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# ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

by BENJAMIN AKZIN

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# ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

by BENJAMIN AKZIN

## I

A little less than a year ago a new state, the State of Israel, appeared on the international scene. The course of events which culminated in this result was in some respects fairly typical of the circumstances leading to the birth of most new states, but in others it was most unusual—even unique.

The stages in the process of Israel's birth which are similar to experiences elsewhere can be reduced in the main to three: pioneer colonization of an undeveloped territory; revolution against what is regarded as an unjust and oppressive foreign government; and a war undertaken in defense of independence. In all three respects important differences can be denoted between the developments in Palestine and those that accompanied the birth of other states, but in the main all three features are familiar phenomena in political history. All the states of the western hemisphere and, if one goes sufficiently far back into history, quite a number of states in Europe are the result of a colonization process. Revolution of the local population against a foreign government is at the root of the majority of states: all American republics, two of the British dominions,<sup>1</sup> Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, all the countries of east-central Europe and the Balkans, the Arab countries, Burma and, now in the formative state, Indonesia. Wars in defense of a newly won independence, though less frequent, are also a familiar feature in history.

It is the unusual features of the Palestine question that have caused widespread comment. As a matter of fact, so exclusively was attention focused on these features that the whole picture was somewhat distorted in the public eye, causing the parallels between the developments in Palestine and similar developments elsewhere to be almost com-

<sup>1</sup> South Africa and India. In both cases, the revolutionary pattern showed interesting variations. In India, the tremendous weight of the population made it possible to conduct a bloodless revolution by non-cooperation. But it constituted nonetheless an attempt, ultimately successful, to get rid of a foreign government by systematic defiance of its authority. In the case of South Africa, the show of force was both an internal revolution and an international war in defense of the country's independence. In South Africa, just as in the American war of independence, resistance to Britain was confined to the colonists alone, without involving the aborigines, another similarity with Palestine where the revolution of 1945-47 was conducted by the Jewish colonists alone.



pletely overlooked and making the Palestine conflict appear erroneously as being altogether *sui generis*.

There are three main features of the question which can be described as unique. One has to do with the unprecedented spectacle of a people, who lost political independence and became territorially dispersed almost two thousand years ago, maintaining their group identity and organizing a large-scale movement to return to the former site of their national existence. The chief instrumentality that kept the group alive was its distinct religion. The widespread hostility encountered by this group, resulting more often from religious intolerance than from ethnic antagonism, strengthened its internal cohesion. The final urge of Jews to settle in Palestine, like almost all mass migration movements in history, was the result of economic need or of physical persecution. These facts help to explain the process, but the general result—the survival of a dispersed ethnic-religious group for two thousand years and its national renaissance and territorial concentration at the end of the period—remains without parallel.

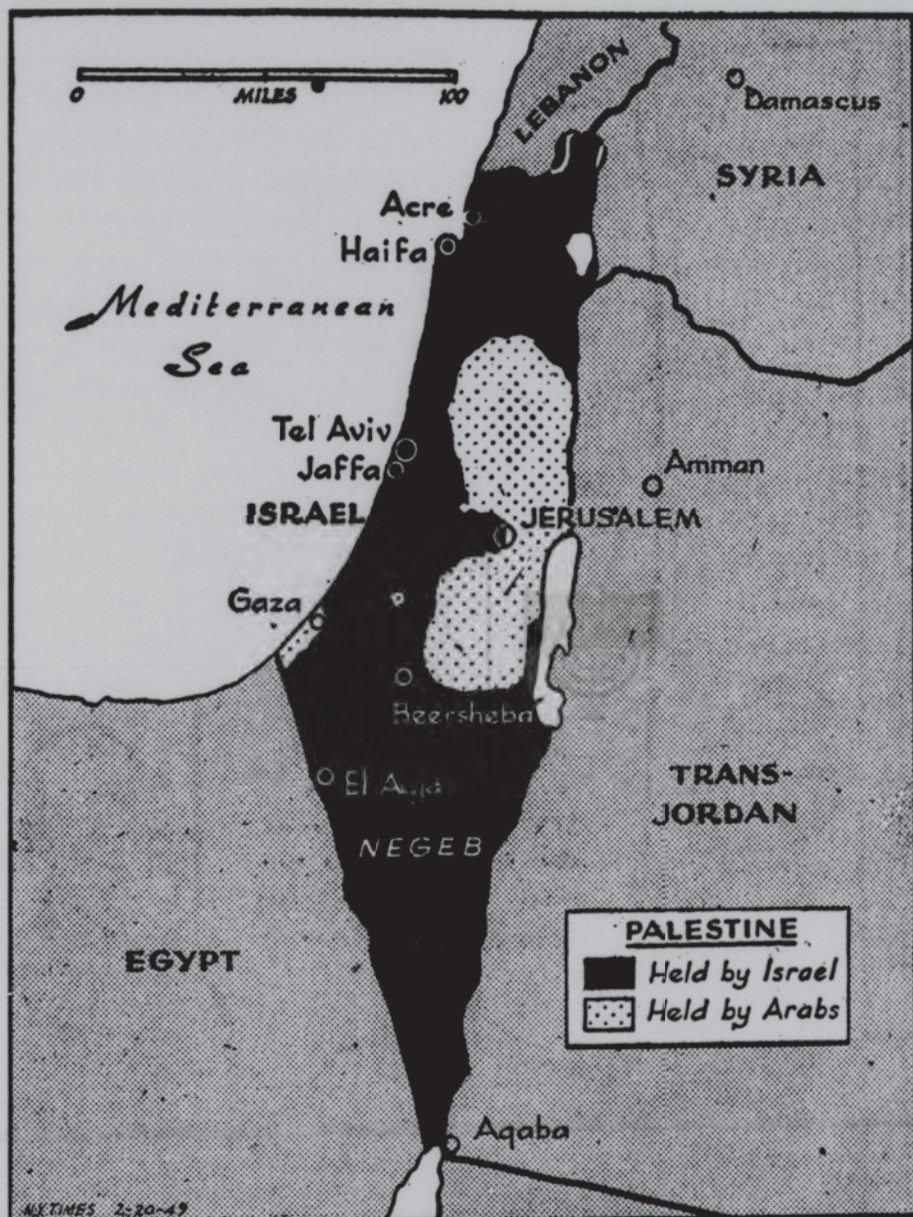
A second unique feature has to do with the special character of Palestine. For Christianity and Judaism, Palestine is the Holy Land, the goal of countless pilgrimages and the location of venerated shrines. It never played quite the same part in Islam, but a certain aura of holiness does envelop Jerusalem for the Moslem as well. It is true that for the governments of the great powers Palestine figures principally as a strategic area valuable for its proximity to the Suez Canal, to huge oil bearing deposits and to the centrally located Middle East area. Still, the religious connotation of Palestine has influenced public thinking on the subject and is reflected in the phraseology of governments.

A third unique feature of the Palestine question is the overwhelming part played in its solution by the international community. Although international conferences have occasionally taken a hand in the formation of new states, their intervention was invariably a phenomenon of power politics. The establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and its culmination—the setting up of the Jewish State—are cases where the international community as a whole, acting through the League of Nations and the United Nations, has recommended the addition of a new member to the family of nations.



## II

The resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews<sup>2</sup> was one



PARTITIONED PALESTINE

<sup>2</sup> The principal sources of the participation of the United Nations in the solution of the Palestine conflict, both before and after the partition resolution of November 29, 1947, are: *U.N. Official Records of the First Special Session of the General Assembly, 1947*, vol. 1-3; *U.N. Official Records of the Second Session of the General Assembly, 1947*, vol. 1-2 and supplements; *U.N. Official Records of the Second Special Session, 1948*, vol. 1-2 and supplements.

Much light on the deliberations in the United Nations is shed in three books written by Richard Crossman, *Palestine Mission*, 1947; Bartley C. Crum, *Behind the Silken Curtain*, 1947; Jorge Garcia Granados, *The Birth of Israel*, 1948.



in which, in accordance with international usage, both principle and expediency played a part. As far as principles are concerned, the British position, seeking to maintain direct or indirect control of Palestine under the guise of a disinterested and neutral guardian, was untenable.<sup>3</sup> The choice has to lie between the claims of Arabs and Jews. A strong case could be made out for either of them. Arabs could base their case on the elementary fact that they constituted the majority of the population of Palestine and, therefore, were entitled to rule it.<sup>4</sup> Jews could plead their historic connection with Palestine and the recognition by the world of their need for a homeland in that country.<sup>5</sup> The partition compromise which received formal approval by the United Nations was based on the idea of self-determination, not in the form of a plebiscite, which tends to disregard the wishes of groups no matter how important and politically mature they are as long as they do not form a majority in the territory as a whole, but in a more perfect form in which the desires of human beings are given priority over the tradition of territorial integrity.

This principle is not a new one. It was the principle under which the North American colonies claimed independence from England, under which Ireland demanded home rule and under which Ulster obtained separation from the rest of Ireland. It was under the same principle that first the Christian peoples of the Balkans and then the Arab speaking peoples of the Middle East were separated from the Turkish Empire and, after the first World War, the principal ethnic groups in central and eastern Europe were allowed to separate from the empires of Austria-Hungary and Russia. In our day the same principle was adopted to permit the Moslem minority in India, rightly or wrongly fearful of domination by a Hindu majority, to set up its own state—Pakistan. This principle was also applied to

<sup>3</sup> A relatively frank discussion of the British attitude will be found in Philip Graves, *Palestine—the Land of Three Faiths*, 1923; John Marlowe, *Rebellion in Palestine*, 1946; Nevill Barbour, *Palestine—Star or Crescent?*, 1947. A critical discussion of the British attitude will be found in Benjamin Akzin, "The Palestine Mandate in Practice," 25 *Iowa Law Review* (1939) and Paul L. Hanna, *British Policy in Palestine*, 1942.

<sup>4</sup> The Arab case is expressed best in G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, 1938; Frank C. Sakran, *Palestine Dilemma*, 1948; in testimony by Arab spokesmen given to the British Royal Commission, see *Palestine Royal Commission, Minutes of Evidence*, 1937, and to the Anglo-American Committee, see *Hearings Before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry*, 1946 (mimeographed); and in the speeches of Arab representatives at the sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 and 1948.

