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American Zionist Emergency Council, communications to  
chairmen of local emergency committees, 1947.

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

*Mr. H. H. H.*

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** January 29, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Encs.



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date January 29, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

At the present moment, the Anglo-Arab Conference on Palestine is being held in London. At the same time, there will be informal talks with some of the leaders of the Jewish Agency and members of the British Government. Events of the past have piled up to make the present time a critical juncture in Zionist affairs. Because of the seriousness of the moment, it is necessary that we in America do our utmost to bring the pressure of American public opinion on the British Government. Attached is a memorandum intended as background material of the present London Conference for American newspaper editors, columnists, feature writers, and radio commentators.

It would be helpful if you could convey the information contained therein to the editorial writers of your local newspapers in order that during the next two weeks, they may be induced to carry one or two editorials on the subject favorable to our aspirations.

As soon as such editorials appear, we should like to have them, in order to forward them to London. I should like to hear from you as to what progress you are making with reference to the above request.

At the moment there is a concerted effort on the part of anti-Zionists, of varied interests, to present speakers to local groups. During the past two weeks, a number of British Consular officials took occasion not only to make anti-Zionist speeches, but remarks closely bordering on anti-Semitism. Through the combined alertness of a number of local Emergency Committees and representations on our part to the British Embassy, an order was sent from the Embassy to the Consular officials throughout the country requesting them not to participate further in any partisan discussions on Palestine.

Whenever outside speakers visit your city addressing Foreign Policy Associations or local chapters of other national bodies, it is most necessary that members of your committee be watchful of the remarks which are made, and if there are any anti-Zionist presentations, an insistence on your part be made for the presentation of our point of view. Be assured that we will cooperate with you in providing speakers to counteract such speeches.

Regards.

HLS:RB  
Enc.

## THE LONDON CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE

### MEMORANDUM

As originally announced by the British Government, the London conversations on Palestine were to assume the character of a tri-partite conference between the Governments of Great Britain, Arab delegations from Palestine and from neighboring Arab countries, and representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and other Jewish groups. The conference never took place in this form and, as far as can be judged, will not so take place.

Arab representatives refused to sit down with the Jews. The Jews questioned the very principle of having representatives of Arab Governments participate in a conference regarding the future of Palestine. If the matter was one for deliberation by an international body, the Jews considered that representatives of the Governments of the United States and of various European countries, which were co-signatories to the Palestine Mandate and were vitally interested in the solution of the Jewish question, clearly had a better right to participate in such a conference than the Arab States.

But even more important to the Jews was the question whether the Conference was intended by the British Government as a genuine means of arriving at a just and workable solution or merely as a device further to delay decision. Past experience with the seventeen committees and conferences called into existence by the British Government to deal with the Palestine issue has made the Jews very suspicious. They feared that the main purpose of the British Government was to use the Conference as a means of demonstrating to the world that the respective positions of the Jews and the Arabs are still miles apart and that, therefore, Britain as the ostensibly neutral and disinterested party, must continue to administer Palestine according to its own lights.

The spirit in which the British Government was going to continue this administration seemed to the Jews to be indicated by the present regime maintained in Palestine: a regime under which a "White Paper," utterly at variance with the international Mandate for Palestine and therefore unquestionably illegal, reduced the immigration of Jews to their own national home to a ridiculous trickle, exiled all other Jewish immigrants to Cyprus, and denied to Jews the most elementary civil rights, including the right of living and acquiring property in most of Palestine; a regime the theoretical untenability of which was aggravated in practice by military and police brutality and by frankly anti-Semitic tendencies among British officials; a regime which went so far as to put under arrest and hold for months without trial the recognized leaders of the Jewish Agency for Palestine -- a body deriving its authority from international law -- and to subject the general Jewish population to wanton destruction and intimidation.

In the circumstances, neither the Jewish Agency nor other Jewish organizations attended the first session of the "conference," held in September of last year. The very vocal leaders of the Palestinian Arab extremists likewise refused to attend, because they insisted on the presence of the well-known Hitler ally, Amin el Husseini, former Mufti of Jerusalem. The September conference was reduced, therefore, to a perfunctory series of sessions in which Great Britain proposed its famous "federalization" plan and the Arabs countered with a proposal which would make Palestine "independent" on the basis of an Arab majority and would preclude further Jewish immigration.

In an effort to assure full attendance for the second, twice-postponed session of the conference, which opened in the last week of January, 1947, in London, the British Government entered into a compromise with the adherents of the ex-Mufti. The ex-Mufti himself had not personally sought to participate in it, but his closest collaborators have come to London to represent the Arab

population of Palestine, after stopping over in Cairo to receive instructions from this arch-criminal.

An effort was also made to gain Jewish attendance at the conference by mitigating some of the worst excesses of the British regime in Palestine: the arrested Jewish leaders were freed, and a few of the Jewish immigrants detained in Cyprus were allowed to land in Palestine.

However, the Jews, irritated by the never-ending chicanery of the British administration in Palestine, had almost given up hope of seeing a biased British administration transformed into a fair one. The World Zionist Organization, therefore, conditioned its participation in the conference on a clear-cut decision for the establishment of a Jewish State which would free Jewish immigration and settlement from any further possibility of sabotage by unfriendly British officials. This proposal received the diplomatic support of the American Government, albeit at the price of limiting the Jewish State to part of Palestine only.

In order to ensure that the conference would not serve as an excuse for further dilly-dallying on the ground that the problem was "insoluble," the Jews demanded that the British Government agree to consider the establishment of the Jewish State as a basis for discussion. This the British refused to do, instead offering a formula under which all suggestions by all participants at the conference, both Jewish and Arab, would receive serious consideration on an equal basis. Evidently, such a disingenuous formula under which the establishment of the Jewish State would receive equal consideration with the Arab proposal that no more Jews be allowed to enter Palestine, could not fail further to arouse Jewish suspicions. To date, therefore, the Jewish Agency for Palestine has not agreed to participate at the conference, and merely continues informal talks with the British Government in an effort to get the British to adopt a less evasive and more forthright attitude.

Superficially, the center of the stage is held by the conversations in



London, whether formal or informal. In effect, though, these conversations are rather unimportant stage-props. The British are perfectly aware of the irreconcilable demands of the Jews on the one hand and the ex-Mufti's clique on the other. They are also aware of the fact that the Arab Governments, though their interest in Palestine is not very deep, will not publicly agree to a pro-Jewish solution until this solution will have first been carried out in effect. What the British have to decide is what stand they should take. This is a matter for the British to decide, and a conference can neither help nor hinder in the formulation of the British attitude.

There are two widely-publicized British arguments: (1) that Britain is afraid to grant Jewish demands because of fear that the Moslem world will be driven into revolt, war, or the arms of Russia, and (2) that the British are debarred from acceding to Jewish demands because of conflicting commitments into which they have entered vis-a-vis the Arabs. The weakness of these arguments is better known to the British Government than to anyone else. Behind them stand the real reasons which explain the reluctance of Britain to modify its present policy. These reasons stem from the view held by influential British civil and military officials, accustomed to dealing with dependent and semi-dependent Moslem populations, that as long as the population of Palestine remains predominantly Moslem, Britain will be able to dominate the country politically, economically, and militarily. The Jews are regarded by them as a modern people with Western standards who will resent British domination, whose economy will not remain within the traditional pattern of colonial economies but will seek equal treatment on a reciprocal basis with the economy of Britain, and whose foreign policy may escape British control.

Under the influence of this view, British policy has been characterized by the desire to maintain control of Palestine, whether in the form of a mandate, or a trusteeship, or in some other suitable form. Britain has sought to keep the

Jewish population of the country down to a minimum, sufficient in numbers to justify the presence of British troops "to keep peace between the two sections of the population" on the old Indian pattern, but not sufficiently large to transform Palestine into a truly modern country. The farthest the British would willingly go, if left to themselves, is the "federalization" scheme proposed last summer by Mr. Morrison: under this scheme the Arabs and Jews, each in a section of the country, would be allowed to toy with the semblance of self-government extending to such questions as school boards and water rates, somewhat along the lines of American municipalities or counties, while all real power would be retained in British hands. Only under pressure would the British agree to the establishment of all or part of Palestine as a state in the international sense of the word; and if this necessity arises, many British officials would prefer an Arab to a Jewish State, because they feel that an Arab State is more likely than a Jewish State to be satisfied with the mere external trappings of independence and to remain in effect a British colony, like Transjordan, for example.

Recent events have brought matters to a boiling point. The determination of many hundreds of thousands of European Jews to reach Palestine is almost irresistible, and the exodus is on its way. But the British have succeeded in slowing down this exodus, and the resulting enforced presence of these people in Europe, unwilling to remain and unwanted by their neighbors, is again transforming the Jewish question into a grave international irritant.

The 600,000 Jews of Palestine, who cannot find any moral or legal justification for the attitude of their governors, are openly helping their brethren from Europe to reach Palestine in defiance of what they regard as arbitrary and tyrannical laws. And, of late, a desperate Jewish minority has taken recourse in acts of sabotage and violence bordering on revolution.

A large number of European and American Governments are becoming concerned

about this situation and, moved by the international obligations assumed toward the Jews after the First World War and by the recent catastrophe that befell the homeless Jewish people, are increasingly sympathetic to the Jewish demands. This has been especially the case of the American Government which, in addition to all other considerations, has been influenced in this regard by the large Jewish population of the United States.

Opinion in British governmental circles is divided. Most of the permanent officials back the present regime and seek to end the Jewish Homeland, because of what, from their narrowly bureaucratic viewpoint, seems to them to constitute an overriding Imperial interest. Many others, realizing the moral issues involved or moved by the pressure of events, incline toward a solution which would satisfy Jewish demands. For over a year, the British Government has been hesitating between the two views, and the delay has merely aggravated the situation. Threats thrown out from time to time that England would prefer to wash its hands of Palestine and throw the issue in the lap of the United Nations have ceased to impress anyone. England does not wish to give up her control of Palestine, and would retain control of the situation even if she went through the motions of turning Palestine over to the United Nations, since no decision can be reached by that body except with British concurrence.

The real questions are: Has the British Government arrived at the point where it is prepared to agree to the establishment of a Jewish State? Do America's wishes in this matter count at all with Great Britain? America's commitments in favor of the re-establishment of Jewish statehood and nationhood in Palestine, as expressed in Congressional resolutions, party planks, presidential promises and overwhelming sentiment of the American people, must have a bearing on Britain's Palestine policy, if Britain attaches importance to American co-operation and backing on this and many other issues of international scope.

The present conferences and conversations in London are not the means by which Britain will be enabled to reach a decision on these questions. They are merely a means through which the British Government will show what decision has been reached by it, if any.

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1/28/47





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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

**Date** January 30, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed are two new publications which may be ordered in limited quantities from this office:

1. "The Arab War Effort," an account, reinforced by British Intelligence documents, of the pro-Nazi role played by the Arabs during the war and of the anti-democratic alignments of practically all the leading spokesmen of the Arab world.
2. "Egypt: Britain and the Arabs," reprint of an article by a very well informed and thoughtful foreign correspondent, Hal Lehman.

These items can be used as supplementary material to the memorandum which I sent you yesterday on the London Conference. Regards.

HLS:RB

Reproduced from  
"Commentary" for November, 1946

## EGYPT: BRITAIN AND THE ARABS

*Pages from a Correspondent's Notebook*

HAL LEHRMAN

**E**GYPT (March-April, 1945)—My fourth visit to Cairo. It's even more depressing than my last station, Naples, where the dirt is caked down in layers. But the current Neapolitan dirt is a by-product of war and wreckage; here it belongs to a system eternal. Entirely apart from the heat, which you can't usefully quarrel with but simply have to endure, the air of Cairo hangs heavy with the odors of Empire, feudalism, and horse manure. The latter perfume only asserts itself vigorously when a puff of breeze stirs the sun-baked, shredded sprinklings from the road and swirls them aloft in a delicate haze. But the smells of Britannia and her native castes hang high on all occasions.

You get irritated by the way the British regulate your life here as if this were a piece of England—two hours for public drinking at noon and four hours in the evening because that's how it's done in London. Or you allow yourself to be annoyed over the impossible working conditions, when every office has its own special hours, the British Embassy from 9 to 1 and 6 to 8, the British Army from 8:15 to 1:15 and 5 to 8, the United States Army from 8 to 12 and 12:30 to 4, and so on,

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As war correspondent in Central Europe, the Balkans, and the Near East, HAL LEHRMAN won wide reputation for well-documented and thoughtful analyses of the problems confronting human beings in the most politically-troubled areas of the world. Besides his series on Hungary, Rumania, and Greece in *COMMENTARY*, articles by him have appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Nation*, *PM*, *Vogue*, and the *British News Chronicle* and *New Statesman*. He has also served as a correspondent for the *Associated Press*, *Newsweek*, the *Havas News Agency*, and the *London Daily Express*. Upon its completion, Mr. Lehrman's book based on his experiences in the Balkans will be published by Appleton. He was born in New York in 1911, and graduated from Cornell in 1933. This is the second section of a series of four sections from Mr. Lehrman's personal travel journal which became available for uncensored publication with his return to the United States.

which keeps the working newspaperman plugging with the mad dogs and Englishmen through the noonday sun and evening torpor.

But what bothers you most is the spirit of this town: the way the British—who are agreeable people elsewhere when they're merely foreigners like the rest of us—turn into the master race the instant they set foot on a segment of Empire, and the way the beggars cluster in front of Shepherd's and the Continental while the princes and the magnates, British and Arab, recline on the hotel terraces. Close to this magnificence lies the *Wish-el-Birkeh*, native red-light quarter. Over at the Turf Club, waiters in chocolate skins and balloon pants serve you a curious but inspiring cocktail called a "gimlet," and then you go up to the restaurant on the roof where all the delicacies of the East are spread beneath an enormous canopy of Oriental rugs on poles, like the desert camps of Rudolf Valentino, while outside the flies buzz around the blinded eyes of untended "Wog" children. At Gezira, there are hundreds of acres of golf course, polo field, rugby field, swimming pool, and whatnot, for which the British Officers' Club still pays the Egyptian Government only about \$450 monthly rental, fixed by the Khedive in the last century, while nearby the fellah hangers on a few square feet of mud. Lancashire wanted cotton, so the British built dams and canals for which the Egyptian landlords paid from their cotton profits after the Nile oozed out over the sand, but they forgot to install enough drainage. The snails which carry bilharzia flourished in the puddles, and today make four-fifths of Egypt sick with anemia, hemorrhages, and sundry kidney and bowel diseases—but the cotton gets grown.

### Bedfellows

CAIRO in this season is also the Middle East's capital. The city is crowded with delegates from the seven Arab states that are to launch the much-advertised Pan-Arab League. Every day it becomes increasingly clear that the League would never have been conceived, and would fall apart today, without British support. Anthony Eden in the House of Commons pronounced Arab unity inevitable before the Arabs began thinking about it seriously. Even

now, after numerous preliminary conferences, they are still haggling over the final text of the League's proposed constitution. I remember Eliahu ben-Herim quoting a Moslem writer to the effect that the country known as Syria doesn't exist outside the minds of publishers of atlases for children. The idea of Arab federation has been just as nebulous.

The clashing ambitions of the Arab notables, now on display in Cairo, make them as effective as Balkan diplomats trying to get together. Christian Lebanon is worried about Moslem Syria. Syria wants to unite the Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan into something called Greater Syria, which will be a republic centered in Damascus. Transjordan also wants a Greater Syria, but as a kingdom centered in Amman. All the effendis suffer from what the *New York Times*' Joseph Levy describes as the "chair disease"—a yearning for premier-ships or cabinet seats. Iraq would like a corridor to the Mediterranean. Emir Abdullah fears the ancient enemy of his Hashemite dynasty, Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Ibn Saud, keeper of the Holy Cities, still suspects the pretensions of Farouk of Egypt to the Caliphate. Egypt, as a high Foreign Ministry official refreshingly admits to me, opposes the creation of a Greater Syria because "it would set up a powerful state on our frontiers, next to our rich Sinai peninsula." On the other hand, Egypt's main objection to a Jewish state in Palestine is that "it would cut Egypt off from the Arab world, which we have always led culturally and economically and which we hope to go on leading."

But a non-Moslem educator here, who has spent a lifetime trying to bring light to the Middle East, assures me that "Egyptians are congenitally ignorant of where and what the Arab states are. This ignorance derives from contempt. Remember that Egyptians are not Arabs; most of them are of Pharaonic stock. And the Egyptian upper classes, whose origin is chiefly Turkish, draw a sharp line between themselves and even the Egyptian masses." It seems that old King Fuad was an Albanian and spoke better Turkish than Arabic—indeed, his Arabic was fairly hopeless. He refused to sit down to dinner with Zaghlul Pasha, one of his prime ministers, because Zaghlul started life as a fellah.

### Inscrutable Albion

THE hullabaloo that the embryo League is even now raising against the French in Syria, with British connivance, is a foretaste of what a full-grown League could do against the British as well. This is a prospect which baffles everybody here who is trying to make sense

out of British policy. Azzam Bey, who will be Permanent Secretary to the League, looks me solemnly in the eye and declares: "The Arab unity drive runs parallel to the interests of Britain and the other Great Powers." But there is a shadow of a wink on his leathery face suggesting that he is thinking other things. If so, he agrees with all foreigners here—except the British Embassy and the office of the Resident Minister—that British policy, as usual, doesn't see beyond the next twenty years.

I've gone up as high as Brigadier Clayton, top expert on Arab affairs, and all I get from him is that Arab unity is inevitable anyway, we might as well play along with it, the days of divide and rule are over, you know, there's no need to get excited about this League, really there isn't, these chaps will always manage somehow to be at each other's throats on big decisions. . . . All this when even British newspapermen concede that while the short-term aim of the League may be to get the Zionists out of Palestine, the long-term aim is to get imperialism out of the Middle East. The latter result, at least, does not seem to be what this British government really wants.

### Tartar Nightmare

YOUNG Samir el-Rifai Pasha, Prime Minister of Transjordan, has confirmed in a diplomatic but frank manner the basic weakness of the Pan-Arab movement. "Until now, each state has been living in isolation, working in its own interest. We've not been able to present a united front. I feel the constitution we've produced for the League could have been much stronger. But considering, for example, the gulf which divides a cultured Christian republic like the Lebanon from a feudal Moslem monarchy like Saudi Arabia, it is a great accomplishment to have been able to get them into any kind of organization. And the door has been left open for greater and greater agreement. . . ."

Samir Pasha went on to talk with sweet reasonableness about Palestine. He is, incidentally, milder on the subject than any other potentate I've met here. All he wants is rigid application of the 1939 White Paper! He admits that the Arabs, as well as the Jews, were opposed to it at the start, "but the Arabs now demand its enforcement." They've decided that 75,000 more Jews in annual quota dribbles is fair enough, with reduced land sales, and with an eventual Palestine state in which Jews will be a permanent minority. The Pasha concedes that "Jewish legal immigration, as scheduled in the White Paper, was interrupted by the war. We're willing to have that number of Jews come in even now. But during the

war many Jews entered illegally or as refugees. These must either be withdrawn from Palestine or else their number must be subtracted from the total permitted by the White Paper. . . ."

Any American attempt to force a Jewish state on the Arabs, Samir warns, would "lead to bloodshed and to Arab loss of confidence in the Anglo-American democracies." Then he added darkly: "It would compel the Arabs to look for support from another direction. I'm sure you know what I mean. And I can tell you that the government to which I refer has already begun to play its cards very skillfully in the Middle East. . . ."

Here the Pasha touches on the only British motivation for support of an Arab League that makes sense. Talk of appealing to the Russians on Palestine, of course, is just bluff. The last thing the effendis want is further Soviet penetration here. They already are worried enough about the Communist movement in the Lebanon and the amount of Soviet-inspired literature circulating above and below the counter in Egyptian bookshops. Radio Moscow is lifting its voice in Arabic gutturals with a chant of land reform, industrial development, "share-the-wealth"—a Russian tocsin to the paupered fellah, a Tartar nightmare to his masters.

It has been noted with appropriate alarm that the Soviet Ambassador was the only diplomat present last week at the opening of an Armenian art exhibit in Cairo. Too many local Armenians—for lack of passports or other documents establishing their Egyptian nationality—have been mysteriously acquiring Soviet citizenship lately.

Individually, each isolated Arab state might more easily be picked off one by one through Russian maneuvering. A firm Arab federation, on the other hand, will make each Arab politician that much more immune to uprising from below and menace from abroad. Since Britain hitherto has given few signs of concern for the Arab masses as against their effendis, she emerges as the natural ally of the ruling caste. Feudal class-interest and British security-interest dovetail neatly here. That's why the perpetual grumbling of the politicians against the British isn't taken seriously, not even by the British. The politicians grumble because it's clever to be patriotic, and helps beguile the sincerely nationalist elements, which want not only the British but the native feudalists to get out, but haven't been able to organize themselves effectively as a movement independent of the effendis. The oldsters, choosing between Britain and Russia,

say: "Better the devil we know than the devil unknown."

The flaw in British reasoning is its confidence that the younger generation of Arab nationalists will inevitably grow up to the age of bribery and that the older generation will remain forever loyal. Arab behavior when Rommel was outside Alexandria is hardly a guarantee on which to build Arab unity in preparation for the next crisis of empire.

Courtesy call on Egypt's new Foreign Minister, Abdel Hamid Badoui. He indulged in a bit of whimsy about the term "Middle East," suggesting it was probably coined by the British. They locate everything with London as a starting-point, "which would make the 'Near East' begin somewhere in France, no?" The United Nations will not be a failure if it merely succeeds in establishing the United States as the new focal point, he suggested. "That would make Britain the first landfall in the Near East, and maybe induce her to be more cooperative on oriental problems. . . ."

When I asked him if Britain was backing the League because of the Russian situation, the Foreign Minister confirmed only that Britain was backing the League, and blinked knowingly behind his rimless spectacles. After a reflective silence, he ventured: "There is not much tangible danger from the Russians yet, although it is advisable always to be prudent by taking advance precautions. But isn't it odd that the strongest penetration of Communist ideas into the Middle East should be in Palestine, a mandated territory, where safeguards presumably are the strictest?" He saw I was a bit startled by this new facet of the many-sided Moslem rebuttal of Zionism. "Oh yes," he said, "the small experiments up there in collective communities are very interesting. Opening of the territory to all currents of thought from Europe has permitted the entry of many strange philosophies. . . ."

### Cloak and Dagger

Russia isn't the only bull in Britain's china closet here. There are the French, too, who are on their way out, and the Americans, who are on their way in. Many a cynical Arab dignitary, in the two weeks since I reached Cairo, has stressed to me the League's potential as an instrument of British consolidation against the USSR and the United States. The Arabs may be playing along with the British, but they are hardly being taken in. They detect the discrepancy between General Spears' demand for the independence of Syria and his call, in the next breath, for British leadership over the Moslem world. They observe with relish the systematic British campaign to shift



the blame for Palestine to us. Pro-Zionist statements by American politicians get full publicity, but similar declarations in the House of Commons are heavily censored.

A sample of this sort of attrition is the studied attempt recently to trip up American informational activities in the Middle East. One day the Ara's News Agency, a British-controlled outfit, announced out of nowhere that Arab papers in Palestine had begun boycotting the American Office of War Information. They were allegedly refusing, as a matter of policy, to publish OWI news, features, and photographs. The OWI's alarmed Cairo office telephoned to Jerusalem. American Consul Pinkerton assured them the boycott report was bogus. Meanwhile, however, the original dispatch had already been relayed from Cairo to Beirut, from which point Reuters, another British agency, telegraphed back to Cairo that the Lebanese and Syrian press had decided to join the "boycott." Another phone call demonstrated that this report was similarly untrue. But it was widely published in the Egyptian press just the same. All this was calculated to persuade the Arabs that Islam was rising; one Cairo paper, *Wafd-al-Misri*, rushed to announce that it too would boycott the American news releases. Here at last was the first tangible evidence that the boycott, which had until then existed only in manufactured dispatches, was actually on. BBC in Cairo cabled the *Wafd-al-Misri* story to London, where the item was broadcast three times that same evening on BBC's Arabic news shows! Our Cairo Embassy cabled a protest to Washington. There the State Department made representations to the British Embassy. The campaign was dropped as easily as it had started.

At supper in the Hotel Metropolitan, a booted, crew-haircutted young American infantry major zig-tagged to our table and asked for a dance with Hassan's *Syrienne*, who resembles one of the more interesting illustrations in a de luxe edition of Omar Khayyam. Instead of a Viennese waltz with the lady from Beirut, the unlucky major got a chair, a few moments of conversation, and then a date for today—with me.

The major was waiting for me outside AMET headquarters, and nervously took me off to a quiet corner at the Little Groppi's. "Hope I didn't gab too much last night," he worried. "I was celebrating my transfer to Italy—to the front."—"Is that good? Where've you been?"—"Christ, will I be glad to get some place where I can fight Germans! All I've been doing lately is scheming against the British and laying up trouble for the Jews." He squinted at me:

"You Jewish?" I grunted. "Well, I hope you fellows are wise to what's cooking in Saudi Arabia. I've just come up. Been down there eight months. You won't print my name, will you? You know what I've been doing in that goddam desert? Teaching the Arabs how to play soldier."

