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1948

AGANA

*From Resistance
Movement
to
National Army*



HAGANA

From Resistance Movement

to

National Army

**ZOA PAMPHLET SERIES
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Harold J. Manson

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THE ARMY OF ISRAEL

THE SUDDEN and dramatic emergence of the Army of Israel as the most powerful military force in the Middle East has given military experts occasion for widespread comment. It is universally recognized that this force did not spring from the ground full-blown, but that it was transformed from an underground army known as the Hagana, though the Army now differs from the Hagana in many respects, and the differences are likely to grow with time.

For one thing, the two dissident fighting groups which broke away from Hagana some years ago — the *Irgun Zevai Leumi* and the *Lohamei Herut Israel* (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel or Stern Group) — are being steadily absorbed into the new army. Besides, there are many new recruits, including thousands who arrived from other countries, who had never been members of the Hagana or any dissident groups. The high command of the Israeli Army (*Zva Hagana*) consists, in the main, of former officers of the Hagana, but an increasing number of experts and volunteers from abroad (mostly Jews) has taken part in the deliberations of the Israeli staff and has helped map its military strategy.

The nature and spirit of the new army was perhaps best described by Gene Curivan in a recent dispatch to the *New York Times*. He wrote:

"Hagana, the military arm of Israel, is probably the world's most democratic army. It is the answer to a GI's dream. The soldier doesn't have to salute the officers, there are no 'brass hats',

and if the GI is so inclined he can refer openly to his commanding officer as a 'fathead' without fearing court-martial.

"However, in the field or during operations there is strict military discipline, and few soldiers take their duties more seriously than these boys. Each one reacts to war as though it were his personal fight. Yet they have developed a team-work that is unusual, considering the relatively short training period.

"But when the smoke of battle clears, and officers and men return to their billets, there is a spirit of camaraderie that distinguishes this army from most others. There is no clash of personalities or distinction of rank. Officers and their men occupy the same quarters, eat at the same tables and pitch in to do any chores that may be necessary around the camp. It is not unusual to see officers washing their own mess kits, making their beds or shaking blankets. Personal orderlies are unknown and unwanted. The very idea is anathema to all concerned, for this is truly a democratic army."

Hebrew titles of the ranks held by officers and men of the Israeli Army should be of interest. A full general is called a *Sar Degel*; a lieutenant-general is a *Sar*; a major-general, *Tat-Sar*; and a brigadier-general, *Rav Aluf*. A Colonel is an *Aluf*; Lieutenant-Colonel, *Tat-Aluf*; Major, *Rav Seren*; Captain, *Seren*. A Lieutenant is a *Segan* and a 2nd Lieutenant a *Tat-Segan*. A Regimental Sergeant-Major is called *Rav Semalim Gedudi*. A buck private is a *Tura'i*.

The Women's Corps of the Israeli Army was organized in the spring of 1948, and is known as *Chayl Nashim* or *Chen* for short. The latter abbreviation is also, aptly, the Hebrew word for "charm". First Commander of *Chen* is Mina Rogozik, who visited the United States with a special mission in 1947.

The army does not have a commander-in-chief.

Chief of Staff of the *Zva Hagana* is Yaakov Dori, about 50, a veteran member of the Hagana for many years. Most of the other officers are young men.

The recent heroic exploits of the Israeli army may have obscured the memory of the original Hagana, but it is necessary to know about the latter in order to understand the victories of the Army of Israel, just as it is necessary to know the history of Zionism and of the Jewish endeavor in Palestine in order to understand how the State of Israel came into being.

HAGANA UNDERGROUND

HAGANA first became known throughout the world as the name of the Jewish Resistance movement in Palestine. To Jews everywhere Hagana was a source of pride and affection, and its deeds were regarded as constituting a new glorious and dramatic chapter in the history of the Jewish people. It was both the symbol and the embodiment of a new spirit in Jewish life, of a break with the long past of passive acceptance of oppression and injustice.

Hagana (also spelled Haganah—accent on the last syllable) means "defense" or "self-defense," and is the expression of the Jew's determination to safeguard his life and his liberty in the Homeland where he seeks to pursue happiness. It had much in common with patriotic groups of all times which were compelled to take up arms in defense of their homes and their loved ones.

Yet the Hagana differed from resistance movements in other nations in that it engaged in a unique task of repatriating Jews

from their age-long exile to the Jewish Homeland. Basic to this function was the affirmation of the right of the Jews in Palestine—an historic right which had been reaffirmed and strengthened by the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, by the achievements of the Jews in Palestine and by the present plight of the Jewish people. *Hagana was the whole Jewish community in Palestine organized for the purpose of defending itself against illegal encroachments from any quarter on the basic Jewish rights in Palestine.*

Hagana successfully fought off Arab attacks which were intended to destroy the Jewish community in Palestine or at least to weaken it, and to intimidate Jews elsewhere from settling there. It challenged the illegal acts of the British Government which sought to halt the further growth of Jewish Palestine. The story of what the Hagana did to rescue Jews from suffering and destitution in Europe, and to transport them, by every means available, to the welcoming arms and loving care of their brethren in Palestine is one of the most touching and heroic records of achievement in recent years. In his recent book, "Underground to Palestine," Mr. I. F. Stone has graphically told of the operations of the Hagana, on land and on sea, in effectuating such rescues.

To settle these hitherto homeless refugees on the soil, and to provide them with the means to rebuild normal, useful lives after the shattering effects of war and want, the Hagana found it necessary to defy inhuman and illegal land "laws" of the British White Paper of 1939 which, in violation of Britain's sacred trust under the mandate, prohibited Jewish settlement in all but six per cent of the area of Palestine west of the Jordan.

With regard to the immigration and colonization of Jews in Palestine, the Hagana recognized no law that could bar them.

Jewish settlers were, therefore, brought in and settled with the co-operation and under the protection of the Hagana. Its emissaries went to European and Asiatic countries to help Jews who wished to come to Palestine. Its forces protected those who sought to settle on Palestine soil purchased by the Jewish National Fund or by other Jewish agencies even in regions where the British had forbidden Jewish settlement.

The Hagana pursued its work relentlessly, ready for any eventualities. It destroyed British radar stations, airplanes or bridges when such actions were considered necessary either to cover the landing of immigrants or to serve notice on the British that the Jews of Palestine would not passively accept prohibitions on immigration and colonization.

In a memorandum submitted by the Head of Command of the Jewish Resistance Movement to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine (March 25, 1946), the Hagana stated:

"There exists in this country a secret Jewish armed force. This force has one fixed purpose—the defense of the Jewish settlement and Jewish work of construction. This force exists because no government—formerly Turkish and latterly British—has protected or has been able to protect us properly. This force is secret because no Government has been prepared to recognize it and leave its control in our hands."

The Hagana had an extremely efficient intelligence service which apprised it far in advance of plans prepared against it. Often the Hagana gave notice to the world of secret operations planned by the British against the Yishuv. Thus, the wholesale arrests by the British on the "Black Saturday" of June 29, 1946, were foretold by the Hagana secret radio, "The Voice of Israel" (*Kol Yisrael*). The Hagana had its own radio and its own publications, which successfully eluded the British. Most

of its arms caches remained intact despite all attempts of the British.

The British were powerless against the Hagana to the extent that it could be successfully suppressed only by a large-scale war of annihilation against the whole Jewish community of Palestine. The Arab forces, conscious of the strength of the Hagana, made no attempt against it for over seven years. General Barker, then Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Palestine, testifying before the Anglo-American Committee, stated that if the British withdrew from Palestine, the Hagana was strong enough to seize the country and hold it against any combination of Arab powers for at least three years without any assistance from the outside, and indefinitely, with outside assistance.

A special shock division of the Hagana, known as Palmach, consisted of several thousand members. (Palmach is the abbreviation of *Plugat Mahatz*—Shock Division).

Hagana organized its activity in accordance with policies set by the highest authorities of the Jewish community in Palestine and was responsible to them for its activities in all matters concerning defense, "illegal" immigration, or colonization.

The Hagana was opposed to terrorism or indiscriminate violence. In this respect it is necessary to differentiate between Hagana and two other groups in Palestine that engaged in undisciplined and often pointless lawlessness. They are the *Irgun Zevai Leumi* and the Stern Group, though many members of both groups have since entered the ranks of the Army of Israel.

HISTORY

AS ALREADY indicated, Hagana may be viewed both as a local Palestinian organization and as a development of the new spirit of the Jew everywhere. In fact, the history of Hagana has been along these two lines. It is an outgrowth of local conditions in Palestine, beginning with modern Jewish colonization in 1878; but it is also the Palestine development of a European organization for Jewish Self-Defense.

Hagana is the shortened version of the original name of *Hagana Atzmit*—Self Defense, and is a translation from the Russian *Samo-oberona*, or in Yiddish, *Selbst-schutz*. The Russian Jewish Self-Defense was founded in 1903, after the pogrom in Kishineff, Bessarabia. That massacre, which roused and shocked the civilized world, had another unusual result, for it stimulated the writing of the epic poem, "The City of Slaughter." The poem and the Self-Defense had a significant connection, for they both marked a major turning point in Jewish history.

Chayim N. Bialik, the writer, was sent as member of a commission appointed to investigate the conditions of the pogrom. For days he walked through the streets of Kishineff examining the houses, the yards, observing and interviewing the survivors. On returning to Odessa, he wrote a poem in Hebrew in which, instead of bemoaning the lot of the sufferers, he lashed out against their cowardice as unworthy of the descendants of the Maccabees.

. . . Note also, do not fail to note—
Crouched husbands, bridegrooms,
Brothers, peering from the cracks,
Watching the sacred bodies struggling

Underneath the bestial breath,
 Stifled in filth, swallowing their blood!
 Watched—these heroes!
 Crushed in their shame, they saw it all!
 They did not stir nor move;
 They did not pluck their eyes out; they
 Beat not their brains against the wall!
 Come now, and I will bring thee to the lairs,
 The privies, jakes and pig-pens where the heirs,
 The heirs of Hasmoneans lay with trembling knees,
 Concealed and cowering—the sons of the Maccabees!
 The seed of saints, the scions of lions!
 It was the flight of mice they fled,
 The scurrying of roaches was their flight!
 They died like dogs, and they were dead! . . .

The poem had a tremendous effect. It was immediately translated into Russian by Vladimir Jabotinsky and into Yiddish by Bialik himself. In one of the three languages the poem reached every Jew in Russia, and even before all versions were in print, they were recited at meetings called to form the Jewish Self-Defense units throughout Russia. All Jewish parties, Zionists, anti-Zionists and non-Zionists, Socialists and non-Socialists, joined the new movement. "The City of Slaughter" became its Bible, and the author was proclaimed a modern Prophet of Israel.

Other pogroms followed, but the attackers invariably met with determined resistance by the Jews. In the wave of attacks that swept Russia in October, 1905, there was hardly a town or hamlet that did not have a Self-Defense unit assigned to it. Young Christians often joined the Jewish units. Among early organizers of the Self-Defense were Jabotinsky, Pincus Rutenberg, the famous engineer who later harnessed the Jordan River, and Joseph Trumpelder, the hero of Tel-Hai.

But it was not only in Russia that the idea of Jewish Self-Defense became the slogan of Jewish youth. In the newly-created

Republic of Poland, in Rumania and in other countries of Europe young Jewish men and women took up arms to defend the lives, property and honor of their people whenever attacked. Jewish Self-Defense became a tradition.

Only the Nazis by sheer weight and brutality managed to defeat the spirit of Jewish Self-Defense. By a cleverly calculated ruse they led the Jews to believe that there would be no large scale killings, and at the same time impressed them with the overwhelming odds against them. When rebellions finally did flare out in the Warsaw Ghetto and in other ghettos of Eastern Europe, it was too late. Most of the Jews had already been exterminated and these revolts, while they added tragically glorious chapters to Jewish history, could no longer save any Jews. The lesson of the Warsaw Ghetto was in a very considerable measure the motive behind the Jewish resistance in Palestine. Delay was a costly teacher.

In 1920 men who had been active in the formation of Self-Defense units in Russia joined others in strengthening Jewish Self-Defense in Palestine. They were called *Hagana Atsmit*, but the name was soon shortened to Hagana. In 1921 Eliahu Golomb took charge.

This Hagana, however, was preceded by an earlier tradition of heroism in Palestine. As early as 1875, when Jews began to found agricultural settlements in Palestine, they found a rough country, inhabited by primitive tribes who lived by pillage and were ruled by a corrupt and inefficient administration of a decaying medieval empire. It was necessary to protect the young settlements against theft, boundary disputes and attacks inspired by Turkish officials or Arab landlords who wished to discourage the Jews from any attempts to resettle their Homeland. It was necessary to impress the Arab masses with Jewish prowess in order to gain their respect.

Inspiring stories are still told about exotic Jewish heroes in that early period of modern Jewish colonization. Such tales read like the early history of American colonization and extension of the frontier to the Pacific. But until the Second Aliyah, or the second wave of immigration (about 1905) Jewish bravery was confined to local villages and to individuals. There was no unified organization for the defense of all Jewish settlements.

By 1905 the idealism of the early colonists had spent itself with the struggle against the hardships of pioneer life and morale deteriorated.

The new immigrants, bringing a fresh wave of vigor and idealism, found conditions which to them were intolerable. Bribery as a means of ensuring protection was to them undignified. The hiring of non-Jewish watchmen seemed a reflection on the manliness of the Jews and reflected on Jewish endeavor as a whole.

Thus in 1907 a limited number of young immigrants, some of whom had taken part in the formation of the Jewish Self-Defense units in Russia before coming to Palestine, set up Hashomer (The Watchman). It was a closely knit organization not unlike a secret order. Its members were expected to place their devotion to the Cause above all personal consideration and to obey the commands of their order. They were to excel the Arabs in marksmanship, horsemanship and every other virtue the Arabs valued in order to gain their respect. They were to learn the language and customs of the Arabs; they were to avoid unnecessary quarrels, to use their rifles sparingly but to show no fear or hesitation when the occasion required. Their tactics were a combination of courage, planning and cool-headed intelligence.

The fear, the inertia and the suspicions of the older colonists had to be overcome gradually until the guarding of Jewish settlements was entrusted to the members of Hashomer. Many of them fell in battle. The stories of Hashomer were the heroic epics of

Zionism in the decade before the Balfour Declaration. When the War broke out in 1914, many members of Hashomer formed the nucleus of the Zion Mule Corps and later of the Jewish Legion. David Ben Gurion and Isaac Ben Zvi were among the original members of Hashomer and of the Jewish Legion.

The end of the War confronted Palestine Jewry with new threats in the form of Arab riots and a peculiarly indifferent attitude on the part of the British authorities. It was then that the Jewish Self-Defense of Palestine was formed, composed of veterans of the Jewish Legion and former members of Hashomer.

Hagana grew with history, and learned by costly experience. The 1929 attacks, carefully prepared by the Arabs, not without the connivance of some British officials, found the Jews far more ready to meet the onslaught than they had been in 1920 and 1921. Hardly a Jewish settlement was penetrated by the attackers. Nevertheless, weak spots in the Jewish defense were revealed. Thus the cities of Hebron and Safed, where there were no young people of the militant type, suffered a terrible massacre of defenseless Jews, including Rabbis and students.

Between 1929 and 1936 there was comparative quiet in Palestine, but the Hagana went quietly about the perfection of its organization.

HAGANA IN THE WAR

THE Arab riots which began in 1936 lasted for three full years, placing the whole Jewish community of Palestine in a state of siege. The attack was carefully prepared and well-financed. Behind it were the agents of Mussolini and later also of Hitler, whose primary aim it was to create trouble for the British in order either to dislodge them from the Middle East or to force them to come to terms with the Axis.

After the experience of 1929 the Arabs no longer tried any frontal attacks on a Jewish settlement, and confined their activity to guerrilla warfare. Their bands, largely recruited from non-Palestinian Arabs, operated out of the hills. But the Hagana made it possible for life to go on. The *Yishuv* also decided to refrain from indiscriminate retaliation and to fire only at attackers. The latter policy was known as *Havlagah* or Restraint. "Let your weapons be clean," was the slogan.

At some point during those years, some British officials realized that what was at stake was not only the fate of the Jewish settlements in Palestine, but the honor and prestige of the British Empire, if not its very existence. Captain Orde Charles Wingate, an intelligence officer at Headquarters in Palestine, was one of these officials. With the knowledge of his superiors, he set out to organize special units among the Hagana. He wrote:

"... as the military, in spite of their superior armament, training and discipline, are in comparison with the guerrilla warrior at a disadvantage as far as knowledge of the ground and the local conditions are concerned, it is advisable to create mixed groups of soldiers and faithful local inhabitants. The Jews are

the only local inhabitants who can be relied upon. They know the terrain well and speak the languages of the country fluently. Moreover, they grasp tactical training quickly and are well disciplined and courageous in combat."

Under Wingate's leadership and inspiration, close and friendly relations were established with the men of the Hagana. At Ain Harod, in the Emek, Wingate, with the knowledge of his superiors, expanded training facilities at an Officers' School for the training of junior commanders of the Hagana. Wingate said of them: "You have got here the makings of one of the finest military forces in the world's history." The Special Night Squads which were formed not only helped put down the disturbances but also rendered valuable service in defending the vital oil pipe line from Iraq. Wingate helped to create in Palestine what was to become known in a few years as Commandos. Later, in Burma, he used tactics he first experimented with in Palestine.

When the war broke out Wingate hoped to lead a Jewish army in the field, but British policy prevented the early formation of a large Jewish fighting force and disappointed Wingate's hopes of recognition and justice for the Jewish people.

Despite official hostility, 27,000 Jews in Palestine volunteered for the British army, of whom 60% came from the Hagana.

In 1941, during England's blackest days, when Britain seemed to be without a friend in the whole Middle East, the British military authorities turned to the Jewish "private armies." Not only the Hagana, but also the *Irgun Zevai Leumi*, which had seceded from the Hagana on account of differences in methods, were used by the British in intelligence work, in commando raids and in psychological warfare. David Raziel, head of the *Irgun*, was sent with a group of his men on a mission by the British to Iraq during the Rashid Ali revolt against Britain, and lost his life while on a reconnaissance assignment at Habbaniyah. Jewish parachutists

were dropped behind enemy lines in Hungary, Yugoslavia and elsewhere. Enzo Sereni and Hannah Szenes, among others of the Hagana, lost their lives during such assignments. Scores of American and other Allied aviators, felled behind enemy lines, today owe their lives to these men and women of the Hagana who, in cooperation with the underground, spirited them to safety.

When regular operations against Vichy Syria were about to begin, the military authorities asked the Hagana to provide reconnaissance and advance parties for the troops. During a latter stage of the Syrian campaign, when Vichy forces counter-attacked, members of the Hagana formed the first line of defense at Metulla. The Chief Liaison Officer with the military authorities was David Hacohen of Haifa, in whose house on Mount Carmel, it can now be revealed, the secret Free French Levant Radio Station was installed.

Both Hacohen and Moshe Shertok, political head of the Jewish Agency, who recruited men for the British Army, were in 1946 arrested by the British. Also arrested were many members of the Hagana who were known to the British only because they had worked so closely with them.

It was also at the instance of the British that the Palmach, the Hagana's striking force, was formed. The British were preparing to withdraw from Egypt into Palestine which they did not expect to be able to hold very long. They helped to organize and train the Palmach as a guerilla force to be left behind to harass the enemy when the British would withdraw to Syria or Iraq from which they hoped to return later to reconquer the Middle East. The Palmach was recruited from members of Wingate's Special Night Squads, and the advance and commando parties of the Syrian and other campaigns.

In 1946, members of the Palmach, known to the British, were the first to be arrested.

AFTER THE WAR

ON V-E Day European Jewry was all but wiped out and its miserable remnants were languishing in concentration camps. It was the greatest tragedy in Jewish history. But that day also found Jewish Palestine immensely stronger than at any time before, especially in the military sense. There were Palestine Jewish units in the British Army. There was a Palestine Jewish Brigade, formed towards the close of the war. There was a greatly strengthened Hagana. There was the Palmach. There were the smaller dissident military organizations, the *Irgun Zetvai Leumi* and the Stern group. Not only were they all brave, angry and determined to help rescue their brothers and bring them to Palestine. They had the benefit of British training and military experience as well.

The job of defeating Hitler accomplished, they now had their own Jewish task of rescuing Jews. Palestine Jewish soldiers stationed in Europe, aided by Jewish soldiers from other countries, penetrated the concentration camps, brought food and clothes to their fellow-Jews, established schools for the children, organized training farms for the youth and began sending Jews to Palestine. They soon established contact with the Jewish Agency and with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and helped them carry on their work of relief and rehabilitation. In Palestine the Hagana now had one task—to bring in Jews, and to settle them on the land.