<sup>5</sup> The Jewish case has been set out by Jewish spokesmen before the British Royal Commission, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, and the United Nations, see note 4 supra. See also Leon I. Feuer, *Why a Jewish State*, 1942; and Ernst Frankenstein, *Justice for My People*, 1944.

A most comprehensive bibliography of the Palestine question, embracing all possible points of view, will be found in: Esco Foundation, *Palestine—A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies*, 1947, vol. 2, pp. 1238-1280.



the partition of Palestine, giving the Jews an opportunity to form their own state in a part of the country in which they formed a majority, but keeping the rest of the country under a different regime.

A second issue of principle had to come into play in the case of Palestine—the issue of mankind's religious interests, centered to such an important degree in Palestine. It was clear that whichever of the two nationalities on the spot, Arabs or Jews, was to rule all or part of the country, the Christian world would know how to safeguard its holy places and religious interests.

Christian opinion was divided whether Palestine should be allowed to absorb a large Jewish immigration, becoming in consequence a predominantly Jewish country, or whether its population should be frozen, thus crystallizing as a Moslem country. Christians do not form the majority of Palestine's population, nor do they aspire to this position. As far as the bulk of its people is concerned, Palestine seems destined to remain either Moslem or Jewish. Some Christians leaned toward the Jews, others toward the Arabs, and still others were indifferent to the country's political destiny and demographic pattern as long as specific Christian interests were safeguarded.

Principles were, of course, not the only guide. Political expediency, in the form of power politics, continued to play a most important part. After centuries of rivalry among the great powers, Great Britain emerged as the paramount power in Palestine. Flirting at first with the idea of keeping the country within their sphere of influence through a friendly Jewish State, British statesmen gradually veered to the thought that a predominantly Arab Palestine would prove a more convenient and pliable ally. There ensued a bitter conflict between Britain and the Jews in Palestine. The American Government was torn between conflicting emotions: considerations of humanity drove it to support the Jews; a desire to strengthen its bonds with the Arabs and to placate Britain pulled it the other way. American oil interests and educational institutions in the Middle East, disposed to favor the Arabs for material and sentimental reasons, were a strong influence in swinging American policy toward the Arabs, while the aroused opinion of American Jewry caused America to favor the Jews. The Soviets, who had bitterly fought Zionism for decades, changed their position to one of support for the Jewish State when it appeared that this would annoy and weaken Britain.



The country that has given rise to all these conflicts is rather small; in the original estimate of the statesmen of the first World War it covered 44 thousand square miles, about the size of Pennsylvania, of Cuba or of Belgium, Holland and Denmark combined. After the separation of Trans-Jordan, the country shrank to 10 thousand square miles, the size of Maryland or somewhat smaller than Belgium alone. Under the partition resolution adopted by the United Nations in 1947, this territory was to be divided into a Jewish State of about 5,500 square miles (a bit larger than Connecticut), and Arab state of about 4,400 square miles and an international district embracing Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings. The refusal of the Arab States to accept partition and their attempt to vitiate that solution by force of arms led to further changes, ironically enough in favor of the Jews: the boundaries of Israel were somewhat enlarged; the large Arab population that formerly lived in what is now Israel has shrunk to a little over 100 thousand as a result of the flight of most Arabs in connection with the war. The exact future of the Arab portion is as yet undecided. The future status of Jerusalem remains to be settled.

### III

The appearance of a new state does not usually excite much outside attention. Most of the citizens of the new state go through a comparatively brief period of exultation. Those who were actively engaged in bringing it about and have risen in consequence to positions of leadership have a special reason to feel pleased. Those who have lost dominion over the area are sullen and resentful. The world at large, without taking too much interest in the proceedings, assumes a rather benevolent attitude. There is a tendency among outsiders, unless their own interests are adversely affected, to smile upon a new state as they would smile upon a bride. Somehow people feel that if a group of human beings sets sufficient store by its independent existence to undergo the risks and sacrifices necessary to achieve its goal (for usually a new state does not emerge without its adherents undergoing considerable risk), it is entitled to it.

About two dozen states have appeared on the international scene since the beginning of the twentieth century. Out of the British Empire, but still retaining some connection with it, have come Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Eire, India,



Pakistan and Burma. Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania were three independent states created in Europe; and for a time Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were in the same category. Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia have undergone great changes since the nineteenth century, making them for all practical purposes new states. Finland changed from vassaldom to independence. Panama has come into existence in the western hemisphere; Iceland in the far north has attained independence, and Indonesia in the Far East is groping toward it. In the Middle East, seven Arab States (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Trans-Jordan and Yemen) were created anew or emerged from a former shadowy existence. Except for the opposition of the former rulers, the world has welcomed these new states into the family of nations as a matter of course.

Quite different was the reception accorded the latest arrival on the international scene, the State of Israel. In addition to the normal opposition of those whose interests were adversely affected by the new state's formation—in this case a wide assortment of Arab leaders, British civil servants, certain commercial interests—wide spread and acrimonious opposition arose in many other quarters. The Jewish State, like the Jewish people, seems to inspire strong likes and dislikes, but remarkably little indifference.

There are, of course, several facts which might account in some measure for the controversy aroused by the emergence of Israel: conflicting Arab-Jewish claims in respect to Palestine, the presence in our midst of partisans on both sides who keep the issue alive, the religious rather than national character often ascribed to Jews, the religious connotations of the Holy Land, and, of late, the question of Arab refugees.

All these elements are important, but they do not really suffice to explain the intensity of the controversy. Similar elements were present in other cases without causing a similar reaction. Conflicting claims are a feature of almost every territorial dispute, but outsiders do not care too much. Devoted adherents can be found among us on both sides of practically every issue, but their debate fails to arouse the public at large. The very same people who fear a Jewish theocracy and refuse to acknowledge the right of the Jews to form a state because they regard Jews as a religious community do not object in the least to Moslem theocracies, such as Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and accepted with complete equanimity the division of India into two



states which differ from one another in religion only. The argument that a land holy to three major religions may not be allowed to fall under Jewish rule seems to have merit until one notices that the prospect of putting Palestine under Moslem rule does not shock people nearly so much. The fate of Arab refugees created by the partition of Palestine excites an interest immeasurably greater than the fate of the far more numerous refugees created by the partition of India.

Finally, there is the argument that a Jewish State would represent a step backward, since in our enlightened age internationalism is the motto and sovereignty is outmoded. Oddly, this argument is reserved exclusively for the Jewish State. From Iceland to Siam, from Albania to Korea, national sovereignty is quite acceptable, but in the case of the Jewish State it is the very existence of that state that is deemed obnoxious.

In the face of these glaring inconsistencies, the real explanation of the widespread opposition to Jewish statehood must be sought elsewhere.

#### IV

It is often said in Jewish circles that Zionism has revolutionized the thinking of Jews about themselves. There is a great deal of truth in this. For centuries Jews led an existence which depended wholly on the good or bad mood of the majority groups among whom they were dispersed. Many of them prayed for a national life of their own, but there seemed no practical way to do anything about it. In practice, there were only three things a Jew could do: to plead with the non-Jews to be nice to him; to pick up his feet and go elsewhere in the hope that the non-Jews in the new country would prove more friendly than those in the old; and to seek peace for himself at the price of leaving the Jewish community altogether. Zionism provided a different approach; it sought to relieve the fundamental condition of Jewish insecurity by creating a territorially concentrated society in which Jews would form the majority of the population. It was an attempt to substitute organized self-help for the old devices of flight, of appeals to Christian charity and of abnegation. It was indeed a revolution.

Equally true is the fact that Zionism is causing a revolutionary change in the thinking of the non-Jewish world about the Jew. The Gentile world is a world in which individuals and families are



neatly grouped into integrated ethnic groups. These groups do not live in water tight compartments. There are Italians in England and Englishmen in Italy, Turks in Greece and Greeks in Turkey, but the predominant fact is the existence of fairly homogeneous groups; minorities introduced an element of variety and somewhat complicated the picture, but that is all. Similarly, not every ethnic group enjoys political independence. Many of them exist as subordinate nationalities, for self-rule—as a natural phenomenon.

Jews did not fit into this pattern. Beyond the individual Jew and the Jewish family there was something that escaped definition—was it a nationality, a religious community, a cultural group, an exclusive clan? It partook of the nature of all of these, and yet somehow it was different. The extreme religious non-conformity of the Jews, both in the Christian and in the Moslem world, contributed enormously to the feeling that Jews were an alien group and afforded a plausible justification for intolerance and discrimination.

The venerable past which the Jews had as a nation, a past made familiar to all by the Bible, seemed to have no bearing on the present. In the absence of territorial concentration, it was inevitable that the religious character of the Jewish community overshadowed its character as an ethnic group, even though the latter was never quite extinguished and was at times very pronounced.

On this basis, there emerged the principal types of Gentile attitudes toward the Jewish question. The liberal was willing to grant Jews individual equality unconditionally but thought of them as a mere denominational group, not as an ethnic group entitled to political independence, and rather expected them to facilitate their cultural integration with their surroundings by dropping all features that made for clannishness. His was a program of individual equality and cultural assimilation. The religious bigot stood for discrimination against Jews as long as they insisted on retaining their religion but was willing to accept them into the community as equal members if they forsook Judaism. His formula for equality was religious assimilation. The racial anti-Semite (the phenomenon is much older than the term) did not want to accept Jews on any terms, and neither did the ordinary Jew-hater whose bias was not bolstered by any particular theory. Most people of this type did not bother unduly about a solution of the Jewish question, although some of them put all squeamishness aside and preached or actually worked for the

under foreign rule, more or less against their will. But political independence is accepted as the normal condition of life for a nationality; its absence—as a deviation from the rule; and the striving of oppressed nationalities



physical extermination of the hated group. Few were the people who, instead of treating the Jews as a *sui generis* problem in need of *sui generis* solutions, sought to apply to them the solution which is normally applied to other groups—a solution compounded of independence on a given territory for the group as such and of equal rights as individuals to those of the group who choose to live outside of that territory. Those who thought in these terms invariably named Palestine as the territory of the Jewish State. They were an interesting group of people—Prince de Ligne, Napoleon, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Disraeli, Cardinal Gibbons, Russell Sage. But their number was small.