"It's part of the 'lend-lease' deal on oil. You gimme concession, you gettee training and supplies. Already we've handed Ibn Saud 10,000 rifles, 150 jeeps, and all kinds of equipment. He's crazy about the machine-guns, air- and water-cooled, and the tanks." I recalled that Ibn seemed to fancy himself a pioneer in mechanized warfare for the desert. Way back in 1934, when he fought Yemen, he sent Bedouin fighters into battle on camels alongside armored cars. "Yeah," mused the major, "the old guy reminds me of that Arab proverb: 'The fish eats the bait and spits on the hook.' He's got the British coaxing him too. The Americans have a lot of personnel down there, and more coming. We take these Arabs a couple hundred at a time and give them a few months of fundamentals with the mechanized stuff. The British get them for more drill when they leave us. Guess we've turned out a few thousand that way. Now what the hell has that got to do with the war? We pull valuable line officers out of action and stick them down in the middle of Arabia. We get a nasty hate worked up between the British and us, because we're in competition, see—and the Arabs stir things up by carrying tales between the two sides. And finally we're training a lot of Arabs to make war on the Jews. Because that's what this soldier stuff is about, mister. They're making themselves a cute little army, with our brains and our matériel, just in case a small holy war up Palestine way ever gets fashionable."

It develops, however, that it's the Arabs who need protection from the Jews. So I hear from Col. T—, an American ex-professor—of archaeology, I think. This good man's heart is heavy over the Arab's helplessness before Jewish organizational skill. "The Jews are positively brilliant," he confesses. "Last week they hired two British deserters, paid them £1,000 apiece, gave them regular army trucks and sent them to a police arsenal in North Palestine. The soldiers showed the police a couple of signed official requisitions for two truckloads of rifles to be delivered to a British garrison post in the south. The abandoned trucks, very empty, have just been found in the hills of Judea. . . ."

"Now, how can the Arabs beat that? Sure there are more Arabs than Jews. But if the

Jews aren't restrained they'll drive the Arabs clear out of Palestine. With the Arabs, arms-smuggling is another racket, for profit. It's slipshod, bungling, wasteful of materials and men. But the Jews, why, they have a mission. They go about it with top efficiency. That's why the British aren't really being unjust in giving the Jewish gun-runners heavier penalties. The Jews are much more dangerous. . . ." The objective colonel, in his academic, scientific way, mentions Jewish smuggling of refugees in the same sentence with Arab smuggling of hasheesh. The colonel, in conclusion, is a pillar of the United States military intelligence service in the Middle East. . . .

### "We Are Against Them . . ."

WHETHER or not British nursing of pan-Arabism will end in grief for the Empire, it clearly is storing up grief for the Jews. The League may even remain forever poor and feeble, its internal stresses keeping it impotent against its British masters, but it is sure to be a noisy agent for unified baiting of a Jewish home in Palestine. In this respect, the League is already working full-time even before its formal inauguration. Passionate antagonism to Jewish aspirations is the one theme that all delegates to this Cairo Congress can chorus with conviction. The unanimity is too complete to be dismissed as merely the product of anti-Semitic indoctrination from Axis sources, an explanation favored by some of my British friends. A decade ago, the average Syrian didn't know where Palestine began, and the Iraq tribesman had never even heard of the place. Today both act as if Palestine were the issue most vital to them of all issues this side of Allah's paradise. Such a re-education is a tribute to the British genius for getting a point of view across with gentility and self-effacement.

At the Saudi Arabian Legation, a few streets beyond the American University, I had a dark glimpse into the antique past, and into the future, too, if the Arabs ever get their way completely. Sheikh Yussef Yassin, chief of the Jidda delegations to the Pan-Arab Congress, is a throwback to the heathen princes of the Biblical desert. Spadebearded and magnificent in his rich black *galabieh* and golden-edged snowy silk turban, he sits on a regal couch and gives audiences by appointment to white-faced infidels from the West. Ibn Saud's personal counselor, the Sheikh reached that eminence from distant beginnings. From his birthplace in Syrian Latakia, he traveled the road to puritanical Wahhabism via profane studies in Cairo, a political newspaper editorship in Jerusalem, a spell as a soldier with Ibn's rival,

Feisal, in the war against the Turks, and a secretariat in the administration of another enemy of his present master, Emir Abdullah of Transjordan.

I lost count of the quantities of special Jidda coffee we sipped from tiny thimble cups, which a cringing retainer hastened to refill after each gulp, always adding a pinch of spice. The Sheikh crossed and uncrossed his ankle-high black leather slippers and looked bored as he expounded his country's democratic mysteries: where "the Koran is the constitution, and nothing but the Koran; the King is like a father unto his people: he reads what is written and governs as it is written, because priests and even cardinals speak what is in their minds but the Koran speaks only what is in the mind of God." He twinkled slightly on the subject of oil, "of which we have more than even you on the British suspect."

But his voice turned stony and his small black eyes glinted down his sharp eagle's nose when he spoke of the Jews. "We desire every Arab, every Moslem, to be happy in his own land, and not a slave," said the Sheikh. "We are free, and we shall help to make our brothers free. Our attitude toward the Jews is the same as Europe's attitude. Ask any European what he thinks of the Jews. He is against them; and so are we. The Jews do not have a shadow of a claim to Palestine. They ruled in Palestine intermittently for only 380 years, and that was 2,000 years ago. When Britain entered Palestine, the land had scarcely 80,000 Jews. By what right have more than a half-million Jews come in since then? Palestine is not big enough for Jew and Arab." Where should the Jews go? The Sheikh smiled. "They settled a town in Persia when Nebuchadnezzar brought them from Palestine two millenia ago. Let them now go to Persia. The Nazis have killed four million Jews in Poland. If the Jews of Palestine want room, there is plenty in Poland now. We will never compromise on this. They cannot remain in Palestine. Only a small number who lived there before Balfour's Declaration may stay. The others—the hundreds of thousands of them—must go!"

CENTURIES remote from Sheikh Yussef Yassin in manner and mentality stand the young Arabs, men of Western training, proud nationalism, and devotion to the economic reform of Arab society. This is the type of leadership with which the Jews may some day be able to collaborate in the common task of industrializing and democratizing the Holy Land. But right now, so far as I can see, they are using up their energy in supporting their less idealistic feudal overlords against vague enemies

called imperialism and Zionism, and letting democracy mark time.

When I spoke in French to Sheikh Faris el-Khoury, Syrian Prime Minister, his young aide burst out in irritation: "Why don't you use English? His Excellency speaks it extremely well! [He doesn't.] We do not wish to be regarded as French!" Which sounded to me like wasting time burning books instead of persuading the anti-French notables of the Levant to give their depressed subjects cause to enjoy emancipation from the French.

As for the Jewish problem, I've heard nothing yet to indicate that the new Arabs are any more enlightened than the old. They give you as reliable history the discredited fable that the Balfour Declaration was handed to Chaim Weizmann in payment for his recipe for explosives. They deny that Jewish colonization has done the Arabs any good. "The Arab lands," I am advised, "were sold to the Jews by absentee landlords living in Beirut and Cairo. The fellahin were immediately thrown out and Jewish colonists brought in. The exchange simply pauperized the Arab peasantry. The only Arabs who prospered from the Jewish influx were the landowners." They shrug when you point out that precisely these landowners now spearhead the anti-Jewish movement.

Some of the younger Arabs take the plaintive line: "Before the first World War, the Jews in Palestine spoke Arabic, wore the *tarboosh*, had the same rights and obligations as the Arabs. Jews persecuted in Europe always found shelter with the Arabs. Why not? After all, Jews and Arabs were first cousins, originally. But now the Zionists say that Palestine is their country. We Arabs were in Spain for eight centuries. Do we say Spain is our country? Do the American Indians say America is their country?" For Arabs like young Izzedin, the Lebanese Consul-General here, the desire for the liberation of Palestine is indeed a passionate social conviction and not a convenient device for obtaining ministerial titles and retaining economic power.

Negotiating with such men might make an equitable solution a more practical possibility. But Izzedin doesn't see the Jews as a progressive island surrounded by the Arab millions. Instead, he sees the power of a worldwide Jewish alliance bearing down on a tiny group of Arabs, scarcely two million, struggling to hold their immemorial home. He was immediately suspicious when he heard I was correspondent for a New York newspaper. In my innocence, I assured him that my paper was a liberal one and always favored the causes of little people. "Even of the Arabs in Palestine?" he inquired.

## Democracy on the Nile

IN VIEW of the perpetual clamor by the Arab effendis—both in and out of power—against imperialism, I find it instructive to hear what many enlightened Egyptians themselves say about their own government and political parties. King Farouk, who has added a special balcony to his white Abdine Palace on which to appear for popular nationalist demonstrations, cooperates heartily with the British by a system of quiet back-scratching. "The subservience to the British of his ministers, who keep popping in and out of their jobs, is a tradition inherited from Turkish rule," according to one disillusioned nationalist. "The budding revolutionary élite was jailed or exiled years ago. The British operate through politicians who are publicly belligerent but privately docile."

I can testify that the British habit of hiding behind the Egyptian skirt is standard order of procedure. As a correspondent, you see it in the censorship. There are three kinds of controls here. The first two, British and American military censorship, are mild, restricting themselves to military matters. But there is a third hurdle over which every piece of copy must go, something known as the Anglo-Egyptian censorship, and that one's a terror. It has a representative (a British officer) in the central censorship office. His only function is to hold up "political" copy and send it for unhurried "review" to the Egyptian Interior Ministry. When my first stories received this treatment, I tried arguing with the officer, a Captain Kyle. But I found him like a dish of dough. You push your finger into him. The finger leaves its rounded, softened impression. Then you see the space slowly rise up and fill out. His last word always is: "I'm frightfully sorry, but the Egyptians insist on it, you know." Through artful methods I finally obtained the telephone number of the Interior Ministry's press office. When I called its chief, the name was British and the voice was British. Each of my dispatches on the Pan-Arab League has been delayed for hours or overnight, and several have had to be "revised" before they were allowed to go.

Leaving aside external policy and relations with Britain, the Egyptians—the effendis, at least—do have a considerable degree of self-government. This country is closer to Europe and has had more opportunity to test European ideas of government, in fact, than any other Arab-speaking state. The democracy and independence which the Arabs are demanding in Palestine and elsewhere can therefore be partially tested by the Egyptian record of self-

rule. The preview is not encouraging. "It's incorrect to say," a newspaper editor admitted over the third drink last night, "that we Egyptians aren't ready for a Western form of government. The truth is that we're incapable of such a form. Introduction of parliamentarianism wasn't premature—it was futile. Politics here operate by sentiment rather than reason. We follow leaders, slogans, instead of programs. We have no direction, no purpose. When we are in the opposition, we automatically attack everything the government does, and when we get into power, we do exactly the things which we have condemned previously—and we get dencunced for it by the new opposition which was the old government."

None of the present-day politicians has a genuine social outlook. Before 1922, each Egyptian ministry had its British adviser, who was in reality the master of that ministry. This system favored British interests, but the administration was nevertheless reasonably honest and efficient. The British began leaving these front-office Egyptian jobs in 1922, when the country ostensibly became independent. As the Egyptians took over, the public services promptly started to deteriorate. In this part of the world, loyalty to one's family, clan, and friends takes first place. A steady procession of claimants and favor-seekers files into the office of every Egyptian public servant. This is the perpetual pressure, the dominant motif of Moslem politics.

### Israel in Egypt

THE Jews and the other minorities here look with contempt on the Egyptian as he is today, and with alarm on what he may become if he drinks the strong wine of full "independence." A German-Jewish physician who has lived here for thirty years complains that the "Egyptians have a large conceit based on their own brand of racial supremacy doctrine. They really believe they are better than everybody else. Incidentally, the best Arabic in Egypt is spoken not by the Egyptians but by the Copts, the Syrians, and the Jews. Unfortunately for the Copts, who were established in Egypt centuries before the Arabs, they're Christians, so they get pushed around with the rest of us."

According to D—, a prominent member of Alexandria's Greek colony: "One of the original excuses for the British getting into Egypt in the first place was that the minorities had to be protected. And one of the original Egyptian arguments to keep the British out was that no discrimination existed here, all persons being equal, and equally treated. Well, both sides have forgotten their positions. The

Egyptian constitution itself stipulates that the Egyptian state is Moslem, with a Moslem king and a Moslem prime minister. After the 1922 treaty, and especially after Zaghlul, Egypt's great rebel, the usual discriminations began to crop up. Zaghlul was a real democrat, a nationalist of the Mazzini kind, demanding liberty for all. But after him, nationalism, as in Europe, degenerated into xenophobia. The Egyptians began talking about the foreigners 'coming in and getting rich.'

"The worst sufferers, as always, were the Jews. There are 80,000 of them here. Forty thousand are stateless émigrés from European countries which cancelled their nationality. In the old days, only a royal decree could make such persons Egyptian citizens; otherwise they held the vague grade of 'local subjects.' But we had a system of consular 'protégés' which provided such Jews with a formalized status. The French and Italian authorities, for instance, gave them documents and they couldn't be molested without the consulate being advised.

"But the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 changed this, supposedly in the name of liberty. The Egyptians made out that they were using their new freedom to bring freedom to those even more oppressed than they. This was accomplished by scrapping the 'protégé' idea and writing a resonantly-worded naturalization law. Thousands of applications came in, and the Egyptian bureaucracy sat down to study them. The applications are still being studied.

"A few, a very few Jews, were granted citizenship, through special intervention and much baksheesh. A few more obtained intermediate status; these can get a *laissez-passer* with the Egyptian seal on it. It's good for traveling, and nothing else. The rest live in a sort of continual crouch, trying to make themselves as small as possible so they won't be noticed.

"Well, they are noticed. After the 1936 treaty, quotas began to be introduced for various types of work. The increasing number of graduates from Egyptian schools was one of the official reasons. Privately, it was suggested that Jews are not of Egyptian 'race.' The trend increased until now 75 per cent of the personnel in all foreign companies are supposed to be Moslem Egyptians. This causes Jewish unemployment, but not as much as you might think. Many firms find it cheaper to pay the Egyptian his salary and have a Jew do the work anyway.

"Jews in foreign trade don't come easily by export and import licenses. The usual procedure is for an Egyptian to get the license and



sell it to the Jew. The Egyptians simply wouldn't know how to begin using the licenses themselves. A whole profession of license merchants has grown up among the natives.

"The troubles of the non-Moslems keep growing as the Egyptians flex their muscles. Police are always breaking into somebody's shop to check his stock for 'black-market' goods and haul him away for overnight questioning. Income taxes are 'equal' for all, which is a good joke, because Moslem businessmen rarely keep ledgers or records of any kind. The government has no basis for assessing them. It takes the easy way out by making only foreigners and non-Moslems pay. Egyptians pay maybe about one-tenth of Egypt's total income-tax revenue. Until a short time ago, the only tax Egyptians generally paid was the land tax. Now they have an inheritance tax too. It took four years for this to squeeze through Parliament. This will be a difficult tax for even the Egyptians to dodge, because control is easy. So this tax for once is moderate, with a maximum of 10 per cent. But income taxes go up to 75 per cent. Nobody in Parliament pays them, you see."

Visited Parliament. Sedate but lively session because of a crisis over a cabinet proposal to raise the basic pay of government workers in line with higher living costs. Big business and the landowners are fighting the bill. They're afraid industrial workers will want the same, and then the farmhands may climb into the gravy pot too. The arguments were very righteous. Ismail Sidky Fasha, who's President of the Federation of Egyptian Industries, made a heart-rending attack on the bill's encouragement of "socialist ideas." He was in turn accused of worrying only about his profits. He happens to be chairman, or on the board, of twenty-seven large companies. (On February 17, 1946, Ismail Sidky Pasha became Egypt's Prime Minister.)

### Débat

This afternoon the Pan-Arab League was formally proclaimed at Zaafaran Palace, and we now have the official text of its constitution. As expected, the only strong point in the document is Palestine. It flubs badly on a unified Arab foreign policy: each member state is allowed to conclude separate pacts with foreign powers, and no pact can bind other members. This makes short work of the united-front-against-imperialism idea. It takes care of Ibn Saud's American romance, the dicker-

ings of Egypt, Iraq, and Transjordan with Britain, and of Lebanon and Syria with France. Internally the new League is as weak as water: a two-thirds vote can change the constitution, but if any member objects he is free to resign. And so on. . . . But with Palestine, the League is tough. It not only proclaims Arab Palestine's legal right to independence, but gives its representatives the right of full membership in the Pan-Arab central executive. This is an open challenge to the Mandate, the Balfour Declaration, and the British constabulary. The Palestine business is contained in a brief protocol at the end of the constitution's twenty-two Articles, but it is the "lead" of the story. . . .

The ceremony took place under floodlights; turned on full-blast for the movie cameras. Twenty delegates in fezzes and two in sheikhs' burnouses sat around the regulation green baize table and made speeches into an ambulating microphone. Then came the signatures. The only one who didn't sign, because his "country" becomes a League member only by invitation, was Mussa al-Alami, the Palestine delegate; but he, of course, was the central figure of the ceremonials, taking congratulations like a bridegroom.

Afterwards, we passed into a great Bedouintented lawn with gaudy carpet canvassing on fifty-foot poles, and consumed tea and cake while a military band piped quaint little Eastern tunes. The secretary of the Iraq Foreign Minister asked in a whisper whether he could see the notes of my interviews with other delegates, to which I said no with elaborate expressions of regret. The Minister himself assured me that all the other speeches today had been unimportant but that his was epochal, and he pulled out a big wad of copies from his pocket and gave me one to cable to America, which I shall do immediately, especially since it is entirely in Arabic.

Said hello again to the Transjordan Premier, who is an Oxford graduate and also a reasonable man, and we munched cakes together while he apologized for having cut out some of the juicier quotes from the authorized version of my recent interview with him. One of the passages he removed was about his country's concern over Russia. He said the Emir had phoned him in alarm from Amman this morning to tell him that Russia had just denounced its treaty with Turkey. The Turkish press attaché came over, and I left them together worrying about Russia while I went off to the press building to write my story. . . .

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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* February 7, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Enc.

## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 7, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

### WASHINGTON EMERGENCY MEETING

Within the past few days you have received the memorandum in which your community was urged to have representation at the extraordinary national Emergency Conference to be held at the Hotel Statler in Washington, D. C. at 10:00 A.M., on Monday, February 17th. Because this meeting comes at a most critical juncture in our affairs, it is impossible to over-emphasize the necessity of having attendance from every city in the United States at the meeting. It is essential that you and your co-workers should know how the Yishuv feels about the present situation. I am taking the privilege of sending to you the sentiment of the leadership of the Yishuv at the present moment. The following has been conveyed to us by cable and other means:

The Yishuv considers the ultimatum of the British Government as a veiled declaration of war. It is pointed out that it was not even the intent or the hope of the British Government to elicit a positive reply to its ultimatum. The very fact that the ultimatum was given the widest possible publicity indicates that. It is the evident intention of the military to utilize what they consider a favorable situation created by "terrorist" activities as the excuse to destroy the Jewish Agency, to install a military regime and crush the Yishuv. Some of our spokesmen feel that the British are doing this with a view to making Palestine a military base and the evacuation of British women and children is a propaganda smoke-screen to cover this purpose. The Government's letter demanding Jewish cooperation and setting a time limit of seven days ignores the fact that during periods of national struggle neither the Irish nor the Scotch informed against their own people in behalf of the British. This procedure and policy can have no legal or moral force. It is an attempt to ruthlessly punish a whole community for the misdeeds of small groups and represents a relapse into primitive methods. Our leaders in Palestine point out that the Jewish Agency is using its own means against the terror with increasing vigor, and some results, but that the Jews will refuse to act as spies and informers in service of a government which has consistently broken pledges and just as consistently committed acts, the effect of which has been to destroy the loyalty of the people.

You can see from the foregoing that the Yishuv has a clear conception of what it is facing and that it is determined to stand by its rights, its interests and its integrity. We surely can do no less. We can manifest this by making

the meetings in Washington on February 17th the most imposing demonstration of our unity with the Yishuv. A great many cities have already indicated that they are sending representatives, but a great many have not as yet acted. If you are among the latter, you must take steps immediately to be represented at the Conference and to inform us of that fact, please let us hear from you as quickly as possible.

EDITORIAL CAMPAIGN

There is another matter of importance to which I desire to call to your attention. Some days ago I wrote to you about the need for inspiring favorable editorial comment in your newspapers and submitted to you an analysis of the London Conference to be used as groundwork for this editorial. Some fine results have already been achieved. But there are still great numbers of newspapers which have not been approached. It is most vital that this be done without delay. If no efforts have been made to inspire favorable editorial comment in your publications, please do this at once. Surely there are some people in your community who either have or can create the necessary contacts. As soon as these editorials appear please dispatch them to me, in order that they may be sent to London.

Regards.

HLS:RB



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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** February 10, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum was sent today to the Chairman of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD  
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

*To* Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* February 10, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

Over this week-end the proposals of the British Government to the Jews and the Arabs have been released from so-called "secondary sources." These reports tally with the confidential information which we have been receiving from London. These coupled with the news of British preparation for the invocation of martial law in Palestine, make the position of our movement most critical at the moment.

It is all the more necessary that a large representative group of Jewish community leaders attend the extraordinary meeting scheduled for Washington, D. C., next Monday, February 17th, at the Hotel Statler.

The opening session is scheduled to begin at 10:00 A.M. and will close at about 12:30 P.M. Reports on the present critical situation will be delivered by our leaders and plans for our future program will be discussed.

Between 12:30 P.M. and 2:30 P.M., the delegates will visit with their Congressmen and Senators.

The afternoon session will begin at 3:00 P.M. and will close by 6:00 P.M.

Please let me know by wire or telephone if I can count on your presence in Washington.

Kindest regards.

HLS:RB



## MEMORANDUM

To: Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      Date: March 13, 1947

From: Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum -- which sets down suggestions for American governmental action on Palestine in connection with the present international situation -- has been submitted to certain key figures in the United States Government. We are sending it to you for your guidance and as a basis for the dissemination of information in your community.

This analysis of recent developments affecting the future of Palestine should give you the background material necessary to provide an interpretation of the latest events. You will notice that the memorandum discusses the proposed United States loans to Greece and Turkey, but that no stand is taken either for or against such loans. What is urged is that, if the United States is to undertake serious commitments in the Near East at the behest of Britain, it should insist -- as a part of the general scheme -- that there be a just solution of the Palestine problem.

You are urgently requested to communicate at once with members of Congress, your local newspaper editors and columnists, your radio commentators -- and moulders of public opinion generally -- along the lines of the enclosed memorandum. If, during Congressional debate and public discussion of the proposed loans to Greece and Turkey, we succeed in driving home to the American Government and people that the Palestine question must be dealt with as part of our general policy in the Near and Middle East -- and not as an isolated matter -- we shall have performed a valuable service for our cause.

In view of the urgency of the present situation it is hoped that you will find it possible to carry out these suggestions without delay.

Regards.

HLS:RB  
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To                      Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      Date                      March 21, 1947

From                    Harry L. Shapiro

Attached are reprints of two advertisements which have appeared during the past days in a few leading newspapers and in important publications.

These statements -- the work of the American Arts Committee for Palestine which has been established through the American Christian Palestine Committee -- have already produced much favorable comment. They serve to indicate to the general public that the leading personalities in the world of the Arts are with us in our struggle.

"A Call to Action" has appeared in Variety and other trade publications, and large numbers of important figures are responding to it. You can expect to find an even more impressive list of names in this Committee's next advertisement.

"Keep At It Mr. President" appeared in the attached form as an activity of the Committee's East Coast Division. It is scheduled to appear in other nationally prominent newspapers together with important names from the West Coast. A reprint of the later version will be sent to you next week.

I am sure that you will want to call your community's attention to this Committee and its activities.

Regards.

HLS:MRB  
Encls.



# A CALL TO ACTION

**W**E of the arts professions are aghast at the frightful toll taken by the tragedy which has befallen the Jewish people of Europe.

6,000,000 Jews have died at the hands of their Nazi persecutors.

1,400,000 survivors remain — most of them disinherited economically, socially and politically.

**W**E wish to join in the effort to help these tortured and displaced survivors to find security and dignity in the land of their choice. Recognizing that the vast majority of these people want to build permanent homes for themselves and their children in their ancestral home of Palestine, we announce the formation of a body to be known as the **AMERICAN ARTS COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE** to aid in this objective.

**T**HROUGH this organization we shall inform the American people of the relevant facts and circumstances to the end that an aroused public opinion will compel the governments concerned to take the much-promised action long overdue these harassed people.