The Hagana remained faithful to its basic principles of moral restraint. It sought to avoid any open clash with the British, and to limit its activities to defence. By the latter it

understood the defense of the landing of immigrants and of the settlement on the land, regardless of restrictions and laws imposed by the British in violation of their own solemn obligations.

The Hagana in 1947 was much more efficient and much more comprehensive as a military force than it was in 1939. Its activities were more widely ramified. It had to train maritime units, to send emissaries to Europe, to organize an underground railway and undertake a variety of projects in order to defeat the British blockade and save Jewish lives. Occasionally it had to resort to military action or had to carry out a feint maneuver in order to cover up the landing of an "illegal" boatload of immigrants. It had to learn how to found a new settlement over night on "forbidden" land under the very eyes of the British.

All these activities gave the men field experience which was later to prove of great value to them. Many of the Hagana leaders feared that the future of the Jewish Homeland might some day have to be decided on the battlefield, and they vowed that the Jews would not be caught napping. Accordingly, many of the Hagana units, particularly the Palmach, received intensive training in every branch of military activity, including flying. Thus it was that thousands of young Palestinian Jews underwent strenuous training in tactics, and developed personal qualities of daring, resourcefulness and endurance.

When the test came, forced upon the new State of Israel by the invading armies of five Arab countries, it found the Hagana prepared and waiting. The results have already been blazoned in the headlines of the world press.

This new fighting force, now a power to be reckoned with in the Middle East, is dedicated only to maintaining the security of the State of Israel: it is not a weapon of aggression. Not by accident has the Israeli army adopted the name Zva Hagana — for the accent, in principle as in pronunciation, is upon the latter word, upon defense.

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YOUR Z.O.A.

**ITS ROLE IN THE
ZIONIST MOVEMENT —
PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE**

Z O A

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No. 4



**ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICA**

YOUR Z.O.A.

*Its Role in
The Zionist Movement —
Past, Present and Future*



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Harold P. Hanson

FOREWORD

YOUR Z.O.A. is not just another club or society. It is not a philanthropy, to which you contribute your dues. It is a mass movement, with its roots deep in Jewish history, and its ideology stemming from the innermost longings of the Jewish soul. It is as old as the Jewish Exile — two thousand years — and yet it stirs and vibrates with the energy and purposefulness of a living people.

As a member of the Z.O.A. you are part of that historic movement known as Zionism which in our day has helped to create the State of Israel. In its emphasis on living Jewish values and the Jewish renaissance everywhere, however, it has a significance in your own life far beyond the immediate goal which has recently been attained. Increasingly as you participate in the work of the movement, you will sense that Jewish revival is not merely abstract and objective — that it is of deep personal interest to you, and to your family, as American Jews.

But first you should know something about your Z.O.A. — about the origins of Zionism, about its role in Jewish history, about its problems today. That information you will find telescoped into these few pages, which should take you no more than twenty minutes to read. If you are encouraged to seek out further sources of information — so much the better. This, at least, is a beginning.

CARL ALPERT, *Director*
Z.O.A. Education Department

WHAT IS ZIONISM?

ZIONISM is a movement which aims to create a healthy national life in Palestine for all Jews who wish to go there and seeks to promote a renaissance of living Jewish values among Jews everywhere else.

Simple and self-evident: as the above definition may appear, it requires some elaboration. Such questions as the nature of Jewish nationality, the number of Jews that should or could be settled in Palestine, the form of Jewish national life in Palestine, are merely a few of the most obvious ones. Zionism is an historical movement involving the destiny of a unique people. It has widespread implications, but we shall here content ourselves with its most elementary aspects.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

FOR SOME two thousand years in ancient times the ancestors of the modern Jews lived as a nation in Palestine. Their fortunes, like those of all peoples of old, varied between victory and defeat, between freedom and slavery.

After a succession of national catastrophes, Jews were finally subjected to deportation from their Homeland and a number of Jewish communities began to emerge in other lands. The Jews thus became a nation-in-exile. The crucial point in the change in Jewish fortunes was the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman General, Titus, in the year 70, after a bitter seven-year war.

In many lands the Jewish communities enjoyed a wide measure of cultural and political autonomy. Everywhere, however, oppression, massacres and expulsions followed periods of comparative security and prosperity. A certain pattern can be discerned in the course of Jewish history among the nations:

They were welcomed when needed for the economic upbuilding of the country, and resented when substantial sections of the population felt their competition. Religious intolerance played a prominent role in the persecution of the Jews, but it usually came into play when other features were involved as well.

However, largely due to the conditions under which they lived, the Jews always constituted a separate entity within the country in which they lived. They were considered by others, and by themselves, a nation-in-exile, whose natural homeland was Palestine. Their national language was Hebrew, although they did not use it in daily speech. They differed from their neighbors in practically everything in which members of one nationality differ from another: in speech, in dress, in manners, etc. The Jews themselves believed that God, in His own good time, would return them to their country, Palestine, and restore their ancient glory. Jewish prayers, Jewish customs, Jewish literature, were full of such sentiments.

From time to time attempts were made to translate these sentiments into action. Now and then, in the course of Jewish history, a pretender would appear, claiming to be a miracle-working Messiah whom the Lord had sent to redeem His people and lead them back to Zion.

A million Jews in Europe and in Asia were ready in the seventeenth century to abandon everything to follow Sabbatai Zevi, the false Messiah, to Jerusalem. Other leaders made legitimate and more rational attempts to settle the Jews in Palestine. Thus, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the Duke of Naxos tried to establish a silk industry for the Jews in Palestine, and settled many Sephardic (Spanish) Jews there. The descendants of these people today form the backbone of the Sephardic community in the country. But on the whole Jews did nothing to hasten the day of their return to Zion, and contented themselves with praying for this fulfillment.

JEWIS IN THE MODERN WORLD

DURING the period which ushered in the French Revolution, a radical change took place in Jewish life in Western Europe. The peculiar dialects, dress, habits, and customs of the Jews began to give way and the Jews became, in most outward appearances, like the nations and peoples among whom they lived. With the proclamation of the principles of liberty and equality for all citizens, Jews were emancipated from most restrictive discriminations. It was expected of them, however, that they give up all distinctive traits as a national group, and that they cease to look upon Zion as their Homeland.

Had there not been a large and compact body of Jews in eastern Europe, to whom the Emancipation came late and only in part, it is possible that the price would have been paid, and the easy process of assimilation would hardly have been arrested. Many maintain, however, that full assimilation of the Jew, as a group, is impossible and that the tragic events in Germany and elsewhere in recent years bear this out.

Modern influences coming to Eastern Europe had an effect upon the Jewish community there quite different from that in the West. Instead of a process of apparent assimilation, there ensued an internal upheaval marked by doubt and striving for a philosophy of adjustment to the new world in which the Jews found themselves. The period was also distinguished by a release of new creative energies among the Jews, resulting in the development of a modern Jewish literature in Hebrew and Yiddish, as well as in the formation of new ideological groupings within the community. Thus some Jews tried to divorce Jewish nationality from Jewish religion; others defended religion. Some advocated assimilation, though none dared claim it had already taken place; others advocated new forms of Jewish national culture in Palestine, in the

Diaspora, or in both. Emphasis was placed on Hebrew, on Yiddish, or on both. In short, it was a period of ferment, of change and growth.

THE EMERGENCE OF ZIONISM

SO MUCH for the historical background, against which the modern Zionist movement rose. In the light of the foregoing, Zionism must be understood as the outstanding among several efforts to secure the survival of the Jews as a national entity in the modern world. By this time, all other efforts have proved futile. Before the recent extermination of European Jewry, one could still hope for liberal economic and political regimes in Central Europe into which the Jews could be integrated, while retaining whatever forms of their own national culture they chose. Today the survivors of European Jewry no longer cling to such hope.

On the other hand, the experiment in Palestine had proven the possibility of inspiring a vigorous, cohesive Jewish nationality, which not only powers the pioneer development of the land, but also provides the vitality for a will to live and a will to extend salvation to fellow-Jews in other lands.

There have always been two forces which impelled Jews to settle in Palestine. One is the spiritual force, the age-long craving of the Jew for Zion and the desire to establish a Jewish community, in which the development of Jewish culture would proceed unhampered. The other is the belief that anti-Semitism is endemic in the Diaspora, and that Jews will never be secure anywhere until they have built a Homeland of their own.

Most Zionists are influenced, often unconsciously, by both motives. Achad Ha-Am was the father of so-called "Cultural Zionism"; Leo Pinsker and Theodor Herzl were the pro-

ponents of political Zionism, to give the Jews a national status in the family of nations.

Herzl, a brilliant Viennese journalist and playwright, who had been profoundly moved by the Dreyfus Case in France, was the founder of the World Zionist Organization. He was impelled not by a desire to perpetuate Jewish culture, of which he knew next to nothing, but by a conviction that the only solution for the Jewish problem was the creation of a Jewish State. The bulk of his followers were from Eastern Europe, and the Jewish loyalties which they brought with them supplemented Herzl's basic political thesis and strengthened the Zionist organization.

The First Zionist Congress was convened by Herzl in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897 as a landless Parliament of a landless people looking toward the creation of a Jewish State in its ancestral land. The Congress, and the permanent organization which emerged from it, became the agencies and media through which the Jewish people could give effect to their program of national restoration.

It should be clear that the phenomenal growth and achievements of the Jewish community in Palestine, and its economic, cultural and political strength, are basically the products of Zionist organization. It was not by accident that pioneers began to go to Palestine in large numbers, and prepared the land for the even greater numbers who in recent years have found it a convenient home, becoming in our own day the independent State of Israel.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION

THE ZIONIST organization is the medium of democratic expression for every Jew who desires to participate in this historic work. Any Jew who purchases a Shekel (symbolic

Biblical token) and subscribes to the Basle Program, thereby identifies himself with this historic movement. (The Basle Program, so-called because it was adopted at the first World Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897, reads: "Zionism aims to create a publicly secured, legally assured home for the Jewish people in Palestine.")

The program and policies of the Organization are determined by the World Zionist Congress, which meets every two years. Delegates are elected to the Congress according to constituencies, corresponding to political parties, and representing territorial divisions. The Z.O.A. is a constituent of the World Zionist Organization, and every Z.O.A. member has the right to participate in election of delegates to the Congress.

The Congress, after deliberating on Zionist policy, adopts resolutions for further action, and elects an Executive to carry out the resolutions. The Congress is the supreme body of the Zionist movement, but since it assembles only once every two years, it designates a smaller body, known as the Actions Committee, to act in its behalf between sessions. The active business, however, is carried on by the Executive.

In 1929 a Jewish Agency was formed, consisting of the Zionist Executive and representative, influential non-Zionist Jews, who were willing to cooperate with the Zionists in the upbuilding of Palestine. The Jewish Agency carried on the work of building Palestine in behalf of the Jews of the world, though at the moment the latter body is identical in membership with the Zionist Executive, due to lapse of active non-Zionist participation.

The Jewish Agency Executive is appointed or elected with the approval of the Congress to conduct the affairs of the movement. A member of the Executive may be the head of a department, and may appoint officials to carry on the work.

Important business of the Zionist movement is carried on by two agencies, the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth) and the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod). The J.N.F. buys and owns land in Palestine, which it leases on long terms to Jewish individuals or groups on certain conditions considered in the interest of the Zionist cause. The Keren Hayesod engages in practically every type of colonization and building except actual land transactions. Neither of these bodies is affiliated with the government of Israel.

In this country, while the Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod engage in a certain amount of independent activity, they derive the bulk of their income from the pooled United Palestine Appeal, which apportions the funds according to an agreed formula. The U.P.A., in turn, is a member agency of the United Jewish Appeal, in which the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee is also represented.

All civil and military functions by and in behalf of the people of Israel are carried on by the government of Israel. There is no organic relationship whatsoever between the government of Israel and the World Zionist Organization.

The constituent bodies of the World Zionist Organization are identified both by the countries in which they are located and by their ideologies.

Naturally, there are many points of view and divergent ideologies among the millions of members of the movement. From time to time in the history of the Zionist movement numbers of members who have displayed the same or similar views have formed groups to work for the furtherance of their aims. In the early days of Zionism three main points of view emerged: Zionists who wished to see the Jewish Homeland take on a religious character formed the Mizrachi party in 1901. In 1905 Zionists who hoped to introduce a Socialist system in the Jewish Homeland formed the Poale Zion party.

The third group, and by far the most numerous in this country, the General Zionists, place emphasis on the central aspects of the movement necessary to fulfillment of its aims, and oppose political fragmentation along social and political lines. For a more detailed exposition of the parties see Nos. 2 and 6 in this Pamphlet Series.

The Zionist Organization of America is a General Zionist group.

POLITICAL PROGRESS

AS HAS been indicated, Herzl's great contribution to the Zionist movement was not only his formation of the Zionist Congress and organization, but also his concept of the political status of the Jewish State-to-be. He failed in his immediate efforts to gain international recognition and approval for the Zionist goal, but his organization carried on the activity. In 1917 the British government issued a statement known as the Balfour Declaration, because it was signed by Lord Balfour, British Foreign Secretary. The declaration read as follows:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This historic statement was in 1922 incorporated by the League of Nations into the text of the Palestine Mandate, under the terms of which Great Britain was entrusted with the administration of Palestine. The League's approval thus

confirmed international sanction for Jewish national aspirations in Palestine.

In a series of successive acts and statements, however, Great Britain evaded fulfillment of its obligations under the Mandate, culminating in the White Paper of 1939, a flagrant violation of the Mandate, which the League of Nations refused to approve.

The difficulties with Britain since that date and in recent years have for the most part stemmed from British enforcement of the White Paper, which sought to restrict Jewish immigration and hamper Jewish development of the country.

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations approved the partition of Palestine and the setting up of independent Arab and Jewish States. The State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, and at once undertook all the responsibilities and obligations of a sovereign power.

ZOA HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

THE Zionist Organization of America came into being in 1897, simultaneously with the first Zionist Congress and the formation of the World Zionist Organization. There had been a previous history here of pre-Herzlian "Lovers of Zion" who had organized clubs in many cities, but organization on a national basis came about only under the stimulus of Herzl's call. The Federation of American Zionists thus came into being, with Prof. Richard Gottheil as president and Dr. Stephen S. Wise as secretary.

The Federation grew steadily in size and prestige, attracting the leadership and support of increasing numbers of American Jews. Upon the outbreak of World War I there was fear that American Zionists would be completely cut off

from all contact with the movement in the rest of the world, and accordingly a Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs was organized in 1914. Louis D. Brandeis was summoned to head the committee and served as its chairman until 1918. For three years thereafter he was honorary president of the Zionist Organization of America (the new name adopted by the Federation), and continued a member of the Z.O.A. until his death in 1941.

During this period Hadassah and other Zionist groups came into being, but the Z.O.A. continued to play the dominant role in the movement in this country in terms of membership, political influence and fund-raising.

Successive presidents of the Z.O.A. have been: Prof. Richard Gottheil, 1897-1904; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, 1904-12; Judge Julian W. Mack, 1918-21; Louis Lipsky, 1922-30; Robert Szold, 1931-32; Judge Morris Rothenberg, 1932-36; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, 1936-38; Dr. Solomon Goldman, 1938-40; Edmund I. Kaufman, 1940-41; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, 1941-43; Dr. Israel Goldstein, 1943-45; Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, 1945-47; Dr. Emanuel Neumann, 1947-

The organization is divided for administrative purposes into territorial areas known as Regions, and into smaller constituent units known as Districts. In accordance with constitutional provision an annual convention is held, to which the Districts and Regions send delegates in proportion to their membership. The convention determines program and policy, and elects the administrative machinery to carry out the policies decided upon.

Head of the organization is a President, whose tenure of office is now limited to two successive terms. A National Administrative Council is elected to function in the interval between conventions and a smaller Executive Committee carries on the day-to-day tasks of the administration. The

Z.O.A. enjoys the services of a trained and devoted professional staff operating under a civil service system.

ZOA ACTIVITIES

THE Z.O.A. carries on a ramified and far-flung program of activities designed to render all legal support and assistance to the State of Israel, and to promote a cultural and educational renaissance among American Jews based on the rebirth of Israel. This program is conducted along many channels, and the major efforts of the organization are today engaged in mobilizing all resources for the necessary tasks of the day.

In the field of fund-raising, the Z.O.A., as the major Zionist body in America, continues to place its full resources of manpower and organization at the disposal of the United Jewish Appeal, through which the bulk of the funds for Palestine are raised. In numerous communities Z.O.A. leaders are heads of the local U.J.A. fund-raising, and Z.O.A. personnel provide a good percentage of the workers carrying on the day-to-day work.

The separate and traditional fund-raising activities of the Jewish National Fund likewise rely heavily upon the Z.O.A.

The mass action and public relations work of recent years culminating in the establishment of Israel was carried on by the American Zionist Emergency Council, in which the Z.O.A. has played the leading role. In the respective communities, as well, Z.O.A. personnel carries the brunt of the necessary mass action work.

Through its national public relations office the organization has played a significant role in keeping the story of the Zionist cause prominently in the public eye. Thousands of columns of informative press material prepared in Z.O.A.

offices have been responsible for counteracting pro-Arab propaganda, and for keeping editors everywhere informed of the nature of our goals. In the difficult days still ahead much additional work must be done — and will be done — in this direction.

Emergency projects of the day are being given maximum support. The Red Mager David, which has been doing a magnificent piece of work supplying blood plasma and first aid materials for Israel, is the undertaking of a Z.O.A. affiliate, the B'nai Zion. The Israel Equipment Project, too, has made possible the provision of enormous amounts of critically needed machinery for civilian industrial use, as the result of the efforts of a number of Z.O.A. Districts.

The Z.O.A. Food Project, designed to relieve the serious shortage of basic foods in Israel with a supply of commodities from this country, will be credited in the records with having played a decisive role in helping to maintain the strength and morale of Israel in the days of the new state's infancy.

From a long range point of view, the Z.O.A. has interested itself in the promotion of large investments in Israel, and has established a national Economic Affairs Commission. The commission has as its primary functions the dissemination of all pertinent facts dealing with the economic development of Israel; the mobilization of maximum economic aid and the exploration of ways and means for utilizing the available resources of American Jewry toward providing a sound economy for the settlement of one million Jews in Israel in the next ten years.

Today emerging as the most significant aspect of Zionist activity in terms of the new orientation of the movement, education has been placed first on the Zionist agenda, and topmost on the Zionist budget. The national education department has already launched a number of new projects, has

expanded the scope of others, and is making long-range plans for intensification of its work. The educational program is both formal and informal in approach; it makes its appeal to the intellectual few, as well as to the masses, and utilizes emotional as well as logical appeal.

Only brief mention can be made here of some of the projects already under way or still being projected: the encouragement of a national network of adult classes and study groups; the publication of a vast library of books, pamphlets and study syllabi; the importation and distribution in this country of Hebrew literature from Israel; the popularization of Israeli artists and entertainers in community programming; the production of new films, film-strips and recordings from Israel; the award annually of a large number of fellowships for study in the Jewish State; the production and promotion of pictures, plaques and other decorative material for the beautifying of the Jewish home; the publication of a new periodical, etc.

To these ends the education department maintains a national speakers' and artists' bureau, a radio and film bureau, a programming service, book bureau and information section. Many of these activities are being carried on in cooperation with existing agencies and institutions of Jewish learning, which are learning to look to the Z.O.A. for cooperation and assistance.

Official organ of the Z.O.A. is *The New Palestine*, which was founded in 1921, and which is received by every member. There is also a Yiddish periodical, *Dos Yiddishe Folk*, and more than a dozen bulletins which are published periodically for specific educational and public relations purposes.

The Z.O.A. also shares with Hadassah in the maintenance of the American Zionist Youth Commission as well as the *Chalutzit* Commission. Assistance is given to Plugat Aliyah,

General Zionist *chalutz* movement in America, as well as to the Hebrew Arts Foundation and the Histadrut Ivrit, American Hebrew culture foundation.

Funds to make possible the expanded program of Zionist activities in this country are made available by the Z.O.A.'s American Zionist Fund, which receives the cooperation of every Zionist District and Region.

* * * *

THUS the Z.O.A., one historic phase of its work completed, is already busily engaged with new functions with respect to both Israel and American Jewry. This new orientation of its work, continuing the best traditions and highest aspirations of the Zionist movement, merits and will no doubt receive the unreserved support of American Jews who each year, in ever-increasing numbers, are becoming members of the Zionist Organization of America.

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*Their History
and Programs*

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OF AMERICA**

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WHY PARTIES IN ZIONISM?