To the Gentile world at large, Zionism came as a jolt. Those to whom anything Jewish was unpalatable, or to whom the inferior status of the Jews was a necessary proof of their own superiority, could not quite stomach the idea of a Jewish State occupying a position of equality and dignity with other states. Some of those whose dislike of the Jew is mainly motivated by religious intolerance (their number in our day is far smaller than is generally believed) were shocked by the idea of a Jewish State in the Holy Land. Most interesting of all was the reaction of the liberal: the Jewish community as such had always seemed to him an anachronism, and to see this community boldly put forth its claim to existence was rather discomfiting. Jews have become to him a symbol of internationalism in this sad world of greedy nationalities, and it was too bad to see Jews succumb to the common failing of nationalism. To the American liberal, who traditionally viewed progress in terms of a melting pot rather than in terms of group self-determination, Zionism was especially strange. It was almost as if the Jews despaired of the liberal creed and put their hopes in self-segregation on a gigantic scale.

The resistance to Zionism was further swelled by the interesting phenomenon of anti-Zionist Jews. Once again reasoning varied, but the principal overtone was fear of upsetting the familiar *status quo*: anti-Zionist Jews felt that Gentiles would be more likely to grant individual equality to Jews in their midst if Jews kept more or less quiet about their Jewishness. A Jewish State might give the Gentiles the idea that instead of accepting and assimilating their Jewish neighbors, they could send them "back to Palestine," thus undoing the efforts of two centuries of the fight for equal rights. Naturally, each time the virulence and longevity of anti-Semitism was demon-



strated anew, the Jewish anti-Zionists found their reasoning weakened. And naturally, the staunchest defenders of the *status quo* were those to whom fate had been kindest. This is why anti-Zionist trends were particularly strong among the most prominent, i.e., successful, Jews who were able to exercise an influence quite out of keeping with their numbers.

When, to these two groups of anti-Zionists, is added those who believe that a Jewish state would threaten their interests—Arab leaders, British officials, American oil men and educators anxious to please the Arabs, strategists worried about the effect of a Jewish State in the military and political picture—one gets a truly formidable array of opposing forces. But even this is only half of the story. The other half is represented by the numerous technical, financial and psychological obstacles in the way of the settlement of a heterogeneous, urbanized and to a large extent impoverished Jewish mass in a small and arid country such as Palestine. If Zionism has overcome both this opposition and these obstacles to the point of getting 800 thousand Jews into Palestine and of establishing a state in part of the country, this achievement is due very largely to the terrific pressure of Jewish misery which left the mass of Jews with no alternative.

## V

The mere fact that the Jewish State has been born does not, of course, destroy the opposition. Jewish anti-Zionism, which was compounded in large measure of skepticism and the fear that "it can't be done" is very much on the wane. But the other factors that opposed the Jewish State are still active. States have been known to disappear as well as to appear, and a number of persons, especially in Arab countries and in England, undoubtedly harbor the hope that sooner or later the Jewish State, too, will vanish from the scene. Most of those who view Zionism with concern will not go so far as to connive in any schemes for its overthrow. It will take them time to adjust their thinking to the new reality. In the long run, however, the change which has occurred in the conditions of Jewish group existence is bound to have a salutary effect. It is a change from the unique pattern which leaves both Jews and non-Jews distrustful of one another to the familiar pattern of a territorially concentrated nationality with its normal attributes of political sovereignty on the one hand and on the other a kindred mass living elsewhere as citizens



of their respective countries. This pattern is known and understood the world over. There are many peoples with a large number of kinsmen living outside their national territory, such as Germans, Italians, Greeks and Irishmen. The ratio of Jews outside of Israel to those living in Israel would still be far higher than in the case of any other group, but this is a question of degree only. In the case of the Irish, too, the diaspora exceeds the population of the national homeland many times over.

The reduction of the Jewish question to a more common pattern cannot help but reduce the peculiar phenomenon of Judeophobia to the proportions of some other, far less virulent, group antagonisms. A trend toward this can already be observed. In Europe the struggle of the Jews of Palestine for independence has already lent dignity and brought active sympathy for Jews in places where they were hitherto held in disdain or active hatred. The legend of the wandering Jew illustrates vividly the distrust with which settled peoples hold a group without a home of its own. With the vagabond becoming a home owner, the other home owners will gradually cease to distrust him even if, to begin with, they are shocked by his impudence in seeking to set himself up as one of them.

The question whether Jews outside of Israel constitute a nationality—which until recently was the subject of animated debate—will become somewhat academic. It was important as long as it was inextricably linked with the other question, whether a Jewish nationality existed at all. Now this latter issue has been resolved. Jews in Israel, or as they are called now—Israelis, undoubtedly constitute a nation. Those outside of Israel, in so far as they are citizens of other countries, are of course nationals of those countries in the legal sense. As for any cultural links with the Jewish nationality in the ethnic sense, they will presumably share the prevailing fate of other minority groups in the given area. In central Europe and the Middle East, where ethnic nationalities show a tendency to retain their group identities, this trend may manifest itself among Jews too. In the western hemisphere, where the pattern is one of assimilation, this pattern will presumably be followed by many Jews as well. It is odd but true; for the first time those who wish to be identified as Jews by religion only, without any connotations of belonging to a distinct ethnic group, will be free to do so precisely because a full-fledged Jewish nationality will exist within clearly fixed boundaries.



## VI

All these points give the issue of the Jewish State more than the usual amount of interest. Once they have been clarified, the other issues will dissolve into the usual problems typical of the formation of a new state in difficult circumstances.

The Jewish State is as yet in a state of flux; its precise boundaries are far from settled; and the exact nature of its relations with neighboring countries, with the great powers, and with the international community are still uncertain. Like all states in our age, it faces the problem of combining theoretical sovereignty with the realities of economic and military interdependence. Like all small states, it faces the special problem of how to achieve even relative security without becoming a puppet of one of the great powers. Born in strife with its neighbors and against the stubborn opposition of Great Britain, it faces the problem of general reconciliation. In addition, it must shoulder the heavy burden of the economic absorption and the social integration of a wave of mass immigration which is truly unique in relation to the size of the state. Starting with a present day population of under a million, the state is certain to attract a minimum Jewish immigration, in the course of the coming decade or two, of about 1,500,000. Since the absorption of Jews impelled to emigrate from other countries is one of the principal reasons for the state's existence, Israel will not be free to modify its immigration laws to suit its own convenience, but will have to keep its gates open for Jewish immigration at all times.

A particularly important practical aspect of the question concerns American interests. In these days of international tension, this is an aspect of the Palestine question upon which a great deal of attention is justly focused in this country. There is a school of thought in Washington, well represented in the Department of State, among the military, and among oil firms and educational establishments with Middle East connections, which until recently opposed the formation of the Jewish State on the ground that this would prejudice the interests of America and of the West generally. The reasoning of this school of thought is rather complex. At times it emphasizes that Arab friendship and Arab oil are essential to America and that American sponsorship of Israel might lose both to Russia. At other times it points out that Israel might prove susceptible to Soviet penetration. Before the trial of strength had come off between Arabs and



Jews, the thought was expressed that Israel would be defeated unless either American or Russian troops were sent to protect it—two equally undesirable contingencies from the point of view of Washington policy makers. After the trial had taken place and Israel had proved her military superiority, the argument was modified to emphasize the need to “save the face” of the Arab governments. At times these political considerations were advanced even though the merits of the Jewish claim were acknowledged, while at others, the position was taken that the Arabs deserved to rule all of Palestine on the merits of the case and that the Jewish claims were utterly unjust.

It is difficult to distinguish in this mass of arguments what are real views and what are the conscious or unconscious rationalizations of the attitudes reviewed earlier in this article. However that may be, these arguments played an important part in the development of American policy on Palestine, explain most of that policy's vacillations and account in large measure for the efforts to reduce the territory of Israel to a minimum.<sup>6</sup>

Now that the Jewish State has come into existence, many of these arguments are seen to have been grossly exaggerated. Arab opposition to the Jewish State has clearly been less widespread and intense and far more artificial than one was led to believe. When all is said and done, Arab states will continue to see in America the most powerful political ally, the richest economic partner and the least selfish of all the great powers. The threat of an Arab-Soviet Alliance is clearly unreal, since feudal Arab society is anathema to all that the Soviets held dear, and vice versa. As Bartley Crum put it, the Arab potentates are no more likely to invite the Soviets to their part of the world than John D. Rockefeller is likely to ask Stalin to aid him in getting his income tax reduced. As for the Jews, when one realizes that a large part of the Jews already in Palestine, and most of those seeking to go there, leave eastern Europe precisely because they don't want to live under the regimes prevailing there, one will understand that Israel, if given a choice, will elect to stay within the orbit of western civilization. Within the philosophy of western life, the predominant trend in Israel seems to be toward democratic socialism, of the kind practiced in Australia and New Zealand, Sweden and

<sup>6</sup> For an example of an anti-Israel view based on an interpretation of American interests see *The Partition of Palestine: A lesson in pressure politics*, in *The Middle East Journal*, January 1948. For an opposite viewpoint see Sumner Welles, *We Need Not Fail*, 1948.



more recently in Great Britain. On the international scene, the leaders of Israel appear to wish for a permanent neutrality similar to that of Switzerland.

## VII

To our eyes, accustomed to the huge size of modern empires, the concentration of drama in so small an area appears somewhat incongruous. Yet size is not everything. One need only think of the endless variety of political drama on the miniature scenes of ancient Greece and Palestine, where the tiny states of Athens and Thebes, of Sparta and Troy, of Judea and Israel furnished mankind with some of its fullest experiences, both good and evil.

