Nations to administer Palestine and facilitate the growth of the Jewish homeland. In the discussions that attended the giving of the mandate, the minutes of which are a matter of historic record, no mention was ever made of protecting the *national* rights of the Arab people living in Palestine. There was no Arab state there. There were Arab people. The assurances given the Arabs were assurances of protection of their *personal* rights, as citizens and inhabitants of the country—assurances against deportation, protection of their lives, property and customs. You can search the files of the time in vain for a single reference to the establishment of an Arab State in Palestine.

There was nothing inconsistent in this, and nothing inconsistent in the promises given to both Jews and Arabs. We do a great injustice to the British of those times if we assume that Great Britain was caught on the horns of a dilemma because of contradictory promises. The vast Arab world, no parts of which had enjoyed national status for centuries, having lived from the sixteenth century under the Turks, was to be freed, allowed under mandates to work its way to statehood and independence, and Zionist Jewry was to be allowed to establish a Home, looking toward independent statehood as its numbers in Palestine increased. This was recognized and accepted by the Emir Faisal, as it was recognized and accepted by that great English champion of Arabian liberation, the late Colonel Lawrence.

That this was the American intention was again specifically affirmed, and by both great American political parties, as recently as

the elections of 1944. The planks in both party platforms are almost identical, but I quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and such a policy there as to result in the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

## **The Crisis of 1933**

On the basis of these agreements and promises Jews from all over the world poured their treasure, their fortune, their labor, and their hopes into Palestine. The population grew slowly, but steadily. Palestine attracted, at first, chiefly those Jews from eastern Europe where the ghetto was still an institution, the opportunities for life wretched at best, so that even the handicaps of conquering drought and desert under most difficult circumstances, were considered to hold out more hope than the conditions under which they had been accustomed to live—these, and an inspired youth attracted rather than repelled by the pioneering aspects of building a Jewish homeland.

Had the Jews continued to enjoy the status they had had in western Europe ever since the days of the Enlightenment, it is possible that the Jewish homeland, with free immigration, would have been, with the consent of all concerned, a gradual development over several generations. But in 1933 an event occurred in the world which made the Balfour Declaration one of the burning issues of the epoch, and which promised to make the extension of the Jewish Home into a Commonwealth the accomplishment of a single decade. That was the coming to power in Germany of Adolph Hitler. Suddenly in the heart of Europe, a country where the Jews had enjoyed positions of high esteem in the political, economic, and cultural life, banned them, first, from citizenship, then from every possibility of economic existence except the most menial, and, finally, from life itself. Six hundred thousand Jews were immediately threatened. Many thousands, the most prosperous, or those with international connections, escaped into surrounding European countries; some thousands reached the United States and Latin-American countries; and thousands went to

Palestine. By 1936 it was apparent that Hitler was preparing to extend his way by diplomatic means if possible and eventually by war, over large parts of Europe. Thus those who had escaped into Austria were forced to attempt escape again in 1938 together now with all the Austrian Jews; those in Czechoslovakia a few months later; and a few months after that every Jew in Europe of whatever citizenship was caught in the torture of war plus the most ruthless persecutions ever visited in history upon so large a portion of humanity.

In this period, as now, the statesmen of the west registered outraged conscience and avowed their intentions to do something about the plight of their hunted fellowmen. Cordell Hull called a conference in Evian to discuss the refugee problem and provide outlets for these threatened people. But the conference came to naught. Whether it was a labor government of Australia, which believed immigration would threaten the high living standard created by labor scarcity; or half-empty Canada; or Latin America with its predilections for immigrants of Latin stock; or whether it was the United States whose congressional leaders hold the theory that the American population has reached the saturation point — whatever the reason or excuse — *no* country wanted to take tens of thousands of persons under its wings.

But there was one place in the world which more than fifty nations, including all the great states of western Europe and the United States, through the League of Nations, had specifically recognized as a Jewish Homeland—Palestine. There was one place, which by solemn assurances, had been promised as open to immigration by Jews — *specifically* by Jews. That was Palestine. I will leave out of account for the moment all concepts of a Jewish State or Commonwealth. Call it merely a Home. If the word "Home" means anything—anything at all—it means a place to which you can go, if beset by enemies whose purpose it is to starve you and kill you.

And as far as the Jews in Palestine were concerned it *was* a home—a welcoming home! There the persecuted of Europe, stepping from ships, confronted no dubious or hostile eyes but open arms! There the persecuted were not tolerated or treated as a liability or received as an act of charity, and even the tragedy could be sublimated into some sort of joy—that in the midst of grief and unending woe, the prophecy

would be fulfilled and at long last Judea rise again amongst the peoples.