THE question is often asked, especially in the United States, which has a long two-party tradition: Why are there so many parties and so many differences of opinion in the Zionist movement? The answer can be simply given. Such differences of opinion are of the very essence of democracy, and indicate the extent to which the movement is responsive to the will of its adherents, as they organize for expression of one or another of the various viewpoints which they hold.

The building of a new life, even in an old country, is inevitably accompanied by many problems as to the nature and form the new structure is to take. The peculiar circumstances of Jewish life, the varied backgrounds from which the Jews in the Diaspora come, both economic and social, account for other distinct divergencies of outlook. During the process of actual construction of the Jewish Home many of the theories and programs which seemed to separate Jews may be modified, though they continue in one form or another.

These differences take many forms. What methods should be used in rebuilding Palestine? What kind of a Jewish State do we want? Shall the country be built gradually, adding a dunam to a dunam and a cow to a cow, or is sweeping political action required to set up a full-fledged Jewish State at once? If a Jewish majority is essential, how is it to be attained? Do we have in mind merely a cultural center for the Jewish people?

Shall the Jewish religion be recognized as the official faith of the country, or shall church and state be separated, and religion declared a matter of principle for the individual to determine? Shall the country's economy be based on agriculture or industry? What form will the government take? If socialism is to be a factor in the political life of the country how shall it be introduced?

These and similar questions have occupied the minds of Zionists in one form or another for the past fifty years and more. Some of these problems have lost their significance to our times; others still retain all the burning elements which make vital points of controversy, and around such matters the programs of the parties in Israel are centered.

POLITICAL ZIONISM

VS.

CULTURAL ZIONISM

PERHAPS the first fundamental difference of opinion in the movement had to do with the basic philosophy of Zionism, and some of the present day distinctions may be understood in the light of that early dispute.

Theodor Herzl's great contribution to his people was his creation of both the theory and the instruments of what has come to be called political Zionism. He arrived at the conclusion that the essence of the Jewish problem is the homelessness and lack of national status of the Jewish people; that the only solution for this problem is a Jewish State. He therefore called into being the political agencies for achieving that end. It will be recalled that he negotiated with the Sultan of Turkey, with the Kaiser, and with other crowned heads and statesmen, seeking to obtain the charter which would give the Jews political rights to and sovereignty over Palestine.

He was opposed by many Zionists from Eastern Europe on two scores: first, that political action could not be achieved over night, and that therefore the immediate goal was to send immigrants to Palestine, buy land, build colonies, and thus gradually extend Jewish influence in the land. When this "practical" work had reached the proper stage, it was felt, political activity would meet with better results. Proponents of this policy were accordingly known as "practical" Zionists.

The second basis of opposition to Herzl was offered by the "cultural" Zionists, of whom Achad Ha-Am was the spokesman and philosopher. He maintained that the rebirth of the Jewish people and the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish homeland would be brought about, in the final analysis, not by diplomats or by political documents, but by the spiritual regeneration of the people and by their cultural renaissance. Palestine was pictured as a center from which would radiate the new Jewish spirit and culture to Jews all

over the world; political independence, without this resurgence of the spiritual aspects of the nationalist movement, would be of no value to the people, Achad Ha-Am wrote. He never denied that the revival he desired could proceed more favorably under a Jewish regime, but he did oppose Herzl's emphasis on diplomacy, and criticized the illusion that Zionism was capable of solving the Jewish problem merely by a political act.

After the death of Herzl, practical and cultural Zionism became dominant until World War I. The issuance of the Balfour Declaration was Zionism's first major political achievement, but after it the emphasis again shifted to economic and practical consideration. The original sharp lines of division have been largely obliterated, and the characteristics of each of the points of view in Zionism have been adopted by the movement as a whole. The flourishing Hebrew language and literature and the definitely Hebraic character of the Jewish civilization in Palestine today are in the spirit of Achad Ha-Am, who derided the un-Jewish aspects of the State which Herzl had envisioned in his "Old-New Land." At the same time, the practical work of settlement, land purchase and colonization are accepted features of Zionist activity. Nor is there anyone today who can deny that political activity, in the Herzlian sense, has brought about the creation of the State of Israel.

The major differences today are concerned not with fundamentals but with specific attributes of Zionism and the Jewish State.

Within the movement groups of Zionists espousing one or another of these principles have organized to propagandize for their interests and to seek to obtain adoption of their particular point of view. Each of the parties thus has its own platform and policy, and the power or dominance of a party is the key to the degree of implementation of its program. The differences which divided Zionist parties in the Diaspora were transferred to the soil of Israel, and the present party system in Israel is thus to a large extent an outgrowth of Diaspora cleavages. There have been modifications occasioned by the change in circumstances, and some new differences resulting exclusively from the problems of Palestine itself.

There are four major party groups: General Zionists, Mizrachi, Labor parties and Revisionists, as well as several smaller groups, all of which are described in these pages.

GENERAL ZIONISM

General Zionism has always been regarded as central and basic to the movement, but while other groups were establishing party machinery and organization, its adherents were slow to recognize its status as a party. In 1929 delegates from thirty countries attending the World Zionist Congress at Zurich formed the World Union of General Zionists. This body was not active, however, and not until 1945 and 1946 was there any attempt to revive it. In the latter year the World Confederation of General Zionists was set up, and Dr. Israel Goldstein was elected its president.

In recent years there has developed a clear articulation of the principles of General Zionism, largely under the impact of the cohesiveness of the other parties and more recently under the stress of events in Israel.

The program of General Zionism as presented in recent statements of party conferences, may be outlined as follows:

Program

Primacy of Zionist Aims

1. General Zionism insists that the realization of the Zionist ideal shall be the main criterion in all Zionist work, and that the national interests should supersede every party interest in Israel.

National Control

2. General Zionism demands the strengthening of Jewish national institutions and their endowment with the greatest possible competence in all aspects of Jewish national life. All national functions carried out by parties or groups must be under national control.

Equal Rights for Immigration

3. General Zionism demands the expansion and strengthening of *chalutz* education among Jewish youth in all lands within a united Hechalutz, in which all groups shall have equal rights for immigration to an agricultural settlement in Israel.

Non-Political Labor Union

4. General Zionism considers the existence of a united, non-political *Histadruth* including all workers in Palestine, as well as the continued development of *chalutz* colonization and of self-help institutions of the workers in Israel, as Zionist necessities.

Support of Private Enterprise

5. General Zionism insists on full attention being given to the development of private initiative in industry, handicrafts, trade, agriculture and the professions, as the best means of providing employment for a maximum number of immigrants. General Zionism demands a *just application of national funds* to all forms of economic development in Palestine. General Zionists oppose exclusion of or discrimination against the small *Jewish business man*, the *private farmer*, the *individual artisan*, the professional man, the entrepreneur who prefer to follow economic forms other than the collective farm. Unless Israel is to remain a backward Middle-Eastern agricultural land there must be incentive to business and industry to create the necessary economic conditions for rapid and healthy growth. If the new state is to be free and democratic, there must be equality and freedom of opportunity for all Jews there, and General Zionists deplore the extremes to which other parties have gone in repressing free development. Both private enterprise and collective endeavor can exist side by side, each contributing of its own best elements in the building of Israel.

National Arbitration

6. General Zionism recognizes fully the right of workers to defend their economic and social position; in the interests of the

economic position of the Yishuv as a whole it will aim at the elimination of all conflicts between employer and employee by the strengthening of machinery for mediation and national arbitration.

Equal Support for Immigrants

7. General Zionism demands that the institutions of the Israeli Government which deal with the absorption of immigrants shall be so organized that every Jew, independent of his occupation and social position, shall benefit from their assistance and support.

Respect for Jewish Tradition

8. General Zionism insists upon respect for Jewish tradition in the public life of the Yishuv and of the Zionist movement.

Unified School System

9. General Zionism believes that the Jewish future in Palestine depends largely on the encouragement of the sense of Jewish national unity in the Yishuv as a whole and particularly in the younger generation. General Zionism aims, therefore, at the establishment of a unified school system under national control for the whole body of children attending school, giving freedom to the expression of religious and social ideals, but in such way that party machinery shall be excluded from education, sport and other similar activities.

Civil Service Reform

10. General Zionism demands sweeping reforms in the Jewish civil service in Israel, the elimination of party favoritism in appointments, and the establishment of a system based solely on personal merit.

* * *

Among the agencies which have been created and are now functioning under General Zionist principles are the *Haoved Hazioni* (Zionist Worker) and the *Mifde Ezrachi* (Citizens' Redemption Fund). The first is an independent labor organization, affiliated with the *Histadruth*, which vigorously *opposes economic dictatorship* of either the right or the left. The latter is a credit and loan agency enabling the *private family of modest means to build and own its own home*. Still comparatively young, the *Mifde Ezrachi* shows great promise of emerging as one of the significant factors in the economic growth of the Jewish State.

In response to an appeal of *Shikun Ezrachi* (Citizens' Housing) for assistance in the financing of large-scale housing projects for new arrivals, the American Palestine Enterprises, Inc. was recently established in the United States to spur this activity and to serve as an agency here for the General Zionist Constructive Fund in Israel and its affiliated institutions.

Party of Integration

General Zionism is thus a *party of integration*, seeking to *harmonize the elements of Jewish nationalism, religion, and social justice*, but in a manner which will take the sharp edge out of partisanship, and place the emphasis on *unity of the main stream in Jewish life*.

General Zionism seeks to avoid extremes and for this reason performs a vital function in the movement. As the center body in the organization the party has been well likened to the *balance wheel, holding the movement steady and constant against the pull by extremes of both left and right*.

At the same time, with a party platform which is broad and comprehensive, including many of the basic planks of the other groups, yet without their narrowness, General Zionism attracts the interest and support of Jews from all walks of life and of every shade of opinion. Within this party will be found friends and supporters of the *Histadrutā*, pious Jews who approve the program

calling for respect to Jewish tradition both in public life in Israel and in the agencies of the Zionist movement, and Zionists who insist on bold and imaginative diplomacy.

For a number of years the Palestinian General Zionist Party operated with two independent wings: Group A, somewhat to the left of center and oriented toward labor, and Group B, right of center, drawing support from middle class interests. In 1946, largely as the result of efforts by Dr. Emanuel Neumann, the two groups were merged into a political union. This partnership was successful for some two years.

A fresh alignment of the General Zionist groups took place on August 29, 1948. A new party was formed, tentatively known as the Progressive Party, composed of the *Aliyah Chadashah*, Oved Hazoni, and certain other General Zionist groups which were oriented more toward labor. The new group remains a member of the World Confederation of General Zionists.

An offshoot of General Zionism in Israel is the *Aliyah Chadashah* (New Immigration), a party composed of recent immigrants, for the most part from Germany and Austria. Originally formed to meet the gregarious needs of a group which had initial difficulty adjusting itself to Palestine, the party has since developed a full program based on the attitudes and interests of its members. In both politics and economics it is conservative, reflecting its middle class membership.

Aliyah Chadashah also has its organization of workers called *Aliyah Chadasha Ovedet*, which is a part of the *Histadruth*.

MIZRACHI

THE Zionist movement came into being during a period when religion was losing much of its hold on the educated classes of Europe. In keeping with the times, the majority of Europeanized Jewish intellectuals was either indifferent or hostile to Jewish religion. The mass of orthodox Jews in Eastern Europe, on the other hand, always conservative and suspicious of innovation, stood fast against the wave of irreligion and became even more stubborn in their conservatism. This attitude resulted in opposition to Zionism on the part of many orthodox Jews. For centuries the salvation of the Jewish people and their return to Zion had been looked upon as a task to be performed only by the miraculous intercession of God and his Messiah, and any human endeavor in that direction was regarded as not only futile but fraught with danger.

Thus, at the outset Zionism had to contend with the determined opposition of devout Jews. Nevertheless, there were numbers of orthodox Jews who did not see any contradiction between Jewish beliefs and Zionism and who advocated an organized effort to effect the settlement of Palestine. Indeed, orthodox rabbis, such as Rabbi Samuel Mohliver and Rabbi Zevi Hirsch Kalisher had been among the outstanding forerunners of Herzl.

To facilitate the winning of the masses of orthodox Jews to the Zionist ideal and to make the spirit of Jewish religion influential in Zionism, the orthodox wing of the Zionist movement was organized in 1902 in Vilna. Its founders were Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines, who had created the first modern yeshiva in Eastern Europe, and Zeev Yaavetz, an orthodox Jewish historian and Hebrew writer of note. The ~~League~~ was named *Mizrachi* which literally means "Eastern" but is in reality a combination of two Hebrew words, ~~Mizrach~~ *Mizrach* — Spiritual Center. Originally its purpose was to press for the inclusion of cultural content in Zionist work according to Orthodox conception. But in time, as Zionism grew into a state-building movement, within which various groups contended for power, the *Mizrachi* developed into an aggressive party, jealous not only of its ~~ideas~~ but also of its prestige. In Palestine *Mizrachi* was organized in 1918.

A succinct statement of Mizrahi principles is found in a pamphlet by Dr. Samuel Rosenblatt, published by the Mizrahi Organization of America in 1940. "Mizrahi is that party in Zionism which strives for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine on the basis of Israel's religious traditions in the belief that *Eretz Yisrael* was not intended to be merely a dwelling place of the Jewish people but also the abode of the Jewish spirit." The party's synthesis of its philosophy is well indicated in its slogan: "*Eretz Yisrael L'am Yisrael al pi Toras Yisrael*" (The land of Israel for the people of Israel on the basis of the Torah of Israel).

Since the establishment of Israel, there has not yet been full clarification of the extent to which Mizrahi is prepared to go in seeking establishment of a "state religion." The Mizrahi press is now engaged in exploring the subject and in formulating Mizrahi attitudes toward secular law.

The party also has its own definition of "culture." The secularists understand by it the Hebrew language, Jewish literature, music and art. The spokesmen of traditional Judaism, on the other hand, contend that the Jewish religion constitutes the alpha and omega of Jewish culture.

In time, however, as the Mizrahi party grew into an organization with its own network of schools in Palestine and elsewhere, founded on a traditional religious basis, it evolved an attitude on other matters not directly connected with culture or religion. In political affairs it has tended to support a more militant and aggressive political Zionist line. And in economic questions in Palestine, Mizrahi has in the past championed middle-class Jewish colonization.

There are two smaller parties which have emerged from the Mizrahi. One is *Hapcel Hamizrachi*, a left-wing group, composed of religious socialists, who have adopted the slogan, *Torah Va'Avodah* (Torah and Labor). A companion body is *Hcshomer Hadati*, similar in its programmatic synthesis, but even more Marxian in its approach. Both organizations have established collective farms and cooperatives of their own in which the traditions and practices of

religious Judaism are strictly observed. In this respect they present a striking contrast to the collective farms of other leftist groups where religion is very often observed only in the breach.

Agudath Israel

Agudath Israel (Association of Israel), is the party of the extreme Orthodox. Originally the Agudah opposed Zionism as a heretical movement. Its members believed that the return to Zion would be brought about by the Messiah, not by political parties. In recent years, however, after the destruction of European Jewry in the Second World War, Agudath Israel gave up its opposition and adopted a positive attitude toward Israel, which has become a center of its activity. Recently the party decided to approve the establishment of a Jewish State on the condition that it be based on the Torah, and to participate in the government. Agudath Israel has an Orthodox labor branch called "Poalei Agudath Israel (Workers of Agudath Israel).

LABOR ZIONISM

DURING the period which gave birth to the modern Zionist movement socialism was almost synonymous not only with atheism, but also with a Utopian form of internationalism. National distinctions, it was maintained, were unnecessary relics of a decadent civilization, bound to disappear with the progress of mankind. From this point of view, most Jewish socialists refused to have a hand in the revival of Jewish national existence, and actively opposed the Zionist movement.

To be sure, there were some exceptions. Moses Hess, a comrade of Karl Marx, had early published his work entitled "Rome and Jerusalem," in which he groped for an alliance of social idealism with the rebirth of Jewish nationhood. In later years some of the disillusioned Jewish revolutionaries, under the impact of anti-Semitism, and discovering that the new freedom and equality had exceptions, rediscovered their love for their people and joined the Zionist movement. Neither organization nor philosophy of labor Zionism evolved at this time, however.

Meanwhile the Jewish Socialists in Europe intensified their opposition to Zionism. The powerful Bund, or League of Jewish Workers of Russia, saw in Zionism a sentimental movement based on ancient traditions, and therefore inimical to the real interests of the working classes. Some extremists even considered the movement a device of the bourgeoisie to deflect the attention of the masses from its daily struggles and true foes.

Nevertheless there was a fringe of Jewish Socialists who remained loyal to the interests of their people and ultimately brought about the formation of a Socialist faction in the Zionist movement. The group faced great difficulties at the outset, in large measure due to the apparent difficulty of reconciling Marxian Socialism with the nationalist romanticism of Zionist aspirations.

This was achieved in great measure by the two leading theorists of the Socialist Zionist movement, Ber Borochov and Nachman Syrkin, who undertook to justify both the historic inevitability of Zionism and the collaboration with bourgeois Zionists.

The Poale-Zion (Workers of Zion) faction in the party held their first world conference at the Hague in 1907 after a group, headed by Borochov, seceded from the Socialist Territorialists and united with Socialist Zionists within the Zionist movement. The latter group was headed by Nachman Syrkin, who differed from Borochov in stressing less the "inevitable historic forces" and more the idealistic side of Zionism and the heroic effort made by human beings to change the course of history.

For many years the Socialist Zionists were the butt of ridicule by other Jewish Socialists, especially the Bund. The Poale-Zion had to wage a two-front war of ideas: on the outside with the Bund, which denounced them as "petty bourgeois," and within the Zionist movement, with other Zionists who were for the most part non-Socialists and opposed the injection of the Socialist issue into a still non-existent state.

Besides the Poale-Zion there was another party in the Zionist movement with Socialistic tendencies—the Zere Zion (Young Zion-

ists). The Zeire Zion were not dogmatic adherents of Karl Marx. Though believing in the ideal of social justice and of labor not less than the Poale-Zion, they were more attached to Hebrew culture and to Jewish cultural traditions. In the question of language, the Poale-Zion for a long time had a wing which advocated Yiddish as the national Jewish language, not only in the Diaspora but also in Palestine, and the official party platform called for the "equality of the two languages."

In Palestine the Zeire-Zion were known as Hapoel Hatzair (young worker), organized in 1905. Their ideal was to transform the Jewish youth into workers and peasants and to introduce socialism wherever possible by voluntary effort. Their most eminent representative was A. D. Gordon, who took up agricultural work at a comparatively late period in life and who preached the doctrine of "religion of labor" and the dignity of toil.

The two groups finally merged in 1929 into one party under the name by which they are known today, Mapai, from the initials of *Miflegeth Poalei Eretz Israel*, (Party of Workers of the Land of Israel).

Mapai

The principles set forth in the program of the Mapai were "Devotion to the construction of the Jewish people in Israel as a free working people rooted in . . . agricultural and industrial economy and developing its own Hebrew culture . . . Membership in the world movement of the working class and cooperation in the struggle to abolish class subjection and social injustice in any form . . . nationalization of natural resources and means of production, and building a commonwealth of labor, equality and freedom. . . ." The essence of this program is a combination of Zionism and Socialism.

The influence of the Mapai on the *Eishav* is exercised mainly through the *Histadruth*, (General Labor Federation). The *Histadruth*, which is theoretically impartial, embraces about seventy-five per cent of all the wage earners, who with their dependents, represent more than half of Israel's total population. This half of the

population not only forms an economically strong body, but wields complete control over the politically split remainder.

This dominant position of the *Histadruth* is due to the fact that although affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, the *Histadruth* is not only a Federation of Labor Unions of the type of the American Federation of Labor, but also the greatest single employer in Israel, controlling numerous cooperatives and holding companies, acting as agricultural producers, operating transportation and industry, doing business as bankers, etc.

During the period of the British Mandate of Israel the *Histadruth* organized and controlled many agencies which in other countries are usually the concern of the government, such as a labor educational system, and a special health service for workers, the "Kupat Cholim. It is for this reason that the *Histadruth* is sometimes referred to as a state within a state.

The *Histadruth*, which consists of workers who belong to different political parties, is practically dominated by the Mapai, which is the strongest among the Socialist groups. This control over the largest section of the Yishuv's economy, to a considerable extent explains how the Mapai became the ruling party in Israel.

Like any majority party the Mapai has been subjected to bitter criticism by the other groups. It has been accused of intolerance of any opposition and of dictatorial tendencies, best illustrated by its control over most opportunities of employment, and its care that Mapai members be taken care of first. Many persons, it is claimed, thus joined the party for obvious economic reasons. Many also feel that by its socialistic policy the Mapai has hampered the development of private enterprise at a time when capital from abroad is badly needed.