The future of Israel is not, in itself, a subject of overwhelming general interest, any more than the future of Denmark or Paraguay. Its record may be neither better nor worse than that of a number of other small states. For all we know, it will be compounded of the usual ingredients which go by the name of statesmanship: a lot of muddling, a number of errors, occasional flashes of wisdom. It has, in fact, been said that if and when Israel consolidates its position, Jewish history will settle down to the doldrum existence of any out of the way small nation and will lose the sense of high drama habitually connected with it. This may be all to the good.



# PALESTINE

Vol. 6, No. 1: Spring, 1949

## THE PROGRESS OF PEACE IN PALESTINE

**H**OWEVER slowly and waveringly, peace is on the march in Palestine. After many months of sporadic warfare, after more months of uncompromising vocal opposition to Israel, the Governments of Israel's Arab-speaking neighbors are one by one taking the road to peaceful negotiations. The armistice with Egypt has been concluded and has been followed by armistice agreements with Lebanon and Transjordan and the prospects of talks with Syria. Iraq may attempt to extricate itself from the Palestine conflict without formal negotiations with the Jews. Saudi Arabia and Yemen, being far removed from the scene of battle, are taking refuge in the simple formula that whatever result will be acknowledged by Israel's immediate neighbors will be accepted by them as well.

The subject matter of all these current talks is not peace but armistice. This might have been expected. After the tremendous anti-Jewish propaganda unleashed in the Arab-speaking countries on the initiative of their governing groups, these groups do not care to face the reaction which might follow a too drastic reversal. Therefore, an effective armistice and a *de facto* stabilization of boundaries are all that can be achieved at the present time. If this is done, the ground will have been prepared for that gradual assumption of economic, cultural, and diplomatic relations between Israel and its neighbors, which will some day result in formal peace and which may even, at some still later date, result in genuine friendship. The road is still a long one, but every lover of peace and humanity will rejoice to see that the first step along the road has been taken.

This step toward the restoration of peace in the Holy Land must be hailed on still another count:

the fact that it serves as a much-needed shot in the arm to the United Nations, hitherto not too fortunate in its attempts to solve differences between peoples. Special recognition ought to be given at this juncture to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie, and to the acting Mediator, Dr. Ralph Bunche, who used their full resources of statesmanship and innate ability. In the past, Dr. Bunche seemed to have been severely handicapped and perhaps unduly pressed by some of the Great Powers with interests in the Middle East. But as soon as this pressure relented and the two men, with their advisers and assistants, were left free to exercise their own judgment, a more hopeful epoch began.

**T**HE progress of the armistice talks does not indicate that opposition to Israel has become a thing of the past. On the contrary, such opposition is very much alive, and manifests its existence in many and devious ways. In saying this, we have in mind not so much Arab opposition as that prevalent in some British and American circles. That spokesmen for the Arab countries should continue to voice hostility to the Jewish State is easy to understand: they must make that sort of concession to the artificially inflamed public opinion in their countries. A government defeated in a major military adventure is, it goes without saying, likely to fall, and one should not be surprised if the Arab rulers attempt to postpone the day of reckoning by going through the motions of wishing to continue the war against Israel at a later time. If they do not find encouragement from powerful foreign quarters, these warlike declarations need not be taken seriously; they will gradually subside as a matter of course. If serious concern is in order, it is be-



cause there are still some foreign quarters which have not reconciled themselves to the existence of a strong and independent Israel and which seemingly are looking for an opportunity to weaken the new State or—if possible—to liquidate it entirely.

The first place among those who harbor this design must seemingly be given to Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain. Though he is known to harbor a deep personal animosity toward Israel and Jews in general, the policy so stubbornly pursued by him is, of course, indicative of a trend popular among a fairly numerous group in British public life. A strong section within the British Conservative Party, a number of people in the British Labor Party, and a great many present and former officials of the Foreign and Colonial Offices have by no means given up their dream of a purely Arab Middle East under British domination, nor their resentment that the Jews have had the impudence to cross them. The immediate program of this group seems to concentrate on the weakening of Israel and the strengthening of Transjordan at various points in Palestine, especially in the southern Negev. This plan explains the British attempt to create a *fait accompli* of Arab occupation of the Elath region awarded by the General Assembly of the United Nations to the Jews, and their indignant and somewhat threatening protests when Israeli troops moved to occupy that part of their territory and frustrated the British design.

Behind this immediate program, there lurks the intention of liquidating Israel altogether, if and when circumstances permit. This long-range plan is shared by another group far nearer home—a group composed of distinguished Americans with Middle East connections—oil men, educators, and clergymen. Many of them are now involved in a thorough and systematic campaign conducted with an unusual amount of virulence and calculated to discredit Israel in the eyes of the American public. Through lectures, magazine article, privately and semi-privately circulated letters, the idea is being broadcast that, while nothing can be done for the present with regard to Israel, that State has no moral basis for existence and, moreover, jeopardizes the national interests of America. Thus, a sentiment of antagonism toward Israel is being fostered. Presumably, once this antagonism will have taken the place of the sympathy which

America brought in the past to the Jewish struggle for independence, the next step will be an attempt to eliminate Israel from the map. This is not a savory undertaking, nor is it an easy one. It is more difficult to eliminate a State than to prevent its birth. But it has been done. In the life of our own generation, several independent States have been made to disappear: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and—for a time—Ethiopia, Poland and Czechoslovakia. We may hope that the campaign will fail. But in the meantime it is not an attractive sight, and it is especially saddening to see well-known members of the clergy taking part in it.

In the light of this persistent opposition to Israel, moreover, one tends to look with caution upon the activities of the United Nations Conciliation Commission consisting of one representative each from the United States, from France and from Turkey. The nature of this body's activities is not quite clear. While the acting Mediator, Dr. Bunche, is trying to prevent the recurrence of war and to bring about the gradual inauguration of better relations between Israel and its neighbors—a task in which he is proving singularly successful—the Conciliation Commission is seemingly engaged on a search for a long-range political solution of the Palestine conflict. Such a search is a very laudable undertaking, but it is also one in whose name much mischief may be done, if there is any intention to do mischief.

This may seem to be an unduly suspicious approach. Yet it is difficult to forget that in the past the intervention of a number of Governments in the Palestine conflict was marked more by a desire to advance their real or purported national interests than by a disinterested search for justice. It may not be amiss, accordingly, to wonder whether the members of the Conciliation Commission are not bent on a similar task. Though the Commission is in name an organ of the United Nations, its three members are the delegates of their respective Governments. At least two of the three Governments involved—those of France and Turkey—are in a position where subservience to British desires may be feared. In the circumstance, one wonders whether the real aim of the Conciliation Commission is not the reiteration under a new name of the main ideas of the Bernadotte report, and whether its chief purpose is not to press for a new territorial disposition of Palestine calculated to fit in with British schemes.



It may well be that this fear is superfluous. But after the unfortunate experiences of the recent past, it is as well to stand forewarned against possible attempts once more to substitute power politics for justice.

### IN GRATITUDE AND GRATIFICATION

The unfinished business on the Palestine diplomatic agenda must not be allowed to diminish the sense of gratitude and gratification aroused by the events of the last ten months. Israel has established itself firmly as State and functioning Government; beaten back the attacks of five invading armies; been given legal recognition by fifty powers, including *de jure* recognition by our own country, which has granted it a \$100,000,000 Export-Import Bank loan as well. Thanks to the moderating influence of our Government and to the pressure of public opinion in Britain, Israel has emerged successfully from the acute crisis in its relations with Britain, provoked by the shooting down last January of R.A.F. planes reconnoitering Israeli positions in the Negev. A sharp turn for the better in Anglo-Israeli relations has followed upon the resolution of that crisis, bringing with it Britain's long-deferred *de facto* recognition of Israel and the liberation of the refugees interned in the Cyprus camps. These last twelve thousand out of Cyprus, no longer "illegal" immigrants, have merged with the vast stream of legal immigration flowing uninterruptedly to Israel. For Israel, though beset by the problems of war and simple survival, has grown with miraculous swiftness: it has already absorbed over 150,000 new immigrants and established some sixty new village settlements. It has held a national election, marred by not a single instance of violence or fraud, participated in by Arabs as well as Jews and resulting in the formation of a coalition cabinet dominated by moderate and constructive Socialists.

Israel's election has borne witness to the political maturity of its population and, at the same time, given the lie to the frequently heard charge that the new State's orientation is Communist. It is—to say the least—illogical to label as Communist-dominated a Government which encourages private initiative and private investment, which has so many ties with the West, and which is determined to remain strictly neutral in foreign policy. Nor is it any more logical to insinuate that Israel must be a tool of the Soviet bloc because it purchased

desperately needed arms from Czechoslovakia. The *New York Herald Tribune* on March 30 carried a detailed dispatch describing large purchases of arms by Pakistan from Czechoslovakia, and no one in his senses would dream of describing Pakistan as a Soviet satellite. . . .

Actually, the cumulative evidence of facts has in the last few months demolished argument after argument of the many levelled against Israel by its enemies. America's alleged dependence on Middle East oil, because of rapidly diminishing native resources, was one of the basic anti-Zionist contentions of last year. In December, 1948, no less an authority than the president of the Standard Oil Development Company, Dr. E. V. Murphree, speaking at a meeting of the American Chemical Society, ridiculed assertions that United States oil reserves will last only twelve to fifteen more years. His estimate was 250 years! Again, just a few weeks ago Mr. James Moffett won a court case against the Arabian American Oil Company on the ground that he had not been adequately compensated for using his personal influence in wartime Washington toward the end that the Government arrange for financial aid to King Ibn Saud, who would otherwise have become completely bankrupt. The extent of Arab dependence upon this country became clearer with every bit of evidence offered by Mr. Moffett.

The late summer and the fall saw repeated reports in religious journals of Israeli desecration of Christian shrines and mistreatment of Christian priests and laymen. Careful investigation—like that by Msgr. Thomas McMahon referred to later in this issue—has demonstrated that though there were indeed some instances of desecration of church property, these all occurred during the height of the war and were committed by irresponsible soldiers, whose like can unfortunately be found in any embattled army. As soon as the fighting subsided, special religious liaison officers were appointed by the Government of Israel, and religious shrines and institutions of all faiths are scrupulously respected.