**W**E appeal to members of all branches of the arts to join with us actively in this great cause.

Walter Abel  
Robert Alton  
Maxwell Anderson  
Dana Andrews  
Robert D. Andrews  
Annabella  
Edith Atwater  
Lenore Aubert  
Jean Pierre Aumont  
Lew Ayres  
Salvatore Baccaloni  
Max Baer  
Tallulah Bankhead  
Will Barnet  
Mari Barova  
Wendy Barrie  
Richmond Barthe  
Marion Bauer  
Ralph Bellamy  
Laslo Benedek  
Tex Beneke  
William Rose Benet  
Stanley Bergerman  
Elisabeth Bergner  
Leonard Bernstein  
George Biddle  
Henry Blankfort  
William Blowitz  
Sydney Boehm  
Marvin Borowsky  
Lucienne Boyer  
John Brahm  
Irving Brecher  
Felix Bressart  
Carl Bricken  
Van Wyck Brooks  
George Brown  
Les Brown  
Fritz Busch  
Taylor Caldwell  
Eddie Cantor  
Lynne Carver  
Robert Casadesu  
Vera Caspary  
Anne Morrison Chapin  
Jerome Chodorov  
Mady Christians

Harold Clurman  
Peter Coe  
Richard Conte  
Norman Corwin  
John Cromwell  
Jack Cummings  
Jean Darling  
Jules Dassin  
Williams Demarest  
Agnes De Mille  
Anton Dolin  
Ludwig Donath  
Paul Douglas  
Eddy Duchin  
Warren Duff  
Pat Duggan  
Katherine Dunham  
Philip Dunne  
Jimmy Durante  
Julius Ehrlich  
Charles Einfeld  
Lehman Engel  
Samuel G. Engel  
Howard Estabrook  
William J. Fadiman  
Jose Ferrer  
Betty Field  
Dorothy Fields  
Charles Friedman  
Frank Gabrielson  
Carl Goertner  
Rudolph Ganz  
John Garfield  
John Gart  
Sheridan Gibney  
Dorothy Gish  
Leon Goldberg  
Vladimir Golschmann  
Frances Goodrich  
Ruth Gordon  
Morton Gould  
Edmund Goulding  
Charles Grayson  
Albert Hackett  
Harvey S. Haislip  
Oscar Hammerstein II  
E. Y. Harburg

Sidney Harmon  
Don Hartman  
Rita Hayworth  
George Heller  
Lillian Hellman  
Paul Henreid  
Jean Hersholt  
Irving Hoffman  
Judy Holliday  
Arthur Hornblow  
Carl Hovey  
James Wong Howe  
John Huston  
Sam Jaffe  
Maria Jeritza  
Nunnally Johnson  
Victor Jory  
Garson Kanin  
Oscar Karlweis  
Ninon Talon Karlweis  
Jacob H. Karp  
Paul Katz  
George S. Kaufman  
Gene Kelly  
Andrea King  
Charles Kingsford  
Dorothy Kingsley  
Alexander Kipnis  
John Latouche  
Richard E. Lauterbach  
Emmet Lavery  
Canada Lee  
Gladys Lehman  
Isobel Lennart  
Sol Lesser  
Sonya Levien  
William Auerbach Levy  
Anatol Litvak  
George Lober  
Philip Loeb  
David L. Loew  
Arthur Lubin  
William Ludwig  
Bela Lugosi  
Kenneth MacKenna  
Mme. Mana-Zucca  
Thomas Mann  
Groucho Marx

Victor Mature  
Jo Mielziner  
Lewis Milestone  
Darius Milhaud  
Arthur Miller  
Nathan Milstein  
Pierre Monteux  
Marianne Craig Moore  
Zero Mostel  
Henry Morgan  
Paul Muni  
Jules Munshin  
Myron McCormick  
Robert Nathan  
Nicholas Nayfack  
Seymour Nebenzal  
Dudley Nichols  
Arch Oboler  
Henry O'Connor  
Frederick O'Neal  
Jean Parker  
Nat Persin  
Irving Eichel  
William H. Pine  
Willy Pogany  
Edek Powell  
Gottfried Reinhardt  
Wolfgang Reinhardt  
Anne Revere  
Vernon Rice  
Robert Riskin  
Allen Rykin  
Hal Roach, Jr.  
Casey Robinson  
Edward G. Robinson  
Williams N. Robson  
Sid Rogell  
Bernard Rogers  
Harold J. Rome  
Carl Rose  
Robert Rossen  
Artur Rabinstein  
Daniel Saidenberg  
Williams Saroyan  
Lore Schary  
Bito Sclips  
Maurice Schwartz

Allan Scott  
Zachary Scott  
Andres Segovia  
David O. Selznick  
Harry Sherman  
Herman Shumlin  
Elie Siegmeister  
Frank Sinatra  
Robert Siodmak  
Joseph Siström  
Mary Small  
Alexander Smallens  
Isler Solomon  
Albert Spalding  
Kenneth Spencer  
Leonard Spiegelgass  
George Stevens  
Donald Ogden Stewart  
Andrew Stone  
Irving Stone  
Rex Stout  
Joseph Szigeti  
Danny Thomas  
Helen Traubel  
Frank Tuttle  
Rudy Vallee  
Carl Van Doren  
Mark Van Doren  
Jerry Wald  
Walter Wanger  
Franz Waxman  
David Wayne  
Clifton Webb  
Max Weber  
Kurt Weill  
George Wells  
Margaret Whiting  
Cornel Wilde  
Hagar Wilde  
Billy Wilder  
Thornton Wilder  
Archer Winsten  
Manny Wolfe  
S. J. Woolf  
William Wyler  
Lin Yutang  
Fred Zinneman

For further information write to:

## AMERICAN ARTS COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

664 Paramount Bldg., 323 W. 6th Street, Los Angeles 13, California

Phone: TUCKER 6675

Note: The American Arts Committee for Palestine is sponsored by the American Christian Palestine Committee.

# KEEP AT IT, MR. PRESIDENT!

**W**E ARE confident that we speak for an overwhelming majority of the American people when we say: more power to you, Mr. President, in your efforts to bring about the immediate immigration to Palestine of the homeless Jews of Europe. Such action is long overdue. The failure to permit those pitiful men, women and children to emigrate to their internationally-guaranteed National Home is a blot on the conscience of the civilized world.

Nearly two years have elapsed since V-E Day marked the triumph of the armies of democracy and the liberation of Europe. The Jewish survivors had clung to life within the concentration camps and ruins—where six million of their number had been murdered—in the belief that with the victory of the democratic nations, the healing qualities of democracy itself would replace the horror and degradation of fascism.

But they still wait for liberation in the DP Camps. Their hope has turned to bitter disillusionment. They have been "investigated" and "studied." Voluminous reports on their condition gather dust in the archives of the victorious powers. A seemingly endless series of "conferences" and "negotiations" has been sponsored by the British Government—all of them having one objective: to delay the action so desperately

needed by the Jewish people and to evade Great Britain's obligations under the Palestine Mandate to encourage and facilitate Jewish immigration and development.

To cap his record of broken pledges and brutal repression in Palestine, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bevin, has sought to shift responsibility for his ignominious failures to you, Mr. President. His derogatory references to your humanitarian requests for the immediate immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine merited the disdain with which they were received by the American people. We applaud your firm and dignified reply to the British Foreign Secretary. In pointing out that you had merely reaffirmed America's traditional policy, you once again served notice on those who would betray the Jewish people that the United States means to honor its commitments.

We believe, Mr. President, that you will meet the challenge of this desperate situation. Pending a final settlement of the question by the United Nations—which may consume many months or years—*there must be no further delay on Jewish immigration and land purchase in Palestine.*

We urge you, Mr. President, to stand firm on this pressing matter. We assure you that we will support a vigorous program of action to achieve its realization.

Isidor Achron

Maxwell Anderson

William Auerbach-Levy

S. M. L. Barlow

Will Barnet

Mari Barova

Richmond Barthé

Marion Bauer

William Rose Benet

Elisabeth Bergner

Leonard Bernstein

George Biddle

Jerome Chodorov

Jean Darling

Paul Douglas

Katherine Dunham

Julius Ehrlich

Lehman Engel

Betty Field

Carl Gaertner

John Gart

Ruth Gordon

Morton Gould

Barry Gray

E. Y. Harburg

George Heller

Judy Holliday

Sam Jaffe

Victor Jory

Garson Kanin

Paul Katz

Charles Kingsford

Alexander Kipnis

John Latouche

Richard E. Lauterbach

Bela Lugosi

Mana-Zucca

Thomas Mann

Wendy Barrie Meyer

Jo Mielziner

Nathan Milstein

Marianne Moore

Henry Morgan

Zero Mostel

Willy Pogany

Rosa Raisa

Lionel Reiss

Vernon Rice

Bernard Rogers

Harold J. Rome

Daniel Saidenberg

William Saroyan

Maurice Schwartz

Elie Siegmeister

Mary Small

Alexander Smallens

Izler Solomon

Kenneth Spencer

Donald Ogden Stewart

Helen Traubel

Mark Van Doren

Max Weber

S. J. Woolf

(Incomplete List)

## AMERICAN ARTS COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

EAST COAST DIVISION

ROOM 707, 41 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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

*Mr. H. T. Aaron*

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council    Date    March 28, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Enc.



MEMORANDUM

*To* Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* March 28, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

I wish to inform you that the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council has unanimously decided to invite the United Zionists-Revisionists of America to participate in the American Zionist Emergency Council and its Executive Committee. In keeping with the numerical proportion of the various Zionist groups represented on the Council, the United Zionists-Revisionists have been allotted one place on the Executive Committee and two places on the Council.

Accordingly, it is now in order for the local Emergency Councils to invite the Chapters of the United Zionists-Revisionists, wherever such Chapters exist, to participate in the meetings of the local Councils and of their various bodies. The representation to be accorded to the Zionists-Revisionists in the local Councils is to be determined by said Councils on the basis of the relative strength of the local Revisionist Chapters as compared to the strength of the other Zionist groups.

HEB:ALM

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

Mr. H. Hanson

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council    *Date* April 3, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed is memorandum sent today to the Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD  
Enc.

## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      Date April 3, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

Yesterday the British Government formally requested a special session of the United Nations General Assembly -- which is to be held prior to the meeting scheduled for September -- and which is to set up yet another inquiry commission to study the Palestine question.

Because many local Zionist leaders do not have access to the metropolitan press, which carried full accounts of the latest British move, I am sending you the full text of the British Government's statement. It is as follows:

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom request the Secretary General of the United Nations to place the question of Palestine on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next regular annual session. They will submit to the Assembly an account of their administration of the League of Nations mandate and will ask the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter, concerning the future government of Palestine.

In making this request, His Majesty's Government draw the attention of the Secretary General to the desirability of an early settlement in Palestine and to the risk that the General Assembly might not be able to decide upon its recommendations at its next regular annual session unless some preliminary study of the question had previously been made under the auspices of the United Nations. They therefore request the Secretary General to summon, as soon as possible, a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of constituting and instructing a special committee to prepare for the consideration, at the regular session of the Assembly, of the question referred to in the preceding paragraph.

We are thus beginning a new chapter in the history of our struggle. The American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine is charged with the responsibility of dealing with the United Nations. I am sure, however, that it will wish to utilize all the resources of Zionism in this country in the crucial work ahead; and I have no doubt that the Local Emergency Committees stand ready to surpass all of their previous efforts.

You will be interested in the following dispatch from London by Herbert L. Matthews appearing in this morning's New York Times, which indicates Great Britain's motives in requesting the special session of the General Assembly:

LONDON, April 2 -- The British have definitely decided not to relinquish their mandate in Palestine to the United Nations when the General Assembly meets to consider the Palestinian problem, it was learned in an authoritative quarter today.

In fact, the British seem determined to reserve their position all along the line and, while they do not say that they would reject any United Nations' recommendations that they surrender their mandate, they point out that the General Assembly can make only recommendations, not decisions.

Hence, any decision must, in the final analysis, be made by the British Government and not by the United Nations. This means that the British, in effect, have given up nothing so far as Palestine is concerned. Moreover, it was made clear that they consider the present situation as "frozen" until the United Nations makes its recommendations, if any.

(Britain's formal request for a special session of the General Assembly on Palestine reached Lake Success Wednesday and steps were taken at once to expedite the matter. The special session, which is expected to convene in May, will deal specifically with the appointment of a fact-finding commission to do investigational spadework for the regular fall meeting.)

The State Department in Washington is known to have been puzzled by British intentions to resort to the United Nations. Efforts to get the Foreign Office to state clearly just what the British Government had in mind were unavailing -- probably because the British could not make up their own minds.

Foreign Secretary Bevin, when he first decided to apply to the United Nations, told Arab representatives and the Jewish Agency for Palestine that Britain was going to turn the mandate over to the United Nations. However, that idea was quickly abandoned and the State Department, as the weeks passed, got an uneasy feeling that the British were receding farther and farther from their original intention of giving up Palestine.

Washington's uneasiness, in British eyes, was largely the result of a fear that if the British really did get out of Palestine the United States would have to take over that very delicate and difficult problem. The British are still convinced that Washington is willing to offer advice, but not action.

At any rate the clarification of the situation that it was possible to get today bears out the State Department's fears. According to present plans, this is about what is going to happen:

Britain will make a report to the General Assembly on her conduct of the Palestinian mandate. It will be mainly an historical summary and an explanation of the various attempts made to solve the Palestinian problem and how and why they failed.

The British will then ask the General Assembly to express its majority views on (a) what is thought of the British conduct of the mandate in Palestine, and (b) what solution is recommended for the future.

Far from throwing their mandate down on the table of the General Assembly, the British are now in the process of considering whether they should not ask the United Nations to confirm them in their mandate, or to nominate them as trustees.

However, the British have no intention of taking a fixed position in advance and they will make no demands. They do not say that if the United Nations asks them to clear out of Palestine they will refuse, but they have not, at least up to now, reached the point where they are willing to agree in advance to accept any decision or recommendation reached by the United Nations.

Behind the British attitude one finds a certain distrust of the United Nations as at present constituted, plus a strong reluctance to get out of Palestine. That is why the British are not only keeping their cards close to their chest; they are keeping four aces up their sleeves.

HLS:MSR





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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council

Date

April 14, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

The attached wire dated April 13th was sent to Chairmen  
of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD

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

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO

CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

NIGHT LETTER

April 12, 1947

UNITED NATIONS SESSION ON PALESTINE WILL PROBABLY BEGIN APRIL TWENTY-EIGHTH AND NOT MIDDLE OF MAY AS WE WERE LED TO BELIEVE BY SOME UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS. REASON BEING QUICKER RESPONSE BY MEMBER NATIONS THAN ORIGINALLY ANTICIPATED. THIS DEVELOPMENT FORCES US TO CHANGE OUR PLAN FOR QUOTE ACTION FOR PALESTINE WEEK UNQUOTE FROM MAY ELEVENTH THRU EIGHTEENTH TO MAY FOURTH THRU ELEVENTH. THE MATERIAL PROMISED IN MY APRIL TENTH MEMORANDUM WILL BE RUSHED TO YOU MONDAY. PLEASE DO EVERYTHING YOU CAN TO MAKE PROGRAM SUCCESSFUL. CANNOT OVER-EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE THIS ACTIVITY. REGARDS.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO  
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council Date April 14, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memorandum was sent to Chairmen  
of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:FB



## MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

It would seem that the failure of the U. S. Government to make any progress on the Palestine issue stems largely from the habit of treating this issue as an isolated problem, wholly apart from the rest of the Anglo-American relations and of Near-Eastern problems. The British Government is naturally aware of this tendency and therefore proceeds on the assumption that British intransigence in the matter of Palestine will have no serious repercussions and will in no wise affect its position vis-a-vis the United States in any of the many issues in which they seek American assistance or support. This, more than anything else, explains British obstinacy.

It appears likely that American efforts in the matter of Palestine will remain ineffective and fruitless unless and until the Department of State decides to include this matter as one of its objectives in the give-and-take negotiations which it conducts with Britain and other countries. This is a natural and normal procedure in international relations.

Countless opportunities of this nature have been neglected in the past. To mention but three: important concessions might have been obtained from Arab States, quite amicably, on a quid pro quo basis at the time when these States were trying to get on the band-wagon of the Western Allies, in the last year of the war. Concessions from the British Government might have been obtained on a quid pro quo basis when Britain desired American acquiescence, in the United Nations and otherwise, in the "independence" of Transjordan. And British agreement to open Palestine for the immigration of the displaced Jews of Europe might again have been obtained at the time when Britain was anxious for an American loan to help her in her own rehabilitation. No advantage was taken of these opportunities, or of any similar opportunities in the past.

A new opportunity for such a give-and-take approach has arisen now in view of the effort of the British Government to get the United States to shoulder foreign commitments in the Near East, hitherto borne by the British Empire. These requests are based on the idea that such American action is necessary to assure international stability in the general as well as in the American interest. Assuming this to be the case, it is nevertheless true that the American action requested would in the first place serve to lighten Britain's burdens while safeguarding Britain's interests. Furthermore, the economic support to be granted by the United States to those countries would, through the trade and currency arrangements existing between those countries and Great Britain, become an important source of dollar exchange for Great Britain and thus directly contribute to the economic rehabilitation of Britain. The contemplated American subsidies (the term "loan" can hardly be seriously applied to these transactions) would, in effect, amount to a further indirect loan to Britain, which, for obvious reasons, the British Government is now reluctant to request directly.

In view of this, it seems entirely appropriate that the United States Government link the Palestine question with these current negotiations. This is the more appropriate since the commitments which America is asked to undertake relate to the Near East. As has been pointed out in the press, by Walter Lippman and others, the problems of the Near East are very intimately interrelated, and the American Government should not be content to deal with them piece-meal. It is not reasonable to ask our Government to take a decisive hand in stabilizing the situation in one part of that area while at the same time being compelled to

tolerate in another part of the same area a state of affairs which it regards as deeply unsatisfactory.

If America is to become active in the Near East, it should do so on its own terms and in accordance with its own policies and not merely as an adjunct of British policies. And if such a course is to involve the United States in Greece or Turkey, it certainly should include a satisfactory solution of the question of Palestine, a country in which the United States Government has an interest of long standing.

Viewed in this light, it is simply unthinkable that at a time when America is asked to contribute materially to international stabilization, Britain should continue to interpose obstacles to a just solution of the Palestine problem. It is remarkable, also, that in her appeal to America Britain should plead poverty and the Burden involved in maintaining 10,000 troops in Greece, while spending \$150,000,000 annually to keep 100,000 men mobilized in Palestine for the purpose of enforcing a policy in defiance of international law. In view of the growing dependence of Great Britain on American financial aid, it is no exaggeration to say that America is helping to finance the vast military establishment in Palestine and the military repression of its population.

Should the United States Government raise the Palestine issue in this context — and in view of the new commitments we are expected to make, — it is reasonable to believe that the British Government will prove far more amenable than heretofore.

The recent British gesture in referring the Palestine question to the United Nations does not affect the validity of this argument. It is no more than a gesture for the moment. The British decision is so vague, unaccompanied by any concrete proposals, and so carefully avoids committing Britain to abide by any decisions of the United Nations, that it amounts hardly to more than another delaying maneuver -- a repetition of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on a wider international scale. In the circumstances, our Government refused to become party to any United Nations inquiry pending clarification of the British position. Essentially, the issue remains one which has to be cleared with Britain directly, and in doing this the approach suggested above may prove effective.

3/13/47



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

*Mr. H. H. H. H. H.*

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** April 16, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Encs.

## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date April 16, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed are three important items.

1. A reprint from the April Atlantic Monthly of Elishu Ben-Horin's splendid reply to W. F. Stace's anti-Zionist "Zionist Illusion" which appeared in the February issue of the Atlantic Monthly.

You will find Mr. Ben-Horin's reply a useful analysis of the frequently heard argument that a Zionist solution for Palestine negates the democratic right of self-determination. The article may be obtained in limited quantity from this office.

2. A statement issued yesterday by the Jewish Agency which deals with the coming special session of the United Nations.

3. A release issued today by the American Christian Palestine Committee on the occasion of one of its Regional Conferences in Memphis, Tennessee. Similar action can be duplicated in every local community in accordance with the lines of policy which have already been communicated to you.

Regards.

HLS:RB  
Encs.

STATEMENT OF JEWISH AGENCY -- APRIL 15, 1947

After two years of delay, the future of the Jewish people in Palestine is at last on the international agenda. In a previous international decision, the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their national homeland there were recognized by the League of Nations, when in 1922 it approved the Palestine Mandate. One of the last acts of that body was the rejection, by its Permanent Mandates Commission, as inconsistent with the Mandate, of the restrictions imposed by the Palestine White Paper, just before the outbreak of war in 1939. Great Britain's violation of the Mandate was allowed to continue without authoritative international challenge only because the League ceased to function and there was no international forum to which the Jewish people could turn for redress.

Most of the nations now in the UN, as members of the League, were parties to the covenant with the Jewish people. The Jewish people look to the UN, as trustee of the world's conscience, to maintain the integrity of that undertaking.

Events of the last 25 years, and in particular the experience of the last war, have proved the justice and the urgent necessity of fulfilling the high purpose of the Mandate. The growth of the Jewish National Home has vindicated the vision of 1922. The tragic fate of the Jews of Europe, 6,000,000 of whom were destroyed by Hitler savagery, has accentuated the urgency of action to enable the destitute and dispossessed survivors to rebuild their lives in the land of their choice.

It is almost two years since the war ended in Europe. It was hoped that long before this, the Jews would have been helped back to a normal life. But every obstacle has been placed in their way. The reopening of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration has been cruelly and indefensibly delayed. In makeshift camps in Germany and Austria, in internment camps in Cyprus, behind barbed wire in Palestine itself, the Jews count off wasted days, waiting for liberation and reconstruction.

These people are on the brink of despair. Further delay may mean a new catastrophe for a people that suffered as no other in the war. It is imperative that the General Assembly act quickly and firmly. Pending an inquiry into the problem of a long-term solution of the Palestine question, the General Assembly could well exercise its great moral and political authority to invalidate the illegal provisions of the White Paper. The General Assembly should call upon the Mandatory Power to conform in the interim period to the plain letter of the Palestine Mandate, to reopen Palestine to Jewish immigration on a scale commensurate with present needs and to remove the existing measures of racial discrimination which restrict Jewish settlement on the land and which are repugnant to the principles of the UN Charter.

\* \* \*

**PRESS RELEASE**

**AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE**

41 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

• MURRAY HILL 2-4917 •

This organization combines the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, and continues the work of both organizations.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE URGES PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO INSTRUCT

U. S. DELEGATES TO U.N. TO SUPPORT

"ESTABLISHED AMERICAN POLICY ON PALESTINE" AT SPECIAL SESSION

- - - - -

MEMPHIS GROUP ALSO CALLS FOR INTERIM POLICY THAT WILL INSURE IMMEDIATE

LARGE-SCALE JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE

- - - - -

Memphis, Tenn., April 15 -- Christian leaders of this city today wired President Truman and Acting Secretary of State Acheson to direct U. S. Delegates to the April 28th Special Palestine Session of the U.N. General Assembly to act in accordance with "established American policy on Palestine."

The prominent spokesmen, meeting in a Seminar of the American Christian Palestine Committee, defined American policy on Palestine as that "expressed by Congressional Resolutions, in the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, by endorsements of all Presidents since Woodrow Wilson, in the platforms of both political parties and by American acceptance of the recommendations for immediate action of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry."

The Memphis leaders, headed by former U. S. Representative Walter Chandler and Rev. Marshall Wingfield, also urged that the American delegation to the U.N. "press for the implementation of an interim policy to insure the entry into Palestine of at least 100,000 unfortunate refugees, who are part of a much larger number now living in detention camps and displaced persons' centers in Europe and on Cyprus."

(more)

The Conference called the President's attention to the fact that the terms under which Great Britain referred the Palestine question to the United Nations gave "no assurance that the decisions of the United Nations will be accepted by the Mandatory power."

"Under these circumstances, it would appear that the displaced persons can look forward to nothing but indefinite delay in the response of the world to their plea and those basic human rights which have been so long denied them. It is, therefore, evident that our Government must uphold an interim policy of expanded immigration into Palestine," the Conference declared.

The full text of the telegram follows:

"A GROUP OF REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTIAN CITIZENS MEETING THIS 15th DAY OF APRIL IN THE CITY OF MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE MEMPHIS CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE RESPECTFULLY ASKS THAT THE AMERICAN DELEGATES ATTENDING THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY OPENING ON APRIL 28th BE INSTRUCTED TO SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHED AMERICAN POLICY ON PALESTINE, AS EXPRESSED BY CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS, IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONVENTION OF 1924, BY ENDORSEMENTS OF ALL PRESIDENTS SINCE WOODROW WILSON, IN THE PLATFORMS OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES AND BY AMERICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

"WE ASK FURTHER THAT THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AT THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY ON APRIL 28th PRESS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AN INTERIM POLICY TO INSURE THE ENTRY INTO PALESTINE OF AT LEAST 100,000 UNFORTUNATE REFUGEES WHO ARE PART OF A MUCH LARGER NUMBER NOW LIVING IN DETENTION CAMPS AND DISPLACED PERSONS' CENTERS IN EUROPE AND ON CYPRUS. BOTH YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, AND UNDERSECRETARY DEAN ACHESON HAVE USED YOUR GOOD OFFICES ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS TO BRING ABOUT THE MOVEMENT OF THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE TO THE ONLY PLACE ON EARTH TO WHICH THEY DESIRE TO GO AND WHERE THEY MAY ESTABLISH FOR THEMSELVES A NEW LIFE. DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE UNANIMOUS RECOMMENDATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN

(more)



COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY, THE DOORS TO PALESTINE REMAIN CLOSED TO THESE HELPLESS PEOPLE.

"NOW ANOTHER COMMITTEE IS ABOUT TO BE FORMED AND PRECIOUS TIME WILL BE LOST IN THE STUDY OF A SITUATION WHICH HAS BEEN STUDIED SO OFTEN BEFORE. MORE TIME WILL THEN ELAPSE WHILE THE UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERS THE REPORT OF THIS COMMITTEE. EVEN THEN THERE ARE NO ASSURANCES THAT THE DECISIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL BE ACCEPTED BY THE MANDATORY POWER.

"UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE DISPLACED PERSONS CAN LOOK FORWARD TO NOTHING BUT INDEFINITE DELAY IN THE RESPONSE OF THE WORLD TO THEIR PLEA AND THOSE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH HAVE BEEN SO LONG DENIED THEM.

"IT IS THEREFORE EVIDENT THAT OUR GOVERNMENT MUST UPHOLD AN INTERIM POLICY OF EXPANDED IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE. RECOGNIZING THIS, WE AGAIN RESPECTFULLY URGE THAT OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UNITED NATIONS DELEGATION RECEIVE FROM YOU DEFINITE DIRECTIVES TO FULFILL THE PLEDGES MADE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE TRUST THAT THE STATED AMERICAN POLICY ON PALESTINE WILL BE IMPLEMENTED THROUGH ITS SPOKESMEN AT THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY."