## **The Death Sentence Pronounced by Britain**

It was at such a moment that the British Government chose rigidly to restrict Jewish immigration and halt the trek toward Home. With other gates barred, this simply meant condemning tens of thousands to sit and wait to be murdered.

Did the British do this because with the threat of war on the horizon, they wanted to satisfy a loyally cooperating Arab world?

Not at all. It was an act of appeasement of an *anti-Ally* world. Ignoring the Nordic racialism of Nazism which would eventually have been directed against the Semitic Arabs as against the Semitic Jews, large parts of the Arabian world listened to the siren sounds of the Italian and German propaganda. The Jews in Palestine were concentrating on the tremendous material problems which the resettlement of an eroded and centuries neglected country entail. They had lifted no hand against the Arabs. The soil they had acquired had been by purchase. Not a single Arab had ever been dispossessed of his property. No suggestion had come from any responsible Jewish authority that there should be exchanges of population or deportations. The personal rights of every Arab were assured in the Balfour Declaration, and that assurance had been accepted and reiterated by the Jewish Agency time and again. But the Nazi propaganda in the Middle East concentrated on the Jews as a whip to lash the British. The Mufti of Jerusalem joined Hitler personally and in the Mohammedan parts of Yugoslavia addressed Moslem populations in the Nazi cause. And Britain clamped down the doors of Palestine and kept them closed.

I do not think this was a good idea, from the standpoint of the British and their prestige in the world. When the war broke out the spokesman for Arabian Palestine was an open enemy in Berlin. It is not well in a war which is demanding unconditional surrender of an enemy in Europe, to compromise with an enemy in the Middle East.

There had been a solemn covenant concurred in by Arab leaders of pro-Allied sympathies; and it should have been kept. At least, when war broke out with the Mufti as an enemy—at least *then* it should have been kept. The Jews were prepared to fight for the Allies, and did fight for them. The Arabs were not—they bargained with threats. It is never good to give in to blackmail, for there is never an end of that sort of thing. And having given in once, and formally, publicly, through the White Paper, Britain now, of course, finds it infinitely harder to reverse the decision.

## **Blackmail from Ibn Saud**

So the blackmail occurs again—this time from King Ibn Saud, and this time against America. We know that the correspondence between Ibn Saud and President Roosevelt was published here only to anticipate its threatened release by Ibn Saud to the papers of the Middle East. This is a humiliating incident and damaging to our prestige in a part of the world where prestige, unfortunately, counts for so much. The President's letter was written a few days before he died, and we cannot know what was in his mind. I wish only that he had remembered the advice never to write letters to dubious liaisons! Or he might have answered Ibn Saud's remarkable communication with a laconic, "Yours of the tenth received and contents noted with great interest. Give my greetings to your wife." This would have committed the President in no way—and might have caused speculation regarding which wife, for this tenth century potentate has no less than two hundred wives!

In his letter Ibn Saud concerns himself with what he calls "natural rights." "All people," he says, "have the right to live in their homeland, a right guaranteed them by natural law established by the principles of humanity." He suggests that the Arabs have a natural right in Palestine by reason of their being indigenous, and that, as a concomitant, no other people have any rights at all. No one has ever challenged the right of the Arabs to live in Palestine on terms of personal equality with the Jews and everyone else.

King Ibn Saud, however, does not derive the right to speak for the Palestinian Arabs from the fact that Palestine is *his* homeland; I believe he has never set foot in it. He speaks, instead, as a Pan-Arabian. The limits of the Pan-Arabian world fade off and mix with many other worlds of non-kindred peoples. The right of Arabs to live in Palestine belongs to them not as Pan-Arabians, but as human beings. If western civilization is going to establish the theory that sections of the earth are to be set off for the exclusive use and development of persons descended from persons that have been indigenous there for centuries, then all civilization will stagnate and ours in particular will. Least of all can the British support such a concept. Least of all can we of the United States. Under that theory, America would have been closed to colonization along with Canada, Latin America, Australia and South Africa. The Jews are not pushing the Arabs out of Palestine but vastly expanding Palestine, not horizontally but vertically. They are reclaiming land which by its devastation and erosion itself pushed people off it. Since Ibn Saud quoted the Bible, I would also like to quote the Psalms: "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein."

Unfortunately, most of Palestinian Arabia does not belong to *the* Arabs, but to a few Arabs. *The* Arabs have not suffered; their condition has been greatly improved by the scientific agriculture and the health measures which the Jews have introduced into Palestine. Improvements for all of Palestine, hospitals, roads, and irrigation, are made possible only by taxes on the higher standard of living of Jews. The Arab population is growing, not only by immigration—and there is at least one British authority for the statement that Arab immigration exceeds Jewish—but by the fact that due to improved sanitary conditions the surplus of births over deaths is higher than anywhere else in the Arab world, and infant mortality lower.