Accusation upon accusation thus falls away as Israel emerges into stability and maturity. There is good ground to hope that time will bring with it, too, that cordial relation between Israel and its neighbors which will lead to genuine progress and democracy throughout the revived lands of the Middle East.



## A BRITISH M. P. LOOKS AT ISRAEL

By Richard H. S. Crossman

*This penetrating analysis of the new Middle East situation comes from the pen of the distinguished British member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. It appeared originally in the London "New Statesman and Nation" of January 15, 1949.*

NOW, even more than three years ago when I was in Palestine with the Anglo-American Committee, I am appalled by the gulf which divides even the best informed opinion here and in Whitehall. Passion and resentment overwhelm cool reason and produce fantastic misunderstandings. After only one week here I have no idea what London is thinking. All I know is that by believing the worst of each other we produce the worst out of each other. Starting from the fatal illusion that the Arab armies could easily overwhelm the Jews, our Palestine policy has been based on the foundation of a myth, buttressed by prejudice which now threatens to destroy our whole Middle East position. That position cannot be saved by grandiose military gestures which we are quite unable to follow up, but only by sober reassessment of the realities here, and a policy based on that reassessment.

What are those realities? First is the military and political collapse of the Arab League. The Arab Legion, numbering not more than 12,000, is intact, because Abdullah is wise enough not to commit it in any major action. All other Arab armies have melted into thin air. The Egyptian Army has virtually ceased to exist during the recent fighting. Today Israeli troops could march on Beirut, Baghdad and Suez, if Ben-Gurion gave the order. If he wished he could occupy the Arab triangle in Central Palestine. The mountains are now held by the Iraqis. In so far as British power depended on Arab military strength (which in terms of modern war was always mythical) we have gratuitously inflicted a sensational defeat on ourselves by compelling the Jews to fight for their lives—and to win.

The second reality is that the collapse of the Arab war of conquest in Palestine produces a social convulsion in every Arab state. On the one hand, reactionary groups now in control are more inclined to appeal to Britain for protection. (Witness the appointment of a pro-British Iraqi Premier.) On the other hand, anti-British feeling reaches a new fever of intensity. British protection was never needed more nor hated more by the Arab peoples. Arab leaders complain that Britain first encouraged them into this campaign, in which they were spectacularly defeated, then backed down halfway. Arab bitterness against Britain, as I found after talking the whole morning with notables in occupied Nazareth, is even stronger than the Jewish bitterness. This explains the behavior of Egypt during the last few days. Forced by blundering British policy into an open choice between accepting British help under the deserted 1926 Treaty or entering into armistice negotiations with the Jews, the Egyptians preferred the Jews. Thus, Bevin's power politics have only resulted in a shattering blow to Britain's waning prestige.

The third reality is simply the existence of Israel. The removal of the huge Palestine administration has produced not the expected chaos, but more law, order and civil liberty than the population has enjoyed since the Arab revolt in 1936. Most remarkable here, despite the appalling strain of a war in which the front line is nowhere more than thirty miles away, is the absence of tension in everyday life. The people are happy, good-humored and relaxed. Even in Arab and Druze villages in Western Galilee, occupied only a few weeks ago by Jews, schools are all open, the olives are being picked, crops are sown in perfect peace without the presence of Jewish soldiers. I talked in Haifa with a municipal engineer and No. 2 Port Authority, two of the very few non-Jewish Englishmen who did not leave with the Army. Both had the same story to tell. Miraculous but true. "The only change since May 15th is that everything runs



smoothly and we can now get on with our jobs without interference." The Port Engineer added: "With the Mandatory and Palestine police have disappeared the corruption and pilfering which were ruining Haifa's port."

It is impossible to appreciate this fact without seeing it and comparing conditions with three years ago. With the removal of the Police State, into which the Mandate had degenerated, the nation has emerged equipped with civil and military administration; sea, road, and rail transport, and full-scale social services—the whole equipment of a Western European Socialist State. May 15th faced Israeli with three tasks, each of which separately seemed, even to them, too big to tackle. First, to win the war as a nation of 800,000 against six nations with forty million. Second, while winning the war, to create a State out of chaos deliberately created by the evacuating authority. Third, while winning the war and building the State, to bring in and settle 130,000 new immigrants in one year, thus increasing the population by 15 per cent. Israel has done all three. When you ask how it was done you are simply told "We had our secret weapon—no alternative."

THIS, indeed, is the whole truth. Three years ago all the Jewish political leaders that I talked to wanted either the continuation of the Mandate or partition under which Britain would retain military bases at Haifa, Lydda and in the Negev, and remain the protector of the Jewish State. No one conceived it possible or desirable to build Israel unaided by British friendship. Only because Bevin compelled them, have these people made Churchill's 1940 speeches literal truth. They have fought on the beaches and in the streets. Only because Britain encouraged the Arabs to fight in every village and town, have the Jews been able to "solve" the Arab problem. In the first phase of the war, the unfortunate Arab masses, on the orders of their own leaders, and assisted by the British Army, fled to neighboring countries, hoping to return behind the victorious armies after two weeks. Instead, their places in town and country are now being taken by tens of thousands of new Jewish settlers. Only in the areas recently conquered by the Jews have Arabs disobeyed the evacuation order, staying behind when the armies fled. Thus, British policy has inadvertently fulfilled

Weizmann's claim at the Versailles Conference of 1919, that Palestine should become as Jewish as England is English. Seventy thousand Arabs who remained in Israel have been granted full Jewish wage rates and have put forward four Party lists for the Elections on January 25th. Earning higher wages, living freely, this Arab minority is now the envy of all the neighboring countries and the illegal immigration of Arabs into Israel has now begun.

The most dangerous misunderstanding is to write off the Israeli victories as the result of superior equipment from the Eastern bloc. Actually, the Jews started with nothing except a few rifles, Bren guns and home-made mortars. No Air Force, no artillery. I have talked with settlers by Galilee who fought British-made tanks with their bare hands and a bottle of kerosene. Only quite recently has Haganah become a real Army. Even now purchasing officers inform me that they have more British equipment than Czech. *What brought victory was the spirit. Isolated settlers in Galilee, like bearded rabbis in Jerusalem, had to choose between winning or having their throats cut. It was as simple as that.*

This brings me to my fourth reality. After traveling in this country I find it sheerest nonsense to talk about Jewish aggression or imperialism. These people have been fighting, outnumbered and out-equipped, against six invading armies, for the bare right to exist. Their losses of life, both civil and military, have been appalling, and each month of war increases inflation, forces up the cost of living and brings the new State nearer bankruptcy. It will take years to restore the damage done to their orange and banana groves, their herds, factories and houses. They still feel it is a miracle that they won, and can conceive no desire but peace. But Egyptian, Iraqi, and Syrian armies still stand on the soil allocated to Israel by the UN. In this tiny country, one feels the presence of the invader everywhere hemming in. Naturally, people assume that the end of the war must mean the withdrawal of the invader.

Militarily, the Jews have already licked the Arabs. Nothing but British armed intervention can remove the Jews from the Negev. From this war, forced on them by deliberate British policy, Israel has emerged as the one constructive force in the



Middle East, a twentieth-century Socialist State in the midst of the Middle Ages. This new nation feels no attachment or particular loyalty to any Great Power. Speaking to many political leaders, I have found unanimous agreement that Israel must avoid entanglements with East or West. Indeed, Israeli neutrality is the fifth reality we have to face. We could have had Palestine as a loyal Dominion. Now we must accept the existence of Israel as a Middle East Switzerland, which may well, in the not too distant future, attract those Arabs who do not wish their countries to remain strategic pawns on the Great Power chessboard.

This is real, positive good, which has emerged out of the ghastly evils of the last three years. A

Jewish State attached too closely to the West would always have been a trouble center in the Middle East, suspected by the Arabs as an agent of Western imperialism. Neutral Israel with frontiers guaranteed by Russia and Anglo-Americans, could become the focus for peaceful development. We have failed—thank God—to destroy Israel, although we tried hard enough. What is the use of cocking futile military snooks? Instead we should take our share, as every Jew with whom I have talked wants us to do, in the vast work of reconstruction which lies ahead. At a price Israel can do without our friendship. But our present policy toward Israel can only end in the British withdrawal from the Middle East.

## THE FATE OF THE ARAB REFUGEES

By Eliahu Ben-Horin

*Eliahu Ben-Horin is the author of "The Middle East: Crossroads of History." Articles of his on the Middle East and on the Palestine question have appeared in "Harpers," "The Atlantic" and other magazines. He has just returned from a trip to Israel.*

THE urgent problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees affects not only the fate of hundreds of thousands of human beings, but is bound to influence any long-range settlement of the Middle East controversy.

The mass flight of the Palestine Arabs turned toward the non-Israeli parts of Palestine and toward the countries immediately adjoining Palestine: Transjordan, Lebanon and Syria. It is in these three countries and in the Arab sections of Palestine that the bulk of the approximately 600,000 homeless and helpless refugees are located. Figures even higher than 600,000 are sometimes quoted, but whatever the exact total of the refugees and wherever they may be, there is one common denominator: they are not wanted and they are not absorbed by the local economies.

What has the future in store for this mass of

suffering humanity? Will Israel be able to re-absorb them? Or can they be permanently resettled in a new land?

There are various evaluations of the causes behind the Arab mass flight from Palestine. The realities of the situation remain the same, whether the main reason which made them run away was justified or imaginary physical fear, bad advice or propaganda on the part of their own leaders who wanted to clear the field for an all-out onslaught on Palestine Jewry. Whatever judgment the future historian may pass on the Arab flight, the Arabs are no longer in Israel, except for the one hundred thousand who stayed behind. By the time peace is fully restored, they will have been gone for at least a year—and probably more.

During my recent trip through Israel, I was particularly interested in seeing what had happened to pre-war Arab homes and positions. Thus examined, the practical prospects for a mass Arab return emerge as very poor indeed.