# *American Zionist Emergency Council*

## CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
Murray Hill 2-1150

April 16, 1947

The attached memorandum, which analyzes the British action in referring the Palestine question to the United Nations, is sent to you in the hope that the facts contained therein may prove useful to you in evaluating the new situation created by the British move.

The American Zionist Emergency Council stands ready to supply you with any additional information or material on the Palestine question that you may require. Please do not hesitate to call on us.

EW:SR  
Enc.

April, 1947

MEMORANDUM

1. With the publication of the British note to the United Nations of April 2nd, the Palestine issue entered a new phase. The text of the note follows:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom request the Secretary General of the United Nations to place the question of Palestine on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next regular annual session. They will submit to the Assembly an account of their administration of the League of Nations mandate and will ask the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter, concerning the future government of Palestine.

"In making this request, His Majesty's Government draw the attention of the Secretary General to the desirability of an early settlement in Palestine and to the risk that the General Assembly might not be able to decide upon its recommendations at its next regular annual session unless some preliminary study of the question had previously been made under the auspices of the United Nations. They therefore request the Secretary General to summon, as soon as possible, a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of constituting and instructing a special committee to prepare for the consideration, at the regular session of the Assembly, of the question referred to in the preceding paragraph."

2. Unfortunately, this new phase is not as decisive as appears on the surface. Careful reading of the note shows that Britain does not put its mandate for Palestine (a mandate which she holds from the League of Nations) at the disposal of the United Nations; nor does she offer to withdraw from Palestine; nor does she submit to the judgment of the United Nations regarding the legality of the regime now in force in that country; nor does she even commit herself to abide by whatever decisions the United Nations may reach regarding the future of Palestine. She merely asks for "recommendations", without giving the slightest indication that she would consider herself bound by them.
3. This impression, which one gathers from the text of the British note, is further corroborated by well-authenticated newspaper reports. It will suffice to quote from two such reports:

"LONDON, April 2 -- The British have definitely decided not to relinquish their mandate in Palestine to the United Nations when the General Assembly meets to consider the Palestinian problem, it was learned in an authoritative quarter today.

"In fact, the British seem determined to reserve their position all along the line and, while they do not say that they would reject any United Nations' recommendations that they surrender their mandate, they point out that the General Assembly can make only recommendations, not decisions.

"Hence, any decision must, in the final analysis, be made by the British Government and not by the United Nations. This

means that the British, in effect, have given up nothing so far as Palestine is concerned. Moreover, it was made clear that they consider the present situation as 'frozen' until the United Nations makes its recommendations, if any . . . "

(N.Y. Times, April 3, 1947)

"LAKE SUCCESS, L. I., April 3 -- Great Britain has reserved her right to reject any United Nations decision on the future of Palestine, it was made clear today.

"The British request for General Assembly consideration of the Holy Land does not automatically commit London to acceptance of whatever the Assembly decides. At the same time, officials of the British delegation explained this afternoon, Great Britain is ready to give thorough consideration to any Assembly recommendation . . . "

(N.Y. Herald Tribune, April 4, 1947)

4. In the light of the above, the British action in referring the Palestine question to the United Nations, instead of being a genuine appeal to the international organization for a solution, assumes the character of a further play for time. By putting in motion international machinery of investigation and deliberation, the British government again hopes to evade demands that she modify her Palestine policy; she seeks to continue her present lawless regime pending the deliberations; and -- once "recommendations" are formulated -- she retains the freedom to disregard them.

This is not the first time that the British government has dealt in this manner with the Palestine problem. On the contrary, this has become the established pattern both for unilateral British inquiries and for international inquiries into the Palestine issue initiated by Britain:

A British Royal Commission (Peel Commission) in 1937 inquired into the British administration of Palestine, severely criticized that administration as unjust to the Jews, and recommended the partition of the country into Jewish and Arab States. This conclusion did not find favor with the British government. It thereupon appointed another Commission (Woodhead Commission) which reported in 1938 that the partition of the country was impracticable, and Britain could look forward to a further indefinite period of rule over Palestine.

To give herself an alibi further to curtail Jewish development in Palestine, Britain convoked a so-called "Round-Table Conference" on Palestine in the spring of 1939. None of the members of the League of Nations were invited. But Britain did invite the Arab States, which did not form part of the League and which have as little right to determine Palestine's destiny as Palestine has to determine their future.

When the Conference ended in failure -- as was universally expected -- the British Government made this an excuse to publish the "White Paper of 1939", a

document under which only 75,000 more Jews were to be admitted to Palestine and all further Jewish immigration into the Jewish National Home was to be subject to Arab consent; the Jewish population was to remain forever a minority; and severe discriminatory measures were to be enacted forbidding Jews to acquire property and to settle in 95% of the territory of Palestine.

In the same year, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations -- not a trumped-up especially-composed-and-selected gathering, but the competent international authority entrusted by the League with the task of supervising the administration of all mandatory regimes -- decided that the White Paper was contrary to the Mandate for Palestine. But since this finding of the international authority was unwelcome to the British Government, it was blithely ignored, and Palestine is governed to this very day under the terms of the White Paper, in flagrant violation of the Mandate.

When, with the end of the war, the plight of the uprooted Jews of Europe made the opening of Palestine a matter of extreme urgency, and the President of the United States requested that at least 100,000 of these uprooted Jews be admitted to Palestine immediately, the British Government, seeking to avoid action, proposed the appointment of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. This Committee, in April 1946, formulated a series of long-term proposals and a few recommendations for immediate action, viz., the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews and the abrogation of the discriminatory measures enacted under the White Paper.

These recommendations did not please the British Government. Therefore, they were ignored. Instead, the British proposed a further "study" of the Palestine problem by the United States and Great Britain. This "study" culminated in the so-called Morrison Plan, under which Palestine was to remain under British authority for an indefinite period, though an ostensible self-government scheme was to be offered to Arabs and Jews, respectively, in some parts of the country; in fact, however, these rights of self-government were nullified by provisions for British supervision and veto. Provided that Arabs and Jews both agreed to such perpetuation of British rule, 100,000 Jews were to be allowed to enter Palestine at the rate of 4,000 a month, but further Jewish immigration into most of Palestine was to be made impossible and their immigration into the so-called "Jewish province" was to be subject to British veto.

When this all-too-transparent proposal was rejected by the President of the United States, and the British Government once more faced pressure for immediate action, it resorted again to the device of a "round-table conference" with Jews, Palestine Arabs, and representatives of the Arab States. Again the British posed as selfless mediators attempting to bring together two "unreasonable" parties.

But the device was used once too often and no longer deceived anyone. Faced with mounting criticism, at home and abroad, of its handling of the Palestine problem, the British Government had to try something new. It referred the Palestine issue to the United Nations. For a few weeks, while the precise terms under which the United Nations would deal with this problem were not yet known, sections of public opinion had thought that this time the British Government was indeed inviting the judgment and decision of an impartial international body. But now that the note to the United Nations has been published and commented upon by British officials, it is plain that again we have nothing more than a procrastinating device on the part of the British Government which is as determined as ever to pursue a policy universally recognized as iniquitous and lawless.



6. It is now almost generally understood that British policy in Palestine springs from utterly selfish motives. Growing recognition is given to the fact that this policy is even more specifically determined by the personal and group interests of a small clique of British Colonial officials unwilling to abdicate their present position. Nevertheless, British official documents and unofficial comments continue to insist that Britain's interest in Palestine is unselfish, detached, motivated by humanitarian considerations alone, and that her difficulties there are not of her own making but are the tragic result of the attempt of the fair-minded British rulers to do equal justice to two antagonists. To make this picture more plausible, British politicians went out of their way to encourage and stimulate Arab opposition to Jews. Having done so, they point to this same Arab opposition as a reason for evading their responsibilities.

7. Though few illusions remain regarding British intentions in "submitting" the Palestine issue to the United Nations, the very fact that this issue has been placed on the agenda of the international organization offers a challenge and an opportunity: even if Great Britain means to ignore those recommendations of the United Nations which she finds annoying, this does not free the members of that great body from their responsibility to offer such recommendations as are warranted by the facts. All international progress is based upon the idea that some day individual governments, however defiant of the enlightened opinion of civilized mankind and however brazen in their violation of international law, will come to the point of respecting the judgment of humanity. This is also the ultimate hope which may be held out in connection with Palestine, and one should expect, therefore, that the individual governments of which the United Nations is composed will not make themselves accomplices in the crime committed by Great Britain, but will give their judgment as their conscience bids them.

8. Specifically, the governments composing the United Nations will have to guard watchfully against being drawn in by Great Britain into any expression of approval or appreciation of the record of the British administration in Palestine, however vague or innocuous its wording might be. It should be realized that, even though the British may disregard the positive recommendations of the United Nations regarding the future of Palestine, they will interpret the least expression of approval of their past record as a sanction by the international body to continue their arbitrary regime. If the United Nations go into the record of the British Administration at all, they should pass true judgment on it in the light of the international Mandate which that Administration was sworn to uphold. If they are not prepared to do that, the least one may expect of them is not to abet the continuation of past iniquities for the sake of international courtesy.

9. As a matter of fact, it would be highly desirable if the United Nations, before addressing themselves to the question of Palestine's future, should take up the issue of the consistency of Palestine's present regime with existing international agreements. After all, the United Nations is the guardian of international law, and is dedicated to the proposition that valid treaties should be observed. The violation of the League of Nations Mandate is so clear that it is wholly within the jurisdiction of the United Nations Assembly to express itself on this question. United Nations Bodies have already been asked to take a stand on several issues which involved questions of international law: the dispute between the U.S.S.R. and Iran, the dispute between South Africa and India, and the dispute between Great Britain and Albania; and in two out of these three cases, the United Nations did take a stand. On the other hand, the United Nations may prefer to refer the question of the legality of the present regime in Palestine under international law to the International Court of Justice set up under Chapter XIV of the United Nations

Charter. This procedure would be more time-consuming but equally proper. Whichever of these two procedures is adopted, it is to be devoutly hoped that, in one way or another, a truly impartial judgment on the legality of British rule in Palestine will be rendered.

10. Before agreeing to take any action on the British request, it would be highly proper for the United Nations Assembly to request and obtain assurances from British authorities that its findings will be observed by them. The Government of the United States has just given a statesmanlike proof of its attitude toward the United Nations by agreeing to modify a most important part of current American foreign policy (our assistance to Greece and Turkey) at the request of a simple majority of the United Nations Security Council. It is, therefore, quite in order to suggest that Britain should agree to submit to the findings of a majority of the United Nations Assembly (to which body, rather than to the United Nations Security Council, the British had chosen to bring the Palestine problem) without reserving to itself the right to refuse compliance with these findings. Anything less would make the United Nations appear ridiculous.

11. It has been pointed out by British spokesmen that Britain cannot commit herself to accept findings of the United Nations which would require her, as the Power in control of Palestine, to carry on a policy which she is not prepared to undertake. This may, at most, be a reason for relieving Britain of her present position of responsibility for and authority over Palestine. But in all fairness, this cannot be considered a valid argument against making recommendations which are called for by the facts of the situation.

12. In formulating substantive recommendations regarding Palestine's future, the member-governments of the United Nations should keep in mind the need to distinguish between the immediate future and a long-range solution. If no such distinction is made, it would be easy for the British to keep staving off a long-range solution, thus making it possible for themselves to continue the present brutal regime in Palestine for an indefinite period. It would be highly appropriate, therefore, to pass a preliminary set of interim recommendations designed to bring present British administration in Palestine into line with existing international law, and to pass to the consideration of long-range recommendations only if and when the British government will have agreed to abide by the interim recommendations. The minimum interim policy upon which every fair-minded person may insist should be the abolition of the discriminatory racial measures now in force in Palestine and the re-opening of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration in accordance with the Mandate.

13. It is hoped that when the United Nations approach the task of formulating a long-range solution for Palestine they will keep in mind that the social, economic, and political reasons which prompted the League of Nations a generation ago to sanction the idea of a Jewish National Home that would develop in time into a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, have not become less compelling. On the contrary, if the need for a Jewish National Home was clear to the statesmen of a generation ago, it should be even more obvious to their successors of today. Nor have any other attendant circumstances changed so as to militate against the continuation of the Jewish National Home policy. Economically, the history of Jewish colonization in the intervening decades has dispelled any doubts as to whether a Jewish Commonwealth is feasible. Politically, the setting-aside of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people was part of a general settlement under which about one million square miles were established as territories of the future Arab States; these States have now all come into being and have assumed their places as members of the family of nations, leaving unfulfilled only that part of the settlement which concerns the development of Palestine as the Jewish National Home. Finally, the Jewish rights to Palestine confirmed in a series of valid documents (the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the Resolution of the Principal Allied Powers at San Remo in 1920, the League of Nations Mandate of 1922, the United States-British Palestine Convention of 1924) of which the Jewish people is the beneficiary, have created a position in which Jewish rights to Palestine have been recognized and may no longer be denied without Jewish consent. Legally as well as morally, the future status of Palestine must, therefore, be based on the right of the Jewish people to re-establish Palestine as the territory destined to become the Jewish State.

14. The above considerations apply to each and every member of the United Nations. They apply particularly to the Government of the United States. Our Government has assumed a position of moral leadership in world affairs. It has acted on this assumption in the Near East and within the United Nations. When it comes to the problem of Palestine, it stands particularly committed by a long series of official acts and pronouncements beginning with President Wilson's endorsement of the Balfour Declaration; a Joint Resolution of Congress in favor of the Jewish National Home policy, adopted under President Harding; a treaty ratified by President Coolidge; and ending with a current Resolution of the U.S. Congress in December 1945 and official pronouncements by the President of the United States in October 1946.

15. All these documents are too lengthy to quote in this memorandum, but it may be useful to recall the most recent resolution of Congress on this subject:

"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."

16. It is hoped, therefore, that now that the Government of the United States is called upon to deal with the Palestine question not only in its individual capacity but also as a leading member of the United Nations, it will take a clear and unequivocal stand in support of the policy to which it is so clearly committed, and the righteousness and wisdom of which the leaders of the American people have so often and clearly affirmed. It should be realized that many of the smaller governments of the United Nations will follow the lead of the Government of the United States in this matter, as in many other matters. Any sign of weakness, hesitation or compromise with principle on the part of the mighty United States will induce many other governments within the United Nations to deal with the problem in a similar manner. In that case, the resolutions of the United Nations will be vague, opportunistic, and ineffective. Justice will be the loser, nor will the name of the United States be enhanced. If, on the other hand, the President of the United States instructs the American delegation to the United Nations to uphold forthrightly the cause of justice in this matter, we may feel certain that most countries of the world will rally around our Government. Whatever the subsequent attitude of Great Britain, the United Nations, under the leadership of our own country, will then have done its duty.



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

*Mr. H. Hanson*

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** April 21, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Encs.



MEMORANDUM

*To* Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* April 21, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

In my memorandum of April 10th, I described the suggested activities for ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE WEEK: MAY 4th - 11th. I should like to have a report from you as to what progress you are making in securing a resolution from your City Council or Board of Aldermen and a statement from the Mayor of your city.

Attached is a copy of an advertisement which will appear this week in a number of leading American newspapers. If it is possible for your committee to finance this advertisement locally, I shall be pleased to send you a mat of the attached copy. Please let me know your wishes.

If you have the time to send me a full report of your progress in all the activities for ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE WEEK, it will be helpful in evaluating the effectiveness of the current national program.

Regards.

HLS:RB  
Enc.

Confidential

April 22, 1947

To: Members of the Executive of the  
Jewish Agency

From: Benjamin Akzin

MEMORANDUM

1. Although our legal case is very strong, the United Nations are not obliged to decide the issue on the basis of existing law. It is as if a labor union went to a Congressional Committee to argue its rights under the Wagner Act, when Congress is thinking of passing a new labor law in place of the Wagner Act.
2. The United Nations decision is most likely to be of a political nature. Its character will depend on the relation of political forces. Since the British are against us (if they were not, the whole issue would not have arisen), and since the American Government is trying to avoid taking the initiative on our behalf, the chances of a favorable political decision are extremely remote. In all probability the majority will either rule against us or reach a vague compromise formula which, in effect, will allow the British to do as they please. Moreover, in the remote case of there being a majority decision relatively favorable to us, the minority can be expected to be sufficiently large to offer the British an excuse to disregard it.
3. We can try, of course, to estop the United Nations from making unfavorable political recommendations by citing our acquired rights under the Mandate and the declaratory effect of the Preamble of the Mandate, and by reciting our very strong moral and political claim to Palestine. But the reference to acquired rights, etc., while perhaps persuasive with a judicial tribunal, will not necessarily count with a political assembly. As for a recital of our moral and political case, this, unfortunately, cannot be expected to sway the Assembly if even the United States is not ready to be swayed by it into taking a vigorous stand in our favor.
4. This situation would not be changed by any campaign of ours, however, vigorous, to mobilize American public opinion in favor of a Jewish Palestine. American public opinion as reflected in newspaper editorials, Congressional attitude, etc., is mainly of value in influencing the position of the American Government. If public opinion was unable to induce the American Government to take a determined stand for us, it certainly cannot be expected to affect the foreign delegations to the United Nations. These delegations will take their cue as to the attitude of the United States from the American Delegation to the United Nations, and not from newspaper editorials or Congressional speeches.
5. Realistically speaking, therefore, the result of the deliberations of the United Nations must be expected to be a negative one. Most probably, the British have weighed all this, and only because they have come to the same conclusion have they referred the matter to the United Nations in the

terms which have been used by them.

6. It is naive to think that we could essentially modify this situation by manipulating the terms of reference of the Special Committee. The British request foreshadows the scope of its work, viz., to study the Palestine question and to propose recommendations. We might get into the terms of reference a mention that the Committee should work with due regard to the principles of the Charter. Whether we do so or not, does not really matter, since the Charter is in any case binding upon all agencies of the United Nations without any specific reference to it. The trouble is that the Charter contains not only a reference to the need to observe international agreements and the more specific provisions of Article 80, but also a lot of other provisions which would be good ammunition in the hands of those who would ask for early independence, self-determination for the present population of Palestine, or the revision of existing situations in the interest of international harmony. We certainly will not succeed in framing the terms of the Committee so as to include those Charter provisions which can help us while excluding the Charter provisions which could be used against us.

7. To put it bluntly, our legal case under the Mandate is strong; our chances, in the present political situation, to win a political decision, are remote. It is suggested, therefore, that we should try to keep the debate as long as possible within the framework of the Mandate and to transfer the site of the debate to a forum which will not be able to disregard the legal position. This means that we must try to transfer the debate from the United Nations as a political institution to the International Court of Justice. I submit that this choice signifies for us the difference between winning and losing our case.

8. The matter is of extreme urgency, since it will be too late to refer the question to the International Court once the United Nations reach the stage of discussing the substance of the recommendations for the future government of Palestine. At that time, the only excuse we might find for getting the question into the Court would be that these recommendations do not respect acquired Jewish rights -- a rather tenuous argument which will strike the outsider as a resort to technicalities. In addition, by then the contents of the United Nations recommendations -- presumably unfavorable -- will already have been established. Therefore the weight of public opinion will tend to support these recommendations and to resent our stubbornness, thus making it easier for the British to put those recommendations into effect.

The time to ask for a transfer of the question to the Court is during the very first stage of United Nations proceedings. It can be done only in connection with our contention that whatever the nature of the future recommendations, the present regime in Palestine ought to conform to the Mandate since the Mandate is still the only valid basis for the administration of Palestine; and that therefore the United Nations is requested to issue interim recommendations to the effect that all measures inconsistent with the Mandate be abrogated.

However justified, the request for an interim recommendation on these grounds has hardly any chance. But at this juncture we can suggest that if the United Nations doubt whether the present regime in Palestine is

inconsistent with the Mandate and calls for an interim recommendation of this kind, they should request an advisory opinion on this point from the International Court, in accordance with Article 96 of the Charter.

9. I submit that by pointing this way out, we will enable all governments even slightly friendly to us to make use of this convenient formula to help us without taking any initiative in substantively embracing our case. Even the American Government would probably be very happy to take this way out, since it would not entail taking any forthright American position on the future of Palestine. Even the Russian Government may like the idea since it would clearly annoy the British. I think, therefore, that there is a very good chance of the question being referred to the Permanent Court at this stage over the opposition of the British and the Arabs.

10. Assuming for a minute that the request will not be granted, we will not have lost anything. We will have reiterated in a very dramatic fashion our confidence that if our case were taken to a proper judicial tribunal it would triumph. A certain discomfort would therefore attach to those who opposed reference to impartial justice, and our subsequent position in the United Nations will become a little easier, though probably not enough to matter.

11. Insofar as one can be certain regarding any case in court, it is certain that the White Paper and the present regime in Palestine will be found by the Court to be inconsistent with the Mandate. It is true, however, that reference to the Court will delay matters, since only after the verdict has been rendered will the question of interim recommendations come back to the United Nations. We are faced, therefore, with a choice between a delayed favorable decision of limited scope and a possibly quicker unfavorable decision of general scope. I submit that it is the duty of the Jewish Agency to gauge the situation as realistically as it can. If the Agency believes that it can obtain from the United Nations a favorable decision at the present time, it should not resort to the International Court. But if, upon a careful evaluation of all the factors involved, the members of the Agency Executive believe that a decision by the United Nations at present is more likely to be unfavorable, it is their duty to try to have the matter referred to the Court.

12. Admittedly, the favorable decision of the International Court would be a victory of a very limited scope. After we have obtained it, the United Nations will again face the question whether to issue interim recommendations on the basis of the Court's verdict or whether it should pass to the formulation of final recommendations. Should interim recommendations be issued -- which is still an unlikely occurrence but more likely after than before the Court's verdict -- the victory will have been enormous. The British would either have to submit or their regime will have become clearly tainted with illegality, and the Yishuv will be able to call on the increasing support of the world in its non-recognition of the British raj. But even if this does not happen, we will have gained an enormous moral victory.

13. The time during which the issue will be on the agenda of the Court will not be lost to us. True that the matter will be sub judice, but so would the issue be while it is under consideration by the United Nations. Besides, the minute the question of the legality of the present British

regime is submitted to the Court, this legality becomes morally doubtful -- a circumstance which will make it much easier for our people to continue Aliyah Beth, much easier for the European Governments to disregard British demands for suppression of Aliyah Beth, and much more difficult for the British to maintain the lily-white attitude of saints.

14. Procedurally, the matter has to be handled in the course of our very first contacts with the forthcoming Special Assembly, if possible even before the opening of the Special Assembly. Under Article 96 of the Charter, an advisory opinion may be requested of the Court either by the Assembly or by any special organ of the United Nations if authorized to do so by the Assembly. Therefore, if we cannot get the Assembly itself to ask for such an advisory opinion, we must get the Assembly to authorize the Special Committee to do so if, in the course of its studies, it finds it necessary. In order to do this, we would certainly need to get a permissive clause into the terms of reference of the Special Committee, and perhaps even a broadening of the agenda of the Special Assembly by the addition of a specific point to this effect.





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

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** April 23, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Encs.

## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 23, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

Many splendid reports have been received from communities as to the progress of action which they are initiating during the ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE WEEK: MAY 4th-11th. If you have not sent in your report as yet, please do so at your very earliest convenience.

Attached are a number of items which may be of use to your committee during the program on which you have embarked:

1. A sample editorial - Palestine Before the UN.
2. A series of radio spot announcements.
3. A sample resolution, which should replace those sent to you last week.

Attached are two items of information:

1. A letter from the American section of the Jewish Agency to the United Nations.
2. A press release of the Jewish Agency dealing with Egypt's request for an immediate Arab solution.

Regards.

HLS:EB  
Encl.

## PALESTINE BEFORE THE UN

In submitting the Palestine question to the United Nations, Great Britain has apparently not risked relinquishing her present control over the Holy Land. It is now rather clear that the gentlemen of the Foreign Office are granting themselves a "referee's time-out" in their game of Middle East power politics.

Here is an almost unbelievable phenomenon. Great Britain will participate in the judgment of a case in the triple role of judge, jury and Supreme Court, whereas, in point of fact, her part should be that of the defendant. Britain will reserve the prerogative of either accepting or rejecting the recommendations of the UN, depending on whether they harmonize with Mr. Bevin's anti-Zionist policy on Palestine.

When the British Government first announced its intention of submitting the Palestine problem to the General Assembly of the United Nations, it was believed by some that this was an honest effort to settle a long drawn-out political muddle. But no sooner was the question formally presented than Great Britain indicated her real motives in taking this step. British official spokesmen emphasized that the General Assembly is empowered to make only recommendations and not decisions, and that recommendations handed down by the United Nations, would not automatically be binding upon the British Government. Thus, if the Assembly makes recommendations which prove to be at odds with present British policy these will be given "due consideration" -- which means that they will be ignored. If, on the other hand, the UN should permit itself to be used as an instrument of the British Foreign Office and underwrite the present British attempts to liquidate the Jewish National Home, His Majesty's Government will lose no time in putting such UN recommendations into effect.

This tragic farce can be averted only if the United States brings all of its prestige and a sense of justice to the meetings at Lake Success. If the United States acts in accordance with its commitments on Palestine and takes the initiative in championing the Jewish cause, only then will the United Nations become an instrument of decision and justice. However, if the United States evades its responsibilities, then Great Britain will be able to utilize fifty-five nations to further her present illegal policies.