If the Arab leaders loved their own people half as much as they hate the Jews, their princes who roll in oriental wealth, would set aside a large proportion of the income they derive from the sweat of one of the most exploited agricultural proletariats on earth, to introduce sanitary commissions, to root out blinding trachoma and the terrible parasitic diseases that infest the blood and bowels of the whole poor



Orphan Children  
from Hungary  
Photographed  
upon their Arrival  
in Palestine

The Fields of a Com-  
munal Settlement  
—aerial view





population, and that come from impure drinking water and unshod feet. They would protect their women and elevate them from being beasts of burden and breed cattle, thrown on the scrap heap at a time when the women of the west are in their prime. They would reforest the land they claim so greatly to love, and reclaim the deserts, as the Jews are doing. But when Ibn Saud talked with President Roosevelt, and the President suggested that there is room for many many more millions in the vast stretches of the Arabian world and offered aid in reclamation projects, Ibn Saud replied, "My people are of the desert; they are not interested in agriculture." They are, however, interested in Lend-Lease as a means of getting food!

## Two Worlds in the Middle East

There is no natural right, in common sense, history or humanity, for any people to maintain half-inhabited deserts in a world where millions of men, with brains, hands, backs to work, and dreams to realize, live overcrowded. There is no natural right to be a dog in a manger.

Ibn Saud's story of history is compounded of a great deal of nonsense. That the ancient Canaanites were Arabs is news. Palestine became Arab by *conquest*—Arab conquest from outside Palestine, and for centuries went through the hands and exploitation of various Arabic-speaking but not indigenous Palestinian rulers, and others such as Kurds and Christian crusaders, before it was conquered by the Turks and held until the last war. Egypt, which is also claimed as part of the new Pan-Arabia, is only partly Arab. Its ruler, King Farouk is not of Arab ancestry. He is a descendant of Mohammed Ali, an Albanian general in Turkish service, who came in to drive out the French and the Mamelukes, became governor by massacring his opponents—as I recall it, he invited them all to dinner and poisoned them—and mastered the country by recruiting a vast force of poor fellahin in such a ruthless fashion that many mutilated themselves to avoid his service. The story of the Middle East for centuries and until the present day, is one of violent conquest, of unutterable poverty together with orien-

tal splendor, and of rulers who have been notoriously devoid of any social sense whatsoever.

Jewish Palestine, colonized with the consent of all western civilization, is not such. We shall make a great mistake if we think that by abandoning it we shall make western civilization more palatable to the Effendi. Were the colonists British or American, not Jewish, the hostility would be no less. Non-Jewish Europeans or Americans incline, I think, to flatter themselves in this regard. What strikes the eye in Palestine with enormous impact is the contrast between the Arab and Jewish parts of the country. One's impression is not that one people are Jews and the other Arabs, but that one are westerners and the other middle easterners, and of the gap in time between them. On the one side is cleanliness, progress, refined agriculture, health, a highly developed social sense and order; in short, the western twentieth century, while on the other is squalor, misery, disease and a somnolent feudalism that belongs to the tenth century. There is bound to be tension but I do not see that we are bound to retreat.

Something peculiar has happened to the mentality of westerners in this age; we seem to feel that we have something to apologize for. We have had consciences—for instance—about imperialism, though western imperialism has only supplanted more violent and brutal imperialisms, and has carried with it concepts of liberty and self-government. But imperialism is exploitation of backward peoples for the benefit of the home purse. That is not the case in Jewish Palestine. Jewry has not taken funds out of Palestine but poured them in; it has not broken the backs of Arabian toilers, but raised their living standards. It has not asked for a British Palestine, but for a free state on good terms with the whole world. Its economy is private enterprise, with strong social demands, and its agriculture is cooperative, neither individualistic nor communistic. It represents a great step forward in the Middle East, not a step back. And it is an achievement of western civilization that ought to be supported, unless western civilization is prepared to retreat all over the globe.

I see no way in which Humanity will be served by such a retreat. The Judeo-Christian world should hold up its head and not beat its breast. It should recount its achievements as well as its shortcomings.