Let us start with the question of Arab homes, whether in the mixed and purely Arab cities or in the Arab villages. In Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Safad, Tiberias, Acre, Ramleh, Arabs owned many mod-



ern houses. As a result of the great onrush of Jewish immigrants during the last nine months, all the houses fit for habitation have inevitably been taken over. Today, Katamon, the purely Arab quarter of new Jerusalem; Ein Karem, a township outside of Jerusalem; the new city of Acre; the modern sections of Jaffa and Haifa—are inhabited by Jews to full capacity. The slum sections in most of these cities have either been destroyed by warfare or dynamited in order to clear the way for proper city planning. About thirty blocks of houses in Jaffa, adjoining Tel Aviv, now present a mass of ruins and masonry, while a similar picture is to be seen in the Arab parts of Haifa. In other words, there is not a house in the cities of Israel which is free to accommodate its pre-war Arab owners, should they return. The same is largely true of the bigger and more prosperous Arab villages.

Not only Arab homes but also Arab economic positions have either become non-existent or non-available to the Arabs. Arabs used to form the majority in the lower officialdom of the Palestine Government. Thousands of them were in the employ of the railways, the police or the road repair service. Without suggesting in the least that the Israeli Government will be "Arab-rein" (in fact, there are already Arabs in its employ), one must conclude that only a limited number of Arabs can look forward to government posts. The reasons are apparent. First, Israel is faced with the problem of absorbing hundreds of thousands of immigrants into its economy. Secondly, it is safe to say that the average Arab cannot compete with the Jew in skill and technical ability.

Now we come to a real vicious circle. The large decrease in the size of the Arab rural community must *ipso facto* cause a decrease in the Arab urban population. The Arab intelligentsia is bound to find a much narrower scope of activity. Arab lawyers, doctors, architects, teachers or musicians never had a Jewish clientele, though Jewish professional men had many Arab clients. As things have now developed, the prospects of Arab professional workers have shrunk by ninety per cent. The same applies to the Arab cafe and restaurant, cinema, newspaper, grocery store, and the entire spectrum of city life.

The Arabs of Palestine are, of course, entitled to financial compensation for every bit of property

they have left behind them. This means that Arab refugees from Palestine will have money coming to them from Israel. Whether the sum be great or small, it will not be the homes, shops, jobs and livelihoods they had in the past. The solution for their problem must lie elsewhere.

SUCH a solution exists. It is a plan which can solve the problem of the Arab refugees completely and constructively; it is indeed the only plan which can achieve that end. I mean the "Hoover Plan," set forth by Herbert Hoover long before the Palestine war, and before the Arabs of Palestine became refugees. The fact that the remedy Mr. Hoover prescribed predated the disease, in no way detracts from the practicability and urgency of his plan. On the contrary, what a few years ago was an idea in the mind of a statesman and engineer, now appears as a God-sent response to a tragic human need.

Herbert Hoover is best qualified to explain the essence of his plan, and I therefore quote from his statement published in November, 1945:

... In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys supported probably ten million people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about three and a half million people in modern Iraq. . . .

My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to complete this great land development on the consideration that it be made the scene of resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine. . . .

There is room for many more Arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race, which is Arab speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab population of Palestine would be the gainer from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer, for it badly needs agricultural population. . . . It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict. . . .

A plan involving such far-reaching changes can



be carried out only with the consent of the people involved, and it is no easy matter to persuade a settled population to move to another land. By force of events which neither Mr. Hoover nor anyone else foresaw or willed, the candidates for transfer to Iraq are no longer a settled population but a mass of homeless refugees.

All the other factors in the Hoover Plan have not changed, and the proposal which was true and sound in 1945 remains true and sound in 1949. The Tigris and Euphrates are still there, and so is the fertile valley waiting for irrigation and colonization. Iraq still needs additional agricultural population for its own development and internal stability. This new population must still be Arab by race and language and Moslem by religion, if it is to strengthen and not weaken the body politic of Iraq. The Palestine Arabs remain the only possible reservoir for an Arab-Moslem agricultural immigration into Iraq.

Many millions of dollars have been spent and many more will be spent for the upkeep of the Palestine refugees. The United States has just granted sixteen million dollars as its share of the twenty-nine millions allocated by the UN. All these millions will not solve the problem of the Arab refugees or produce any permanent adjustment. To avoid misunderstanding, let it be stated that this writer heartily endorses the most generous relief for Arab refugees, but he sees no reason

to ignore the fact that charity unaccompanied by constructive planning is no remedy for a social ill.

President Truman has just made his momentous proposal for large scale aid to undeveloped and underprivileged areas of the world. One hears of plans for a billion dollar appropriation for the Middle East alone. The permanent resettlement of half a million men, women and children who lost their homes, fields and shops, should be an integral part of these plans.

What Herbert Hoover visualized as a one-sided transfer can be developed into a plan for an exchange of populations. About a quarter of a million Jews live in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Yemen. They are being persecuted, oppressed and discriminated against in all those countries. They are at the complete mercy of autocratic, corrupt Governments which are xenophobic in general and anti-Jewish in particular. They are neither allowed to live as human beings, nor to migrate to Israel. An exchange of populations is indicated, and would benefit all concerned.

Unless we accept the wise formula of Herbert Hoover and turn to "a solution by engineering instead of by conflict," the tragedy of the Arab refugees is likely to continue for a long time to come. This, in turn, means the preservation of a bad socio-political irritant, which will prove to be a serious obstacle on the road to peace and stability in the Middle East.

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## AN ARAB SUGGESTION ON ARAB REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

A SIGNIFICANT contribution to the discussion of the Palestine Arab refugee problem was made during March by *Al-Qubs*, a nationalist Moslem newspaper in Syria. The Syrian Government, *Al-Qubs* commented editorially, is spending large sums—at least half a million liras (about \$200,000) a month—on the upkeep of Palestine refugees in its territory, on the assumption that the emergency is temporary and that the refugees will soon be repatriated. The emergency may, however, last much longer than expected—indeed, many observers are of this opinion. It would,

therefore, be far more useful for the Government to spend its monthly appropriation on resettlement rather than relief. It should furnish the Palestinians with land and agricultural equipment and thus turn refugees into good, productive citizens of Syria.

Syria needs many more such citizens, the paper argues. It could and should absorb not only 100,000 additional persons but as many as 5,000,000. There is good, uncultivated land in the districts of Al-Jazirah, Al-Farat, Homs and Hamah where the refugees could build small villages and add to the general prosperity of the country.



## A THOUSAND YEARS BUT AS A DAY...



THE SEAL OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

**W**HEN on February 10, 1949 the State Council of Israel approved a coat of arms for the new State, the design chosen demonstrated the extraordinary continuity of Jewish history. The seven-branched candelabra between the olive branches is an exact copy of the candelabra engraved on the marble arch erected by Titus in Rome in 70 A.D., to commemorate his victory over Judaea. It was no accident that caused the artist of 1949 to turn to the Arch of Titus for his model. After almost 1,900 years and unspeakable vicissitudes, the Jewish people, condemned by Titus to dispersion and national annihilation, was alive again as a nation, taking up the thread of its history where it had been snapped by the Roman legions.

Prayer, ceremonial and study—the fundamentals of Jewish living through the ages—have kept the collective memory of Jews so keen that this intimate relationship between the year 70 and the year

1949 is no figure of speech and no rhetorical exaggeration. The past lived for every Jewish child; the future would inevitably grow out of the past, and the future was bound to take a certain pattern. That pattern had been set in Egypt and then in Babylon. It was the pattern of dispersion and return. Rome had dispersed the people for the third time, and the return to the Promised Land after the third dispersion was yet to come. Though delayed, it would surely come.

This unique foreshortening of time and space is the core of Jewish history, and past and present have come together almost mystically in modern Israel. It has taken the sense of history of a Winston Churchill to express this with incomparable aptness. Attacking Mr. Bevin's Palestine policy in the House of Commons debate of January 26, 1949, he said:

Whether the right hon. Gentleman likes it or not, and whether we like it or not, the coming into being of a Jewish State in Palestine is an event in world history to be viewed in the perspective, not of a generation or a century but in the perspective of a thousand, two thousand, or even three thousand years. That is a standard of temporal values or time values which seems very much out of accord with the perpetual click-clack of our rapidly changing moods and of the age in which we live. This is an event in world history.

This "perspective of three thousand years" is an integral element in the development of Israel as a State. Having no immediate past as a territorially concentrated nation, Israel, in its search for national roots, reaches back almost instinctively into the further past of the First and Second Commonwealths. The solemn opening of its Constituent Assembly was set for the traditional Jewish Arbor Day, which itself grows out of the Old Testament injunction to the Israelites to "plant every manner of tree" in the Promised Land. The name of the Constituent Assembly, *Knesseth*, is taken from the time of the Second Commonwealth; the members of the Assembly who escorted the President, Dr.



Weizmann, were twelve in number, symbolizing the twelve tribes of antiquity.

One of the twelve envoys who participated in the ceremony of escorting the President of Israel was, as the newspaper reports pointed out, not a Jew but an Arab—one of the three Arabs elected to the *Knesseth* by the vote of the Arab men and women citizens of Israel. The Arab women of Israel were the first Arab women in history to have voted in an election; their participation evoked an immediate echo in Egypt, where Dorya Shafik, a leading feminist and editor of a women's journal, used their equality of status as an argument in a fervent campaign for women's right to vote in the next Egyptian elections. The immediate effect of this modern social innovation Israel has brought to the East from its sojourn in the West may well be regarded as the first indication of Israel's future role as potent progressive influence in the Middle East.

Assurance that Israel will consistently follow a democratic path has been given by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's opening statement of March 8, 1949, to the Constituent Assembly. In this rather remarkable document, stressing the exigencies of peace, as well as of war, in the new Israel, the Prime Minister

outlines the fundamental principles of the Government's program, among them these:

The democratic republican regime of the State of Israel shall guarantee by law complete equality of rights and obligations for all citizens, regardless of creed, race or nationality. It shall safeguard freedom of religion, freedom of conscience, freedom of language, education and culture. It shall establish full equality of rights and obligations for women—civic, social, economic and legal. . . . The State shall provide for the public religious needs of its inhabitants, but shall prevent religious coercion. The Sabbath and Jewish festivals shall be fixed as days of rest in the State of Israel; non-Jews shall have the right to observe their own Sabbaths and festivals as days of rest. . . . Education shall be free for all boys and girls up to an age to be fixed by law. School attendance shall be compulsory for all children. . . . The Government shall secure for Arab workers equal rights with Jewish workers through a constructive policy aimed at a progressive rise in the standard of living, organization, education and culture of the Arab worker to the level of the Jewish worker.