\* \* \*

RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT NUMBER ONE

This is ACTION FOR PALESTINE week. This is the crucial moment, when the fate of the Jewish people is about to be decided. Every American with a sense of fair play should today raise his voice on the side of justice.

Only recently President Truman stated: QUOTE, 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. UNQUOTE.

President Truman spoke for America. These words must now be backed up by decisive American action within the United Nations. Write today to President Truman. Urge that our Government take its stand in the United Nations now in accordance with our pledges to the Jewish people.

This is the time to prove that America means what it says.

RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT NUMBER TWO

This is a call to action: Action to put an end to the suffering of the homeless Jewish refugees in Europe. Action to remove a blot from the conscience of the civilized world. Action to fulfill America's pledges to the Jewish people.

The United States has always supported the Jewish National Home in Palestine and is committed to a policy of free Jewish immigration into Palestine. The Congress of the United States has adopted resolutions favoring this policy. Every president of the United States -- from Woodrow Wilson to Harry S. Truman -- has voiced his support of this policy.

The crucial moment is now! This is ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE week. Write to President Truman today and urge that our country take the initiative in the United Nations to do justice to the Jewish people.

RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT NUMBER THREE

In 1919 President Woodrow Wilson said: QUOTE, I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth, UNQUOTE.

That has been America's position down to the present day. The time has now come to re-state that position in clear and definite terms in the United Nations.

This is ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE week, when every American who wants to do justice to the long-suffering Jewish people and who wants his country's pledges honored, should raise his voice for American action in the United Nations.

Write to President Truman today and ask that our delegate to the United Nations speak out for the American policy on Palestine.

Let's prove that America intends to honor its pledges.

RADIO SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT NUMBER FOUR

Attention, Americans! If you believe that resolutions of the Congress of the United States should be honored -- if you want the official statements of our Government respected, then this is the time for you to speak up.

The Congress of the United States has said that the American people want free Jewish immigration into Palestine. American policy in favor of the Jewish National Home has been stated by President Woodrow Wilson, President Warren G. Harding, President Calvin Coolidge, President Herbert Hoover, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Harry S. Truman.

That policy should now be stated by America in the United Nations. Write to President Truman today and insist that American pledges shall be kept, that America shall take the initiative in the United Nations to redeem our promises to those suffering men, women and children who look to Palestine for salvation.

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## DRAFT OF RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the British Government's action in submitting the Palestine question to the General Assembly of the United Nations has been revealed as an empty gesture since, by its own admission, the British Government will not be bound to execute recommendations that may be forthcoming from that body; and

WHEREAS, the British Government has repeatedly violated its obligations as the Mandatory of Palestine by repudiating the solemn pledges expressed in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate with regard to the facilitation of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the continued development of the Jewish National Home; and

WHEREAS, the British Government has imposed totalitarian measures of repression on the entire Jewish Community of Palestine; and

WHEREAS, the plight of the Jewish survivors in Europe is steadily worsening, making it imperative that they leave that hostile continent at the earliest moment; and

WHEREAS, the seizure and mass deportation to Cyprus of so-called "illegal" Jewish immigrants constitute a brutal campaign against helpless men, women and children, completely inconsistent with the principles of the Atlantic Charter; and

WHEREAS, such immigrants embark for the Holy Land as of their legal right, since the White Paper of 1939, which bars their entry, was repudiated by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as inconsistent with the Palestine Mandate -- thus making illegal the policy pursued by the British Administration; and

WHEREAS, the Government of the United States of America, through the passage of resolutions in both Houses of Congress, and through planks in the platforms of both major political parties, is pledged to free Jewish immigration into the Holy Land and the establishment in Palestine of a free and democratic

Jewish Commonwealth;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we respectfully call upon the Government of the United States to take the initiative during the forthcoming special meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in vigorously championing the program for Palestine which it has repeatedly reaffirmed, thereby defeating the British Government's attempt to employ the United Nations session as a maneuver to retain its present Palestine policy;

AND, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we call upon the Government of the United States to insist that the Jewish people, as the party most directly concerned, be accorded full representation in all deliberations regarding Palestine within the United Nations through the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the internationally recognized body authorized to speak for the Jewish people;

AND, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that pending a final settlement of this question by the United Nations the great weight of the United States Government should be brought to bear on the Mandatory Government to the end that an interim policy based upon the existing Mandate be set into motion at once providing for immediate large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine and the removal forthwith of the discriminatory land restrictions in the Jewish National Home.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this Resolution go forward to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State, the American Delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations, and members of both Houses of the Congress of the United States.

\* \* \* \*

MEMORANDUM

*To* Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* April 24, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

The press of April 24th reports the House of Lords debate on Palestine, during which "concern" was expressed over the condition of Jewish refugees seeking to reach Palestine aboard "slave ships."

This new British propaganda "line" was carefully planned some weeks ago and was predicted by some American newspaper correspondents, notably Homer Bigart, of the New York Herald Tribune.

If the aforementioned dispatch on the House of Lords debate appeared in your local newspaper, may we suggest that you submit the enclosed letter to the editor over your signature or that of another leading member of your community.

This suggestion does not apply to emergency committees in the New York metropolitan area or Washington, D. C., as the national office has already sent letters to the editors of the papers there.

Regards.

HLS:MSR  
Enc.

To the Editor of \_\_\_\_\_:

In reporting the House of Lords debate on Palestine, the newspapers of April 24th quoted Lord Altrincham as deeply concerned over the conditions under which unauthorized Jewish immigration into Palestine is taking place. He described these conditions as "inhuman, disgusting and disgraceful," and the ships carrying Jewish refugees as "far worse than those used to carry slaves to America." Similar "concern" was expressed by Lord Hall, who represented the Royal Navy's role in intercepting refugee ships headed for Palestine as a rescue operation.

Such solicitude from gentlemen who, in the same breath, urged that Britain's present illegal policies regarding Jewish immigration be retained and enforced!

The purpose underlying these "humanitarian" utterances was two weeks ago laid bare in all its cynicism by American newspaper correspondents. To quote one significant dispatch -- that of the New York Herald Tribune's Homer Bigart, writing from Jerusalem on April 11 -- "the British will launch a propaganda campaign against conditions on 'slave ships' and suggest that sinister motives are behind the flood of remnants of European Jewry to Palestine. The wave of 'illegal immigration' believed impending will be denounced as a phony invasion, although great sympathy will be evinced for the unfortunate people herded on board 'slave ships'."

Further comment is unnecessary.

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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* April 28, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapirc

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

HLS:LD  
Encs.



## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 28, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

As the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations opens today, the attitude of the Government of the United States remains indecisive. Our State Department is clearly reluctant to take the affirmative stand on Palestine, which one has every reason to expect it to take in view of America's repeated commitments in favor of the Jewish National Home.

We must, therefore, redouble our current efforts to induce our Government to take the initiative to advance Jewish claims within the United Nations. All the activities previously outlined in our various memoranda must now be intensified.

We must try to achieve three immediate objectives:

1. Representation of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in the deliberations of the United Nations;
2. Immediate revocation of the illegal restrictions on Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchase in the Jewish National Home -- as interim measures pending final UN recommendations;
3. United States initiative within the United Nations to achieve the program for Palestine which it has publicly endorsed.

Letters and wires to the President along the lines already indicated should continue. In this connection, you may wish to employ a technique inaugurated by the Pittsburgh Emergency Committee, which is proving highly successful in that community. Members of that committee are assigned to attend meetings of the various Jewish organizations in Pittsburgh. At these meetings the Emergency Committee representative asks not only that a resolution be adopted, but also that the meeting be adjourned for a period of fifteen minutes, during which those present quickly pen letters to the President. The Zionist representative brings different types of stationery to the meetings for this purpose.

In Pittsburgh the Local Emergency Committee has also requested all Sunday school groups, adult and youth clubs, the Y.M.H.A., etc., to follow the same procedure. You may want to use the same methods, which has produced splendid results, in your own city.

We also urge you to get in touch with your local political leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties and stress the imperative necessity for immediate U. S. action within the United Nations in accordance with America's declared policy. Ask them to take this question up with their national leaders. The importance of this type of action on your part cannot be stressed too often. I am sure that you will lose no time in carrying it through.

\* \* \* \* \*

Attached are copies of editorials which appeared in some of the New York metropolitan newspapers today. Regards.

HLS:MSR

Encs.

### PALESTINE IS THE TEST

This is the day when the test of the courage and sense of justice of the United Nations, from the smallest to the greatest among them, begins.

Just as Ethiopia was the test of the League of Nations, so will Palestine be the test of the United Nations.

Ethiopia revealed the moral bankruptcy of most of the nations of Europe. Palestine will register the moral weakness or strength of the nations of the world.

The United States of America is the nation that will bear the greatest credit or blame for what happens. President Truman will be the one held most responsible by history.

The United States was not a member of the League of Nations and so escaped some of the odium of the Ethiopia affair, although we paid in treasure and blood for our decision to pass by on the other side of the road when we permitted Mussolini to attack that defenseless country.

Now there is no escape from responsibility. The United States is one of the two most powerful members of the United Nations. More, the United States, over a long history, has shown a grasp of the principle of justice and acknowledged that there must be such a thing as national morality and national honor. Failure for us is more culpable than for a nation that professes different standards.

Nor is there any escape for President Truman. He is the President of a nation that subscribes to those standards and will be judged according to them.

For more than twenty years, the United States has been committed to the proposition that Palestine should be made the Jewish national home. Every President, from Harding to Truman, has reiterated that pledge.

The United States and British Governments were solemnly committed to immediate entrance of 100,000 Jews into Palestine and repeal of the prohibition of purchase of land by Jews, when the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry made its report almost a year ago.

We have never believed that there was any need for appointment of a United Nations Commission to investigate Palestine. The facts are known wherever men can read. Appointment of another commission, without immediate and vigorous action, would be mere cowardice.

At the very least, the United States delegation, for the honor of the people of the United States and for the personal honor of their President, must take leadership in demanding:

1. Immediate admission to Palestine of 100,000 Jews.
2. Immediate repeal of laws prohibiting Jewish land-purchase.

Neither of these steps to carry out the original pledge need wait on solution of the political problem. Both are essential preliminaries. Both are vital to immediate justice.

Today the test begins. If the present session of the United Nations ends without adopting a minimum program of justice for the Jews in relation to Palestine, then the United Nations will have started along the path of moral bankruptcy to which the League of Nations turned in the case of Ethiopia.

\* \* \*



Excerpt from Editorial of the  
DAILY NEWS, April 28, 1947

### REASONABLE JEWISH REQUEST

The United Nations General Assembly is scheduled to meet today in special session on Palestine.

This is the beginning of the UN Palestine investigation which was brought about by British Foreign Secretary Bevin's admission last February that Arab-Jewish negotiations in London had broken down, and his statement that Great Britain was willing to submit the Palestine question to the UN.

The sessions will be just a debate, mainly, since the General Assembly hasn't the power to change the status of Palestine. Any fundamental changes will have to come through the Security Council, composed of the permanent Big Five representatives and delegates in rotation from six other nations.

This being the setup, various Jewish groups are asking that the Jews be allowed to have one or more spokesmen at the General Assembly hearings...

It is not proposed by anybody that the Jews have a vote in the General Assembly. All they want is to send representatives to listen to what goes on and to argue the Jewish side of each dispute that comes up.

To us, the request seems entirely reasonable. After all, it is the ancient Jewish homeland that is to be under discussion, not China or Persia or Czechoslovakia. The purpose of the debate is to air all factions' grievances and start work toward some Palestine plan into which the Security Council can get its teeth.

Yet there has been a great deal of hush-hush hesitancy about admitting Jewish spokesmen to the hearings; and Britain, the United States and Russia have furnished most of said hesitancy.

We don't know the reason for it, but it has the aroma of the same old runaround which the Jews have been getting for years from England with reference to Palestine, and lately from the U. S. Government as well.

We hope the General Assembly, soon after it convenes today, will decide to admit Jewish representatives as the logical and honest thing to do.

\* \* \*

Editorial from the  
NEW YORK JOURNAL-AMERICAN  
April 28, 1947

### PALESTINE -- A PLEDGE UNFULFILLED

By Harry H. Schlächt

"In the matter of Palestine, Britain  
stands Before the Bar of God, of his-  
tory and of humanity."

-- The late Archbishop of Canterbury

Today six million ghosts are converging on the United Nations Hall in Flushing. They are the helpless Jewish men, women and children slaughtered by the Nazis. They are the martyred dead. They are the remnants living in the DP camps of Europe. They are crying out in one mighty voice: "We have had enough sympathy. We have had enough of fine words with no action to back them up. Stop the Jewish tragedy once and for all by ending our national homelessness. Fulfill the pledge made to us by the nations of the world. Let us rebuild our lives and our hopes in our ancient land -- Palestine."

Will that agonized appeal reach the hearts of the powers, which are about to determine the fate of an entire people?

This is the test of the moral integrity of the United Nations. This is the test of the sense of justice of our generation. This is the acid test of our civilization. This is the acid test of our democracy. This is the acid test of peace.

The British Government's motives in submitting the Palestine problem to the United Nations are open to question.

The British spokesmen have already declared that His Majesty's Government will not be bound to accept the UN's recommendation.

This means, in simple English, that if the United Nations should decide that Great Britain has violated her obligations to the Jewish people under the Palestine mandate; that she must henceforth abide by her responsibility to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine, and that she must further development of a Jewish national homeland -- then the British Government proposes to ignore the recommendations as "not binding."

Great Britain plans to abide by UN recommendations only if they suit her.

Our Government must take a forthright stand in support of the Jewish homeland. Our Government is pledged to this American policy.

It has been enunciated by Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. It has been stated in two historic resolutions adopted by the Congress of the United States. It has been incorporated into the platforms of the two major political parties -- calling for reconstruction of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.



President Truman declared recently: "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 find shelter there, but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish national home."

We have promised Palestine to them. We have allowed them to pour their lives into the Holy Land. We have allowed them to pour their lives, their dreams and hopes into "Eretz Israel" and then we shut the doors in their face.

The Hearst newspapers have always championed the Jewish national home. It is the most pressing problem of our day. It is imperative that President Truman instruct our delegation to the United Nations to take the initiative in achieving a just solution based upon America's historic policy of support for Jewish national aspirations.

\* \* \*



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

HPM

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Members of American Zionist Emergency Council **Date** May 2, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date May 2, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

CONFIDENTIAL

In what is described by today's press as a major shift in policy, the United States Delegation to the United Nations has been instructed to seek a voice for the Jewish people in the proceedings of the United Nations session. This is no assurance of support for the representation which was requested by the Jewish Agency. The action is nevertheless indicative of a sudden change in approach by the American Government.

The Jewish Agency had requested representation, without vote, in the proceedings of the General Assembly. The Jewish people would thus be in a position to counter the propaganda of Great Britain and the five Arab States. It seems now that we may be permitted to give testimony before the Political Committee. While this would fall short of the original just request, it would, however, give the Jewish people an opportunity to present the Zionist case.

This action by no means reflects any benevolence on the part of the State Department, nor does it mean that our Government has at long last decided to take the initiative in advancing the policy on Palestine to which it is committed. It is quite definitely the result of continuous pressure on the Government on the part of our local Jewish communities throughout the country.

This is striking evidence for the members of your community that successes can be achieved if we work diligently and unceasingly. It also serves to demonstrate that the Jews of America are a fighting force.

This, however, is only the beginning of the struggle. Our approach during the next few days - in letter-writing campaigns, resolutions,

representations to political leaders, etc. - should take the same forms as indicated heretofore, with increased emphasis on the responsibility of the United States Government to take the initiative now in furthering its publicly stated policy on Palestine.

ACTION-FOR-PALESTINE WEEK comes at a very opportune moment. What your community does this week may determine the future of our movement. Most local communities have to date carried forward a splendidly militant program of action. I urge you to intensify your work, to do everything possible to carry out the program outlined in previous memoranda. Let it not be said that when American Jewry had the opportunity to help, that we failed to meet our full responsibility.

Regards.

HLS/RB



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* May 12, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed herewith is a memorandum dated May 9, together with enclosures, which was sent to Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:RB  
Encs.



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To*           Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees   *Date*       May 9, 1947

*From*       Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed herewith is the text of the presentation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine at the meeting of the Political and Security Committee of the United Nations.

Since this is the first representation made to the UN by the Zionist movement, it is an historic document. Copies of the reprint are available on your request.

Regards.

HLS:RB  
Enc.



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* May 16, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Enc.

## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      Date May 16, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

We have succeeded in arranging for a limited number of recordings of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's presentation to the UN. These will be available in approximately ten days. If you can arrange to have one of your radio stations devote a half-hour program to the presentation, I should be pleased to send you a recording of the speech as soon as you advise me the name of the station and the time which has been allotted. The recording is made exclusively for radio stations and cannot be used on a standard phonograph. It's duration is approximately 27½ minutes. If you can make arrangements with one of your local radio stations to air Dr. Silver's address, please let me know immediately.

\* \* \*

Attached is a column of Major George Fielding Elliot, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on May 9th. These are available in limited quantities on your request.

\* \* \*

An editorial appeared in the Washington Post this morning which gives its reaction to the final Russian statement in the UN. The editorial begins by indicating that Mr. Gromyko's clear expression of Russian policy had stunned both the British and the American Governments. It concludes with the following three paragraphs:

"Neutrality has hitherto been commended on the grounds that nothing must be done to injure the susceptibilities of the Arabs lest we thrust them into the arms of Russia. The whisperers in Whitehall and the State Department have been working overtime on this theme. If the Arabs were left enraged, it is said, they would promptly embrace communism, and the Russians at a stroke would extend their sway even to the Moslems of India. The case wasn't even plausible. A united Arab world is more of an invention than a fact, even about Palestine, with the Lebanese stranger to the Saudi Arabians than to New Yorkers. Besides, they are run by pashas, landlords, and feudalists who would shudder at the thought of leaning on Moscow. They know more about the Russians than their apologists. If Russia were to bestride the Middle East, the men who are now running the Arab League would be the first to be liquidated, perhaps on the ground that they had taken the place of the old Zionists as British agents. Mr. Gromyko exposes the hollowness of these whispered warnings of Arab-Soviet flirtations.



"Actually the Russians in recent years have felt they had more in common with the Palestinian Jews. This is natural enough. In the first place, it is obvious now that the Zionists are no longer what the old Bolsheviks used to charge, viz, 'the lackeys of British imperialists.' Secondly, the advanced and progressive Jews of Palestine held out much more promise to the Soviet government than the backward Arabs controlled by the feudal cliques of kings and effendis. Moscow cannot forget the contribution that Jewish Palestine made to the war effort of the Allies. It was an invaluable workshop, and Russia has a profound respect for the kind of technician that manned it.

"But, aside from the fruits of Palestine industry, Palestine occupies a position of singular strategic importance. It is the virtual link between the three continents, lying on the Mediterranean within close touch of the Suez Canal, and it serves as the outlet and inlet for the trade of that area, chiefly Arabia's oil. Moreover, Zionist leadership is predominantly Russian in national origin. It seems to us, therefore, that there is nothing surprising in the Russian gambit at Flushing Meadow. Aside from discomfiting America and Britain, Russia may be disclosing where her interests really lie. At any rate, it is the kind of affirmativeness that long ago should have been forthcoming out of the State Department."

Regards.



HLS:RB  
Enc.



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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council Date June 2, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Enc.

## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date June 2, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

You have undoubtedly read of the British Government's attempts to obtain the collaboration of other governments in barring the way of European Jewish refugees seeking to gain entry into Palestine. Special efforts have been made by the British to induce the French and Italian Governments to prevent the passage of visaless Jewish emigrants through their countries. For example, today's Jewish Telegraphic Agency reports that French authorities are now refusing to permit Jews to cross from the American zone of Austria through the French zone.

Your Committee can now perform an important service to our cause by informing the French and Italian Governments of American feelings in this matter. We urge you to approach a few leading members of your community with the request that they communicate with the French and Italian Ambassadors in Washington, and express deep concern over the aforementioned reports. A mass letter-writing campaign is not called for in this case. Only important personalities, both Jewish and non-Jewish, preferably those who are able to speak for organizations and civic bodies, should be asked to write such letters.

In addition to expressing concern over the recent press reports, the letters should respectfully call the attention of the Ambassadors to the feeling of an overwhelming majority of the American people that British policy regarding Jewish immigration into Palestine is both unjust and illegal. The letters should also express the conviction that the displaced Jews of Europe are fully entitled to enter Palestine. They should include appreciation of the understanding and helpful attitude displayed in this matter by the French (or Italian) Government in the past and

- (a) in the case of the French -- voice disappointment that the French Government should now give way to British pressure and join those who seek to place additional hardships in the way of the unfortunate survivors of Nazism;

and (b) in the case of the Italians -- express hope that the Italian Government will not submit to such pressure.

If there are French and Italian Consulates in your community, it would be wise to have similar letters addressed to the Consuls of the respective governments. Your Committee should also organize a delegation, composed of community leaders, to call on the French and Italian Consuls.

Letters to the French and Italian Ambassadors (M. Henri Bonnet and Signor Alberto Parniani) should be addressed, as follows:

His Excellency  
The Ambassador of Italy  
Italian Embassy  
Washington, D. C.

His Excellency  
The Ambassador of France  
French Embassy  
Washington, D. C.

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

## MEMORANDUM

*To*        Chairmen of local Emergency Committees        *Date*    August 18, 1947

*From*    Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is correspondence with the U. S. State Department in connection with the "Exodus 1947" incident.

I send it to you for the information of your committee.

Regards.

HLS:GH  
Enc.

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

HPM

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council

August 18, 1947

Date

From Harry L. Shapiro

The enclosed memoranda was sent today to the Chairmen  
of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:RB  
Enc.



CORRESPONDENCE WITH U. S. STATE DEPARTMENT WITH REFERENCE  
TO THE "EXODUS - 1947"

July 30, 1947

Hon. George C. Marshall  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I understand that three American citizens, Bernard Marks of Ohio, Arthur Ritzer of New York, and Cyril Weinstein of New York, are to be tried in the British courts in Palestine on the charge of aiding and abetting illegal immigration. A fourth American citizen, William Milson of Massachusetts, is to be deported from Palestine by the British authorities in that country as an illegal immigrant. I further understand that the Department of State has been officially notified of these facts by the American consular officers in Palestine.

The Department of State is undoubtedly aware that the charges referred to above arise out of the connection of the four American citizens with the voyage to Palestine of about 4,500 Jewish survivors of the Nazi massacres in Europe on board the S.S. Exodus 1947, which ship was captured by British naval forces in the Mediterranean, outside of the territorial waters of Palestine, on July 18, 1947, with the capturing forces causing death and injury to several persons, including the death of William Bernstein, an American citizen and a former officer of the U.S. Navy.

These actions of the naval forces of the United Kingdom on the one hand, and of its civil and military officers in Palestine on the other, involve serious matters of international law. The action taken by the British authorities in Palestine against Bernard Marks, Arthur Ritzer, Cyril Weinstein, and William Milson could be justified only on the assumption that the restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine, under which that immigration is now considered by Britain to be illegal, are in themselves valid and consistent with international law. This assumption, however, is untenable in the light of the principal sources governing the status of Palestine, notably the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine and the U.S.-British Palestine Convention of 1924, which may be taken together with other documents bearing on the issue, such as the Report of the Permanent Mandates Commission to the Council of the League of Nations, made at the 36th session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, 1939; the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 1946; the statements of the President of the United States of March 16, 1944, April 20, 1946, and October 4, 1946; and the statements of Messrs. Winston Churchill, Herbert Stanley Morrison, and (Lord) Noel-Baker, in the British House of Commons on May 22 and 23, 1939, and March 6, 1940, respectively.

Since the actions against the four American citizens are the consequence of the capture of the Exodus 1947, they further involve the grave question of possible interference with shipping on the high seas. This question is also involved very clearly in the killing of William Bernstein in the course of the ship's capture.



American citizens having been the victims of both actions, it is impossible to deny American interest in the issue, however narrowly one may choose to construe this interest.

It would seem to any fair-minded person, in view of the suffering caused to American citizens by the above-mentioned actions of the British authorities, and especially in view of the status enjoyed by the United States with reference to Palestine under the U.S.-British Palestine Convention, that speedy and determined action by the Department of State to ascertain the merits of the legal questions involved, to secure future British conformance with the law of nations, and to obtain appropriate redress for the wrongs already committed, would be an elementary duty of the Department of State in keeping with its traditional function of protecting American rights. This conclusion would seem in order even if the issue did not affect declared American policy. This conclusion must be reached still more compellingly if one bears in mind that the British acts referred to above flow from a policy directly opposed to the officially announced and repeatedly stated policy of the U. S. Government with regard to Palestine.

In these circumstances, the absence of any indication that the Department of State is taking any of the steps usually resorted to by our Government when American rights are violated, must needs be a matter of profound concern to the American public.

You will forgive me, Mr. Secretary, for addressing this letter to you. I do so only because a large number of American citizens for whom I speak in this instance are gravely perturbed over the passive attitude which the Executive agencies of our Government have assumed toward the clear and systematic violation of international law by the United Kingdom in relation to Palestine. I cannot overemphasize the impatience with which American public opinion awaits appropriate action by the Department of State in the case which I have taken the liberty of calling to your attention in this letter; nor can I overemphasize the satisfaction with which such action would be received.

Respectfully yours,

Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman

\* \* \* \* \*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1947

My dear Dr. Silver:

I have received your letter of July 30, 1947 with regard to the arrival of the vessel Exodus 1947 in Palestine and to subsequent circumstances during which several members of the crew lost their lives and other persons were injured.