It is the inventor of democracy, as it has been the apostle and creator of personal and social freedoms. It has abolished serfdom and slavery. It has invested the common man with the fundamental rights of the prince. It has emancipated woman from being the slave to being the companion of men. It has released the energies of nature; it has, of all civilizations, most successfully fought plague, bacteria, famine, flood, and the waste of the soil. It has, of all civilizations, done most to make man the master of his environment. By its ingenious mastery of the air, it has shrunk the globe into One World—and discovered the secret at the heart of the sun with which that world can be destroyed, or made glorious. And—most importantly—it has fought and defeated those from its own number who sought to impose themselves upon the rest of the world as its masters.

The age of nineteenth century imperialism is over. But the age of creative energy, led by our concepts of civilization, is not, I hope, over.

## What I Saw in Palestine

During my visit to Palestine in May 1945 I concentrated especially on the kibbutzim—the agricultural colonies. Let me tell you about just one of them that I visited by chance and quite without previous arrangement. It was settled ten years ago by a small colony of Jews from Yugoslavia. Not one of them had been born on the land, though all of them had worked together to prepare themselves for a pioneering job.

We went into the settlement through a modern farmyard, notable for a huge concrete grain elevator capable of storing 1500 tons. The road opened upon a large, low house, with a wide flat roof and galleries, that looked not like a farmhouse but like the house of some country gentleman, for it was bright with glass, surrounded by lawns and beautiful flower gardens, beyond which was a great parti-colored landscape of gleaming citrus groves, vineyards, peach, plum, and apple orchards, and wide fields of grain. And beyond them were forested mountains.

When the settlers took over this land, which now comprises eight

hundred acres, only ten had ever grown anything for generations. From whom, then, had they taken land? From Arabs? No — from nature and neglect!

These settlers had first irrigated the land. Then to hold the soil and eventually benevolently to influence the climate, they had planted the higher and most eroded hills with forests. They had set out a quarter of a million pine trees. They had set out citrus groves, the chief fruit, vineyards, and orchards of 3200 other fruit trees. This farm supported 130 head of cattle, three thousand head of poultry, long hutches of rabbits, and more than three hundred human beings!

Every single thing they ate except sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, was grown on the farm—the grain for the bread, the milk, eggs, meat, and vegetables. I had dinner with them, and the meal was hearty enough for a G.I. Joe.

I know of no other place in the world where eight hundred acres of land would feed and clothe over three hundred people of whom only 120 were of working age: the rest were parents and children.

None of this had been done with hired labor. All of it had been done by men, women, and youth who, like the monastic orders, had taken a vow of individual poverty in order to become collectively rich. There was, of course, a complete rationalization of labor inside and outside. No one received wages: the economy was that of a family. If a man needed a shirt or a woman a dress, or money for a movie in town, they asked for it. The profit was used in three ways: to pay off the debt and found new settlements: to furnish the members with needs requiring cash expenditures: to furnish reserves against rainy days—which in Palestine means dry ones!

The cultural life of this settlement, as of all the others I saw, was very high. The settlers had a library of 2400 books. They had a small orchestra. Theirs is, of course, a Spartan life of plain living and steady toil. It is also, and most importantly, a life of devotion—to the community, the soil, and an idea. It is this that outsiders find it hard to understand. The educated Arab, for instance, attributes it all to prodigious wealth streaming from gold-plated Jewish magnates in America, and says, "With so much capital anyone could do the same thing." They could only if they had access to as much scientific knowl-

edge and if they had the same devotion and faith—for faith is the real manure of the Palestinian soil and the source of the Jewish settlers' energy.

## Salvation by Love

An Englishman—a Catholic as it happened—was motoring with me one day, and expressed his opinion that "these settlements are sheer communism." It happened that just at that moment we passed a very beautifully landscaped and planted hillside topped by a wide building, and the flourishing conditions of the estate led me to interrupt him to ask whether that was a Jewish settlement. He said, no, that was the monastery of a Catholic brotherhood. So I said, "Isn't that a variety of communism? And did not your great English Catholic writer, Chesterton, attribute the decline of agriculture in England to the foreclosure acts which took the land away from the brotherhoods and distributed it to private persons?"

Actually the spirit and form of the kibbutzim can be more accurately compared to those of religious orders than to modern collectivism. The settlers organize themselves and govern themselves; the spirit of sharing reminds me of the Mormons or the old Shakers who also built rich communities on the cooperative system.

And the hospitality to immigrants, particularly to immigrant children, so many of whom as they trickle through are orphans, is the hospitality of a religious order or a family. They are taken in with love, despite the fact that each means the sacrifice of more work, and each is an individual problem. For we must not think that the life of the Jews in Europe during these terrible years has left no evil effects. I often wondered what could be done with the children that arrived from Europe. Dirty, lousy, accustomed to the terrible conditions of life, their minds subjected to scenes of utmost brutality, humiliated—with the inexorable effects that humiliation breeds of obsequiousness and aggressiveness, trusting no one, accustomed to steal as the only way of sustaining life—problem children created by the viciousness of Hitler Europe and the indifference of civilization.