Mapam

Achduth Avoda, an offshoot of the Mapai, was formed in 1946 by a large body of dissidents who felt that the dominant labor leadership in Palestine was not pursuing a sufficiently strong politi-

cal line, and was at the same time tending to become conservative in its Socialistic ideals.

Left Poale-Zion was a radical group which originally withdrew from its parent body following the Bolshevik revolution, and espoused closer collaboration with the Soviet Union. For years they also championed the seemingly hopeless cause of Yiddish in Palestine.

Hashomer Hatzair has a pro-Soviet orientation. This group has been one of the most zealous of the pioneering elements in Palestine, and its members have been responsible for many of the most dangerous settlement projects. At the same time, they have opposed a Jewish State in Palestine, favoring bi-nationalism with the Arabs. Numerically weak, they were nevertheless a powerful factor in Palestine because of their efficient organization and strict party discipline.

All three of these groups merged early in 1948 into one party named *Miflegeth Ha'poalim Hameuchedeth B'Eretz Israel* (United Workers Party), better known by its initials as Mapam.

Some planks of the party's platform are: The independent nation is to forge its *Socialist future* by striving for a pact with the toiling Arab masses in the country. The party sees itself as an inseparable part of the *revolutionary workers' movement* and the struggle against capitalist-imperialist reaction. It will foster contacts with *revolutionary movements all over the world* and with the *U.S.S.R.* which is the *first workers' state*. Complete equality and cooperation will be sought with the Arab masses.

Regarding the U.N. decision, the party will support the State of Israel and its defense under present conditions, despite its rejection, on principle, of the partition solution.

The significance of the merger was best pointed out by the General Zionist newspaper, *Haaretz*. The paper wrote:

"With the birth of the new party there is now one party less in the *Yishuv*. This outcome of the union is undoubtedly to the good. The merger was helped by the failure of the two parties' external

policies. Both had deviated from the line of the Labor Party (Mapai), which had more or less guided the policy of the Jewish Agency, and so of the Zionist Movement. Achduth Avoda had opposed the Biltmore Program because it was not comprehensive enough and was likely to lead to partition (as it did). Hashomer Hatzair had opposed it on the ground that it did not adequately recognize the need to reach understanding with Arabs. Up to the last moment Achduth Avoda wanted a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine, while Hashomer Hatzair fought for a federal solution. Both opposed partition, and it was the acceptance of partition that prepared the ground for their unification."

The issues are pointed up by the same paper. "Apart from the question of conflicting personalities, the issue is that of 'reformist' versus 'doctrinaire' Socialism — a controversy that has developed in many countries. The 'reformists' adopt a realistic approach and ally themselves with other democratic elements, where the 'doctrinaires' refuse to budge from their ideological platform and seek allies in the Communist camp. Such a development seems not unlikely in Palestine, and the controversy within the Socialist ranks is liable to be intensified.

"Despite the proletarian and anti-capitalist slogans with which the new parties' program is liberally seasoned, it is remarkable that there is only one reference to Marx in it. This represents a compromise between Hashomer Hatzair, which was a Marxist party, and Achduth Avoda which, though it considered itself a revolutionary Socialist party, did not bind itself to Marxist doctrine.

"A natural consequence of the new party's adherence to Socialism is a pronounced pro-Soviet tendency. Despite de facto acceptance of partition, opposition to it is still maintained, as expressed in the new party program, which says: 'The party will work for the integrity of Palestine on the basis of agreement between the two peoples and an international decision.' Only if an agreement with the Arabs, with its attendant problem of concessions and compromises, becomes a living issue, will it be seen how far the present merger is a true unity and not a combination of formulas.

"For the moment, however, the merger is likely to give the new

party an impetus. If it attracts sufficient members, it may radically change the balance of forces within the *Histadruth*. Therein lies the main political importance of the move. The two parties (united in Mapam) mustered nearly 40% of the votes in the last elections to the *Histadruth* . . . they are thus not so far from a majority, to achieve which the new party will doubtless exert all its efforts. Mapai, on the other hand, will try to retain its hold on the *Histadruth* and its institutions and economic bodies. If the new party remains a minority and is confined to adopting a critical role, internal relations within the *Yishuv* may be rendered more acute, but the balance of forces will not be radically altered. If, however, the new party gains control of the *Histadruth*, and the vast political and economic power it involves, it may become one of the strongest factors in the *Yishuv*. . . .

The Communists

Until recently the tiny Communist party in Palestine consisted of Jews and Arabs, and was divided into a Jewish and Arab section. The party followed the attitude of the Comintern, which considered Zionism to be the tool of British imperialism, and opposed the idea of a Jewish National Home. Until Russia's espousal of Zionism the Jewish Communists of Palestine are said to have had as a motto: "Let's kick ourselves out of here." After the dissolution of the Comintern, the Communist party revised its stand. The Palestinian Communist party members now belong to the *Histadruth*.

REVISIONISM

The Revisionist party was founded in Berlin in 1924 by Vladimir Jabotinsky, founder of the Jewish Legion in World War I.

The party accepted the name "Revisionist" because its members felt that a *revision* was needed in the policy of the official Zionist leadership toward Great Britain.

Revisionism has its roots in an earlier movement called "Zionist Activist League," which was created by Jabotinsky during World War I, in order to support the creation of the Jewish Legion, which

was first opposed by the Zionist Action Committee in Copenhagen.

At its inception the party formulated its aims: To establish a Jewish state in the land of Israel with a Jewish majority on both sides of the Jordan, this to be achieved by mass migration; to encourage middle class colonization and development of private enterprise, thus increasing the absorptive capacity of the country; to create a Jewish legion for public security; to outlaw strikes and substitute compulsory arbitration during the period of national up-building.

In many respects the Revisionism of Jabotinsky was considered a revival of "Herzlian" or "political" Zionism, but the party's program and methods soon brought it into conflict with most other Zionist groups. The leadership of Zionism, personified by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, placed the emphasis on "practical" work and Jabotinsky's program was considered reckless and ill-timed. At the same time Revisionist anti-labor policy drew the fire of the majority parties in Palestine, who viewed it as a menace to the rights of the Jewish worker. Feeling between Labor and the Revisionists grew increasingly intense and at times reached an hysterical pitch on both sides.

In order to avoid a cleavage in the Zionist movement, Pinchas Rutenberg, founder of the Palestine Electric Corporation, in 1934 invited Jabotinsky and Ben Gurion for discussions to seek an agreement and unity between the two opposing parties. Both leaders were near agreement, but the *Histadruth* rejected the peace. A similar attempt a few years later again failed.

Nevertheless, Revisionism continued to grow, attracting large sections of frustrated middle-class European youth, especially in Poland. Its extreme nationalism, strong party discipline and militaristic methods appealed to the poverty-stricken and discontented Eastern European youth. At ensuing Zionist Congresses they made repeated bids for the leadership of the movement on a platform opposing moderation in Zionist political policy. In 1935, Jabotinsky, despairing of even altering the course of the movement, withdrew his party from the World Zionist Organization and established

the New Zionist Organization. This body proceeded to carry on a program of political effort, paralleling and duplicating the work of the recognized Zionist group.

The founding congress of the New Zionist Organization accepted the principle of universal suffrage, resolving that, "the Supreme Council of the Zionist movement shall be elected by all Jewish men and women who wish to record their votes without fee or restriction."

The aim of Zionism was formulated as follows: "The aim of Zionism is the redemption of the Jewish people and its land, the revival of its state and language, and the implanting in Jewish life of the sacred treasures of Jewish tradition."

These objectives were to be attained by the creation of a Jewish majority in Palestine on both sides of the Jordan, the upbuilding of a Jewish state on the basis of civic liberty and social justice in the spirit of Jewish tradition, the return to Zion of all who seek Zion, and the liquidation of the Jewish dispersion.

The more moderate wing left the main group, however, and remained in the World Zionist Organization as the Jewish State Party.

Whatever chances the Revisionists had to grow into an organization powerful enough to compete with the World Zionist Organization were ended, first, by the outbreak of the War and ultimate destruction of the Eastern European Jewry from which the party drew its strength; secondly, by the death of Jabotinsky in 1940; thirdly, by the adoption by the other parties of many of the more prominent planks of the Revisionist platform. The party lacked decisive leadership for several years, and in 1946 the New Zionist Organization merged with the Jewish State Party into a new group: United Zionists Revisionists, which became a constituent party of the World Zionist Organization.

Out of Revisionist ideology have grown two resistance groups: the Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization) and the Stern group. During the Arab riots of 1936-39, the Irgun tried to

meet the Arab terror by reprisals. The Irgun was unconditionally pro-Allied during World War II while the Stern group was not.

The Revisionist Youth Organization is called Betar (B'rith Trumpeldor), named for Joseph Trumpeldor, the hero of Tel-Hai).

Hebrew Freedom Movement

In June, 1948, the Irgun Zvai Leumi announced the creation of a new party named *Tnuat HaCheruth Haivrit* (Hebrew Freedom Movement).

The main principles of the Hebrew Freedom Movement are: a. The Hebrew homeland which stretches east and west of the Jordan is a historic and geographic entity; b. The dismemberment of the homeland is an illegal act; c. The right to repatriation of every Jew who so desires is inalienable and tolerates no qualification. Any restriction upon this right is unlawful; d. Equal rights for every citizen regardless of origin, religion or sex; e. Respect for the holy values and institutions of the Jewish people; f. The guiding policy of Hebrew foreign policy must be reciprocity, friendship for friendship, enmity for enmity.

This program obviously has an attraction for many members of the Revisionist party.

Semi-Political Groups

In addition to the major political parties described in the preceding pages, there are other groups organized on the basis of common origin, or particular interests, and which participate in the political life of the country. Such groups are the Sephardim, with members drawn from Mediterranean countries, the Yemenites, who come from the Arabian peninsula, and the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), which functions as a social service agency.

These groups are all represented in the State Council, though they usually make common cause with one or another of the larger parties.

PARTY STRENGTH

The relative strength of the parties in the Zionist movement and in Israel today can be determined in several ways.

The following table indicates the strength of the parties in the Zionist movement in the United States, with figures drawn from the delegation elected by American Zionists to the 22nd World Congress in 1946:

General Zionists (ZOA and Hadassah)	57%
Labor Zionists	24%
Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi	14%
Revisionists	5%

The Palestine representation at the same Zionist Congress in 1946 was divided as follows:

Mapai (Labor)	35%
Achdut Avodah and Hashomer Hatzair, now united as Mapam	25%
Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi	13%
Revisionists	13%
General Zionists and Aliyah Chadashah	11%
Yemenite Union	1%

The complete representation of the world Zionist movement at the 1946 Congress was 385 delegates. These were divided as follows:

General Zionists (including Aliyah Chadashah)	33%
Mapai	26%
Mizrachi	15%
Hashomer Hatzair and Achdut Avodah (now Mapam)	14%
Revisionists	11%
Others	1%

The State Council of the provisional government of Israel, established upon proclamation of the State, and holding office until the first elections, was set up with 38 members divided as follows:

Mapai	12
General Zionists	7
Mapam	5
Revisionists	3
Mizrachi	2
Hapoel Hamizrachi	2
Agudath Israel	2
Aliyah Chadashah	1
Sephardim	1
Yemenites	1
Communists	1
Women's International Zionist Organization	1

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The Middle East

THE United Nations' handling of the Palestine question was one of the most heartening international developments since the war. The Special Committee, an impartially appointed instrument of world opinion, removed the most important aspects of the problem from the realm of controversy. Unanimously it recommended termination of the British Mandate and independence for Palestine. By a majority of seven to three it presented a plan for partition far removed in spirit and in detail from the "federation" scheme advanced last year by the British Cabinet. It also recommended that during the transition period the Mandatory Power be responsible for the admission of 150,000 immigrants into the proposed Jewish state and abolish the restrictions on land sales to Jews in that area.

Attempts to delay the UN Assembly's vote on the partition plan were frustrated by U.S.-Russian insistence on a decision, and the plan was carried thirty-three to thirteen, with ten abstentions. The only non-Moslem countries which voted against partition were Greece and Cuba.

The UN plan found the United States and Soviet Russia substantially in agreement for the first time on a major issue — an electrifying development that gave a sorely needed lift to the world organization. Furthermore, Gromyko's and Tsarapkin's surprise declarations in support of a Jewish state — made in the face of Arab threats to the West of a bolt into the Soviet camp — undercut the Arab League game of plying the powers off against each other and placed the whole Middle East situation in a more realistic perspective.

The outstanding stumbling block to a solution was Britain's refusal, despite its decision to evacu-

ate Palestine, to cooperate in a settlement not acceptable to Arabs and Jews alike. This attitude came strangely from a government which had submitted the problem to the UN on the very ground that all possibilities of Arab-Jewish agreement had been exhausted; and which, furthermore, had shown no compunction about using force to impose the pro-Arab White Paper at great cost to itself in lives and money.

The United States and Russia achieved a compromise which asked no more of the Mandatory than to maintain order until evacuation and give to Arabs and Jews an equal opportunity to prepare for safeguarding their independence.

Will the Arabs go to war?

That there will be violence in Palestine is certain. But how much? Arab reluctance to make sacrifices to combat Zionism is a matter of record. Despite the tempest of speechmaking that greeted the 1936 Palestine riots little was done to assist the insurgents, who at no time numbered more than 3000. The current Arab boycott of Zionist products has been so flagrantly violated that not long ago the Iraqi premier declared that only in Iraq was the boycott effective. It is no secret in the Middle East capitals that the Arab League meeting in Beirut, summoned in October to plan warfare against a Jewish state, degenerated into a contest between the Mufti and King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan for control of Palestine.

The long-standing feud between the Mufti and Abdullah — referred to as "Rabbi Abdullah" in the Mufti's Berlin broadcasts — is characteristic of the fissures within the Arab League. Abdullah for his part nurses a long-standing quarrel with Ibn



The Atlantic Report on the Middle East



Saud, who expelled Abdullah's father, King Husain, from the Hejaz in 1924.

Trans-Jordan and Iraq form a close partnership within the League by reason of family ties: the boy king of Iraq is Abdullah's grandnephew and the regent is his nephew. The two Hashemite (of the family of Husain) countries, while retaining separate rulers, plan to abolish customs barriers and to adopt a common currency and passport system as first steps toward a more ambitious program of federation — the so-called Greater Syria plan, one of the most explosive issues within the Arab world.

The plan is vehemently opposed by most Syrian politicians, who see their jobs endangered, and by the Christian majority in the Lebanon, which is fearful of being engulfed in a Moslem confederation. The latter have never forgotten the massacre of Assyrian Christians in Iraq after the First World War, and feel that their security is linked with that of the other large non-Moslem minority in the Arab world.

King Farouk of Egypt is a staunch upholder of the status quo, under which his country is the richest, the most populous, and the most highly industrialized of the Arab states. He and Ibn Saud heartily agree that Hashemite ambitions must be held in check, but their own relations are strained. In the eyes of Ibn Saud, leader of the Wahabites, the puritans of Islam, Farouk is a westernized young upstart who has the presumption to challenge his claim to Arab leadership.

The intensity of Arab rivalries makes it improbable that the Arab leaders will succeed in forging a military coalition. It is still less probable, should they go to war, that they could overcome the Hagana or Jewish Defense Force. Even as an illegal formation, the Hagana — estimated to be 70,000 to 80,000 strong — is a well-trained, well-equipped fighting force, officered by men who fought in the British Army, some with the Commandos. As the army of an independent Jewish state, its manpower could be appreciably enlarged and its equipment fortified by Palestine industry, which turned out considerable quantities of war material for the British.

Second-rate Arab Army

All the Arab armies together total approximately 135,000 men, a high proportion of whom must be kept at home to maintain order among the discontented masses and — in the case of Syria and Iraq — to cope with mutinous tribesmen. And this figure cannot be greatly strengthened by conscrip-

tion. Eighty per cent of Egyptian recruits are rejected as physically unfit, and the health of the masses is, if anything, lower elsewhere.

The only first-class fighting units in the Arab world are the Trans-Jordan Arab Legion and the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, both of which obey British orders; their involvement would be tantamount to British intervention. The Iraqi Army, strongest of the purely Arab forces, demonstrated its ineptitude both in Rashid Ali's pro-Axis revolt and in its incapacity to subdue Kurdish rebellions without British assistance. It was Lawrence of Arabia who said of the Arabs' fighting prowess in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*: "One company of Turks firmly entrenched in open country could have defied the entire army of them."

So it would be today. Testifying before the Anglo-American Committee, General D'Arcy, then Commander-in-Chief in Palestine, declared that the Hagana could hold the country against all the Arab states for years. One reservation is necessary. Britain is at present helping to train and equip most of the Arab armies. Were such assistance allowed to continue after the Arabs went to war, the Hagana would be placed at a hopeless disadvantage.

Misery for the poor

A Palestine settlement will in the long run compel the Arab rulers to devote more attention to the plight of the barefoot Arab. Poverty and disease make the life of the Arab peasant or worker a condition little removed from walking death. A random sampling of social statistics tells an appalling story. In Egypt and other parts of the Middle East, nearly 90 per cent of the peasantry are wasting away from bilharzia. Malaria kills 50,000 annually in Iraq. The incidence of pellagra and trachoma is staggeringly high. Limbs are everywhere disfigured by what a perverted nationalism variously terms the Nile boil, the Bagdad boil, and the Aleppo Buttor.

Life expectancy in Iraq is 27 years; one child in two dies before the age of five. In Egypt, the most advanced of the Arab states, the death rate is higher than in India; in rural areas there is but one doctor to every 10,000 inhabitants. In the whole of Trans-Jordan, three times the size of Palestine, there are twenty-four physicians and five dentists. Everywhere dirt, ignorance, and official apathy and corruption invite epidemic disease; Egypt's cholera epidemic, now in its fourth month, is still spreading. During a previous anti-plague campaign it cost the Egyptian government \$50 to kill a rat.



The Atlantic Report on the Middle East



One half of one per cent of the population owns one third of the land. Under an antiquated system of land tenure, the Arab peasantry is chronically in debt to usurers and absentee landlords; interest rates frequently range from 50 to 200 per cent. The average annual income of an Iraqi peasant family before the war was \$35. Children six years old are employed in the cotton-gin plant of the Banque Misr of Egypt for a daily wage of fifteen cents. The Syrian agricultural worker is paid even less. Iraq, once the seat of a flowering civilization, now cultivates only 20 per cent of its arable land; Syria only 35 per cent. Slavery is recognized by law in Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, which was recently admitted to the UN.

Nothing remotely resembling democratic political conditions obtains in any of the Arab countries. Arab politics is an affair of personalities and family loyalties. When a former Egyptian premier was accused of packing the administration with his near relatives, he replied: "How can I run a government unless I have men I can trust in the key positions?"

Censorship powers enable the Arab governments to suspend or suppress by ministerial fiat newspapers critical of the administration. The Syrian Ministry of the Interior may dissolve any political party, group, or club that appears to act contrary to "the basic principles of the republican constitution."

Subsidies for the rich

In the past decade, hundreds of millions of dollars have poured into the Arab world — in the form of British subsidies, interest-free loans, oil royalties and expenditures by the oil companies, and war-time payments for goods and services purchased at highly inflated prices. Most of this wealth has been dissipated in regal display and the enrichment of the moneyed classes. Some of it now goes to support the Arab League, which can afford to vote the Mufti an allowance of \$400,000.

These resources, if devoted to education, irrigation projects, and social services, could have transformed the face of the Arab world. The agricultural research section of the American Near East Foundation — a fine example of disinterested endeavor among the Arabs — offers impressive evidence of how much can be accomplished with how little: an expenditure of \$600 on experiments to combat tomato disease in the Lebanon saved a crop worth two millions.

One of the great barriers to progress in the Arab world has been the relative absence of a socially

conscious middle class. In the Lebanon, where French and American educators have long been active, 70 per cent of the population are literate, but elsewhere illiteracy ranges from 70 per cent in Syria to 90 per cent in Iraq, and more than that in the Arabian quadrilateral. There is no university in Iraq and only one newspaper in the Yemen, a country the size of Kansas with 3½ million people.

Rising clamor for reform

Thus between the ruling Arab oligarchy and the inarticulate masses there exists only a thin layer of struggling professional men, underpaid white-collar workers (most of them in the bureaucracy), and excitable students. Many of the members of this group, proud of being *effendis* (gentlemen) and conscious of their dependence on patronage for advancement, have in the past identified their interests with those of the pashas, and so have failed to constitute a progressive force in politics. Since the war, however, there has been a growing change in the outlook of the Arab middle-class intelligentsia — the most significant development in the Arab world since the time of Lawrence.