## THE SAGA OF ISRAEL'S STRUGGLE FOR LIFE

A Review by Emil Lengyel

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WRITING in his diary after the first Zionist Congress in Basle, Theodore Herzl, its convener, noted: "If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word—which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish States." Then, he added, "If I were to say this to-day, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in fifty, everyone will see it." The entry was dated September 1897, and Herzl's prophetic guess was wrong by only nine months.

I. F. Stone in his new book, *This Is Israel*,\* reminds us of that notation in Herzl's diary. It is from Herzl, too, that he has taken the motto for his book: "Those Jews who wish for a State shall have it, and they will deserve to have it."

Mr. Stone is well known to newspaper readers not only for the good, solid information in his writings, but also for his engaging style and for a warmth which comes directly from the heart.

The publishers of *This Is Israel* remind us that Mr. Stone slept in Cyprus camps and knows the interior of British prison ships. He was at Lake Success when partition was voted and in Tel Aviv when Israel's statehood was declared. He took a

\* Boni & Gaer. New York. 1948.



trip from Poland to Palestine as an illegal immigrant in 1946, at the height of the Haganah's struggle with the British navy, telling us about his experiences in his previous book, *Underground to Palestine*.

The present volume is an introduction to Israel in words and pictures—more than a hundred of them by three of America's best photo reporters, Robert Capa, Jerry Cooke and Tim Gidal. The saga of Israel's struggle for life will be one of history's great epics. This book will form an important chapter of that heroic account.

The panoramic view of Israel provided by Mr. Stone encompasses yesterday as well as today. Seeing history in proper perspective, he tells the story of the Second Aliyah, the migration to Palestine early in this century. That migration was particularly important because it grappled effectively with the problems whose solution was the prerequisite for the great adventure to come. The Second Aliyah, Mr. Stone tells us, laid the foundations of those institutions that made possible the ultimate fight to victory. These were the Palestinian farm cooperatives and collectives, the powerful labor organization—Histadruth—and the people's army, Haganah.

Palestine's barren soil would yield only to the concerted onslaught of youthful pioneers united in collectives, the author points out. The more old-fashioned types of property holding would not have been able to solve the riddle of the Judaeon hills. The amazing Histadruth was forced to branch out into many fields because neither the antiquated Ottoman administration nor the British mandatory system cared to tackle the countless problems faced by the new frontier. The Haganah was the child of compulsive circumstances, as the defense guard of a handful of Jews in the midst of marauding Arabs.

Most of the book is devoted to a description of the great, contemporary struggle out of which Israel was born. We see the mighty of the world using Palestine as a political arena, thinking of their own positions, overlooking the fate of the tragic remnants of Jewry. The author shows us how the worldwide cabal crumbled in the face of Jewish determination. At a time when failure seemed inevitable, the Jews rose to an occasion of the type which fate presents only once: they established the Jewish State.

*Wicked Midwives* is the title of one of Mr. Stone's most interesting chapters, showing both the Foreign Office and the State Department plunged into *Realpolitik* up to their chins. How the war was won is described in graphic detail; how the peace may be won is interestingly projected. The State of Israel, Mr. Stone shows convincingly, may become a laboratory in the building of society. It has already shown that planned and unplanned economy can be combined to the great advantage of the entire community. Its network of cooperatives and farm collectives on a purely voluntary basis, form the pattern of a mixed economy. Its people, forged in the fires of war and persecution, have been tempered to a degree of strength for which history offers no precedent. In such a commonwealth, social justice could be achieved without the loss of individual freedom.

The large number of photographs are athrob with life, revealing the land and its Jewish people in many moods. We see Israel in peace and war, at play and at work, in the fields and in the shops.

Bartley C. Crum, who contributes the Foreword, says very aptly: "We Americans, secure in our own position, can, through this book, warm ourselves in the glory of a free people who made a two thousand year dream come true in their own free land."

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*The publishers of This Is Israel have made it possible for readers of Palestine to obtain the book at a special educators' price of \$2.20 instead of the \$2.75 retail price. To take advantage of this arrangement, use this coupon, mentioning to Gaer Associates, Inc. that you are a reader of Palestine.*

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## *Three Middle East Documents*

### 1. A BROADCAST ON THE VOICE OF ISRAEL\*

**B**ROTHERS and sisters in Israel, fellow Jews listening to this broadcast in many lands, it is in awe and reverence that I bring to you over the waves of The Voice of Israel, the tidings of that great happening which will take place tomorrow in the Holy City of Jerusalem. In the ancient tradition of our people, I would wish to take you—like the bride before her marriage, like the congregation before the Day of Atonement—on a pilgrimage to ancestral graves, the graves of the dearly beloved, the pure of soul, who in generation after generation, even unto our own, in Spain, in Yemen, in Poland, and Germany, were tortured and massacred, giving up their lives with the name of the Lord upon their lips and in their hearts. I would go with you, if I could, to the resting places of all these who were but are no more, to my mother of blessed memory, to your brothers and sisters, to all the House of Israel, driven to the slaughter in our own day, their ashes dispersed over the face of the earth. I would bend down and whisper gently to the sleepers in the graves: "The miraculous has happened, the wonder is here. Tomorrow the Kingdom of Israel will rise once more upon the earth!"

And I would wish to come into Jerusalem at dawn tomorrow; into Jerusalem, the Holy City, purified in the crucible of its sufferings, sanctified anew by the tears of orphans and widows and bereaved mothers. I would wish to stand before the site of the Temple, and to cry out into the eternal air of the Holy City, to cry out as the messenger of Jewry: "Awake, Jerusalem. Rise up Jerusalem! For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."

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\* This is a translation of a Hebrew broadcast written by the Israeli poet, S. Shalom, and read over The Voice of Israel on February 13, 1949, the eve of the opening of Israel's Constituent Assembly.

There is no phrase more fitting than this out of the Song of Songs. For we are become as dreamers today and there are no words upon our lips, except these ancient ones which the genius of our people's history prepared so long ago for this day. Blest art thou, O Lord our God—we say in the ancient formula of our people—that hast kept us in life, preserved us and brought us to this day.

Preserved *us*—those who are with us today and those who are not with us but who are bound up forever with the historic life of our people. And, most of all, preserved you, the one hundred and twenty chosen members of Israel's Assembly who tomorrow, after twenty centuries of dispersion and servitude, will hold in your hands the key to Israel's freedom. Remember—the house into which you will come tomorrow is holy ground—the sanctuary of your people. Over it will hang forever the pillar of cloud of Israel's age-old suffering, the pillar of fire of Israel's age-old vision. From them, may you forever draw strength and counsel, faith and glory. Sanctify your hearts; take lovingly upon you the yoke of freedom, that there may eternally be peace between this house and the world, that the message of peace may come out of this house to the world: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

You, the chosen envoys of our people, speak for us today and for the generations behind us, for the hopes of our fathers and our fathers' fathers. But you speak also for our children—those precious sons and daughters who were "stronger than lions and swifter than eagles" in fighting our people's struggle for life in these months of bitterness and peril. Upon their young souls, offered up for the life of their people, you will tread as you enter tomorrow into this house. "For I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live; yea, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live. . . ."



## 2. DOES "SHALOM" MEAN WAR?

By Hasan Khalil

*Hasan Khalil is the pen name of a distinguished Moslem Egyptian intellectual who has consistently fought for social progress in his country. Deeply disturbed by the tendency in Egyptian press and official circles to discount the armistice with Israel as merely a temporary truce in a war which must be continued to victory, he has sent this little essay to PALESTINE.*

FOR a long time I have told my fellow Egyptians that they were serving as the cat's paw of their Arab neighbors and that they should come to a friendly understanding with the Jewish leaders. For it has long been my sincere belief that Egyptians and Jews are capable of harmonious co-operation which would be beneficial not only to the cause of peace, but to the advancement of modern civilization in the Middle East.

I have blamed my fellow Egyptians for indulging in an aggressive war against Israel; and for unnecessarily sacrificing thousands of precious lives and squandering ill-afforded treasure for a cause which is far from their own.

I have blamed them for not using their good offices as mediators, to effect a reasonable, peaceful settlement between Arabs and Jews and, instead, waging a hopeless war for which they were utterly unprepared; they have thus brought on their own heads the defeat of the Egyptian Army which was always noted for its fine traditions.

I have blamed them for consistently refusing to spend ten or twenty million dollars on vital economic and social projects for their own country, and yet lavishly spending over four hundred million dollars on futile destruction.

I have blamed them for ignoring the need for proper distribution of Egypt's wealth and for reforms to uplift the sick and ignorant masses, while falling victim to the flattery of their tricky Arab neighbors.

I have blamed my fellow Egyptians for forgetting their duty toward modern civilization and progress and for yielding to the hypnotic influence of reactionary Arab fanatics from backward foreign

countries, who have proven themselves to be a disgrace to their own religion and history.

I have blamed them for shelving their own vital interest in the Sudan and entering upon a wild goose chase in Palestine that has ended in a national calamity.

I have blamed them for ignoring the advice of their mature leaders, foremost amongst them the great philosopher, Dr. Taha Hussein; for persecuting their liberals, and for following the blind guidance of the demagogues and the feudalists who are merely anxious to save their own power and wealth, no matter what misery and hardships they bring to their people.