According to reports from the American Consulate General at Jerusalem, the Government of Palestine issued a communique on July 29 in which it was stated that after the arrival of this ship in Palestinian waters on July 18 the vessel took violent evasive action to avoid being boarded, which resulted in damage to herself and to naval units. The communique cited various preparations for resistance, including barbed wire, and stated that boarders met tear gas, fireworks, smoke bombs, steam jets and various missiles. The communique stated that naval personnel fired twice on the ship: one rifle shot and one burst of machine gun fire, both of which missed. According to the authorities, the vessel was boarded within Palestinian territorial waters on the morning of July 18.

The Consulate General reports that six American citizens were on board the Exodus 1947, one of whom, William Bernstein, died of wounds at Haifa on July 19. The exact circumstances surrounding the wounding of Bernstein are not known because of the confusion prevailing during the boarding of the vessel. Another American citizen, William Millman, is presently hospitalized in Haifa, with a jaw injury. No other American citizens who were on board the Exodus 1947 were injured.

With regard to the other American citizens, John Grauel was assisted by the Consulate General, in accordance with his request, in obtaining passage on the Marine Corp, which left Palestine on July 24. Bernard Marks, Stanley Ritzer and Cyril Weinstein, alleged to have been crew members, have been released on bail and are now awaiting trial on charges of aiding and abetting "illegal immigration." Millman has not been detained as a crew member, but as an "illegal immigrant." According to the Palestine authorities, "illegal immigrants" are normally deported. None of the Americans mentioned, with the exception of John Grauel, have communicated with the Consulate General. They have, however, been informed that the Consulate General is prepared to offer appropriate assistance.

The Department and its representatives abroad will continue to follow developments with close attention, and to render all proper assistance to the American citizens concerned.

With regard to additional action of the character suggested in your letter, this Government has the general aspects of the matter under consideration.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Henry S. Villard, Acting Director,  
Office of Near Eastern and African  
Affairs

\* \* \* \* \*

August 12, 1947

Mr. Henry S. Willard, Acting Director  
Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs  
Department of State  
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Mr. Willard:

In the absence of Dr. Silver, I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 6, 1947, NE 367 N.1115/7-3047, dealing with the capture of the Exodus 1947 by British forces.

I have been requested by the American Zionist Emergency Council to express its appreciation of your courtesy in conveying to us the description of the ship's capture and of subsequent events as given by the British authorities in Palestine. At the same time, the Emergency Council is certain that this description, emanating as it does from the party the legality of whose acts has been challenged, will by no means be accepted by the Department of State as conclusive. You will recall that in Dr. Silver's letter to the Secretary of State, dated July 30, 1947, an entirely different picture of the capture was given. With the return to this country of Mr. John Stanley Grauel, an American newspaperman and observer aboard the Exodus 1947, there is now available unimpeachable eye-witness testimony of the incident. The statements of Mr. Grauel, as reported in the New York Post of August 8 and in the New York Times of August 9, are enclosed herewith.

It is with particular shock that the Emergency Council took notice of the glaring evasions and misstatements contained in the British version of the incident as indicated in your letter. In that version, the damage is attributed not to the action of the British forces in ramming and capturing the Exodus 1947 but to the "violent evasive action" taken by the ship's crew to avoid what it had every reason to regard as illegal interference with the ship's movements on the high seas. The killing of William Bernstein, an American citizen, regarding which ample evidence is available, is dismissed in that version with the fantastic explanation that "the exact circumstances surrounding the wounding of Bernstein are not known because of the confusion prevailing during the boarding of the vessel." The British communique quoted in your letter seeks to convey the impression that the ship was captured in Palestine's territorial waters, though the American master of the vessel has made a statement to the contrary. Finally, the British authorities in their version do not take the slightest cognizance of the illegality under international law of that Palestine immigration policy, the enforcement of which has caused the incidents complained of, but blandly proceed on the untenable assumption that their actions and policy are consistent with international law.

It is hoped therefore that the Department, mindful of the death of one American citizen and of the serious damage suffered by four other American citizens as a result of these actions and this policy of the British authorities, will seek from the British Government speedy redress as well as assurances regarding the future. It is further hoped that, should the British Government refuse to offer such redress and assurances and should it continue to assert the validity of its action under international law, the Department

will insist on an impartial determination of the facts and the law in the case by an appropriate international tribunal.

Yours sincerely,

Benjamin Aksin, Political Secretary

\* \* \* \* \*

August 13, 1947

Mr. Henry S. Villard, Acting Director  
Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs  
Department of State  
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Mr. Villard:

I have read your letter of August 6th addressed to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and dealing with the capture of the Exodus. The enclosed copy of an affidavit sworn out by me in Haifa, Palestine, will help to correct much of the information from British sources, which according to your letter, has reached the Department.

In addition, I feel it my duty to take issue with two further points mentioned in your letter.

You write that, according to the report of the American Consulate General in Jerusalem, "the exact circumstances surrounding the wounding of Bernstein are not known because of the confusion prevailing during the boarding of the vessel." It will interest you to know that Mr. Ritzer, an American citizen and crew member of the Exodus, now awaiting trial in Palestine, was a witness to the fatal wounding of Bernstein by British naval personnel.

Your letter further states, on the basis of information received from the Consulate General, that "none of the Americans mentioned, with the exception of John Grauel, have communicated with the Consulate General." I should like to correct this. Since Messrs. Marks, Ritzer and Weinstein were unable at the time to communicate in person with the American Consulate General, they requested me to transmit on their behalf a request for protection. I did so in the course of a conversation which I had with Mr. Porter of the American Consulate General in Jerusalem.

Sincerely yours,

John Stanley Grauel

\* \* \* \* \*

AFFIDAVIT

I, JOHN S. GRAUEL, journalist and lecturer, of 1A Wachusett St., Worcester, Mass., U.S.A., at present at Shoshanath Hacarmel Hotel, Shoshanath Hacarmel St., Mount Carmel, Haifa, hereby make oath and say:-



1. My name, profession and address are as above stated.
2. I was on board the S.S. "President Warfield" otherwise known as "Exodus 1947" (hereinafter referred to as "the Exodus").
3. I proceeded on board the Exodus from France as a correspondent for the "Churchman" journal to observe the voyage.
4. During the voyage I was in constant contact with the Master, officers and some of the members of the crew of the Exodus and I was given free access to the bridge, chartroom and Master's quarters and I had personal knowledge of the position of the "Exodus" from time to time.
5. Before I boarded the "Exodus" I had already some knowledge of navigation, including fixing positions of ships, which knowledge was improved during this voyage by actual participation in fixing the position of the ship from time to time.
6. Between 5 P.M. of the 17th July, 1947, when the "Exodus" proceeded from a point off Damietta, Egypt, towards Palestine, until about 2 P.M. of the 18th July, 1947, when the "Exodus" arrived to a point off the Palestine coast, the "Exodus" was at no time within the territorial waters of Palestine. I ascertained the correctness of the statement contained in this paragraph as follows:-
  - (a) As from about 5 P.M. of the 17th July, 1947 until about 2:30 A.M. of the 18th July, 1947 I several times ascertained and checked the position of the "Exodus" by means of the ship's compasses and charts as well as by the course and speed of the "Exodus" coupled with the position of the ship off Damietta; and
  - (b) During the period between about 5 P.M. of the 17th July, 1947 and about 2 P.M. of the 18th July, 1947 I saw no land, although I was on the lookout at frequent and short intervals.
7. During the part of the voyage between about 5 P.M. of the 17th July, 1947 until the control of the "Exodus" was taken over by the members of the British Navy as hereinafter set out the Master of the "Exodus" in my presence and in my hearing several times ordered his officers and some of the members of his crew to navigate carefully and to reduce speed in order to avoid at all costs the approach before sunrise of the 18th July, 1947 to any point off the Palestine coast nearer than 20 miles off coast.
8. I took a special interest in ascertaining the position of the "Exodus" off the Palestine coast, in view of the numerous reports that had appeared in the press in the past alleging that immigrant ships had been captured in violation of international law by the British Navy on the high seas before reaching the territorial waters of Palestine, and of my desire to ascertain the correctness or otherwise of these reports.
9. On the 18th July, 1947 at about 2:30 A.M. I saw two British destroyers converging on the "Exodus" whereupon I went on to the hurricane deck of the "Exodus" in order to observe closely the ensuing events. I saw and felt the "Exodus" being struck violently both port and starboard in a squeezing action



by the two destroyers. At the same time I observed an onslaught of tear gas and other explosives discharged at the "Exodus", whereupon passengers on the "Exodus" fell down on the deck of the "Exodus." The "Exodus" was subsequently violently rammed several times by British destroyers.

The attack on the "Exodus" as aforesaid was carried out by a flotilla of British men of war consisting of five destroyers and the cruiser "Ajaz."

10. Almost immediately after the "Exodus" was first struck by the destroyers I saw a party of British sailors, who wore gas masks and were armed with pistols and wooden clubs with steel bands around the heads of the clubs, boarding the "Exodus." Shortly thereafter as I heard that someone on the bridge had been wounded by the boarding party, I proceeded to the bridge and found that the bridge was in the possession of British sailors.

11. Subsequently, as I heard that William Bernstein had been seriously wounded by the boarding party and was lying in the Master's quarters, I attempted to bring a doctor and a nurse of the "Exodus" to the Master's quarters in order to render him medical aid, but a British sailor stationed in the chartroom and in control of both the chartroom and the Master's quarters adjacent thereto refused my request to permit a doctor and nurse admission to the Master's quarters.

12. The British sailors used clubs as aforesaid and firearms to establish their control of the "Exodus". Three persons of the "Exodus" were fatally wounded by the British Naval personnel, one of whom, William Bernstein, one of the officers of the "Exodus," was clubbed and died later of the injuries received and another, a youth of about 15 years, whose name, I believe, was Hirsch Yacubovich, was fatally wounded by bullets. I counted over forty persons of the "Exodus" wounded with some degree of seriousness, at least four of whom, including William Hillman, were suffering from bullet wounds.

13. There was a considerable amount of resistance by the passengers to the establishment of the control of the British Naval personnel over the "Exodus." In resisting the British, the passengers of the "Exodus" used potatoes and canned food, but no explosives or firearms of any nature whatsoever, save a small number (not exceeding a dozen) of smoke bombs of the usual type required for all lifeboats.

During the said resistance of the passengers of the "Exodus" which lasted as from about 3:30 A.M. until about 6:45 A.M. of the 18th July, 1947, the control of the "Exodus" by the British Naval personnel gradually increased until the resistance was completely ended at about 6:45 A.M. of the 18th July, 1947 when the British Naval personnel had complete control and charge of the entire "Exodus."

14. I have read the official communique No. 124, July 19th, published in the Palestine Post of the 20th July, 1947 and I say from personal knowledge the following with regard to the description in the said communique of the events which took place on the 18th July, 1947, namely:-

- (a) At no time was tear smoke used by the passengers of the "Exodus" nor could any of the tear gas bombs thrown at the "Exodus" be thrown back, since these bombs invariably exploded before striking the "Exodus."

- (b) It is untrue that only a "single shot" was fired by the British as they repeatedly used pistols both above and below decks of the "Exodus." I heard three lengthy bursts of machine gun fire directed at the "Exodus" from a destroyer which was alongside.
- (c) I saw the incident of the axe referred to in the communique; it is not true that the man using the axe attempted "to decapitate one of the boarding party" but he was endeavouring to make a hole in the bridge head to secure a passage which was used in attempt to dislodge the British sailors in possession of the bridge of the "Exodus." The man using the axe made no attempt whatsoever to use it against any person, whether of British naval personnel or otherwise.
- (d) At no time have I ever seen before, during or after the boarding any passenger or any officer or member of the crew of the "Exodus" in possession of a rifle.

.....  
DEPONENT

Sworn before me, S. Rosenberg, Acting Registrar, District Court, Haifa, at the District Court, Haifa, this 24th day of July, 1947, by Mr. John S. Grauel, who was identified to me to my satisfaction.

.....  
A/REGISTRAR  
DISTRICT COURT, HAIFA

MEMORANDUM

To        Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees        Date        August 18, 1947

From      Harry L. Shapiro

"MY FATHER'S HOUSE" BY MEYER LEVIN

On August 25th, "My Father's House", a new novel about Palestine by Meyer Levin, will become available to the public in the bookstores of the nation. The novel is being published by The Viking Press, and is in our judgment one of the most moving pieces of literature that has been inspired by recent events in Palestine.

The book is particularly effective from our point of view in that it tells the story of the Jewish need for Palestine and Jewish accomplishments in Palestine in simple, human terms. The entire Jewish tragedy -- and Jewish hopes -- are mirrored in the story of the boy David's search for his "father's house."

We are certain that you will want to insure this novel's success by calling it to the attention of the members of your community -- both Jewish and non-Jewish -- and by urging them to purchase it. We also suggest that you make efforts to have the book reviewed in your newspapers, over the radio, from pulpits, at forums, etc.

Please keep us posted on your committee's activities in this connection.

Regards.

HLS:MSR

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

HPM

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council    Date    August 22, 1947

From    Harry L. Shapiro

The attached memorandum was sent today to the Chairmen of Local  
Emergency Committees.

HLS:EB

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** August 22, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

### EMERGENCY ACTION

#### M-O-V-E Q-U-I-C-K-L-Y !

One of the most infamous steps in the long series of British acts of betrayal and brutality on Palestine is now being taken. The British Government appears determined to carry out its latest "operation" against helpless Jewish refugees, and is planning to transport more than 4400 miserable Jewish men, women and children -- the people of the "Exodus 1947" -- to a camp in Germany. One shudders to think of what will take place when our people are forcibly removed from the British ships to new internment camps in the despised land which holds such bitter memories for them. There is little doubt also that this action will provoke further violence in the Yishuv.

We are, of course, doing everything in our power to move our own Government to intervene. We are using every avenue open to us to convince President Truman that unless the American Government insists that the British abandon their present plans regarding the "Exodus" refugees, an unprecedented catastrophe may result.

You can -- and must -- assist these efforts! Please lose no time in carrying out the following actions:

- 1) If there is a British Consulate in or near your city, organize a picket line at once. Enlist the cooperation of all Jewish groups in this demonstration and also try to obtain the cooperation of veterans' groups, youth organizations and Christians in your community.



Suitable slogans and placards should be prepared. The following are a few suggestions:

NO AMERICAN DOLLARS FOR A FAITHLESS BRITAIN

BRITAIN! STOP YOUR WAR AGAINST JEWISH REFUGEES

HITLER STILL LIVES -- IN BEVIN

NO AMERICAN DOLLARS TO SUPPORT BRITISH TYRANNY

WE SUPPORT JEWISH RESISTANCE TO BRITISH TYRANNY

Please make every effort to obtain the widest possible local press coverage for your demonstration. Urge local leaders to join the picket line and to issue statements to reporters.

2) Please have wires sent to President Truman at once from leaders in your community - both Jewish and non-Jewish - especially from those able to speak for organizations, clubs, labor unions, etc. Wires from important local personalities will be more effective in this instance than a mass telegram and letter-writing campaign. (We believe that we shall have occasion to call upon you for such a mass letter-writing campaign within a short time - in connection with U.S. Government action on the UN report.)

Wires to the President should make the following points:

- a. The British Government's latest act regarding the "Exodus 1947" refugees is one of the cruelest steps yet taken by a Government which represents itself as a champion of freedom and democracy.
- b. The carrying out of this British decision can only produce the most disastrous results. These desperate refugees will surely resist efforts to return them to the land of bitter memories where their loved ones were slaughtered. Nor is such an act calculated to restore peace to Palestine. On the other hand, it will surely provoke further violence and counter-violence.

c. You, Mr. President, have repeatedly voiced sympathy for Jewish suffering and have urged the admission of Jewish refugees into their national home. We urge that you now give expression to this sympathy by using your good offices with the British Government, which is currently seeking further American financial support, to avert a great tragedy. These helpless refugees and freedom-loving men and women everywhere now look to you.

\* \* \* \*

We know that we can count on you in this emergency.

Regards.

HLS:MSR



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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* August 29, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

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

ELS:LD  
Enc.

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* August 29, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

The report -- or reports -- of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine will soon be completed, and we must now prepare for the important tasks which American Zionism will be called upon to perform in connection with the meeting of the UN General Assembly which is to act upon the UNSCOP's recommendations. This memorandum will not deal with the rumors and reports emanating from Geneva as to the nature of the majority and minority recommendations. We will know all the details within a few days, so there is nothing to be gained here by conjecture. One thing, however, is certainly clear: the majority report (which newspaper dispatches describe as "favoring the Jews") will fall considerably short of meeting Zionist demands.

Some of the recommendations may, of course, be favorable. It can be envisaged, therefore, that some Jews may tend to be elated that at least some improvement over the present desperate situation is being indicated and they may be inclined to react favorably to a report containing a small measure of comfort for the Jews, thus losing sight of the total effect of such a report. The political unwisdom of such a reaction on the part of Jewish spokesmen is readily apparent, especially when we bear in mind that the report, or reports, of the UNSCOP will not be final, but will serve as the basis for the UN General Assembly's deliberations. If the impression is created that the Jewish people regard the majority report as being in their favor, the efforts of our enemies within the UN further to whittle down pro-Jewish recommendations will be greatly facilitated.

Common sense, therefore, dictates that all of us exercise a large measure of caution and restraint when the UNSCOP's recommendations are made public. We urge local Zionist leaders and spokesmen, as well as the local Jewish press, to refrain from making favorable comments on the recommendations and to be guided by the official attitude of our movement, which we will rush to you as soon as it has been formulated.

A crucial moment is approaching. We should all be prepared to act in a disciplined, politically responsible fashion.

Regards.

HLS:MSR

# Advertisements

## HITLER'S TRIUMPH

by Harold P. Hanson

Forty-four hundred human beings are being "persuaded" onto the shores of Germany. They are people who know what it is to endure humiliation, having survived the Nazi murder factories. But this latest degradation is unmatched, for it is inflicted by the democratic world -- the same democratic world which fought the greatest of wars to end the oppression of the weak by the strong.

However, all this seems to be beside the point in our enlightened age. These people happen to be Jews who have demonstrated their people's refusal to perish, who have sought a new life in their own homeland -- and for Jews that is a crime. In the year of Ernest Bevin it is still a crime for a Jew to live as other men. If he takes steps to achieve freedom for himself and his brother he must be punished. For that the world's oldest Parliament is convened and shocked statesmen express righteous indignation at attempts to save Jewish lives and Jewish spirits -- which are, of course, "illegal." Mighty battleships -- guardians of the freedom of the democratic seas -- go into action. Then the troops and guns and clubs and truncheons.

And on the dockside at Hamburg the ghosts of Hitler, Streicher and Himmler cackle a chorus of Hosannas for the great Empire which is putting these Jews in their place.

But let us not paint a one-sided picture. We are, after all, talking about Englishmen -- fair play and cricket, don't you know. Is it not a well-known fact (driven home by scores of films) that Englishmen are the best-mannered, softest-spoken, kindest people on earth? To illustrate this point, we give you Exhibit A -- the British official in Hamburg, quoted by the Associated Press on August 28th, who said that "three degrees of compulsion were available if the Jews refused to leave their ships on arrival (in Hamburg).

"1. Manhandling. 2. Ship's hosepipes. 3. Tear gas."

No lethal weapons, mind you. Everything done in accordance with the highest British standards of humanitarianism. We can already hear some Labor peer in the House of Lords paying tribute to the brave British soldiers and sailors who executed this operation -- to their "remarkable patience, forbearance and humanity" in dealing with these "illegal" Jews.

Such is Bevin's Britain today. A Government which rode to power on pledges of the fuller and better life for all now defiles the very principles which it mouthed to win the support of the voters. It has debased, not only its own party, but the entire people which it rules -- for the anti-Semitism which is an inevitable outgrowth of the Bevin policy on Palestine is already gaining a strong foothold in Britain, as witness the recent anti-Jewish riots throughout England.

The callousness of the British Government's behavior towards the EXODUS 1947 refugees, the total disregard of human conscience -- as voiced by countless Americans and as expressed by the fine attitude of the French Government -- are almost unprecedented. For a parallel one must recall the cynical unconcern of the Nazis when world opinion denounced the subjugation and enslavement of smaller, "inferior" peoples.

The most shocking aspect of this latest British operation is the fact that it is being carried out within a week of the publication of the report of the



United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended the immediate admission into Palestine of 150,000 Jewish refugees and called for the speedy termination of the present British Mandate over the Holy Land. By behaving as if it were oblivious to the fact that the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine -- which, incidentally, was formed at Britain's request -- has already published its findings, the British Government undermines the authority and influence of the United Nations. The EXODUS operation is, therefore, in a very real sense, a blow, not only against helpless refugees, but also against the international structure upon which we hope to build world peace.

Meanwhile the struggle goes on. The heroic 4400 do not stand alone, but are backed by the unquenchable determination of the Jewish people everywhere in the world to achieve justice. They have the support of millions of Christians, especially in the United States, who take their religion seriously and who understand that there can be no real peace unless justice prevails also for the unfortunate and downtrodden of the earth.

People of the EXODUS! You who set foot on the soil of your homeland for a fleeting moment -- you will return, singing and triumphant, the vanguard of the many thousands who will follow to build and be rebuilt in the Jewish State.



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* August 29, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Enc.

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

## MEMORANDUM

*To*        Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees        *Date*        September 2, 1947

*From*     Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is a summary of the reports of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, as authorized by the Committee and made public at United Nations headquarters at Lake Success.

Regards.

HLS:MSR  
Enc.

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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* September 3, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Encs.

## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY U. N. COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

Following is a summary of the recommendations and conclusions of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, as authorized by the commission and made public Sunday night at United Nations headquarters at Lake Success:

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine today signed at Geneva and sent to the Secretary General for transmission to the General Assembly its report and recommendations on the question of Palestine.

Apart from specific plans as to the constitution of the future government and territorial provisions, matters on which a majority and a minority proposal are submitted, the committee forwards to the General Assembly the following eleven unanimous recommendations:

1. The mandate for Palestine shall be terminated at the earliest practicable date.
2. Independence shall be granted in Palestine at the earliest practicable date.
3. There shall be a transitional period preceding the granting of independence which shall be as short as possible, consistent with the achievements of the conditions essential to independence.
4. During the transitional period the authority entrusted with administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations.
5. With regard to religious interest and the holy places:
  - a. In whatever solution may be adopted, the sacred character of the holy places shall be preserved and access to the holy places shall be insured in accordance with existing rights.
  - b. The present rights of the several religious communities shall not be impaired or denied.
  - c. An adequate system for the impartial settlement of religious disputes shall be devised.
  - d. Specific stipulations regarding these matters shall be inserted in the constitution or constitutions or any independent Palestinian state or states which may be created.
6. The General Assembly should undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem.
7. It shall be a prior condition to the granting of independence that the political structure of the new state or states, including its constitution or other fundamental law, shall be basically democratic, i.e., representative in character. The constitution shall contain guarantees of essential human rights and fundamental freedoms and safeguards to protect the rights and interests of minorities.



8. A prior condition to independence shall also be the incorporation in the constitution of basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain in international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

9. It shall be accepted as a cardinal principle that the preservation of the economic unity of Palestine is indispensable to the life and development of the country and its peoples.

10. States whose nationals have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including consular jurisdiction by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, should be invited by the United Nations to renounce any rights pertaining to them in the reestablishment of such privileges and immunities in an independent Palestine.

11. The General Assembly shall call on the peoples of Palestine to extend their fullest cooperation to the United Nations in its effort to devise and put into effect an equitable and workable means of settling the difficult situation prevailing there, and to this end, in the interest of peace, good order, and lawfulness, to exert every effort to bring to an early end the acts of violence which have for too long beset that country.

12. The committee agreed, with two dissenting votes, to a twelfth recommendation as follows:

In the appraisal of the Palestine question it should be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general.

#### SCHEME OF PARTITION WITH ECONOMIC UNION

According to the plan of the majority (the representatives of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay), Palestine shall be constituted into an Arab state, a Jewish state and the city of Jerusalem. The Arab and the Jewish states will become independent after a transitional period of two years beginning September 1, 1947. Before, however, their independence can be recognized, they must adopt a constitution, make to the United Nations a declaration containing certain guarantees and sign a treaty by which a system of economic collaboration is established and the economic union of Palestine is created. A summary of its essential features follows:

##### I. Transitional Period and Constitution

A. During the transitional period, the United Kingdom shall carry on the administration of Palestine under the auspices of the United Nations and on such conditions and under such supervision as the United Kingdom and the United Nations may agree upon. If so desired, the administration will be carried on with the assistance of one or more members of the United Nations. The United Kingdom shall during the transitional period take such preparatory steps as may be necessary for the execution of the scheme recommended and shall carry out the following measures:

1. Admit into the proposed Jewish state 150,000 Jewish immigrants at a uniform monthly rate. Should the transitional period continue for more than two years, Jewish immigration shall be allowed at the rate of 60,000 per year. The Jewish Agency (for Palestine) shall be responsible for the selection and care of the Jewish

immigrants and for the organizing of Jewish immigration during the transitional period.

2. The restrictions introduced under the authority of the Palestine (amendment) order in council of 25 May, 1939, will not apply to the transfer of land within the borders of the proposed Jewish state.

B. Constituent assemblies shall be elected by the populations of the areas which are to comprise the Arab and Jewish states, respectively. Qualified voters for each state for this election shall be persons over 20 years of age who are: (1) Palestinian citizens residing in that state and (2) Arabs and Jews residing in the state, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such state.