The young *effendis* in Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, and Bagdad are beginning to translate volatile clamor for reform into insistent pressure. Despite the repressive policies now in force under the guise of combating Communism, leftist journals and reform movements are sprouting faster than they can be suppressed.

The unanimity and vigor with which rival opposition parties protested the Lebanese and Iraqi elections are symptoms of a new temper among articulate Arabs. They cannot be swindled much longer with artificial excuses for postponing improvement of social conditions and obstructing the march of civilization. The proposed Jewish state will have the effect of quickening the civilizing process. In the course of time, it is bound to stimulate progressive Arabs with the example of an advanced technology, democratic institutions, and a sense of the dignity of human life unknown to the Arab oligarchy.

The Arab's greatest champion, T. E. Lawrence, once wrote: "I am decidedly in favor of Zionism. Indeed, I look on the Jews as the natural importers of that Western heaven which is so necessary for the countries of the Near East. . . . The success of their scheme will involve inevitably the raising of the present Arab population to their own material level, only a little after themselves in point of time, and the consequences might be of the highest importance for the future of the Arab world."

What Shall America Do About Palestine?

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1948

Arms for Palestine

It is "indefensible," as the newly-formed Committee to Arm the Jewish State declares, for the United States to put its whole influence behind the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine and then impose an embargo on the export of the arms which are more and more plainly indispensable to such a state's survival. The notion that there is something immoral about providing arms in a situation which one has deliberately created with the full knowledge that arms would be necessary is redolent of that mawkishness which seems too often to confuse every international issue. The first and simplest answer to the sudden question of arms for Palestine is to lift the embargo at once. The least which the United States can offer to the Jewish Agency and to Haganah is free access to the available supplies or weapons for self-defense.

This is the first and obvious answer. It is not the full answer. The questions of security and of enforcement were obviously central to the United Nations' decision for a partition of Palestine; yet these were precisely the questions which were shirked by all the great powers. They cannot be shirked much longer. The legal foundations for the partition of Palestine have been left on swampy ground. Legally, partition has been "recommended" by the General Assembly as a measure for meeting a situation, in the language of the Charter, "likely to impair the general welfare of friendly relations among nations." The Arab states are fomenting a warlike rebel-

lion against this recommendation. They can truthfully assert that the Assembly has no binding power; on the other hand, they are themselves bound by the general obligation on all U. N. members to settle international disputes only by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner "inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

Administration of partition, in the transition period, was vested by the Assembly in its Palestine Commission. But the Assembly, aware of the uncertainty of the authority thus conferred, specifically requested that if a threat to peace arose during the transition period, the Security Council should act under its general power to deal with such threats. The threat has not only arisen; it is imminent. There is no reason why the United States should deny arms to the Jewish community in Palestine. But there is at the same time every reason why the United States should raise the basic question of enforcement in the Security Council, at once and emphatically, and demand a clear decision on the underlying responsibilities. Without it, this country will have to give Jewish Palestine access to arms, since this country was so largely instrumental in offering Jewish Palestine a freedom which every one knew would be dangerous. But since it is the U. N. Assembly, under theegis of the Security Council, which has decreed and is immediately responsible for partition, the United States both may and must ask a decision on enforcement from the Council.

Washington Memo

EDITOR: Charles Van Doren

Associate Editor: Oliver Platt, James A. Wechsler
and William O. Flayer Jr.

U. S. to Blame for Zion Bloodshed; Arabs Think We Don't Back Partition

Washington, Jan. 20.

Unless there is a drastic change in Washington policy the United States Government—meaning the Truman administration—is going to find itself bearing full responsibility for continued bloodshed in Palestine.

Confidential reports reaching here show that the Arab people are being assured by their leaders that the U. S. does not really support the United Nations plan for partition of the Holy Land. They are being told that the official U. S. position was merely a "necessary political gesture," and that the great Western democracy doesn't intend to do anything to back it up.

Unfortunately nothing that has happened in Washington supplies a convincing refutation of this unlovely view of American motives. The Arab leaders, themselves, now are apparently accepting their own propaganda and testing it out with increasing audacity.

Last week, for instance, some 400 Arabs, reportedly commanded by Syrian officers, crossed the border to attack two Jewish settlements (Kfar Szold and Dan) in Upper Galilee.

A confidential report received here from within the Arab territory said the raid was "intended to be a trial balloon to sound out the U.N. and American reactions." If that was indeed its purpose, the result can only have been to encourage Arab boldness. The American Government took no action and the U.N.—without such initiative from Washington—continued to twiddle its thumbs nervously.

Actually, there is no real secret about the strategy of the Arab leaders. Shortly after the U.N. decision in favor of partition, two of the principal Arab leaders began their attack openly on the sincerity of this government by declaring that American public opinion was turning against the official U. S. stand. These Arab spokesmen were Faris El Khoury, of Syria, and Jamal Husseini, representative of the Mufti's Higher Committee for Palestine.

Just last week an Arab daily newspaper in Brooklyn, *Al-Sameer*, reported the sailing of an American Arab, Yussuf Ahmad Nijim, for Lebanon.

According to the Arab newspaper: "Nijim asked the people in the State Dept. to furnish him with arguments for the defense of U. S. policy on Palestine. He was told 'What has taken place in the U.N. is not an act of state, for the U.N. is no government. The Arabs may accept the U.N. decision or repudiate.'"

That account, it may be taken for granted, has by now been widely circulated among the Arab populations of Syria, Lebanon and rest of the Near East. It's natural result, in the absence of any affirmative U. S. support of the U.N. partition decree, will be to increase Arab intransigence.

The British position on Palestine is reasonable, straightforward and aboveboard. The British opposed the partition plan, and since its approval by the U.N., they have been remarkably frank about their moral and military support of the Arabs.

The U. S., however, having been chiefly responsible for U.N. approval of partition, has a moral obligation, as certainly as it has the moral and material prestige, to see that the plan is effectuated without unnecessary loss of life.

What is needed, observers here agree, is a clear demonstration that the U. S. genuinely supports the U.N. decision. This could be provided not only in words, but by removal of the arms embargo which hampers the Palestinian Jews in their self defense and by a protest to the U.N. Security Council against Syrian violations of the Palestinian border. Until steps are taken, many Americans will be inclined to wonder whether the Arabs—and the British—may not be right in believing that Washington is just "playing domestic politics" with the future of Palestine and with the lives of its unhappy people.



JAMAL HUSSEINI

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
TIMES

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1948.

No Love and Kisses From Arabia.

The Institute of Arab American Affairs gloomily informs us that "the doom of the deeply-rooted friendship between the Arab world and the United States" was sealed when the general assembly of the United Nations voted 33 to 13 to partition Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states. The institute's bulletin apparently casts this country as the chief villain of the piece. It seems that we applied so much pressure on the small-nation members of the assembly that they voted against their convictions and thus created the majority.

As a result of our evil action—or, rather, as a result of the evil action of our time-serving politicians in Washington, for the institute still appears to have some confidence in the essential soundness of the American people—"the love and friendship that 40 million Arabs had expressed toward the United States has been turned into hatred."

It might be difficult to point to any recent acts that attest to such sentiments on the part of the Arab world, as a whole. Only a few years ago we and our allies were engaged in a life-or-death struggle with the Axis. One of the Arab states, Iraq, was with great difficulty prevented from joining the Axis. Love and friendship did not produce so much as one Arab division to fight for our Allied cause. On the contrary, desert Arabs raided oil pipe lines vital to our war effort, the principal leader of the Palestine Arabs operated as a Nazi propagandist, many leaders from other Arab states served as Axis collaborators and Germany's North African victories were celebrated in Arab communities.

Of course, after our success became assured, those Arabs who had been hoping for a totalitarian triumph became firm advocates of democracy. But such conversions are never very persuasive. The truth is that in the hour of our need we and our friends received precious little assistance from an Arab world which we are now expected to believe was suffused with the tenderest regard for our national welfare.

As for our role in the partition plan, that proposal came originally from a majority of a United Nations commission on which we were not represented and was so clearly the best practical solution of a hard problem that even after we had endorsed it, the Russians felt compelled to follow suit. Or does the Institute of Arab American Affairs think that we also high-pressured the Soviet Union into compliance?

American Jews and Palestine

Judge Proskauer Sees No "Political Schizophrenia" in Relation to New State

To the New York Herald Tribune:

As I write these words the press is carrying conflicting accounts of the implications for Jewry of the partition of Palestine. As president of the American Jewish Committee I deem it important that there should be a clear statement of what I believe to be the philosophy and attitude of the American Jew.

We are told by the anti-Semite, through malice, and by some small sections of American Jewry, through confusion, that this partition has created a problem of possible inconsistency between our obligations as Americans and as Jews. There is no such problem. Five years ago our committee stated: "There can be no political identification of Jews outside of Palestine with whatever government may there be instituted." These words state an axiom and remain true today. The Jews of America suffer from no political schizophrenia. Politically we are not split personalities, and in faith and in conduct we shall continue to demonstrate what the death rolls of our army on many a battlefield have attested that we are bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of America.

What should be the attitude of Jews toward this newly to be created state? We have affirmed our sympathy with and our desire to cooperate with those Jews who wish to settle in Palestine. Now we find this embryo state already beset with the horrors of violence and bloodshed and its shores largely closed to that suffering remnant of downtrodden European Jewry which yearns to go there as the parched throat in the desert yearns for the waters of the oasis. In helping them we emphasize that nothing can be done which in any degree constitutes a violation of

the laws or the executive action of the United States of America.

But we have a right to represent to our government for its action a great fundamental truth. The United Nations Assembly did not merely decide a dispute between two peoples—it prescribed a course of international conduct; it decreed that partition was a measure that made for the peace of the world. The world must support that decree. The responsible Jews in Palestine are engaged in no struggle of aggression or of aggrandizement. If any hot-headed group is acting at variance with this position, that group is disavowed. But responsible Jewish leadership asks for nothing except that the mandate of the assembly of the United Nations be executed. To enforce it requires policing of Palestine against the violence that has there been incited chiefly under the leadership of Arabs identified with Hitler.

It is vital not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the peace of the world that the dignity and integrity of a resolution of the Assembly of the United Nations be defended against such bloodthirsty attempts to thwart it as have appeared in Palestine during the last few weeks. To that end we urge on our State Department—that under the Security Council of the United Nations there must be created a sufficient constabulary to preserve peace and order in Palestine when the British withdraw and to make clear to the world that the decision of the United Nations Organization is not to be treated as a scrap of paper.

Second, during this crucial interim between the decision of the Assembly and the actual withdrawal of the British, order must be maintained in Palestine. It is not being maintained. Merely to place an em-

bargo on the importation of munitions into Palestine, when the Mufti can draw arms from other Arab states, will certainly not tend to produce that order. Hagannah is a force in Palestine which must be sharply differentiated from the terrorists. It is a band of Jewish men and women claiming no objective other than the defense of their lives, their hearths and their homes. The conduct of the Arabs in Palestine is a threat to international peace, and we should ask of our government that they support a policy that through the United Nations, those who are defending the decision of the United Nations be given the means with which to make their defense effective.

This is not merely a pro-Jewish position. This is a pro-American position and a pro-United Nations position. Nor must we forget our ultimate. That is, in the words of Dr. Weismann, a state where Arabs do not dominate Jews and Jews do not dominate Arabs. There is a great basis of good-will between right-thinking Arabs and right-thinking Jews in Palestine upon which the structure of two such states can be built. What is going on today is an attempt to destroy that good-will, engineered by friends of Hitler and enemies of the United Nations, who have had the hardihood to proclaim that it is their endeavor to flout the decision of the United Nations and reduce it to a mockery.

This statement, I believe, raises a standard to which every right-thinking American, Jew or Christian, and every right-thinking supporter of the United Nations can with confidence and high hope adhere.

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER,
President The American Jewish Committee.

New York, Jan. 19, 1948.

BOSTON, MASS. EVENING GLOBE

JANUARY 12, 1948

Monkey Wrench

As the United Nations Commission on Palestine began its meetings in New York, this weekend, Great Britain dropped yet another monkey wrench into the works. In keeping with the avowed policy of Mr. Bevin (that Great Britain will not assist or cooperate in any way in enforcing the partition of Palestine) British spokesmen now insist that the commission created by the United Nations must keep out of Palestine until the expiration of the British mandate. Under present plans, the surrender of the mandate would take place late in the Spring at the earliest.

This is an astonishing position. Not only does it flout the considered decision taken by the majority of the members of the U.N. Assembly. It also flouts the facts governing the commission. That body, as such, is not planning to visit Palestine for the purpose of enforcing partition, but for the purpose of devising a partition plan and program, implementation of which thereafter would become the responsibility of the United Nations. The fact was made plain by Secretary General Trygve Lie's instructions to the commission when it assembled last week. Less than two months ago, British spokesmen in the Assembly delivered eloquent speeches in support of the western practice of accepting majority decisions!

New York Post

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1948.

Talk—and Death

Recent Post editorials on our shameful failure to provide either the United Nations or the Jews of Palestine with the means for enforcing the U.N. Partition decision have helped to stir up some talk from some high places.

Talk.

But not action.

ITEM: Fifty more dead yesterday in Arabian war on Jews over U.N. decision.

While the cables from Palestine were pouring in this mourning-bordered page of current history, the telegraph wires from Washington reported that the President is "seriously considering" what course to take.

He is "considering" whether it would be a good thing to help the United Nations form an army, politely referred to as a police force, to help enforce partition and peace.

He is "considering" whether the United States and other large powers might co-operate, and if so, how, in furnishing such a force—that is if such a force is needed.

He is "considering" whether there is any merit in the suggestion that perhaps the United Nations, or somebody, might permit the Jews of Palestine to at least purchase arms in order to defend themselves.

ITEM: The British Government announced yesterday that although its embargo on arms to Jews in Palestine still stands, it has no intention of embargoing arms to the Arabs, led by Hitler's pal the ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, but brushed aside the most recent Arabian \$25,000,000 purchase of the implements of war as "trifling."

Trifling—because they will only be used to kill Jews, Mr. Bevin?

ITEM: The British Government has, under pledge of secrecy, given the U.N. Palestine Commission a time-table for withdrawal of British forces, with the pious attitude that its scrupulous secrecy will help keep the peace.

It won't wash. There is nothing secret about British collaboration with Arabs to wreck the United Nations decision. It is no secret that Britain is working night and day to sabotage the peace in Palestine.

It will not do to merely cry "perfidious" at Great Britain, however. Great Britain's mandate—even what's left of it—is by formal permission of the United States, attested in a 1924 treaty which states conditions for our consent which have never been fulfilled since the British White Paper was issued, and are not being fulfilled now.

Neither the State Department nor the President has given the slightest indication that they regard this treaty as any more sacred than our obligation to demand enforcement on the United Nations partition decision.

ITEM: The Secretary for Defense and the Secretary for War told a Senate committee yesterday that our military forces, seeking their largest peacetime budget, are a threat to no one and have no purpose but to keep the peace.

But the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, remains uncertain whether these forces can properly be placed at the disposal of the United Nations or of Jerusalem—to keep the peace of the world, being flouted by the Arabian states in an open conspiracy with Great Britain.

We are talking it over.

Talk.

We have been talking it over since 1924.

Since the end of the war in Europe, we have been talking endlessly—considering gravely—while the oceans of talk have drowned the hopes of hundreds of thousands of homeless that they might at last get the home we talked about for so long.

ITEM: Within the past 24 hours, Sen. Wagner, a great progressive and a great liberal Democrat, has made a stirring speech advocating creation of an international army, and help for Palestine's Jews.

This is good. Very good. Not good enough. It is talk—fine talk—earnest and sincere talk. But it is talk, not action.

Perhaps that speech, good friend, might better have been made across the desk to the President, who has the power to act, rather than just to all of us who have only at this moment the power to rage—and to weep for our shame.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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New York 17, N. Y.

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Plots and Counterplots

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

TO UNDERSTAND what is going on in Palestine one should review one's "Alice Through the Looking Glass" and follow it with a refresher course in *Realpolitik*. Perhaps then the sinister fantasy would begin to make sense.

Here, in short space, are a few of the ingredients on which the imagination must work. First, the British. In the General Assembly, the British said they alone would keep order in Palestine until they laid down the mandate. No U. N. forces. No U. N. Commission or overlapping authority. . . . Today, Palestine is a shambles. Order has dissolved into communal fighting all over the country. Troops have crossed the border from Syria. The Arab rebellion against partition is well armed, backed by several of the Arab states, directed by the Mufti and his Arab Higher Committee. The British intervene here and there, primarily to protect their own property and troops, but they make no pretense of putting down the rebellion. When a correspondent asked, the other day, what was being done to relieve the Jewish community besieged in the Old City in Jerusalem, a British official replied blandly: "What can be done? The Arabs are holding all the gates." No other nation seems to have inquired what 80,000 or more British troops are doing while terrorists rule Palestine. No one bothers to point out that the British police, to which the chief responsibility for "keeping order" has been assigned, is made up mostly of Arabs, who openly turn over their arms to their fellow Arabs.

The High Commissioner, Sir Alan G. Cunningham, it is true, "protested" to the Syrian government when the Lebanese-Syrian troops invaded northern Palestine. But Syria sits as a member of the Security Council which any day now will be called upon to decide how to end the rebellion. And the Arab states, Syria included, buy arms freely in all the markets of a world overflowing with surplus munitions. And the Mufti's Arab Higher Committee, which is directly responsible for the whole armed attack on the authority of the United Nations, is invited by the newly organized U. N. Palestine Commission to speak for the Arabs of Palestine in the partition proceedings. The fact that the Higher Committee has contemptuously declined does not diminish the oddity of continuing to try to cooperate officially with people who, if the occasion presented itself, would undoubtedly take pleasure in assassinating the commission, man by man.

But these are not all the ingredients of the Palestine dream-world. There is the great TNT mystery, now being ferreted out by the FBI. Already, the man-in-the-subway must believe, as he reads the headlines, that certain Jewish Fu-Manchus are carrying on an evil and criminal conspiracy to smuggle high explosives to Palestine. The sinister atmosphere surrounding the plot has been only slightly lightened by the revelation that other consignments of explosives, discovered in an Asbury Park warehouse and on a remote Jersey farm, were presumably purchased legally and when discovered were being held pending government release for shipment to Palestine.

Without question, if either transaction is illegal, the government has a right to take whatever action the law requires. But has it any decent, unpolitical reason for allowing the incident to be treated as a major scandal, reflecting on the honor of the Zionist movement? While Arab munitions pour into Palestine across every border, the Jewish Agency is prohibited from the legal purchase of arms for the defense of the Jewish people. Yet under the U. N. decision, each community was to create a militia to maintain order in its own territory, and in the debate the arming of Haganah was discussed as an urgent and early necessity. Would any self-reliant people,

blocked from buying arms legally because its status as a nation had not been officially established, refrain from getting weapons where and how it could? If the Jewish Agency has stayed within the letter of the law, as it firmly claims to have done, its restraint is astounding. If it, or any Zionist group, has connived at arms smuggling, the misdeed should be looked upon by the American authorities as an excusable, if illegal, act of self-defense.

DOES the United States government want the Palestine decision to be enforced? Its lukewarm support of partition in the Assembly raised many doubts. Its easy-going attitude during the bloody days which have followed has raised still more. Technically, it is committed to the limit. But who can say what effect growing Arab resistance may have had, especially when considered along with the worsening situation in Greece? The dispatch to the Mediterranean of Marines with full battle equipment may signify a possible change of policy toward Palestine. Who can say how much attention has been paid to British charges that the Jewish refugee ships from Bulgaria carried Communist agents prepared to undermine Western control in the Middle East?

This much is certain. The United States can still make or ruin partition: We can insist in the Security Council that Syria be dealt with as an aggressor. (No border watch is needed to verify that invasion.) We can insist that a U. N. force be sent to Palestine immediately to restore order and specifically to protect the commission and enforce its directives. We can urge that the commission, under proper guarantees, also proceed to Palestine without delay to begin implementation of the U. N. decision. We can insist that as long as the mandate remains in effect, whether or not a U. N. force is sent, the British shall use all their available armed strength to end the Arab rebellion and protect the commission from attacks. It no longer needs to be proved, I should think, that when the United States firmly demands action, it can get it.