I have blamed them for these and similar blunders, only to discover, in the end, the astounding formula which the demagogue rulers of Egypt now use as an excuse: they claim that, in fighting Israel, Egypt is defending her own territory against aggression! The fact that the defeats of the Egyptian Army were appreciably contributed to by many Palestinian Arab spies does not matter! The fact that the whole manpower of Israel is barely one tenth that of Egypt, and that Israel would be at the mercy of its surrounding Arab States, if they were, indeed, well-organized and efficient, does not matter! The fact that Israel has been aspiring to a constructive economic and cooperative policy with its neighbors, that all the land it acquired was dearly bought from the Palestinian Arabs themselves, that, despite its old established religion, Israel follows the most modern principles of life and progress, and that from these very principles, and not from propaganda, Israel derives its genuine strength, does not trouble their thoughts or conscience! They know—or pretend to know—only one fact: that Israel with its meager population is bent on invading Egypt! Their incomparable wisdom dictates, therefore, that war must be waged again against Israel. Any other policy is defeatist and unworthy of the sons of Pharaoh!

One who loves Egypt and is concerned with its true welfare, can only sink into despair. . . .



### 3. FREEDOM DISAPPEARS FROM THE LEBANON

*The following excerpts are translated from an Arabic pamphlet, prepared by an important Christian Opposition group, the National Bloc Party, and presented to the UNESCO Conference in Beirut, November, 1948. The material is here reprinted from a pamphlet, "Ferment in the Lebanon," published by Phoenicia Press in New York City.*

THE Lebanese Government has practically abolished the basic freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and organization—freedoms which are guaranteed by the Lebanese Constitution. The expression of public opinion is under severe censorship. The agents of the Sureté (the Secret Police) have infiltrated every place, and any person who shows the slightest sign of rebellion against governmental authority is subjected to the severest sort of retaliation.

Freedom of expression is not guaranteed even inside the Parliament; if a Deputy wishes to express his opposition or criticize a measure, the presiding officer can forbid him to do so, relying on a subservient majority which will readily concur. Substantiation of these accusations can be found in the minutes of this Parliament.

In the present Parliament, born of the fraudulent elections of May 25, 1947, there is, of course, no opposition to speak of. The official forgery which dominated the elections, did not permit even one candidate of the Opposition to enter the Parliament.

The press is divided into two groups—one working for the Government and paid by it (the majority) and one composed of a few publications which have preserved their editorial independence. The latter are constantly in danger of suspension by the Government for varying intervals—from a week to six months—whenever they oppose any Governmental measure. According to official Government publications, there were 190 decrees of suspension during the years 1944-1947, the equivalent of 45 decrees a year! Naturally, these decrees were only for the newspapers of the Opposition which, by the way, are gradually decreasing in number. Recently, on September 8, 1948, a law was passed abolishing

this type of suspension but replacing it with a type of judicial action which is more dangerous, since it makes provision for fines, jail sentences and confiscation of the property of the editor or publisher.

Although freedom of assembly and the right to organize are prohibited by the present Government, friends and supporters of the régime are free to organize and hold meetings. The Government bans all other convocations as potentially harmful to its interests. It has refused to give official recognition to the National Bloc Party, and forbids its members to hold public meetings.

Everyone concedes the fact that today there is no law, no security, and no justice in Lebanon; that the Government is totally corrupt; that the money of the Treasury is used by Government departments without any supervision; that no accounting was given of the spending of the enormous sums gathered for the benefit of the poor; that an oligarchy of the officials' relatives, friends and supporters monopolize the land's resources.

Lebanon, a member of the United Nations, conducts itself in a manner altogether out of accord with the democratic principles upon which the United Nations is based. And this though the Lebanese Minister in Washington was chairman of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, and UNESCO chose Lebanon for its general conference!

One of the first principles of the Economic and Social Council is respect for individual human rights. Can a chairman who is a Lebanese fulfill his duty as this position demands? Can he, for example, suggest that Clause 62 of the Charter of the United Nations be enforced in every Member State of the United Nations? This clause states that the United Nations guarantees basic freedoms. Should he not start with his own Government which does not respect even one of them?

If Lebanon is to enjoy these basic freedoms once again, there is only one thing to do—*Lebanon must free itself from the dictatorship of the present Government. The first step must be the dissolution of the fraudulently elected Parliament and the ordering of new, free elections.*



## Notes on the Palestine Situation

### DEPENDENCY OR ALLY?

British official circles are currently making much of "Britain's obligations to her ally, Transjordan," and of the consequent moral compulsion Britain feels to rush troops to Transjordan in protection of that country from "Israeli aggression."

A London dispatch of March 18, cabled specially to *The New York Times*, gives interesting evidence of Transjordan's complete dependence upon Britain. "Appropriations for foreign and imperial services published today," the dispatch reads, "confirmed that Britain had increased her subsidy to Transjordan. For the fiscal year 1949-50, financial assistance toward the cost of maintaining King Abdullah's Arab Legion will amount to L3,500,000 (about \$14,000,000), L1,000,000 (about \$4,000,000) more than was budgeted for last year.

"Under the terms of the Anglo-Transjordanian mutual aid treaty the strength of the Legion is agreed upon annually by the two parties. The grant is made to enable King Abdullah to carry out his obligations under this pact."

"Dependency" would seem to be a more appropriate word than "ally."

### ZIONISM'S RUMANIAN AGONY

The ardent Zionism of the great mass of Jews in Communist-dominated Rumania was vividly demonstrated on February 14 when a crowd of ten thousand people danced and cheered in the streets near the Israeli Legation in Bucharest, in celebration of the opening session of the Israeli Constituent Assembly. They shouted out their own desire for "Aliyah"—immediate immigration to Israel.

This Zionist sentiment and desire for emigration is fiercely fought by the small, but now powerful, Jewish Communist group, organized in the Jewish Democratic Committee. At its suggestion, the Rumanian Government's Ministry of Education has prohibited private religious instruction of Jewish children, closed Hebrew schools and opened schools for Jewish children specially designed "to wipe out the bourgeois mentality of Zionism which unfor-

tunately is widespread among the Jewish youth." All Zionist organizations in Rumania have been dissolved by official order and immigration to Israel forbidden. Illegal attempts to flee the country and reach Israel are numerous, but the dangers involved in them are grave. During January and February five Jewish youth were shot to death while trying to cross the Rumanian-Hungarian border. At least sixty other men and women were captured, tried and given prison sentences.

### CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS AT THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

Early in March 1949 the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was awarded for the first time to Christian scholars by the Hebrew University. There were two recipients of the degree: Reverend Jean Bauchet, a Carmelite monk, and Morton Smith, an American student of theology who was awarded a scholarship to the Hebrew University after doing post-graduate work at Harvard. Mr. Smith's dissertation drew a parallel between the Gospels and tannaic literature. Reverend Bauchet's thesis was a study in Semitic languages.

### FROM TURKEY, TOO

Immigrants continue to pour into Israel at the rate of 20,000 to 30,000 a month. The great urge for mass exodus to Israel has shaken the foundations of Jewish life not only in Europe but throughout the Near East. Hundreds of Jews are leaving Istanbul daily, and some three thousand reached Israel by the early part of March. On March 8 a single boat brought 2,000 to the port of Haifa.

The Turkish Government has only recently reversed a ban on Jewish emigration to Palestine. This change of attitude, like the constant growth of Turkish trade with Israel (Turkey sells more than \$180,000 worth of eggs alone to Palestine every month), sets Turkey sharply apart from the Arabic countries of the Middle East. Its attitude toward Israel seems clearly to be realistic rather than passionately inimical, and at the end of March it became the first Moslem state to give recognition to the State of Israel.



## THE FRIENDS IN ISRAEL

Besides carrying the over-all responsibility in southern Palestine for the United Nations relief program for refugees, the American Friends Service Committee is distributing clothing to destitute people, both Jews and Arabs, in five communities in Israel—Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, and the village of Shafa-Aram. Dr. Moses Bailey, Professor of Old Testament at Hartford Theological Seminary, who spent three months during the winter with the Friends Committee in Israel, reported on his return that he had observed many acts of cooperation between Jews and Arabs. For instance, in Acre a group of Jewish women volunteer to sort the bales of clothing which are given to Arabs, and a Jewish soap manufacturer has contributed 3,000 pounds of soap to be used for Arabs.

Dr. Bailey commended the Israeli Government for its cooperation. He said the Israeli army provides free truck transportation for Quaker supplies, while storage space for supplies is made available whenever possible. He was allowed complete freedom in visiting refugee areas, Dr. Bailey said, and was greeted with great cordiality by all Israeli Government officials with whom he came in contact.

## THE HOLY PLACES AUTHORITATIVELY INVESTIGATED

On August 20, 1948 the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, of which Cardinal Spellman is President, sent the Secretary General of the United Nations a memorandum demanding an inquiry into acts of desecration which, according to reports by church officials in Palestine, had been committed by Jewish soldiers during the Palestine fighting.

An exhaustive inquiry into Jewish treatment of church personnel and Holy Places in Palestine has now been completed by the National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association himself—Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon. His conclusions on that much-debated and sensitive matter are summed up at the beginning of a memorandum on Palestine sent by him to the United Nations on March 21, 1949: "The undersigned is happy to report that he personally, after an extended journey in the area, can testify to the genuine desire of the Government of Israel to repair the damage done and to maintain proper relations with the religious institutes within its boundaries."

## BEHIND THE IRAQI CURTAIN

The weakening of the Arab countries after their defeat in Palestine has led—as the British Foreign Office expected—to renewed Arab reliance on Britain. This is particularly true in Iraq which has been left bankrupt by the drop in oil revenues due to the closing of the Haifa Oil Refineries. An Iraqi appeal to the Egyptian Government for a loan of three million pounds went unanswered. There was only one hope left: an appeal to the British. Hence, on January 6, Nuri Said Pasha—Britain's man Friday in Iraq for the last thirty years—was back in office as Prime Minister.

Nuri Said's return has not quieted the discontent and the anti-British sentiment of the Iraqi masses. There are repeated intimations of the execution of Jews and expropriation of their property—on charges of Zionist sympathies. Dissent among non-Jewish Iraqi is treated brutally, as well. News came recently of the hanging of four students in Baghdad on charges of inciting the army to overthrow the Government—and, inevitably, of Communist sympathies. In Beirut, early in March, great crowds demonstrated in front of the Iraqi legation, denouncing the execution of the students.

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