Arabs and Jews residing in the city of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab state and the Jews of the Jewish state, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish states respectively. Women may vote and be elected to the constituent assemblies.

C. The constituent assemblies shall draw up the constitutions of the states. The constitutions shall provide for the establishment in each state of a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation and an executive body responsible to the Legislature. They shall also contain provisions for the protection of the holy places, religious buildings and sites and for the religious and minority rights. Equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms shall be guaranteed. Freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the two states in Palestine and the city of Jerusalem shall be preserved.

D. The constituent assembly in each state shall appoint a provisional government empowered to make the declaration and sign the treaty of economic union. On making the declaration and signing the treaty of economic union by either state, its independence as a sovereign state shall be recognized. If only one state fulfills these conditions, the General Assembly of the United Nations shall take such action as it may deem proper. Pending such action, the regime of economic union shall apply.

## II. Declaration

The declaration shall contain provisions for the protection of the holy places and religious buildings and sites and the religious and minority rights. There shall be no discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or language. The state shall insure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab or Jewish minorities in their own language and in their cultural traditions, and each community shall have the right to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language.

Palestinian citizens, as well as Arabs and Jews who, although not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the state in which they are resident. Such persons, if over 18 years of age, may opt within one year for the citizenship of the other state or declare that they retain the citizenship of any state of which they are citizens; provided that no person who has signed the notice of intention referred to in Paragraph B above about the constituent assemblies shall have the right of option.

A resident in the city of Jerusalem who signs a notice of intention may opt for the citizenship of one of the Palestinian states, if an Arab, of the Arab state, and if a Jew, of the Jewish state.

### III. Economic Union

A treaty shall be entered into between the two states which shall contain certain provisions to establish the economic union of Palestine and to provide for other matters of common interest.

The objectives of the economic union of Palestine shall be a customs union, common currency, operation in the common interest of railways, inter-state highways, postal, telephone and telegraphic services and the ports of Haifa and Jaffa. It shall also promote joint economic development especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation. A joint economic board shall be established to consist of three representatives of each of the two states and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The functions of the joint economic board shall be to organize and administer the objectives of the economic union. After various obligations have been met in full, the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than 5 per cent and not more than 10 per cent to the city of Jerusalem and the residue in equal proportion to the Arab and Jewish states.

### IV. The City of Jerusalem

The city of Jerusalem shall be placed, after the transitional period, under the international trusteeship system by means of a trusteeship agreement which shall designate the United Nations as the administering authority. The city of Jerusalem shall include within its borders the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which is to be Abu Dis, the most southern Bethlehem, the most western Ein Karim and the most northern Shu'fat.

The city of Jerusalem shall be demilitarized.

The governor of the city of Jerusalem shall be appointed by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. He will be neither Arab nor Jew nor a citizen of the Palestinian states nor, at the time of his appointment, a resident of the city of Jerusalem. The governor shall be empowered to make decisions on the basis of the existing rights ("status quo") in cases of disputes which may arise between the different communities in respect of the holy places, religious buildings and sites in any part of Palestine.

The protection of the holy places, religious buildings and sites in the city of Jerusalem shall be entrusted to a special police force, the members of which shall be recruited outside Palestine and shall be neither Arab nor Jew. The city of Jerusalem shall be included in the economic union of Palestine.

### V. Boundaries of the Arab and Jewish States

The proposed Arab state will include western Galilee, the hill country of Samaria and Judea with the exclusion of the city of Jerusalem and the coastal plain from Isdud to the Egyptian frontier. The proposed Jewish state will include eastern Galilee, the Esdraelon plain, most of the coastal plain and the whole of the Beer-sheba subdistrict, which includes the Negev.

The three sections of the Arab state and the three sections of the Jewish state are linked together by two points of intersection, of which one is situated southeast of Afula in the subdistrict of Nazareth and the other northeast of el Majdal in the subdistrict of Gaza.

#### THE ARAB STATE

Western Galilee is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and in the north by the frontier of the Lebanon from Ras er Naqra to Qadas; on the east the boundary starting from Qadas, passes southward, west of Safad to the southwestern corner of the Safad subdistrict; thence it follows the western boundary of the Tiberias subdistrict to a point just east of Mount Tabor; thence southward to the point of intersection southeast of Afula mentioned above. The southwestern boundary of western Galilee takes a line from this point, passing south of Nazareth and Shafr Amr but north of Beit Laham, to the coast just south of Acre.

The boundary of the hill country of Samaria and Judea, starting on the Jordan River southeast of Beisan, follows the northern boundary of the Samaria district westward to the point of intersection southeast of Afula, thence again westward to Lajjun, thence in a southwestern direction, passing just west of Tulkarm, east of Qalqilia and west of Majdal Yaba, thence bulging westward toward Hishon-le-Zion so as to include Lydda and Ramleh in the Arab state, thence turning again eastward to a point west of Latrun, thereafter following the northern side of the Latrun-Majdal road to the second point of intersection, thence southeastward to a point on the Hebron subdistrict boundary south of Qbeiba, thence following the southern boundary of the Hebron subdistrict to the Dead Sea.

The Arab section of the coastal plain runs from a point a few miles north of Isdud to the Egyptian frontier, extending inland approximately eight kilometers.

#### THE JEWISH STATE

The northeastern sector of the proposed Jewish state (eastern Galilee) will have frontiers with Lebanon in the north and west and with Syria and Trans-Jordan on the east and will include the whole of the Huleh basin, Lake Tiberias and the whole of the Beisan subdistrict.

From Beisan the Jewish state will extend northwest following the boundary described in respect of the Arab state.

The Jewish sector on the coastal plain extends from a point south of Acre to just north of Isdud in the Gaza subdistrict and includes the towns of Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jaffa.

The eastern frontier of the Jewish state follows the boundary described in respect of the Arab state.

The Beersheba area includes the whole of the Beersheba subdistrict, which includes the Negeb and the eastern part of the Gaza subdistrict south of the point of intersection. The northern boundary of this area, from the point of intersection, runs southeastward to a point of the Hebron subdistrict boundary south of Qbeiba, thence follows the southern boundary of the Hebron subdistrict to the Dead Sea.



## SCHEME FOR A FEDERAL STATE

Three members (the representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia) propose an independent federal state. The major provisions of that plan are briefly summarized as follows:

### I. Constitution and Transitional Period

An independent federal state of Palestine shall be created following a transitional period not exceeding three years, during which responsibility for administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be entrusted to an authority to be decided by the General Assembly.

The independent federal state shall comprise an Arab state and a Jewish state. Jerusalem shall be its capital.

During the transitional period a constituent assembly shall be elected by popular vote and convened by the administering authority on the basis of electoral provisions which shall insure the fullest representation of the population, provided that the electorate includes all adult persons who have acquired Palestinian citizenship as well as all Arabs and Jews who, though non-citizens, are resident in Palestine and have applied for citizenship not less than three months before the date of election. The constituent assembly shall draw up the constitution of the federal state.

Independence shall be declared by the General Assembly once a constitution incorporating the following provisions has been adopted by the constituent assembly:

a. The federal state shall comprise a federal government and governments of the Arab and Jewish states, respectively.

b. Full authority shall be vested in the federal government with regard to national defense, foreign relations, immigration, currency, taxation for federal purposes, foreign and interstate waterways, transport and communications, copyrights and patents.

c. The Arab and Jewish states shall enjoy full powers of local self-government and shall have authority over education, taxation for local purposes, the right of residence, commercial licenses, land permits, grazing rights, interstate migration, settlement, police, punishment of crime, social institutions and services, public housing, public health, local roads, agriculture and local industries.

d. The organs of government shall include a head of state, an executive body, a representative federal legislative body composed of two chambers, and a federal court. The executive shall be responsible to the legislative body.

e. The head of state shall be elected by a majority vote of both chambers of the federal legislative body. A deputy head of state shall be elected who shall be a representative of the community other than that with which the head of state is identified.

f. Election to one chamber of the federal legislative body shall be on the basis of proportional representation of the population as a whole and to the other on the basis of equal representation of the Arab and Jewish citizens of Palestine. Legislation shall be enacted when approved by majority votes in both chambers. In the event of disagreement between the two chambers, the issue shall



be submitted to an arbitral body of five members, including not less than two Arabs and two Jews.

g. The federal court shall be the final court of appeal regarding constitutional matters. Its members, who shall include not less than four Arabs and three Jews, shall be elected by both chambers of the federal legislative body.

h. The constitution shall forbid any discriminatory federal or state legislation against population groups or against either of the states and shall guarantee equal rights for all minorities. It shall be based on the full equality of all citizens of Palestine with regard to the political, civil and religious rights of the individual and shall guarantee fundamental human rights and freedoms. It shall guarantee inter alia free access to holy places and protect religious interests.

i. The constitution shall provide for undertakings to settle international disputes by peaceful means.

j. There shall be a single Palestinian nationality and citizenship.

k. The constitution shall provide for equitable participation of representatives of both communities in delegations to international conferences.

## II. Holy Places

In addition to the guarantees contained in the constitution regarding the protection of and free access to holy places, there shall be set up a permanent international body for the supervision and protection of the holy places, to be composed of three representatives designated by the United Nations and one representative of each of the recognized faiths having an interest in the matter, as may be determined by the United Nations.

## III. Jewish Immigration Into Palestine

For a period of three years from the beginning of the transitional period, Jewish immigration shall be permitted into the Jewish state in such numbers as not to exceed its absorptive capacity, and having due regard for the rights of the existing population within that state and their anticipated natural rate of increase. An international commission, composed of three Arab, three Jewish and three United Nations representatives, shall be appointed to estimate the absorptive capacity of the Jewish state. The commission shall cease to exist at the end of the three-year period mentioned above.

## IV. Boundaries

The Arab area of the proposed federal state includes most of the interior of the country except for eastern Galilee and a large area of the Beersheba sub-district, which fall within the boundaries of the Jewish area. The Arabs are allotted the coastal plain from Jaffa south to the Egyptian frontier and the western portion of the Beersheba sub-district, including Beersheba town, Asluj and Auja, and a strip along the whole length of the Egyptian frontier to the Gulf of Aqaba. Also within the Arab area, but not contiguous with the area just described, is western Galilee, bounded on the west by the Mediterranean from Acre to Ras-en-Naqra, on the north by Lebanon and including Safad to the east and Nazareth to the south.

The Jewish area is likewise not contiguous but divided into two parts. It

includes the coastal plain from, but excluding, Acre on the north, to Tel Aviv, with a finger reaching southeast from Tel Aviv through Rishon-le-Zion and Rehovoth to the neighborhood of the boundaries of the Gaza and Hebron subdistricts. The plain of Esdraelon forms a bridge connecting this coastal area with the Valley of Jezreel, Beisan, Tiberias and the Huleh Valley, which are likewise allotted to the Jews. The Jewish area to the south includes that part of the Hebron subdistrict which lies south and east of Dahariya and Yalta and a rectangular area of the Beersheba subdistrict bounded on the east by the Wadi Araba and on the west by a line drawn to the east of Beersheba and Asluj and extending southward to approximately Latitude 30.3 degrees.

When the two above schemes concerning partition or federal state were voted upon, one member of the committee, the representative of Australia, abstained in both cases.

\* \* \* \*



## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date September 3, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

In my memorandum of August 29th, sent prior to the publication of the UNSCOP report, I requested that there be no comment on the report until the official reaction of our movement has been made public.

Last night the World Zionist Actions Committee, meeting in Zurich, Switzerland, adopted the following resolution which constitutes Zionist policy in the present situation:

The Zionist General Council (Actions Committee) has given preliminary consideration to the report and the recommendations of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. It considers the study carried out by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine and its report an earnest effort to arrive at a practicable solution of the Palestine problem.

The Council notes with satisfaction that a substantial majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine recommended the early establishment of a sovereign Jewish state. The territory proposed is a minor part of the territory originally promised to the Jewish people on the basis of its historic rights and does not include areas of the utmost importance. There are other features of the proposals which require careful examination. The Executive will, after further study of the proposals, present the views of the Jewish Agency at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations. The definitive attitude of the Jewish people will be determined after the General Assembly has taken a decision on the Palestine question.

The Council regrets to have to state that the proposal of the minority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine is wholly unacceptable and cannot serve as a basis for discussion. The suggested federal state would actually convert Palestine into an Arab state in which Jews would be condemned to remain a permanent minority. Their right of immigration, being subject to the decision of an Arab majority, would be effectively denied. They would not be free to settle in most parts of the federal state, of which they presumably would be citizens. The discriminatory land policy of the White Paper would thereby be perpetuated. According to the proposed conditions the will of the Arab majority would, on major issues, be decisive. In the context of these proposals the use of the term "Jewish state", is misleading. The constructive and progressive forces of the Jewish people would, in the suggested

federal state, be fettered and stifled, and the economic social development of the country would thereby be impeded.

The Council proclaims that Palestine alone can solve the problem of the national homelessness of the Jewish people. No settlement of the Palestine problem can be accepted by the Jewish people which fails to ensure the right of Jews to return to their homeland, and the establishment of a sovereign Jewish state. The Executive is instructed to continue its efforts to secure a speedy and satisfactory settlement along these lines.

\* \* \*

We are also sending you the translation of a dispatch by Dr. S. Margoshes in "The Day" of September 3, 1947, reporting a statement made to the correspondent by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver in Zurich on September 2nd.

Dr. Margoshes quotes Dr. Silver as follows:

"The recommendation of the UNSCOP majority represents a great step forward in comparison with former proposals and should be viewed as the expression of the conscience of all mankind. The recommendation for the early establishment of a Jewish state is recognition of the Zionist ideology on the part of an authoritative international body.

"This (aspect of the report) is a great triumph, but the territorial boundaries set for the Jewish state are a great blow and we must fight against this. I still maintain my previous position that we must demand all of Palestine and wait for such an offer on the part of the UN Assembly as will prove acceptable to us.

"When the majority recommendation of the UNSCOP will be given us by the UN itself, it will then be seriously discussed by the Jewish Agency Executive, and then only will it have to be submitted to the World Zionist Congress for approval."

HLS:RB

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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council      Date September 3, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD

Enc,



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees      *Date* September 8, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is the copy of an advertisement which has appeared in some leading New York and Washington newspapers. It is being sent to you as guidance for similar statements that you may wish to publish in your community. However, we urge that you keep in mind all subsequent developments regarding the "Exodus 1947" refugees before publishing your statements.

Regards.

HLS:MSR  
Enc.

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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council Date September 8, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Encs.

## HITLER'S TRIUMPH

Forty-four hundred human beings are being "persuaded" onto the shores of Germany. They are people who know what it is to endure humiliation, having survived the Nazi murder factories. But this latest degradation is unmatched, for it is inflicted by the democratic world -- the same democratic world which fought the greatest of wars to end the oppression of the weak by the strong.

However, all this seems to be beside the point in our enlightened age. These people happen to be Jews who have demonstrated their people's refusal to perish, who have sought a new life in their own homeland -- and for Jews that is a crime. In the ear of Ernest Bevin it is still a crime for a Jew to live as other men. If he takes steps to achieve freedom for himself and his brother he must be punished. For that the world's oldest Parliament is convened and shocked statesmen express righteous indignation at attempts to save Jewish lives and Jewish spirits -- which are, of course, "illegal." Mighty battleships -- guardians of the freedom of the democratic seas -- go into action. Then the troops and guns and clubs and truncheons.

And on the dockside at Hamburg the ghosts of Hitler, Streicher and Himmler cackle a chorus of Hosannas for the great Empire which is putting these Jews in their place.

But let us not paint a one-sided picture. We are, after all, talking about Englishmen -- fair play and cricket, don't you know. Is it not a well-known fact (driven home by scores of films) that Englishmen are the best-mannered, softest-spoken, kindest people on earth? To illustrate this point, we give you Exhibit A -- the British official in Hamburg, quoted by the Associated Press on August 28th, who said that "three degrees of compulsion were available if the Jews refused to leave their ships on arrival (in Hamburg).

"1. Manhandling. 2. Ship's hosepipes. 3. Tear gas."

No lethal weapons, mind you. Everything done in accordance with the highest British standards of humanitarianism. We can already hear some Labor peer in the House of Lords paying tribute to the brave British colliers and sailors who execute this operation -- to their "remarkable patience, forbearance and humanity" in dealing with these "illegal" Jews.

Such is Bevin's Britain today. A Government which rode to power on pledges of the fuller and better life for all now defiles the very principles which it mouthed to win the support of the voters. It has debased, not only its own party, but the entire people which it rules -- for the anti-Semitism which is an inevitable outgrowth of the Bevin policy on Palestine is already gaining a strong foothold in Britain, as witness the recent anti-Jewish riots throughout England.

The callousness of the British Government's behavior towards the EXODUS 1947 refugees, the total disregard of human conscience -- as voiced by countless Americans and as expressed by the fine attitude of the French Government -- are almost unprecedented. For a parallel one must recall the cynical unconcern of the Nazis when world opinion denounced the subjugation and enslavement of smaller, "inferior" peoples.

The most shocking aspect of this latest British operation is the fact that it is being carried out within a week of the publication of the report of the

United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended the immediate admission into Palestine of 150,000 Jewish refugees and called for the speedy termination of the present British Mandate over the Holy Land. By behaving as if it were oblivious to the fact that the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine -- which, incidentally, was formed at Britain's request -- has already published its findings, the British Government undermines the authority and influence of the United Nations. The EXODUS operation is, therefore, in a very real sense, a blow, not only against helpless refugees, but also against the international structure upon which we hope to build world peace.

Meanwhile the struggle goes on. The heroic 4400 do not stand alone, but are backed by the unquenchable determination of the Jewish people everywhere in the world to achieve justice. They have the support of millions of Christians, especially in the United States, who take their religion seriously and who understand that there can be no real peace unless justice prevails also for the unfortunate and downtrodden of the earth.

People of the EXODUS! You who set foot on the soil of your homeland for a fleeting moment -- you will return, singing and triumphant, the vanguard of the many thousands who will follow to build and be rebuilt in the Jewish State.



## MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date September 26, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed is an extremely important memorandum dealing with the current threats of Arab spokesmen to "break with the West" if the United States supports the majority recommendations of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

It is imperative that the facts contained in this analysis be brought to the attention of holders of public opinion in your community without delay. Please be sure that the editors of your newspapers, local radio commentators, columnists, religious leaders, etc. are supplied with the information necessary to expose the hollowness of these repeated Arab threats.

Additional copies of this memorandum are available upon request.

Regards.

HLS:MSR  
Enc.





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

September 26, 1947

## M E M O R A N D U M

### IS THERE ANY SUBSTANCE TO ARAB THREATS OF A "BREAK WITH THE WEST"?

Facing a report by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommends partition of the Holy Land as the final solution of a long-standing and involved international problem, the politicians of the Arab States have renewed their threats of a Holy War against a Jewish Palestine. These threats are combined with others, namely of complete "Break with the West," of sanctions against the oil concessions of America and Britain in the Middle Eastern countries, and of the alignment of the Arab States with Soviet Russia. From all this brandishing of swords by the Arab chiefs it is only one step to the conclusions drawn by a few writers to the effect that the acceptance of the UNSCOP majority report may lead to World War III.

To all those who are even slightly acquainted with Middle East realities, these threats sound ridiculous. Unfortunately, there are people in the United States who are inclined to take such pronouncements seriously. However, the fact remains that the speeches of the Arab spokesmen in the United Nations General Assembly do have an effect; and that certain journalists and writers seem to take these threats at their face value. We, therefore, find it necessary to present this factual analysis of the question in all its aspects.

#### "Break with the West"

The Arab threat of breaking with the West, in case the United States supports the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, implies that the Arab States at present form an integral part of the "western front." This is rather more than doubtful, if viewed on the ideological plane. Neither politically, nor economically, nor socially, nor culturally, do the Arab States in the Middle East fit into the conceptions of the Western world. What is true is that the Arab countries in the Middle East find themselves within the sphere of British-American political, economic and strategic power. Indeed, the Arab States depend for their very existence on the manifold support and protection of the Western powers. They owe to the Western powers their salvation from Axis occupation and from devastation during the last war; the recognition of their independence; their admission as sovereign states into the United Nations; the supply of arms for their armies and military training for these armies; the development of their oil resources and the exploitation of these resources; financial support in the form of loans, gratuities and oil royalties, which in some Arab kingdoms forms the major part of the national income; and last but not least, protection from Soviet penetration.

It would suffice to visualize what a "break with the West" on the part of the Arab States in the Middle East would mean in practical terms in order to realize how little substance there is to all of these threats. Withdrawal of Western political and military protection and economic support from the Arab States would spell complete ruin for these countries. Politically, militarily, and economically, not one of these states could stand on its own legs. The moment the income from the oil royalties is taken away from Iraq and Saudi Arabia, for instance, the local Arab potentates and chieftains will lose the major source

of their wealth. Or, should Great Britain stop its subvention to King Abdullah of Transjordan, this king will practically have to ask for alms. Furthermore, breaking with the West means lining up with the East, namely with the Soviet Union. Whether this is likely and what it would mean to the Arab States will be discussed below. In short, a sober analysis of Middle East realities must lead to the conclusion that the threat of a "Break with the West" on the part of the Arab politicians is not even an act of blackmail based on the present strained relationship between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union, but a mere bluff, since there is neither desire nor the possibility to bring about such a break.

#### Sanctions Against American Oil Concessions

There is an old saying that "more than the calf wants the milk, the cow needs to be milked." This was never truer than in the case of the relationship between American oil interests and the Arab potentates of the Middle East. America needs Arabian oil: in time of peace, for the supply of overseas markets, so as not to drain home resources; in case of armed conflict, in order to oil the war. However, thus far America has at no time been dependent on Middle Eastern oil. Should a new World War occur, the formal ownership of Middle Eastern oil reserves would mean very little, because in time of war it is not the availability, but the accessibility, of oil that counts. If we speak or think in terms of a war against Russia, one look at the map would suffice to show that Middle Eastern oil would be much more accessible to Russia than to the Western powers, and certainly would be vulnerable to Russian blitz destruction of the oil fields and pipelines.

On the other hand, as already mentioned above, the Arab States are totally dependent, on the Western powers for the development, shipping and marketing of these resources in peacetime, and for their protection in wartime. Therefore all threats made by Arab spokesmen of cancelling these concessions or of employing sanctions against American oil interests in the Middle East are empty phrases.

In this connection, it is very significant that the actual owners of the oil deposits are very careful not to make any threats or sanctions against American oil interests. On the contrary, King Ibn Saud, the ruler of the land where American oil companies have the largest concession, went to some pains to declare in November 1946, (in an interview with C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times) that under no circumstances does he intend to employ any sanctions against the American oil companies. Only Arab politicians of other countries, where no American concessions are in existence, indulge in these threats. As stated above, while the United States is not dependent on Middle East oil, the Arab States in the Middle East are dependent on American capital, skill, experience, and know-how for the development, piping, shipping and marketing of the oil resources hidden under the surface of their lands. With American and British oil interests working in harmony in the Middle East, the only alternative for the Arab States in case of a break with American oil companies would be to turn to Soviet Russia. Thus we come again to the question of the likelihood of a pro-Soviet orientation on the part of the Arab potentates.

#### Will the Arabs Embrace the Kremlin?

Bartley C. Crum, one of the American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, said in an address in New York in 1946, that John D. Rockefeller, Jr. would sooner turn to Stalin to ask for aid in the reduction of his income tax than Ibn Saud and other Arab kings would call for Soviet intervention in the Middle East. Since Mr. Crum made this very apt remark as to the

probability of the Arab rulers inviting Soviet protection and expansion into their lands, several things have happened which would further militate against such a development. The speech made in the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations by Andre V. Gromyko, the chief Soviet representative, on the question of Palestine is one of these very significant happenings. Through this statement, Soviet Russia for the first time took a pro-Zionist stand on the question of Palestine. Thus, in addition to their fear of turning to the Kremlin because Soviet penetration would put a speedy end to all their power and wealth, the Arab rulers also have reason to believe that Soviet Russia's position on the question of Palestine is contrary to their own.

We may also learn something on this question from the relationship of Iran with Russia. Although Iran is not an Arab country, it is a Moslem country, and the political, social and cultural climate of Iran is about the same as that in the Arab lands of the Middle East. Moreover, historically Iran lies much closer to the sphere of Soviet power and influence. Yet, as we all know, Iran employs every device at its disposal to prevent Soviet penetration in any form whatsoever. After having negotiated and signed a preliminary agreement for an oil concession with Russia, Iran tries to bloc the materialization of this concession. This is a good illustration to bear in mind when we consider the probability of the Arab States in the Middle East inviting the Soviets to come in.

#### The Threat of an Arab-Jewish War

An analysis of the military situation in the Middle East will prove that there is no danger of any large-scale Arab attacks upon public order in Palestine. In Palestine itself, no more than 3,000 Arabs participated in anti-Jewish riots at any time in the past, even at a time when the rioters were led by so gifted a demagogue as Haj Amin el Husseini, the former Mufti of Jerusalem, and when they had the benefit of direct support by the Italian and German Governments. These riots were confined to attacks by gangs variously armed with rifles, pistols, daggers, sticks and stones. At the present time, with the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem still out of the country, with Italian and German interference no longer a factor, and with Palestine, and all roads leading from Palestine to foreign arms-producing countries, garrisoned by British forces or ruled by pro-British governments, there is no reason to believe that any Arab outbreak in Palestine could involve either more numerous or better armed participants -- unless we assume that the British Government is willing to show great tolerance for the organization and supply of such Arab riots.