But this is far from our whole duty. Having made clear a position which has become increasingly foggy, we must take on the direct responsibilities our support of the U. N. decision entails. If it is necessary to blame the British for failing, perhaps wilfully, to maintain order in Palestine, it is insufferable to do so unless we are ready to back in the Security Council whatever sort of U. N. police force may seem most practicable. We have made no secret of our objection to a big-power force, which would bring Soviet troops into the Middle East. On the other hand, it is a question whether the disinterested smaller powers will want to assume the risks and burdens of policing Palestine without big-power help. One suggestion likely to come before the Council is that a mixed force be sent, made up of contingents from the Big Five—or Four, if Britain declines to join—and from several middle-sized states such as Canada, Brazil, and Mexico. Advocates of this plan argue that the inclusion of the great powers will so enhance the prestige of the force that mere token contingents from each will be enough to dissuade the Arabs from their resistance. But if the United States rejects a mixed force including the Russians, and if the small powers refuse to act by themselves, what alternative remains? Would this country then be prepared to police Palestine alone or share control with the British? Neither proposal would, I imagine, be acceptable to Moscow, nor would it have any intrinsic merit beyond satisfying America's desire to keep out the Russians.

The test of the government's good faith will come when the Security Council takes up the issue of a U. N. force. Meanwhile, it will be instructive to watch the unfolding of the TNT mystery: the dénouement of that plot will reveal a great deal about the American attitude toward Palestine.

NOVEMBER 16, 1948

Basic Principles in Palestine

The confusion in the United Nations over the problem of Palestine is not improved by the fact that the General Assembly and the Security Council are presently and simultaneously discussing it. Possibly some light may emerge from the debates, but this does not seem likely unless the debaters can break away from preoccupation with day-to-day developments and return to some basic principles.

When the war first broke out in Palestine, the U. N. General Assembly was already on record as favoring a plan for partition. The U. N. did nothing to protect this plan against the chances of war; it did call for a temporary cessation of hostilities—which was accepted. When the term of the first cease-fire order expired, and fighting was resumed, the Security Council issued another order, without time limit, and backed by a hint of sanctions. Then Count Bernadotte, acting as U. N. mediator, drew up a new partition plan, based roughly upon existing battle lines. It deviated in many respects from the original Assembly plan, particularly in that it gave the Negev region to the Arabs. This proposal the Israeli government rejected, and in fighting which broke out on Oct. 14, the desert area was largely conquered by Israeli troops.

The Security Council and Count Bernadotte's successor, Dr. Ralph Bunche, have since that time appeared primarily concerned with the results of the Negev battles. On Nov. 4, the Council ordered a retirement of both sides to the positions occupied before Oct. 14, and Dr. Bunche has issued a directive to implement the order, but leaving a substantial no-man's-land between Israeli and Egyptian troops.

The Council order might have moral force if it was issued in defense of the original Assembly plan, and if it was intended to demonstrate that neither side in Palestine would be allowed to profit by any of the fighting since the British mandate ended. As it is, the order defends accidental boundaries achieved at an arbitrary date—that of the imposition of the second truce. It might be argued that those boundaries are not final, that they are simply intended to stabilize the situation until a permanent settlement can be reached. But in view of the U. N.'s refusal, or inability, to enforce its original Palestine plan, as well as its favorable reception of Count Bernadotte's plan to recognize a military *status quo*, it is hardly surprising that Israel should feel that Israeli troops are the only guarantors of its frontiers.

The practical basis of the Bernadotte report has broken down. Unless the Arabs and Israelis can reach a settlement on their own—which is improbable, so long as the Arabs believe that the U. N. will give them better terms—the Security Council and General Assembly alike should either accept the present situation, as Count Bernadotte accepted the situation confronting him, or return to the original partition plan, which at least was a solemn pronouncement by the Assembly. Any attempt to build a great moral case on the boundaries of Oct. 14 will certainly fail.

NOVEMBER 17, 1948

The Latest U. N. Order

The United Nations Security Council has called upon the warring parties in Palestine to negotiate an armistice. We hope this means that the international body has finally decided to shift the direction of its efforts from truce enforcement and the punishment of alleged violations to the more constructive task of translating truce into peace. True, the famous Negev withdrawal order has not been withdrawn. We hope, however, that it will now be forgotten, as it can easily be if the truce is replaced by an armistice.

This latest order is in one sense no more than a recognition of what is already happening. Informal peace discussions between Israel and at least two of the Arab states have been going on for some time. The Arab leaders may prefer to continue along these lines rather than negotiate through the U. N. The resolution leaves it open to the interested parties to adopt either method.

The success of armistice negotiations is likely to depend on the extent to which the Arabs are ready to recognize the fundamental weakness of their position. Militarily it is weak, and every one of the countries whose armies have invaded Palestine must be feeling the ever growing economic strain of keeping armies mobilized, even though not always fighting. The Israeli government feels that strain, too, but has no alternative to staying on a war footing. Egypt and Trans-Jordan and Syria and the rest have the alternative of cutting their losses by pulling out of a war which is becoming increasingly unprofitable. It seems quite likely that the only thing that is now preventing them from doing this is the hope that the U. N. will hand them on a platter what they have been unable to take by force of arms. In that case the quickest way to end the Palestine war would be for the U. N. to inform the Arab states that there is no prospect of sanctions against Israel and that the negotiations must be conducted on the basis of the military realities.

Religious Freedom in Nazareth

Conquest by Israeli Leaves Christian Shrines and Worship Unmolested

By Ruth Gruber

NAZARETH, barely two months after its capture by the Israeli Army, is as bustling and thriving a Christian Arab city as it was in the days before the war. The sacred churches are full of women and children praying. Nuns hurry through the winding narrow streets on which Christ walked, making their rounds of mercy. Monks study peacefully and offer mass. Each day the faithful come to pray in the beautiful Church of the Annunciation, built on the site where the Angel Gabriel appeared before the kneeling Virgin and announced to her that she would give birth to the Christ Child.

All over Israel there are signs of war and destruction—in Nazareth there are almost none. The only reminders here that this land has been rocked by war, and even now hovers on a tenuous truce which may be broken at any moment, are the Israeli soldiers on leave, sightseeing in the holy places like American G. I.s in Rome. They sit in the cafes with young Christian Arabs, sipping coffee or eating Arab kebab and discussing Arab-Jewish-British relations. They browse along the curbstome flea markets in front of the ancient churches, where old Arabs in striped robes and head-dresses sit barefoot selling old keys, rusted nails, fascinating locks and Jewish-made olive wood egg cups marked in English "Souvenir of Palestine."

Nazareth has adjusted itself with alacrity to Israeli rule. It was amusing but not at all anachronistic to have barefoot Arab boys running after my car shouting in Hebrew, "Cold soda, buy my cold soda."

TO FIND out what was happening to the Christian churches and the Christian Arab refugees who had fled here from other Palestinian cities and who had remained when the Jews conquered Nazareth without a single civilian casualty, I returned to the city where Christ had lived and preached. Standing in the peaceful, ancient courtyard of the Church of the Annunciation, I talked with the vicar of all the Galilee, Monseigneur Antoine Vergati, an Italian-born priest who had lived in Palestine for thirty-eight years. He had dark hair, dark eyes and a small black Italian beard framing his chin. He wore a black vicar's hat and a long black frock buttoned all the way up the front.

"Not a single church or holy place has been molested in Nazareth," he answered my questions about the preservation of the holy places by the Israeli forces. "Indeed, in the whole Galilee, across which I travel constantly, there has been only one small incident. An Israeli soldier took down a cross in the Mount of the Beatitudes in the Capernaum. As soon as we reported it to the army the soldier was punished immediately."

"In all of Galilee," he said, "the Israeli Army has occupied only two places, the Sanctuary of Mount Carmel in Haifa and the Sanctuary of the Mount of the Beatitudes in Capernaum. I think they will soon give up both of them. I am in negotiation now with the Department of Religious Affairs of the Israeli government, and they will soon return the Sanctuary of Mount Carmel to us. The other one is being dealt with by the Italian government, since it is Italian property."

APPOINTED by the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the vicar of Galilee has constant contact with the patriarchate in the Arab-held Old City of Jerusalem through the Red Cross and the United Nations; he is also in regular contact with the Vatican. He told me that all religious schools of the Catholic congregations soon would be opened and in Nazareth alone 1,300 children would attend Catholic schools. "We are in negotiations now with

the government and they will undoubtedly pay as much as the former government did toward the education of our children."

"There are now about 20,000 Arab refugees living in Nazareth," he said. "About one-third are Catholic, one-third are Greek Orthodox and one-third are Moslem. Before the influx Nazareth's population was 13,000. There are about 300 Protestants here. Almost no one was taken prisoner from here and sent to Haifa. Most of the refugees are being cared for by the Catholic Church and the Nazareth Municipality, not by the Red Cross or the United Nations. About 1,000 refugees are being housed in religious buildings. At the beginning some local Arab doctors arranged a community kitchen to feed the people. Later the local Catholic Belgian Committee took the kitchen over and enlarged it. The Church of England is also here, and the English staff, too, is working with the doctors' committee."

Leaving the vicar, I walked across the road to see the Arab refugees who were housed in an Arab school. Miss Zakie Andraus, a middle-aged Arab refugee from Tiberias, who spoke excellent English and Hebrew and who was "mukhtar," or chief of supplies in the building, took me through. Cots had been placed in the former schoolrooms; the refugees' belongings stood against the walls. There were graceful Arab jugs for water.

"Our greatest problems in Nazareth," Miss Andraus said, "is water. But the father of the Church of the Annunciation helps us; he gives us water."

When I asked her why she had chosen to remain in Nazareth, instead of fleeing to Trans-Jordan or Syria, she said, "I don't want to go to other Arab countries. I am happy with Jews. I'd like to go back to my own home in Tiberias, where we have water, but if not Tiberias, then I shall stay here."

THE air of Nazareth was like Saturday afternoon in Paris. Shoppers hurried home with their weekend supplies. Beautifully dressed Arab women, wearing gay yellow and blue gowns, and carrying jugs on their heads, moved beside their donkeys. The cafes were crowded with male cafe sitters drinking Turkish coffee and watching the Nazareth world go by.

I entered one of the cafes to escape the afternoon sun while an Arab shoemaker took my sandals to repair them. Three young Western-dressed Arab men, who were sitting at a near-by table, asked me in English why I was barefoot. Had I made a vow, they wanted to know, that if I ever reached Nazareth I would walk barefoot upon its streets? Apparently many pilgrims coming here had taken and fulfilled this vow. Soon we were deep in politics. All three were articulate, educated young men. One of them had been the secretary of the commanding officer of Kaukaji's Arab Army of Liberation in Nazareth. Two were Christian, one was Moslem. All three reiterated that there had been no desecration of holy places by the Jews. "There has been no trouble at all," one of the Christians said, "between the Church and the Jews. The Jews have respected our holy places very well."

"We're not happy," they said, "because we have no jobs. There's not much work in Nazareth—just a little tobacco and some lemonade made in a small factory with about five laborers."

I ASKED them what solution they would like to see at the end of the war. The three Arabs had three different solutions. One of them said, "Most Arabs now would like to accept the partition plan of the United Nations. But they know the British are against it, so they are waiting to see what will happen. Most of the Arabs want to live

peacefully with the Jews in a peaceful nation."

The second one said, "I am against partition. I want a Palestinian state."

The third one said, "I would like a fifty-fifty government, with a Jewish president for five years and an Arab president (Christian or Moslem) for five years. This is not the bi-nationalism of Dr. Judah Magnes, but a real fifty-fifty government."

"I will tell you this," the third one said, "our leaders always told us the Jews don't exist. But the inhabitants knew this was not realistic. The Jews are here and we are bound to live with them. But mind, we speak as members of the people, not leaders."

"Do you have any means of getting news?" I asked.

"We have no newspapers," they said, "but we listen to the radio all the time. We get the Arab side from Ramallah Radio, the Jewish side from Kol Israel (The Voice of Israel) and the British side from the British Broadcasting Corporation. We don't trust either the Jewish or the Arab radio, but the London one is the worst of all."

"Some Hebrew newspapers come to us printed in Arabic—'Al Hamishmar' and the paper of the Histadruth, the General Federation of Labor, called 'Davar Emet.' The first one," the Moslem Arab said, "is better. It explains Arab-Jewish relations."

DO YOU have any political parties among the Arabs here?" I asked.

"The British never permitted us to have political parties," one of the Christian Arabs answered. "So there were none. There was only the Arab Higher Committee."

"That's not quite true," the other one interrupted. "There were three parties—the Arab Communists, who were very small in number. The Arab party under Husseini and Al Difa under Nashashibi. Later the second and third parties joined together, so now there are only two parties operating."

"We have no Communists at all," the third one, the Moslem, said. "People call them Communists, but they are laborers. It is a labor party. They have an office and directors. The government hasn't yet permitted them to hold a meeting, but they are applying now for permission."

"Remember this," the first one said, summing up the Arab political picture, "we have no parties in Palestine. We have families. That is the source of all our troubles. I'm not interested in the problem of my grandfathers. Yet it was they, with their feuds, who made our politics."

The other two men agreed with him. "Our problem is," one of them added, "that about 50 per cent of our people are uneducated. The majority of our people can't express their own opinion."

"Do the people feel they were misled by the Arab Higher Committee?"

"No," one of them answered. "They were misled by the press of the whole Arab world, which in turn was misled by some Arab states and, most of all, by Britain."

"Now," he continued, "the English are gone, and, if the extremists of the Jews and Arabs would leave, our youth could agree. The moderate people could get along."

The shoemaker brought my sandals back. The three Arabs, with all the courtesy of the Middle East, shook my hand, wished me bon voyage and helped me into my car. I drove away from Nazareth at dusk as the faithful began to enter the churches for evening mass. The sun set behind the hills where Joseph had been a carpenter and Christ had preached the doctrine that the meek would inherit the earth.

MR. TRUMAN:

WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THIS ISSUE?



1917

Area originally designated as the Jewish National Home in Palestine.
45,000 square miles



1922

Area of Palestine following the amputation of Transjordan by Great Britain.
10,000 square miles



1947

Area of the State of Israel as set up by the partition decision of the United Nations.
5,678 square miles



1948

Area of the State of Israel under the proposed Bernadotte plan.
2,180 square miles

The 1948 platform of the Democratic Party states: "We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations Resolution of November 29 and consider that modification thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel."

There was every reason to believe that this declaration—and our Government's leadership in bringing about the United Nations partition decision of November 29, 1947—represented American policy on Israel. Nevertheless, Secretary of State Marshall has urged acceptance "in their entirety" of the unjust territorial changes proposed in the Bernadotte report. No justification of this sudden and unwarranted reversal of policy has been offered by the Administration.

A glance at the last of these maps, depicting Israel's size under the proposed Bernadotte plan, makes it obvious that this pitifully small territory cannot absorb the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees who must emigrate there; nor can it provide for Israel's normal growth and development.

Is this what you had in mind, Mr. President?

If this is *not* what you had in mind, we respectfully submit that you should say so now, since the Bernadotte proposals are at this very moment under discussion by the United Nations General Assembly and its decision will be largely determined by the attitude of the American Government.

Which is it, Mr. President? The policy which you have stated in the past, which determined our Government's stand in November, 1947 and which is also the declared policy of your party—or the policy most recently expressed by Mr. Marshall, which is in violent contradiction to it?

We respectfully await your answer.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Bartley Crum:

NEW YORK STAR, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1948

Israel Safeguards Christian Shrines

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NAZARETH, Sept. 18

Here in Nazareth, where 18 Christian churches and scores of holy places have attracted pilgrims through the centuries, all remain as before — unchanged, unmolested, under the most scrupulous protection the Israeli government can provide.

Spoke With Priests

I must confess that as a Christian and a member of the Roman Catholic Church, I was most anxious to obtain the true story regarding treatment by Jews of these holy places.

I spoke with priests throughout Israel, with Franciscan friars who are answerable to the Vatican and who oversee and manage sacred institutions, hospitals and schools, and with the military governor in Nazareth. I have documentary evidence in my possession which I propose to show to church authorities proving that the government of Israel announced, even in the midst of war, that any Jewish soldier found looting or interfering with church property "would be subject to penalty of death."

All through Israel today one finds tacked on doors of church property, Protestant and Catholic alike, such warnings as "Holy Site—Entrance Forbidden" or "Holy Place—Out of Bounds." At the village of Ein Karem, where a Roman Catholic Church stands at the site of the birth of John the Baptist,

Father Ferdinand, a Spanish Franciscan priest, showed me priceless relics so delicate, a mere touch would destroy them.

'Relations Excellent'

"Our relations with Israeli forces and the government are excellent," Father Ferdinand said. "We don't like war, but I must say Jewish forces have been most correct."

Although Israeli troops were only a stone's throw away in the town, the place where I stood chatting with Father Ferdinand was as peaceful and remote from the alarms of war, as one could imagine.

In this particular village most people, under spurtings from the Multi, had fled, but the Franciscans had remained. Houses of the villagers were left untouched and locked. The Israeli government had appointed a custodian to oversee the rights of the villagers.

In Nazareth, on the other hand, practically the entire population—more than 13,000 Arabs—have remained. As in ancient times, women of the town continue to draw water from "Mary's Well," the fountain from which the Mother of Jesus drew water for Her needs and those of the Holy Family.

Women, dressed very much the same as 2,000 years ago, filled clay and copper water containers, and chatted animatedly in the noon day sun.

Here I spoke first with a bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church who had been appointed to represent the Latin, Greek and Protes-

tant churches in their relationships with the military governor of Nazareth, Elish Salz.

The bishop, dressed all in black, stood with me in the town square holding a black umbrella over his head against the hot Nazareth sun and with many smiles and gestures and fingering his black beard, said:

"Everything that happened here in the early days of the war were things you would expect to happen in the course of any war. But as you can see, there has been no damage to church property whatsoever."

Just Two Requests

During the entire hostilities he had to make only two requests to the military governor. The first was for permission to go through the fighting lines to assist a woman about to give birth. The second was to have a requisitioned car returned to him. I was assured by the military that the car would be returned as soon as possible.

He was optimistic and certain that finally peaceful relations would be established between the Arabs and the Jews, and added: "All men speak the same words in their hearts, but alas, the interpretations are different."

Salz uses his power to a minimum extent. We spoke over small cups of Turkish coffee brought from a near-by Arab coffeehouse. He revealed that his greatest wish is to return to a Kibbutz (collective settlement) where he is a farmer.

"The sooner that time arrives, the happier I will be," he said. He

showed me the written terms of surrender signed two months ago when Israeli armies drove out Iraqi troops who had occupied the city. These terms granted to all inhabitants of Nazareth and the surrounding territory full Israeli citizenship. Nazareth today is run by Arabs, with an Arab mayor and judge and an Arab council.

With the co-operation of the Israeli authorities, they have achieved the following:

¶ Raised the wage scale of Arab workers to parity with Jewish workers.

¶ Are installing a modern water system for the first time in 2,000 years through a loan given by the Israeli government to the towns of Nazareth.

¶ Demonstrated that Arabs and Jews can live and work together in peace to the benefit of both.

Before I left this sacred city of churches and convents, I visited the vicar of the Franciscan order in charge of the See of Galilee and the Church of the Annunciation where, according to Christian scriptures, it was announced to the Blessed Virgin that she would be the mother of Jesus.

A pleasant and personable Sicilian priest, Father Guiseppe explained that, of course, the final decision of the Vatican regarding the protection needed by the churches must as yet be made. He added: "If I may speak personally, I would like to say our relations are excellent. We had a few complaints at the beginning but within an

hour after Israeli occupation, the Israeli commander, showing great deference to the religious and holy places, made all arrangements for their protection here.

I also spoke with him regarding the disturbing stories which had appeared in the U. S. A. He shook his head vigorously and gestured sharply. "That is absolutely untrue here," he said.

As I left, the bells tolled over Nazareth and the echo resounded musically through the narrow, winding streets lined with the tiny shops of coppersmiths, grocers and cobblers — the immemorial and changeless Nazareth that Jesus knew, preserved and protected by the people from whom He sprang.

Bartley Crum, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, and author of *BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN*, has just visited the new State of Israel, reporting on his observations for the "New York Star."

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THE ARAB SOLUTION FOR PALESTINE

League Rejects Compromise; Insists Upon Unitary State

Ignoring the reality of the existence of a Jewish State, the Arab states once more have rejected all compromise plans for the solution of the Palestine problem and have advanced a "new" scheme for the establishment of an Arab state in all Palestine.

On July 9 the Political Committee of the Arab League approved a plan for a unitary state in the Holy Land and the erection of a provisional government "as soon as possible," according to a Cairo dispatch published in the New York Times. This plan offers the Jews "free worship and respect for human rights without distinction of race, religion or language." It also promises vaguely that "Hebrew shall be the official language in districts where Jews are in the majority," but the legislative authority, which the Arabs will control, is not obliged to grant local autonomy.