I learned in Palestine that no social worker or child psychologist could possibly have accomplished what love, faith, and infinite patience have done with these children. They come into a closely organized and highly disciplined community where everyone is busy and everything is routinized. They break down the disciplines. They steal bread from a beautiful table and hide it in their lockers; they snatch at other children's shoes and hide them away; busy women cleaning their rooms find bits of rancid butter amongst their clothes. They lie on each and every occasion—because they have come to regard the world as their enemy. Yet I have seen children who entered these settlements only a few months earlier, upright, candid, gay and free.

They had not been reformed—they had literally been "saved."

## **The Jews After Victory**

There is a tendency now to think: Well, Hitler is defeated and the Jews will be all right in Europe.

I wish I could believe that. But the Jews are not all right in Europe, they are not all right in their own minds, and the people around them are not all right, either. Something terrible has been let loose in Europe and an historic experience has been undergone which victory cannot soon blot out. The remnant of Jewry in Europe has been shocked to its foundations. The economic foundations of their lives have been obliterated, and how can they be restored? Their properties have already gone through many hands. Shall they demand them back—and incur new hatreds from people who think they got them legitimately by sales?

How about the remnant of Jewry in Germany? Shall they now go through the vicissitudes of the defeat, as they went through the more awful vicissitudes of German victories? The majority of European Jewry would, I know, rather work like slaves in Palestine than be saved by charity in a Europe that has showed them so fearsome a face. I noticed that when an American commission recently visited Jews still remaining in German concentration camps and asked them what they wanted, they said, "To go to Palestine."

President Roosevelt's answer to Ibn Saud was noncommittal. It will, however, have a completely Arabian content read into it. He said that no decision would be taken in respect to the *basic situation* in Palestine without full consultation with Arabs and Jews. I hope he meant the basic situation that was created long ago. What is needed is exactly to re-establish that basic situation. The President could sincerely promise that no action hostile to the Arab people would be undertaken. No action ever has been. But I would point out the extreme danger of assuming that the King of one Arab country has the right to take over responsibility for Arab-speaking people in other countries. That looks very like Hitler's Pan-Germanism, when he undertook to defend Austrians and Sudeten Germans and Germans anywhere in Europe or America as the self-appointed head of the German race and to foment terrorists among them.

I would like to conclude with a word from two men. One is a great Jew and—whether he knows it or not—a great Christian, one of the most courageous defenders of all humanity in this most inhuman world. In a tremendous plea for Zionism,\* he wrote:

"Before God I do not write to stir up hatred against anyone whatsoever, even against those who have committed these barbarities and still less against the German people, some of whom have suffered as terribly themselves. Hatred is no answer to an evil so awful: the only answer is to summon up from one's heart every atom of kindness and love of which one is capable, and so, in however infinitesimal a measure, to restore the balance. But it is necessary to remind ourselves of just what these people have endured and are enduring now, if we are not to allow slackness, or 'realism', or 'practical difficulties' to betray us into sitting still and doing nothing."

I can echo those words. I can also say, Before God, I do not speak to stir up hatred against anyone whatsoever—not against the British, to whom we owe salvation for that heroic, lonesome, sacrificial year, nor against the Arabs—but to appeal only to Humanity and Justice.

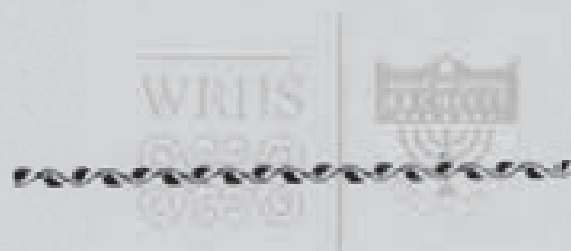
In England a few months ago when I had the pleasure of banqueting with Winston Churchill, he recited a favorite quotation. I would

\*Victor Gollancz in *Nowhere to Lay Their Heads*, published in the United States by The American Christian Palestine Committee, 1945.



address it to the Arabs: "The earth is an indulgent mother. She will provide abundantly for all her children, if they but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace."

Let the Jews have restored to them their promises: let them peaceably colonize and cultivate their soil in justice: let the United Nations, and especially Great Britain and the United States, extend to the Arab population some of the immense benefits of western civilization which the Jews have extended to themselves; and let us defend the peace of all who would dwell in peace, in that land, where for Arab as well as Jew, the common greeting in the street is—Peace.



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