The military potential of the different Arab-speaking states is notoriously weak. Egypt, the strongest and most modern of all these countries, has an army of only 22,000 ill-trained and ill-equipped troops, is without a navy, and with hardly a rudiment of an air force. Saudi Arabia's troops are picturesque horse-men, but entirely without the technical knowledge or equipment which would make them a serious factor in modern military operations. The small and inadequately equipped army of Iraq is, in many ways, subject to British military and political control, and British air forces are stationed in that country. A Syrian army is only now in the process of being formed, and is controlled by British instructors. The so-called Arab Legion of Transjordan is commanded by British officers, and Great Britain is in military and political control of that area. It is inconceivable that any of these forces could interfere in Palestine without the consent and active cooperation of Great Britain.

On the other hand, while we do not want to overestimate the military strength of Palestine Jewry, there is no reason why it should be underrated. Already

during World War II Palestine Jewry showed itself to be a factor of considerable strength in modern warfare. Its industrial potential is probably by far the greatest in the whole Middle East. Its youth, trained in many European armies, including the British, is capable of providing the right kind of human material for a Jewish National Army. Indeed, it is the considered opinion of British military authorities that Palestine Jewry can hold its own in any outbreak which would involve not only the Palestine Arabs but also all the Arab States in the Middle East. Thus, General D'Arcy, the then Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Palestine, in his testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, stated in unmistakable terms that the Haganah (the unofficial Jewish Army in Palestine) could defend Palestine from an onslaught by all the surrounding Arab States, for at least a number of years.

The threats on this account have as little substance as the others. Even more ridiculous is the assumption that an armed conflict between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East -- which, by the way, we consider most unlikely, partly for reasons given above -- would lead to World War III. If humanity is destined to be plunged again into the catastrophe of a World War, the causes of such a war will obviously be found elsewhere. It is true that the Middle East, Palestine included, occupies a key position in the major policies of the great powers and in their conflicting strategies. But the peoples of the Middle East -- whether Arabs, Egyptians, Jews, Persians, Turks, etc. -- are no more than pawns. Their local conflicts may add fuel to the flames, but the fire itself may or may not start from the major issues involved in the present controversy between the western powers and Soviet Russia. In this connection it should be stated that on the question of Palestine there is less controversy between the Soviet Union and the West than on almost any other international controversy of these days. This should be kept in mind in order that we may preserve a sense of proportion in our judgment of the Palestine issue.

\* \* \* \* \*

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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council    *Date*    September 26, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Encs.



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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council Date October 11, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:SR

Enc

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** October 11, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

In a telegram sent to you tonight we reported briefly regarding the latest developments on the UN front. This memorandum will review those developments and indicate our future action in more detailed form.

U.S. delegate Herschel V. Johnson's statement before the United Nations today, a copy of which is enclosed, is most welcome. It climaxes the many efforts initiated by the American Zionist Emergency Council to bring about a concrete expression of public and official sentiment on Palestine. Your own efforts and those of your community unquestionably played a major role in achieving this. However, the American Zionist Emergency Council is not yet prepared to accept the congratulatory messages which are now coming into its offices. We are very much aware of the fact that much difficult work lies ahead for all of us before our objective is realized.

The enclosed statement of the Council is our official reaction to the U.S. Government's declaration. You will note that we welcome U. S. support of the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, are pleased that the United States has called for a solution at this session of the General Assembly and has also expressed willingness to participate in the implementation of the solution. We also welcome the United States' reaffirmation of America's historic connection with the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home and its warning against the threat or use of force against the implementation of the UN decision. At the same time we warn against attempts to modify and whittle down the area of the Jewish state.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that even the United States' statement asks for unspecified geographic modifications. All of us must, therefore, be on the alert in the coming crucial weeks. Our efforts must now be devoted to bringing about the adoption of an unutilated majority report.

In our telegram we requested that you discontinue the present letter and wire campaign directed at President Truman and Secretary Marshall, but that you keep your community alerted for future action. At this time may we urge you to ask prominent members of your community, Jews and non-Jews, to write to those leaders of the U. S. Government with whom they have already been in contact. Such letters should have as their purpose not only an expression of satisfaction with today's U. S. action, but emphasis on the need for a U. S. program within the UN which will avert attempts at unfavorable modification. Your community leaders should be asked to caution officials of our Government as to the dangers ahead, and to urge that they be on guard against maneuvers within the UN which would destroy the whole effect of the U. S. statement.

One point cannot be over-emphasized. In the words of the Emergency Council's statement: "Acceptance of the recommendations of the majority

report represents an enormous sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. It cannot and must not be asked to sacrifice further."

Please convey to your Committee, and the groups represented in it, the heartfelt thanks of the American Zionist Emergency Council for their efforts to date. We have every confidence that your community will be able to duplicate its fine accomplishments if the situation should demand further action on its part.

Regards.

HLS:MSR  
Enc.



## STATEMENT ON PALESTINE

BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Delivered by U. S. Delegate Herschel V. Johnson  
Lake Success, N. Y. — October 11, 1947

1. The problem of the future government of Palestine confronts the General Assembly of the United Nations with a heavy and complex responsibility. The General Assembly, having assumed responsibility for making recommendations to the United Kingdom on the subject, must do everything within its power to evolve a practical solution consistent with the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter.

2. The United States Delegation feels that the urgency of the problem is so great that the General Assembly must recommend a solution at this session. The degree of urgency has been brought to our attention by continued violence in Palestine, by the context of the Special Committee's report and by the statement of the delegate from the United Kingdom regarding the recommendations of the committee and future British responsibilities in Palestine.

3. During the past weeks this Committee has had the benefit of the views of several members of this Committee and has heard statements by the representatives of the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine on behalf of the peoples primarily concerned. The United States Delegation believes that this discussion has been of material assistance and hopes that it will continue on the broadest basis.

4. It may be recalled that as a result of the first World War, a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, was liberated and a number of states gained their independence. The United States, having contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, felt that it could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the free territories were disposed of, nor for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position that these peoples should be prepared for self-government and also that a national home for the Jews should be established in Palestine. The United States Government has subsequently had long and friendly relations with the independent states which were created in the Near East and is happy to note that most of them are members of the United Nations and have representatives present at this meeting.

5. It may be recalled with regard to Palestine that in 1917 the government of the United Kingdom in a statement known as the Balfour Declaration announced that it viewed with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and that it would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, nor the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. In 1923 the objectives stated in this declaration were embodied in the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine which was entrusted to the government of the United Kingdom as Mandatory. As the United States was not a member of the League of Nations, a convention was concluded between the United States and the United Kingdom in 1924 with regard to American rights in Palestine. The Palestine Mandate is embodied in the preamble to this convention. The United States consented to this Mandate. Members of this Committee are aware of the situation which subsequently developed in Palestine and of the many efforts which

have been made to achieve a settlement. We now have before us a report of the Special Committee of the United Nations with regard to the Palestine question.

6. The United States Delegation supports the basic principles of the unanimous recommendations and the majority plan which provides for partition and immigration. It is of the opinion, however, that certain amendments and modifications would have to be made in the majority plan in order more accurately to give effect to the principles on which that plan is based. My delegation believes that certain geographical modifications must be made. For example, Jaffa should be included in the Arab State because it is predominantly an Arab City. My delegation suggests that the General Assembly may wish to provide that all inhabitants of Palestine regardless of citizenship or place of residence be guaranteed access to ports and to water and power facilities on a non-discriminatory basis; that constitutional guarantees including guarantees regarding equal economic opportunity be provided for Arabs and Jews alike, and that the powers of the Joint Economic Board be strengthened. Any solution which this Committee recommends should not only be just but also workable and of a nature to command the approval of world opinion.

7. The United States Delegation desires to make certain observations on the carrying out of such recommendations as the General Assembly may make regarding the future government of Palestine. The General Assembly did not, by admitting this item to its agenda, undertake to assume responsibility for the administration of Palestine during the process of transition to independence. Responsibility for the government of Palestine now rests with the mandatory power. The General Assembly, however, would not fully discharge its obligation if it did not take carefully into account the problem of implementation.

8. Both the majority report and the statement of the United Kingdom representative in this Committee raise the problem of carrying into effect the recommendations of the General Assembly. We note, for example, that the majority report indicates several points at which the majority thought the United Nations could be of assistance. It was suggested that the General Assembly approve certain steps involved in the transitional period, that the United Nations guarantee certain aspects of the settlement concerning holy places and minority rights, that the Economic and Social Council appoint three members of the Joint Economic Board, and that the United Nations accept responsibility as administering authority of the City of Jerusalem under an international trusteeship.

9. The United States Government is willing to participate in a United Nations program to assist the parties involved in the establishment of a workable political settlement in Palestine. We refer to assistance through the United Nations in meeting economic and financial problems and the problem of internal law and order during the transitional period. The latter problem might require the establishment of a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis by the United Nations. We do not refer to the possibility of violations by any member of the United Nations of its obligations to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force. We assume that there will be charter observance.

10. In the final analysis the problem of making any solution work, rests with the people of Palestine. If new political institutions are to endure, they must provide for early assumption by the people themselves of the responsibility for their own domestic order. Acts of violence against



constituted authority and against rival elements of the local population have appeared in Palestine over a period of many years and have greatly increased the difficulties of finding a workable solution to this complex problem. Certain elements have resorted to force and terror to obtain their own particular aims. Obviously, this violence must cease if independence is to be more than an empty phrase in the Holy Land.

11. Mr. Chairman, we must now consider how this committee is to take the next step in dealing with this question. If the Committee favors the principles of the majority plan, we should establish a sub-committee to work out the details of a program which we could recommend to the General Assembly.

12. The recommendations reached by the General Assembly will represent the collective opinion of the world. The problem has thus far defied solution because the parties primarily at interest have been unable to reach a basis for agreement. This is a problem in the solution of which world opinion can be most helpful.



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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* October 16, 1947

From Harry L. Shapiro

WRHS  
In the pressure of our activities we failed to send you a copy of the attached telegram which was sent to Emergency Committee Chairmen last Saturday night, October 11, following the United States declaration of policy in the UN.

HLS:LD  
Enc.

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

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

OCTOBER 11, 1947

YOU PROBABLY KNOW THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT TODAY SUPPORTED UNSCOP MAJORITY REPORT IN UN. WHILE WE ARE, OF COURSE, GRATIFIED OVER THIS DEVELOPMENT WE ARE AT SAME TIME DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF FACT THAT THERE IS LONG ROAD STILL AHEAD BEFORE WE ATTAIN OUR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS. NEVERTHELESS YOU AND YOUR COMMITTEE HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO TAKE PRIDE IN YOUR EFFORTS OF PAST WEEKS WITHOUT WHICH THIS SIGNIFICANT EVENT COULDN'T HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED. OFFICIAL REACTION OF OUR MOVEMENT TO U.S. STATEMENT IS BEING RELEASED BY EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND THE JEWISH AGENCY TONIGHT AND IS BEING SENT TO YOU. PLEASE AVOID MAKING ANY STATEMENT TO PRESS. REFER THOSE WHO REQUEST COMMENT TO TEXT OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL'S STATEMENT. YOUR COMMITTEE SHOULD NOW DISCONTINUE ITS LETTER AND WIRE CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AT PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND SECRETARY MARSHALL, BUT SHOULD REMAIN ON ALERT FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE ACTION. WE MUST BE CONSTANTLY ON GUARD AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO MODIFY AND WHITTLE DOWN JEWISH STATE AREA. FOR THE PRESENT WE URGE YOU REQUEST LEADERS YOUR COMMUNITY, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH, WHO HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN, SECRETARY MARSHALL AND OTHER MEMBERS OF GOVERNMENT TO WRITE AT ONCE EXPRESSING SATISFACTION WITH U.S. ACTION, BUT CAUTIONING AS TO DANGERS AHEAD IN AFOREMENTIONED ATTEMPTS AT MODIFICATION. NOTE THAT THIS IS NOT TO BE MASS LETTER PROJECT, BUT ONE CARRIED THROUGH BY COMMUNITY LEADERS ONLY. WE KNOW YOU AND YOUR GROUPS WILL REMAIN ON ALERT. REGARDS.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO  
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

HLS:KSR

Dup

American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue, New York City

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT TO THE CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES

DAY LETTER

NOVEMBER 19, 1947

UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO UNITED NATIONS PRESSING FOR TRANSFER OF NEGEV TO ARAB STATE THUS ENDANGERING SOLUTION. IMPERATIVE THAT LARGE NUMBER OF TELEGRAMS BE SENT IMMEDIATELY TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE LOVETT ALONG FOLLOWING LINES BUT IN YOUR OWN WORDS: QUOTE WE ARE DISTRESSED TO LEARN THAT UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO UNITED NATIONS IS PRESSING FOR EXCLUSION OF THE LARGE AND IMPORTANT AREA OF NEGEV FROM THE JEWISH STATE CONTRARY TO UNSCOP MAJORITY RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT HAS ENDORSED. SUCH REVISION WOULD SHARPLY REDUCE JEWISH AREA, THUS CURTAILING ABILITY OF JEWISH STATE TO ABSORB IMMIGRANTS. IT WOULD ALSO REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY FOR FUTURE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND RENDER THE JEWISH STATE UNVIABLE. WE MUST PROTEST MOST VIGOROUSLY AGAINST THIS UNWARRANTED STAND BY UNITED STATES DELEGATION WHICH IS PARTICULARLY SHOCKING IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT IT FOLLOWS OUR GOVERNMENT'S FORTHRIGHT SUPPORT OF UNSCOP MAJORITY PLAN WHICH EVOKED GENERAL PRAISE AND SATISFACTION. FURTHERMORE THE PRESENT UNITED STATES POSITION ENDANGERS THE UNITY WHICH HAS THUS FAR PREVAILED IN UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE ISSUE. WE APPEAL TO YOU TO INTERVENE IMMEDIATELY SO THAT THIS INJUSTICE SHALL NOT BE DONE UNQUOTE. PLEASE ENLIST THE FULL STRENGTH OF ALL GROUPS IN YOUR COMMUNITY, BOTH JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH, IN THIS TELEGRAM CAMPAIGN WHICH MAY HAVE TO LAST A NUMBER OF DAYS IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT IF DEFEATED IN THE SUB-COMMITTEE, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION MAY ATTEMPT TO REOPEN THE QUESTION OF THE NEGEV IN THE FULL UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE. THIS IS CRUCIAL. ACT WITHOUT DELAY. REGARDS.

HLS:MLD

HARRY L. SHAPIRO  
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

## MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* November 20, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

The attached copy of telegram was sent yesterday to the Chairmen of  
Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:LD  
Enc.



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

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT TO CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEES:

NIGHT LETTER

NOVEMBER 29, 1947

VICTORY AT LAST. UNITED NATIONS HAS JUST APPROVED PLAN ESTABLISHING SEPARATE JEWISH AND ARAB STATES IN PALESTINE. THE EMOTION ALL OF US ARE EXPERIENCING CAN COME BUT ONCE IN LIFETIME. WE OF AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL WISH TO SHARE THAT FEELING OF PROFOUND JOY WITH YOU AND OTHER LOCAL AMERICAN ZIONIST LEADERS, WITHOUT WHOSE EFFORTS AND DEVOTION THIS GREAT MOMENT IN HISTORY MIGHT NEVER HAVE ARRIVED. YOU MAY TAKE JUSTIFIABLE PRIDE IN ROLE YOU AND OTHER AMERICAN ZIONISTS PLAYED IN OUR MOVEMENT UNDER DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER'S LEADERSHIP. MAGNIFICENT WORK OF AMERICAN SECTION OF JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE UNDER DR. SILVER'S CHAIRMANSHIP IS NOW A MATTER OF HISTORY. A SUPREMELY DIFFICULT TASK HAS BEEN PERFORMED WITH SINGULAR BRILLIANCE AND EFFECTIVENESS BY AMERICAN SECTION. OUR THANKS GO OUT TO ALL LEADERS OF OUR MOVEMENT WHO HAVE MET THE CHALLENGE OF THESE DIFFICULT MONTHS AND HAVE ACHIEVED FOR JEWISH PEOPLE NEW DIGNITY AND RESPECT AMONG NATIONS OF WORLD.

WE DO NOT BELIEVE FOR A MOMENT THAT OUR STRUGGLES AND HARDSHIPS ARE OVER. THERE MAY BE VERY TRYING LAYS AHEAD FOR THE JEWISH STATE. BUT WE ARE CERTAIN THAT ZIONISTS OF AMERICA WILL REMAIN UNITED AND ON ALERT DURING COMING MONTHS TO INSURE THAT JEWISH STATE SHALL BE ESTABLISHED SECURELY.

FOR THE PRESENT, HOWEVER, LET US CELEBRATE OUR ACHIEVEMENT. VICTORY CELEBRATIONS IN YOUR COMMUNITY ARE CERTAINLY IN PLACE. KEEP US POSTED ON YOUR PLANS. LONG LIVE THE JEWISH STATE!

HLS:RB

HARRY L. SHAPIRO, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees **Date** December 15, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

### CONFIDENTIAL

On Thursday, December 11, the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council met to consider the future of our organization. It was unanimously agreed that the American Zionist Emergency Council should, indeed must, continue its work for some time to come. We are hereby informing you of this decision, so that you, in turn, may notify your Committee that its operations are not to be halted or attenuated, but are to be continued until the UN decision has been translated into reality -- until the Jewish State has been firmly and securely established.

In analyzing our great political victory in the United Nations and in reviewing the present situation, Dr. Silver made a number of observations at the Executive Committee meeting which will unquestionably be of interest to you. While discussing the factors which brought about the Jewish State decision, Dr. Silver stated that this achievement is directly traceable to the work carried on in this country over the past years by the American Zionist Emergency Council and its Local Emergency Committees. It is now crystal clear that the UN decision would not have been taken but for the position which the American Government took, Dr. Silver said, and added that this U.S. stand was, in turn, a direct result of the organized activities of the Zionists of America. Our work throughout America -- in building public opinion, in canalizing this mass sentiment towards Washington, in bringing it into play quickly and effectively -- finally produced the historic American stand in the United Nations, which won the day for our cause.

Dr. Silver made these observations for the record because we have just closed an historic chapter and he felt that the Zionists of America should have a sense of deep satisfaction in the knowledge that their labors have proved decisive in the achievement of our victory.

With regard to our future work, Dr. Silver pointed out that while the Jewish State has been decreed by the United Nations, it has not yet been established. Officially the Jewish State is to come into existence on October 1, 1948. The coming ten months will be highly critical, for the Arab leaders of Palestine and the neighboring countries remain unreconciled to the UN decision and will continue to fight that decision with every weapon available to them. They are today engaged in an enormous propaganda campaign designed to fill the world press with such sensational reports of their opposition to the UN plan as to create the impression that the plan is unworkable. They also hope to institute as much physical violence as is possible in order to persuade world opinion that the work of the UN Commission is doomed to failure and that the whole subject should, therefore, be reconsidered by the UN. In brief, we are now confronted with an organized attempt to sabotage the decision of the nations of the world.

In view of all this, American public opinion and the attitude taken during the coming months by our Government will be of paramount importance. We should not take it for granted that because the American Government finally took its firm stand in support of the Jewish State, those forces in our country which have taken a persistently negative attitude towards our cause will now become silent and inactive. While we fervently hope that the declared U.S. policy will now be carried forward with forthrightness and vigor, we must remain on the alert lest unfriendly individuals in and out of the Government attempt to revert to their old techniques of undermining our position.

We see, then, that there may yet be a great task ahead of us. In any case, the immediate task is obvious. We must continue to win friends for the Jewish State and combat all of the current efforts to destroy the UN decision.

May we suggest that the following steps be taken in your community at once:

1. If your local newspapers, in their headline treatment of the current disturbances in Palestine, tend to exaggerate the seriousness of the situation and to create the impression that "the Arab world is in flames", proper approaches should be made to the editors, so that their headlines will accurately reflect the facts in the dispatches.

2. If you have not already written letters of thanks to those in your community who have been helpful during the past critical months -- and whose help we may need in the future -- please do so.

3. If there are individuals in your city who have connections with member countries of the United Nations, please send us their names.

Please convey the contents of this memorandum to your Committee and continue to keep us posted on your activities.

Regards.

HLS:MSR

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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* December 15, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD

Enc.

# *If I Forget Thee*

A PICTURE STORY OF  
MODERN PALESTINE

By Meyer Levin



IN more than 200 photographs, with accompanying narrative, Meyer Levin has captured the courage and spirit of the modern pioneers who, against tremendous odds, are building a new life in today's Palestine. But above all, he has told the deeply moving story of a little boy and his brave and lonely search for his father, epitomizing the eternal search of the homeless for a home. In the course of young David Halevi's adventures the whole panorama of Palestine unrolls, and we see the men and women and children, the farms and factories, youth colonies, deserts and gardens, the Dead Sea, the old and new Jerusalem, Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University, Tel Aviv—places and people come alive and we witness the heroic story of a people striving together for a common cause.

Meyer Levin's new novel, *My Father's House*, is another version of the story told in pictures in *If I Forget Thee*. Both books are available through us.

---

THE VIKING PRESS, INC.

18 East 48th St.

New York 17, N. Y.

Please send me copies as follows:

☐ *If I Forget Thee*, \$3.50 ☐ *My Father's House*, \$2.50

Name .....

Address .....



## MEMORANDUM

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Date December 15, 1947

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MEMORANDUM

**To** Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

**Date** December 22, 1947

**From** Harry L. Shapiro

Peter H. Bergson and his "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation" are continuing their efforts to undermine American support for the Jewish State in Palestine. Mr. Bergson's recent vicious letter, which has already been called to your attention, has been appearing in various newspapers throughout the country. It was evidently sent to the U.S. press generally.

We believe that we have managed to deal with it in those papers which have carried it thus far. A copy of Eliahu Ben-Horin's reply has been submitted in each instance. However, Mr. Bergson's piece may have appeared in some newspapers which have not been called to our attention and we are, therefore, sending you the enclosed copy of Mr. Ben-Horin's refutation which we urge you to submit to your local paper in the event that it published the Bergson attack on Zionism.

Regards.

HLS:MSR  
Enc.

To the New York Herald-Tribune:

Peter H. Bergson's letter in your issue of December 10 drives me to the conclusion that Mr. Bergson and his associates seem to be determined to continue the cruel joke which they played on the Jewish people, a few years ago, when they established themselves as the self-styled "liberators" of the Hebrew nation and ambassadors of Jewish Palestine. In so utterly complicated a situation as Palestine presents it is very easy further to muddy the waters and add bewilderment in the public mind. This is apparently what Mr. Bergson is determined to do.

Before answering Mr. Bergson's arguments, it is important to establish in whose name he speaks. Mr. Bergson signs his letter as "Chairman Hebrew Committee of National Liberation," and in the text he speaks as "we Palestinians." Has he a mandate to speak on behalf of Palestine as a whole, or on behalf of Palestine Jewry (leaving aside for the moment whether they should be called "Jews" or "Hebrews"), or on behalf of the world Zionist movement, the only movement of national renaissance and national liberation in Jewry? Mr. Bergson knows very well that he has no mandate from either the Palestine Yishuv or the Zionist Organization. This does not mean, of course, that Mr. Bergson is not entitled to have his own opinions on every question of Jewish life, differing, whenever he so chooses, from those accepted by the Zionist movement; but it would be more proper for him to voice these opinions in his own name, and not to mislead public opinion by assuming authority which is not his.

"Will the Jewish State be a kind of a Jewish Vatican?" Mr. Bergson asks. Why "kind of Vatican," and not "kind of a Czechoslovakia," or any other democracy? "Jewish State" is obviously a temporary designation for that part of Palestine which the United Nations has decided to place at the disposal of the Jewish people for immigration, colonization and the upbuilding of a homeland. As soon as that state is formally established it will have a name of its own. Whether that name will be "Palestine" (with the Arab State adopting a different name), or Eretz Israel, or Judea, the nation -- in the sense in which this word is understood in the English language, as "the people of one country under one government" -- inhabiting that state will bear its name. Culturally, Jewish and Arab citizens of that state will be free to live side by side as two distinct entities, each using its language and traditions. But in political allegiance they will constitute one nation. If the state is called "Judea," they will be Judeans. Likewise, those of the Jewish D.P.s in Europe, who will emigrate to "Judea," will be Judeans, and those who will emigrate to Australia will be Australians. Likewise, those American Jews, whether few or many, who will go to live in Judea will be Judeans, and the bulk of American Jewry will remain Americans as before. On the other hand, since that state will be created primarily to solve the present abnormal position of the Jewish people in the world and since the Jews will form there a majority, it will be open to every homeless Jew in the world.

There is no need to go out of one's way to insinuate non-existing complications. Nor are difficulties bound to arise in the relationship between the Jews of America and the future "Jewish State." It will be the same relationship as between the American Irish and Eire, American Greeks and Greece -- namely an attitude of great interest, sympathy, spiritual affinity and also of co-operation in many practical spheres.

Such a relationship between American Jewry and the Jewish State would be perfectly understandable and legitimate, without in the least affecting the allegiance of the Jewish citizens of the United States; without making this allegiance "hyphenated," and without necessitating the invention of homespun theories about Hebrews and Jews. This Bergson theory, supposedly created for political expediency, has no basis in the present realities of Jewish life or in the problematics of the Jewish future.

Mr. Bergson is free, of course, to think that "the Zionist program is today archaic." It is an odd way of describing a political program which is now celebrating its well earned triumph of international recognition. Webster's definition of "archaic" does not fit the occasion.

Eliahu Ben-Horin



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* December 22, 1947

*From* Harry L. Shapiro

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

HLS:LD  
Encls.



MEMORANDUM

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