NO IMMIGRATION

Jewish immigration is, of course, ruled out and the Jewish community in Palestine must accept the status of a permanent minority. In accordance with these Arab proposals, the government of the unitary state may deny citizenship to a very considerable portion of the Jewish population. One of the main points in the Arab plan states that "a nationality law shall provide that no one can obtain Palestine nationality unless he has been habitually resident in Palestine for a certain period to be fixed by the Constituent Assembly."

Evidently, the Arab League has learned nothing and persists in clinging to its stubborn demand for an Arab unitary state in the Holy Land. To date, however, only the Jews have succeeded in setting up a native authority in Palestine—the State of Israel. Politically and militarily the Palestine Arabs have proven to be a negligible factor and the sole Arab authority in the Holy Land is the martial law regime established by the invading armies of the Arab states.

ARAB STAND UNCHANGED

This so-called new Arab League plan in no way differs from the previous Arab stand, and closely resembles the demands made from time to time by the Mu-

fti's Higher Committee. In April 1947 the Arab Higher Committee announced in Cairo that they insisted upon (1) "Complete stoppage of Jewish immigration (2) complete stoppage of land transfer to Jews; (3) recognition of the Arab's 'just right to their legitimate country' and recognition of the independence of Palestine as a sovereign state, along with other independent Arab States."

The Arabs contend that Palestine is as much an Arab country as Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, Syria, etc. Speaking of the Palestinian unitary state a pamphlet of the Arab Office in Washington, D. C., dated April 1947 states that "it would be an Arab state... because the form and policy of its government would be based on a recognition of two facts: first that the majority of the citizens are Arabs, and second that Palestine is part of the Arab world and has no future except through close cooperation with the other Arab States."

The intransigence of the Arabs was poignantly expressed in the following April 1947 statement of the Higher Committee: "The Arabs, with the right on their side, refuse to consider any compromise whatsoever on the Palestine issue or to have the case treated as if it were a mere dispute between them and the Jewish intruders." The Arabs have consistently refused to enter into any official negotiations with Jewish authorities and have even refused to sit at the same table with the Jews. "The Arab Higher Committee had never recognized the Jewish Agency and never will", Jamal Husseini, vice-chairman of the committee, told reporters in Lake Success on April 8, 1948.

"Alien Invaders"

The Arabs regard the Jews of Palestine as a minority of alien invaders, who have come to Palestine against the express will of its rightful inhabitants with the purpose of wresting the country from them. The Arabs refuse to recognize a distinct and separate status for the Jewish community in Palestine. In the words of the Higher Committee "the Jews today are neither a people nor a nation. Judaism is merely a religious creed, and all Jewish efforts to reconstitute themselves as a people or a nation are simply fan-

tastic, because they aim at gathering together into a round mass people of different races and character on the basis of religion."

Actually the Arab Higher Committee aims at turning back the clock in Palestine and returning to the status quo of 1917, before the Balfour Declaration. The Higher Committee repudiates and hopes to destroy, by force, all that has been created by the Jews in Palestine after 1917.

In a memorandum submitted to the Foreign Ministers of the Arab states in connection with the visit of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine in Beirut, July 1947, the Higher Committee stated: "The Arab Higher Committee further expects from your distinguished governments that they demand from the United Nations Committee of Inquiry a democratic Arab state, in which only those Palestinian Jews are to take part who have lived there at the time of the British occupation and their descendants. The remainder will be considered by the Arabs as a Jewish non-permanent colony, who have entered the country against the will of its native population."

ARAB "DEMOCRACY"

The Arab Higher Committee wants to reduce the Jews in Palestine to the status of the terrorized Jewish communities in some of the Arab states, where Jews are treated as second-class citizens, or pariahs. Democracy in the Arab sense means absolute rule by the Arab majority, or its self-imposed leaders, over an intimidated Jewish minority, deprived of all National and political rights. This talk of democracy from a body, which is itself not elected but imposed on the Arabs of Palestine by the Arab League, has a false ring. By their collapse and mass-flight the Arabs of Palestine have clearly demonstrated that they are not prepared to fight for this self-appointed group which claims to represent them and aspires to rule the Jews of Palestine as well. Promises of democracy sound particularly unctuous coming from the feudal spokesmen of the Arab world, who rule their backward and primitive populations through tyrannical oppression.

The real aim of the Arab League appears to be to eliminate once and for all the "Zionist menace." Speaking of the war in Palestine, Jamal Husseini told the Cairo evening-paper, "Az-Zaman" (January 4, 1948): "We started this with the idea of settling our case with the Jews by liquidating them. Either we put an end to them, or they put an end to us."

ARAB APPROVES OF GENOCIDE

Similar hopes may be cherished by non-Palestinian Arabs as well. At a session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council on genocide on April 5, 1948 the Lebanese representative, Mr. Karim Azkoul, contended that the destruction of minority groups was sometimes necessary "for reasons of national defense" or if the group committed genocide.

The Jews in Israel are a nation. With skill, cour-

age and devotion they have created a state for themselves and for other Jews in the world, who need and wish to go to Israel. "Our strength may be limited," Mr. Moshe Shertok, now Israeli Foreign Minister, told the United Nations General Assembly on April 27, 1948, "but there is nothing that a people conscious of its past and cherishing its future will not do in defense of its life and liberty. For us no question of integration into the Arab world exists, for we are not, nor do we wish to be Arabs. It is the essence of our return to Palestine that there, and there alone, we can live as Jews and nothing else. We do not cut ourselves off from the world around us; on the contrary, we are anxious to be connected and associated with it as closely as we can. But we do not give up our corporate identity. Rather we are anxious to develop it to the highest level attainable, as our neighbors do, as do all nations."

MUST RECOGNIZE ISRAEL

It is futile to seek any solution acceptable to Israel so long as the Arabs and those who encourage them do not recognize a sovereign Israel in an area of Palestine not less adequate than that decreed by the U.N. decision of November 29, 1947. Also, the sovereign right to admit to the Jewish state all Jews who wish to go there cannot be abridged. Complete sovereignty unrestricted immigration and an adequate territory are the only safeguards for the self-preservation of the Jewish nation in Israel. Likewise, the Jewish nation can never permit the Holy City of Jerusalem to fall into Arab hands. An international Jerusalem is the least the Jews will accept.

So long as the Arab League is encouraged to believe that it can destroy Israel it will attempt to achieve its ends. When the Arabs discover that they are not equal to the task of wiping out the Jews in the Holy Land they are bound to accept Israel. After accepting the Jewish State there is no reason why mutually beneficial economic and other cooperation between sovereign Israel and the neighboring Arab states will not follow. Any attempt to appease the Arabs as a reward for their aggression in Palestine will prolong the war and preclude a peaceful settlement.

Arabs Set Up "Temporary" Regime In Palestine

The creation of a "temporary" civil administration for Arab-held areas of Palestine was announced by the Arab League in Cairo, July 10. The provisional government will consist of a council under which ten departments would operate, but the council will not concern itself with matters of high policy, which remain in the hands of the Arab League, the announcement indicated.

Ahmed Hilmy Pasha, appointed governor general of Jerusalem by King Abdullah of Transjordan, will head the council. Jamal Husseini will head the public security department.

ISRAEL TO BUY MERCHANT FLEET

In a special report on the maritime status of the Jewish state, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, said it was planned to organize a merchant fleet of about fifteen to twenty units with a carrying capacity of approximately 90,000 tons, the New York Times reported July 2.

The UPA chairman said the fleet, as envisaged, would require an investment of \$20,000,000 but would yield an annual gross income of \$12,000,000 to \$14,000,000 at present freight and passenger rates. A planned expansion of the Israel ports of Tel Aviv and Haifa will cost close to \$40,000,000 and in Tel Aviv alone will permit the handling of 750,000 tons of cargo a year and 1,000 passengers a day, Dr. Goldstein revealed.

While the port of Haifa would be enlarged and improved, the principal phase of the maritime program would be development of the shallow-water port of Tel Aviv. Currently the port has a trade of at least 500,000 tons a year, but much of it must be routed through Haifa because of inadequate facilities.

Dr. Goldstein noted that the development of both ports and shipping would require a capital investment of at least \$55,000,000. Financial support for the program, he said, was channeled through the United Palestine Appeal, a constituent agency of the United Jewish Appeal.

Palestinian Arab Refugees Create Serious Problem in Lebanon

An A. P. dispatch from Beirut, July 8 said the care of 150,000 Palestine Arab refugees in Lebanon has created a serious problem. The dispatch quoted the newspaper Al-Hadith as saying the refugees number about one-fourth of the country's population. Al-Hadith blamed the government for admitting more refugees than it could handle in the belief the Palestine conflict would end quickly, and suggested the other Arab states help care for the Arab DFs.

Al Hoda, Arab daily published in Brooklyn, on June 16 carried a letter from Nabih Amin Faris of the American University in Beirut and formerly of Princeton University. Author of "The Arab Heritage," Faris writes:

ISRAEL REJECTS UN MEDIATOR'S "SOLUTION"

Text of Foreign Minister Shertok's reply to Count Bernadotte's proposals:

"In behalf of the Provisional Government of Israel I have the honor to offer the following observations on the suggestions presented by you under cover of your letter of June 27th, as a possible basis for discussion in the discharge of your task.

1) The Provisional Government noted with sur-

"One of the gravest dangers to the Arab cause in Palestine is the fact that many of the country's men capable of bearing arms have fled and are now crowding the cabarets and entertainment spots of Beirut, where while sitting around bars and card tables they plan to save Palestine. They hold meetings and maneuvers in dance halls, embracing their partners instead of carrying weapons. Their vile rumors are spreading a defeatist spirit in Arab ranks.

SHIRK DUTIES

"While the Jewish Agency (State of Israel) proclaims general mobilization we do not hear anything from the Arab Higher Committee but bluster, talk and contradictory declarations by its members, who are found in every Arab state but Palestine. While typhoid is ravaging Acre and its surrounding areas, Beirut is teeming with Palestinian physicians. While the enemy is furnishing funds and equipment to its men, Arab villages are required to arm their own men and provide maintenance for them. The Arab states have undertaken to rescue Palestine, but this does not warrant the Arab Higher Committee's adhering to its outmoded political strategy of 1929 and military methods based on the 1939 revolt."

The same issue of AL HODA contains the impressions of Rev. Joseph Awad, curate of the Maronite Church of St. Joseph in Waterville, Maine, who has recently returned from a visit to Lebanon.

"The Syrian opposition (in Lebanon) supports co-operation with the Arabs to a large extent, but it does not favor for instance, the sending of the Lebanese army to Palestine to defend the Arab cause there, while Beirut and the villages of Lebanon are overflowing with thousands of Palestinian young men, who escaped from the war. . . .

"The opposition demands that the Palestinians defend their country before calling upon the Lebanese, Egyptians, Syrians, and Iraqis. Yet we see the Lebanese army plunging into war for the defense of Palestine, while the Palestinian is taking pleasure trips to the summer resorts of Lebanon. . . . The Palestinian is eating our bread while our brethren starve. Lebanon distributes food supplies to the Palestinians out of the public rations, but Arab Syria refuses to sell Lebanon wheat to feed the Palestine refugees, unless she is paid in hard currency, which the Lebanese treasury does not possess."

prise that your suggestions appear to ignore the resolution of the General Assembly of November 29th which remains the only internationally valid adjudication on the question of the future government of Palestine. The Government also regrets to find in formulating your suggestions you do not appear to have taken full account of the outstanding facts of the situation in Palestine, namely, the effective establishment of the sovereign state of Israel in the area as-

signed it in the General Assembly's resolutions and the other territorial changes which resulted from the repulse of the attacks launched against the State of Israel by Palestine Arabs and the Governments of neighboring Arab states.

2) The Provisional Government begs to recall that the Jewish people accepted the settlement laid down by the General Assembly's resolution as a compromise entailing heavy sacrifices on its part, and the territory assigned to the Jewish State constitutes an irreducible minimum. It is indeed the conviction of the Provisional Government that the territorial provisions affecting the Jewish State now stand in need of improvement in view both of the perils revealed by Arab aggression to the safety and integrity of Israel and by the results achieved by Israel in repelling this aggression. In this connection the Provisional Government desires to point out that the territorial settlement laid down in the resolution was based on the partition of Western Palestine between the Jewish people and the Arab population of Palestine. Inclusion of the Arab portion of Palestine in the territory of one of the neighboring Arab states fundamentally changes the context of the boundary problem.

3) The Provisional Government cannot agree to any encroachment or limitation of the free sovereignty of the people of Israel in its independent state. While it is the basic aim and policy of Israel to establish relations of peace and amity with her neighbors on a basis of the closest possible collaboration in all fields, international arrangements which may be necessary to give effect to this policy cannot be imposed upon Israel but can only be entered into as a result of agreements negotiated between the interested parties as free sovereign states.

4) The Provisional Government would be ready to accept the provisions of the economic union as formulated in the General Assembly's resolutions if all their basic premises were materialized. This isn't, however, the eventuality envisaged in your suggestions. The partner state whom Israel is invited to join in union is both in its policy and identity and its geographical dimensions wholly different from the Arab State provided for in the resolution. Jewish consent to economic union in the text of the resolution cannot therefore be binding in this new situation. It must now be left to the free unfettered discretion of the Government of Israel, in the exercise of its sovereign rights, to determine what arrangement should govern Israel's relations with her neighbor or neighbors in the field of economic cooperation.

5) The Provisional Government must be particu-

larly emphatic in its opposition to any infringement on Israel's independence and sovereignty as regards her immigration policy. Complete and unqualified freedom to determine the size and composition of Jewish immigration was the very essence of the Jewish claim to statehood. Recognition of the moral validity and practical urgency of that claim in connection with the issue of immigration lay at the roots of its acceptance by the world. There can be no question of any Israeli Government accepting the slightest derogation in favor by any joint or international body of Israel's sovereignty as regards control of her immigration policy.

6) The Provisional Government is deeply wounded by your suggestion concerning the future of Jerusalem which it regards as disastrous. The idea that the delegation of Jerusalem to Arab rule might form part of a peaceful settlement could be conceived only in utter disregard of history and the fundamental facts of the problem: the historic associations of Judaism with the Holy City; the unique place occupied by Jerusalem in the Jewish story and present day Jewish life; the fact that Jewish inhabitants constituted a majority of two thirds of the population of the city before the commencement of Arab aggression—that majority has greatly increased since then as a result of Arab evacuation; the fact that the whole of Jerusalem with only a few minor exceptions is now in Jewish hands; and not the least the fact that after an exhaustive study of the problem and the result of the overwhelming consensus of Christian opinion in its midst, the General Assembly resolved that Jerusalem be placed under an international regime. The Provisional Government must make it clear that the Jewish people and the State of Israel and the Jews of Jerusalem will never acquiesce in the imposition of Arab domination of Jerusalem no matter what formal municipal autonomy and right of access to holy places the Jews of Jerusalem will be allowed to enjoy. They will resist any such imposition with all the force at their command. The Provisional Government regrets to have to say that your startling suggestions regarding Jerusalem, by encouraging false hopes among the Arabs and wounding Jewish feelings is likely to achieve the reverse of the pacifying effect which you undoubtedly had in mind.

7) The provisional Government does not find it necessary at this stage to comment on the other points raised in the suggestions as it hopes that examination of its present observations on major aspects of the scheme of settlement tentatively outlined by you may cause you to reconsider your whole approach to the problem."

PALESTINE

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PALESTINE TRUCE

THERE is a great deal of confused thinking and confused talk about the Palestine truce. Much of it may represent honest confusion. Some of it, at least, must be due to a deliberate desire to confuse and mislead. To bring clarity to the minds of those honestly confused and to indicate to those who spread confusion that their real intentions are understood, let us state a few simple truths about the situation.

1. There is no more truce in existence. The truce has not merely been violated. It has been broken. Arab attacks on Jews and even on United Nations personnel have been so persistent and systematic that they amount to warfare. Warfare on a limited and calculated scale, but warfare none the less.

2. An unspoken agreement exists between the Arab States, on the one hand and the Mediator and his staff, on the other. Perhaps the agreement has been put into words, but let us be charitable and assume that it has remained unspoken. The contents of the agreement are quite simple: the Arabs will refrain from describing their belligerent activities as war and will keep their violence within bounds, thus making it easier for the Mediator and his observers to overlook its true character. The Mediator, on his part, will pretend that there is no war, but only a succession of isolated incidents which, however annoying, do not terminate the truce and the responsibility for which is either uncertain or shared by both parties.

3. Since the Mediator refuses to notify the Security Council that the Arabs have broken the truce, the question of the Council branding the Arabs as aggressors and applying sanctions against them under Chapter 7 of the Charter, does not arise. The Jews have two alternatives. They can remain passive in the face of Arab aggression, in which case they will ultimately be defeated. They

can counterattack in force, in which case the Mediator will post-haste brand them aggressors and ask the Council to apply the sanctions of the Charter against them, after which they can hoist the white flag of surrender and agree to exchange their newly won independence for a refurbished version of the Morrison-Grady plan.

4. That any sustained Jewish counterattack will be used by the Mediator to saddle Israel with the responsibility for breaking the truce is well understood at Lake Success. But that would not load the dice against Israel sufficiently. To increase the odds still further, the Mediator issued his famous order, truly unique in history, under which shooting back in self-defense would be considered a violation of the truce on a par with the initial shooting. Of course, the order was directed to both sides, but since the Mediator has clearly revealed his intention never to consider Arab shooting a breach of the truce, even when the initiative is the Arabs', they certainly have nothing to fear from the order. The point has now been reached at which *no* use of force by the Arabs will be adjudged a breach of the truce, but *any* use of force by the Jews can be so adjudged.

5. The Israeli Government made an attempt to escape the horns of this dilemma by asking the Security Council to put an end to the one-sided truce at an early date, unless the parties begin to negotiate peace. But the Security Council would not be caught. Nothing is being done under its ægis either to compel the Arabs to negotiate or to draw conclusions from the Arab rejection of the Israeli offer of negotiations. But none other than the representative of the United States, Professor Philip Jessup, uttered a solemn warning in the Council to the effect that neither party may terminate the truce. Termination is thus forbidden. What about viola-

tion of the truce? Arab violations are not officially taken note of, but—it seems only too clear—everyone is waiting for the Jews to be provoked into a "violation"—especially after September 1, when the Presidency of the Council will devolve upon the unbiased and utterly detached British delegate.

6. To appease public indignation at his manner of supervising the truce, the Mediator blames all inadequacies on the shortage of observers and the failure of individual governments to provide troops for enforcement. Of course, observers and troops would be desirable, provided they were to be used in good faith. But with good faith lacking, what will observers and troops accomplish? Take the recent episode of the Arab Legion's shooting at a Jewish food convoy. The convoy was escorted by U.N. observers. The fact of the attack was established. What would U.N. troops do? Drive back the offending Arab detachment? There was an easier remedy available. All the Mediator had to do was to permit Israeli troops to drive it back. It would have been even simpler to report the breach of the truce to the Security Council. Neither course required any U.N. troops. But neither course was followed. Instead, the Mediator closed the road to Israeli convoys. *Israel was punished for a truce violation by the Arabs.*

7. Count Bernadotte is not alone in this cruel game. The American observers accompanying him were briefed by our Defense Department before going to the Middle East. So, presumably, were the Belgians. The Frenchmen quite possibly have received no "indoctrination," and must be quite disgusted by now. But high above Bernadotte and his staff are their Excellencies, the members of the Security Council, and still higher—their respective governments. All of these are fully aware of the facts, and yet they tolerate this shameful spectacle. The ultimate responsibility is theirs.

There are eleven governments represented on the Council. God, history, and their own citizens will judge them. One of the eleven is the Government of the United States. God, history, and the citizens of this country will be its judges.

ON THE MEDIATOR HIMSELF

It is rather unsportsmanlike to do what we have just done—attack the referee. Sometimes, however, this has to be done. In a recent race at the London

Olympics, the American team was disqualified by the judges after having won the event. The Americans protested the judges' action. "How unsportsmanlike," cried the British press. The evidence of films showed the judges to be wrong and the protest justified.

More even than referees of sports events, judges in courts of justice are presumed to be above all suspicion and reproach. And yet we have an elaborate system of appeals by which an interested party may protest a judge's decision. Indeed, judges have been removed and impeached for good cause.

Count Bernadotte, it is true, has not been appointed to judge or to referee. He has been appointed merely to supervise the Palestine truce and to mediate between the parties, and his position is not nearly so awe-inspiring as a judge's or referee's. Nevertheless, the evidence of the Mediator's partisanship has become too overwhelming to be doubted. By acts of commission and omission, as well as by pronouncements, he has made his office one of the factors aligned against Israel.

We are not primarily concerned here with Count Bernadotte's "tentative suggestions" for a final settlement, suggestions clearly intended to reduce the territory of Israel, and to compromise its ultimate independence. We cannot refrain, however, from expressing amazement at the Count's willingness to sacrifice the interest of the Christian world in the city of Jerusalem for the sake of satisfying the ambition of a desert Arab chief. Where the Partition Resolution adopted by the United Nations last November proposed the internationalization of the Jerusalem zone, Count Bernadotte's suggestions would make the Holy City the capital of an enlarged Transjordan. There is something just a little too obvious in the shifting of arguments resorted to by the Count in justification of this suggestion. Jerusalem, he pointed out, should not remain international because it is surrounded by Arab territory; Haifa, on the other hand, should become international though it is surrounded by Jewish territory (its refineries are presumably of more concern to the international community than the shrines and traditions of Jerusalem). Jerusalem must be given to the Arabs though most of its inhabitants are Jewish. Jaffa must be given to the Arabs because most of its inhabitants are Arabs. . . .

Equally amazing is the Count's performance in supervising the truce. The ports, airfields and high-

ways of Israel are scrutinized by a host of observers. The ports, airfields and highways of the Arab States are almost free from supervision. Passengers and goods arriving in Israel are carefully inspected with a view to possible truce violations. Nothing is done to check movements of troops and munitions between the Arab-held part of Palestine and the territory of members of the Arab League.

After an initial expression of "shock" at the blowing up of the Latrun Pumping Station, essential to the provision of water to Jerusalem, the Mediator and his staff have found it impossible to inform the Security Council as to the identity of the parties responsible for this outrage. This is presumably the same kind of "impossibility" which prevents them from reporting any other truce violations committed by Arabs.

Passengers are seized and cargoes are confiscated aboard vessels of different flags by the Arab States, despite their denial of a state of belligerency and in complete disregard of the truce. All the press services of the world report these incidents. But the Mediator and his representatives are stricken with an odd blindness and fail either to note them or to report them to the Security Council.

We have not set forth all the deeds of Count Bernadotte and of his staff. These are merely a number of items from that catalogue. But they ought to suffice. General McNaughton, the Canadian delegate on the Security Council, is reported to have suggested a vote of confidence in the Mediator. We regret that we must dissent.

IN DOUBTFUL TASTE

"Saudi Arabia," an A.P. dispatch from Washington told us recently, "has refused to accept a fifteen million dollar loan because of its displeasure with United States support of the Jewish cause in Palestine." The dispatch goes on to say that the fifteen million dollars were part of a twenty-five million dollar loan granted by the Export-Import Bank "for reconstruction and modernization in Saudi Arabia"; that the loan was available since January 10, 1946; and that a spokesman of the Saudi Arabian Legation stated that "we will use our own money for the projects we have in mind."

All this sounds strangely like a joke—and in doubtful taste, at that. Not so long ago, Ibn Saud's emissaries stood in Washington, hat in hand, plead-

ing for financial assistance in the name of a king and kingdom that were practically bankrupt. But oil royalties—at the rate of \$60,000 *per day*—have made them rich and self-confident.

Actually, of course, the people of Saudi Arabia are in dire need of "reconstruction and modernization." But the non-acceptance of the fifteen million dollars by the Saudi Arabian Government will make no difference in that respect. In a society and under a government like those of Saudi Arabia today, neither the millions of the oil royalties nor any Export-Import loan will be used for the good of the common man.

One is, however, entitled to ask why Saudi Arabia waited for over thirty months before making an anti-Zionist political demonstration in connection with the loan. The Export-Import Bank loan has been available since January 1946. For reasons obviously unrelated to the Palestine problem, Saudi Arabia drew only ten millions of the total sum available. When the date of the loan's expiration arrived, it suddenly occurred to someone in authority that it would be a good idea to derive some political profit from non-acceptance of the fifteen-million dollar balance.

Oddly enough, just a few days after the Saudi Arabian story, another dispatch from Washington appeared, stating that an Export-Import Bank loan to Egypt for an irrigation project had just been increased by one and one-half million dollars. . . .

JEWISH DP's AND ARAB REFUGEES

What Jewish DP's in Europe and Arab refugees from Palestine have in common is that both groups are homeless, suffering human beings, dependent on charity for their daily bread and facing an uncertain future. The parallel goes this far—but no further. The Jewish DP has been uprooted, homeless and suffering for nearly a decade; the problem of the Arab refugee is only a few weeks old. The European Jew from Germany, Austria, Poland, the Balkans, was transformed into a Displaced Person by the Nazi conqueror. The Palestinian Arab has become a refugee because the self-appointed leaders of the Arab peoples embarked on a war of aggression against Israel and the partition resolution of the U.N. Assembly. That small remnant of European Jewry which survived the extermination of millions ultimately landed in Displaced Persons

camps. The overwhelming majority of the Arab refugees from Palestine were instigated by their own leaders and their leaders' British friends to flee from Jewish occupied territory, where, had they remained, they could have enjoyed as much safety as their Jewish compatriots.

Indeed, when one reads of British compassion for the Arab refugees and of the British offer of \$400,000 worth of supplies for them, one cannot help thinking that this generosity in a sense represents compensation to the victims of Britain's own policy. Certainly, British humanitarianism in this instance is in striking contrast to British indifference to the sufferings of the Jewish refugees on immigrant ships or in the internment camps of Cyprus.

Nevertheless, British generosity to Arab refugees

must be welcomed, as must every other extension of aid to them. Since the Arab Governments themselves cannot or will not bear the burden, it becomes the duty of the international community to do so. The question of aid must, however, be sharply distinguished from the question of the wholesale return of the refugees to Palestine. Sir Wyndham Deedes, in the columns of the *London Times*, has analyzed this with unsurpassed logic: "It surely cannot be reasonably expected that a State in imminent danger of having a war against it resumed, as is the case with Israel, shall unreservedly readmit masses of Arabs who might easily become a danger to its security, when there is no prospect—to judge by the statements of Arab leaders—that aggression is to be called off."

BEHIND THE ARAB VEIL

By Victoria d'Asprea

Victoria d'Asprea is an Egyptian writer of Christian European ancestry long resident in Egypt. She has a wide and intimate knowledge of the Middle East.

IN THE three years since the end of the War, Arab nationalism has reached an extreme high.

Popular pressure in Iraq made the signing of a new Anglo-Iraqi treaty impossible; popular pressure in Egypt is concentrated feverishly on demands for the evacuation of all British troops from Egypt and for union of the Sudan with Egypt in place of the present Anglo-Egyptian condominium. Troops of almost all the Arab countries have been waging full-scale war against Palestine Jewry.

The desire to see one's country free of foreign interference is always justified. Too many foreign troops, and too much foreign capital had long kept the countries of the Middle East in the foreigners' grip. But in today's Arab nationalism there are varied currents—some purely anti-imperialist and some reactionary. The British are directly involved in the latter.

Long before the end of the war the British knew that they eventually would have to face violent outbursts of nationalism in the Arab countries and that they would have to evacuate their troops from

the Middle East. It seemed prudent, therefore, to keep the Arab countries busy with a problem which would divert their energy from the fight for their own independence and would prevent them from establishing friendly relations with another great power, the Soviet Union.

To do this, the British adopted a revolutionary change of policy. Instead of "Divide and Rule," their slogan became "Revive and Maintain": revival of the old dream of Pan-Arabism; maintenance of the old social system.

In pursuit of the aim of reviving Pan-Arabism, Anthony Eden, wartime Minister of Foreign Affairs, twice declared in public speeches that the British Government would fully support any plan to strengthen political, cultural and economic ties among the Arab countries. Mr. Eden's first statement was made in May 1941, at Mansion House, right after General Catroux had promised to abolish the French mandate over Syria. That was the time when Vichy controlled Syria and Rashid Ali organized his pro-Nazi revolt in Iraq: the Allies needed the support of the Arabs. Mr. Eden's second appeal occurred in very different circumstances during May 1943. Italy was then on the verge of collapse and the Soviet armies were on the offensive. The second appeal was definitely the

beginning of a postwar plan to keep the Middle East under control.

The Arabs did not respond with enthusiasm to Eden's call. The Arab nations, as is well known, are torn by many rivalries and antagonisms. To bring this mosaic of disunited states together was a tremendous job. It was undertaken by Nahas Pasha, the then Prime Minister of Egypt, who is the leader of the popular Wafdist party, the only one in Egypt which contains a grain of democracy in its program. In 1943, having administered the country rather inefficiently for over one year, Nahas Pasha's popularity was dwindling. He was, besides, at loggerheads with King Farouk, who hates the Wafd in general and Nahas Pasha in particular. Pan-Arabism seemed a worthy cause to Nahas; furthermore, promoting it might help him to recapture some of his popularity. He immediately communicated with the other Arab Governments, and had meetings with their representatives. But the negotiations dragged for months, until finally it was agreed to hold a preparatory meeting at Alexandria in October 1944.

The meeting, attended by delegates of Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, the Lebanon, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, as well as a Palestinian observer, Mussa el Alami, lasted several days and was given much space and attention in the Arabic press. It ended with the signing of the "Protocols of Alexandria" on October 7, 1944. In this document the principle of an Arab League was established. Stress was laid on the Arab character of Palestine and a provision included for a fund "to save the lands of Palestine"—i.e., to prevent their sale to Jews. Here for the first time the Arabs gave concrete form to their ancient desire for unity, but it was all too obvious that in our time the only issue which could bring them together was Palestine.

The conference was considered a failure by observers because the delegates of Saudi Arabia and Yemen did not sign the Protocols. Ibn Saud was reluctant to ally himself to a federation of semi-colonies, and Yemen, as is generally the case, followed suit. Changes were, however, to come very swiftly and unexpectedly. The delegates to the Alexandria conference were still in Egypt when King Farouk's time-bomb exploded. The British had finally agreed to the dismissal of Nahas Pasha, and the King, recalling him from office, appointed a new premier, Ahmed Maher. Ahmed Maher's

first public declaration on his first day in office carried a clear statement on Pan-Arabism: "We will devote all our attention to the cause of the Arab peoples. We believe in this cause and in the union of the peoples of the Middle East."

Thus King Farouk assumed the personal leadership of the Pan-Arab movement. In the following month, November, King Farouk sent Abdel Rahman Azzam Pasha, then Minister for Arab Affairs, to Saudi Arabia. Azzam Pasha, a very pious man, and a promoter of Pan-Arabism from his early youth, returned a few days later with Ibn Saud's agreement to sign the Protocols. Yemen's agreement was announced a few days later. This was a major victory, for an Arab League without the powerful King of Saudi Arabia was no Arab League, and could not exist for any length of time.

At the end of January 1945, King Farouk himself went to Saudi Arabia. As a result of his meeting with Ibn Saud, Saudi Arabia and Egypt agreed to coordinate their foreign policy on Arab affairs. Egypt promised to pay a yearly contribution of 100,000 pounds (\$400,000) "for the welfare of the pilgrims of Mecca." An uncompromising stand on the question of Zionism was agreed upon.

THE first official meeting of the Arab League was called soon after, in March 1945. What had been a failure five months before, became a success. True, the same rivalries existed. But Saudi Arabia and Egypt had ironed out their differences, and propaganda about Palestine was pulling the others together. The British nursed, advised, encouraged.

The outcome of the conference was the signing of the Pact of the Arab League. "The Arab League," said the Pact, bluntly disregarding mandates and treaties, "is composed of independent Arab States." Palestine was described as "autonomous," like the other Arab States that were formerly part of the Turkish Empire. "Being autonomous," the Pact said, "Palestine does not depend any more on any other State . . . Palestine's independence cannot be questioned *'de jure'*." This bold declaration, assuming the cessation of the British Mandate over Palestine, was neither criticized nor objected to by British authorities. A Palestinian delegate was appointed to participate in Arab League meetings, and again the British did not object.

It was during the following year that Jamal

Husseini and many other Arab extremists from Palestine, whom the British had exiled for having fomented the troubles of 1935-36, were brought back to the Middle East with British consent. They went to Cairo, then to Syria and the Lebanon, and finally returned to Palestine where Jamal Husseini assumed leadership of the Arab High Committee. In the summer of 1946, the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini, escaped mysteriously from France, where he was held in respectful custody, and knocked at the gates of King Farouk's palace in Cairo. The arrival of this controversial personality with his actively pro-Nazi war record assumed the proportions of a scandal. The British who held the Middle East under a tight-knit net of Intelligence agents, political police spies and counterspies, let the Mufti and his wife slip through and turn up quietly in Cairo. Such an enterprise could never have succeeded without the benevolent passivity of the agents in question.

The creation of the Arab League, coupled with the return of the Palestine extremists, made any postwar agreement between Jews and Arabs next to impossible. That such an agreement would not have fitted into British plans is clear.

SO much for the British-sponsored revival of Pan-Arabism. The other phase of Britain's policy of "Revive and Maintain" is less generally known. It is the story of British efforts to build up rightist regimes in the Middle East after the war.

During the war, the British had needed a secure, democratic rear-zone in the Middle East. Rightist elements, pro-Nazis, pro-Fascists, were interned in concentration camps. Whenever a government felt reluctant to adopt such measures and thus endangered the Allied cause, the British used force. This was notably the case in Egypt, where in February 1942, when the Germans were on the point of invading Egypt and Cairo festered with pro-Axis elements, the British surrounded the royal place with tanks and forced Farouk to appoint as Prime Minister, Nahas Pasha, the man the King hated most. Nahas' party, the Wafd, could become republican overnight—a fact which is certainly one of the reasons for the King's hostility. The Wafd had advocated Egypt's participation in the war against the Axis, and Nahas was the only man who could win the Egyptian people to the cause of the Allies.

In Iraq the British used force to put down Rashid Ali's pro-Axis revolt and restore a pro-British regime. In Syria and the Lebanon French and British forces fought Vichy until victory. In Palestine the Jews finally were allowed to form their own Jewish Brigade. Everywhere democratic or rather less reactionary groups were encouraged. Labor unions were allowed to develop—in Egypt they had been illegal until Nahas came to power. Despite the incredibly severe censorship, military and civilian, one could feel a microscopic embryo of democracy coming to life.

In what now seems a paradoxical development, the British pressed the Arab Governments to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Both Arabs and British had previously been reluctant to open the Middle East to Soviet influence, but during the war this attitude proved impractical. In order to attend high-level Allied military conferences in Cairo, Soviet officers had to get out of their uniforms and don civilian clothes in Palestine, then be smuggled over the Egyptian border—all because King Farouk was allergic to Soviet generals. When the Soviet Legation opened in Egypt in 1943, the fragile intelligentsia composed of Europeans and Arabs, thought a new era had begun. With perhaps exaggerated zeal, every person who had a grudge rang the bell of the Soviet Legation: workers, writers, liberals, aristocratic ladies, etc. The Russians, however, leaned over backwards to be correct. They knew they were not welcome, and they knew how closely they were watched. They concentrated on reestablishing relations with the White Russians who had come to the Middle East after the Revolution. They also made contacts with the Armenians, stateless, like the White Russians, and encouraged them to settle in Soviet Armenia.

This idyllic era was short-lived. By the end of 1944 when the German threat was over and Soviet forces occupied the Balkans, the policy changed in the Middle East. While actively promoting the Arab League, the British began to express concern over a "Communist danger." Russell Pasha, then British chief of the Egyptian police, toured the Arab countries, held secret meetings with their leaders, promised financial help to fight "Communism." Soon after, from Turkey to Egypt, trade union leaders and intellectuals were thrown into jail, liberal papers were banned, cabinets fell and

were replaced by rightist cabinets.

Actually, communism itself was almost non-existent in the Middle East. The primitive and completely unorganized Arab peasantry knew and knows nothing about it. Communist parties were forbidden all along, except in Syria and the Lebanon, where they had developed under the French and in Palestine where a Communist party, sharply divided into Jewish and Arab sections, had semi-legal status under the Mandatory Government. The only existing popular movements were either nationalist parties or trade unions. The nationalist parties were too busy fighting foreign oppression to bother about social reforms. Only the Wafd in Egypt referred in its program to the "improvement of the standard of living of the masses." Trade unions were weak, often driven underground. There was only a thin crust of pro-Communist intelligentsia—students, journalists, a handful of trade union leaders—in Egypt, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon.

These groups had never cooperated, had no ties with each other. By the irony of fate, British soldiers were responsible for bringing them together. As members of the solid Communist bloc in the British Army traveled up and down the Middle East, they established contact with local Communists, strengthened their faltering Marxism, issued pamphlets and thorough surveys of the Arab countries. They carried messages and literature from one country to another. From London the British Communist Party tried to stop them, for in wartime agitation was forbidden. But the men on the spot went on with their work. Thus the Arab Communists, though very few in number, began to voice their hostility to "foreign imperialism and internal feudalism."

THIS slogan gave the Arab feudal lords nightmares in technicolor. They had no objections to the masses shouting "Down with the French," or "Down with the British"; in fact, they always told their serfs that if they were poor, it was the fault of the foreign invaders. But the moment a leaflet issued by a group of "ten dangerous agitators," said "Down with internal feudalism," the ruling classes had such fits of terror that they imprisoned even European millionaires and accused them of being the agents of the Third International. By banning liberal newspapers and jailing

writers, journalists, students, trade-union leaders and government employees opposed to the present feudalistic regimes, the Arab lords, supported by the British, have put back for many years the chances for democracy in the Middle East. By so doing, they have, moreover, placed new and very grave obstacles in the way of understanding between Arabs and Jews, Arabs and Christians and foreign minorities.

These two things—internal democracy and external peace—cannot be separated. In February, 1946 a mass demonstration took place in Cairo where, for the first time, workers marched together with students and thousands of little people. While marching, they shouted slogans. They said: "Down with the British. We want freedom. Down with Pashas." And for the first time I heard them say: "Long live the Jews of Palestine who fight the British."

Egyptian police and British soldiers fired into the crowd. . . .

The Arab lords who show so much concern for the fate of Palestine, are very little concerned with the independence of their own countries. Until the early thirties, there were honest leaders in the nationalist movement, who really fought to free their countries, but today landlords and industrialists have become deeply involved in financial deals with their foreign oppressors. Twenty-five years ago foreigners had a real monopoly over the Arab countries: banks, railways, shipping, street-cars, electricity, water and gas companies, stock exchanges, were under their exclusive control. But gradually the Arab ruling class got a share of the spoils. During the war they accumulated enormous profits. They started enterprises of their own. They became aware of the danger represented by the growing working class. Together with the European capitalists, they had to face strikes, wage increases and innumerable problems they never faced before. The British cleverly encouraged their fears. And the Arab lords came to the conclusion that if the British abandoned them, they alone would not be able to keep their people down for long. Their armies and police are weak, and the British, after all, kept order very ably in the past.

At the end of the war, when the factories operated by the Allies closed down and their armies moved away, hundreds of thousands of unemployed

workers clamored for help and jobs. They had to be absorbed either in new enterprises or in an army. The Arab lords were panicky until a God-sent solution suddenly appeared on the scene: Holy War against the partition of Palestine. Here, indeed, was the ideal solution: a military adventure which could absorb the unemployed and at the same time serve as an outlet for their ardent nationalism. From fighting the British and Arab lords they would be diverted to fighting the Jews.

In the role of target, the Zionists are made to order: they are Europeans, and as such any barefoot Mohammed is glad to shoot them. Though Europeans, they are not backed by a powerful empire; attacks upon them do not create diplomatic incidents with an omnipotent embassy. They are "infidels," which makes them particularly attractive victims to the fanatic Mohammedans. They are Jews, which satisfies those who are more specifically anti-Semitic.

The fanatically religious Moslem Brotherhood, with headquarters in Cairo, has played a very important part in the consolidation of a reactionary and anti-Zionist trend. Until a few years ago this group was practically a nonentity, but it has succeeded in recruiting innumerable peasants, thanks to its religious slogans. Its young members submit openly to military training and it is actively supported by officers of the Egyptian Army and more discreetly by the Palace. Branches have been established all over the Arab countries.

Originally the Moslem Brotherhood agitated for the complete independence of Egypt, the establishment of a religious autocracy and a ban on all modernization of the country. The enemy it fought was the British, the foreigner. During the past year the "British" issue has been dropped and the Brotherhood has concentrated on calling for war against the Jews, and on recruiting men for the "Holy War."

Undoubtedly, the Moslem Brotherhood is one of the gravest danger spots in the Middle East today.

WHAT about the United Nations?

The Arab masses cannot be expected to be United Nations conscious; they do not even know how their own governments function.

As for the Arab representatives at the UN, they follow the old oriental custom of bazaar bargain-

ing. They demand a great deal in order to obtain the minimum they want. Furthermore, every time an Arab leader produces a highly rhetorical anti-Zionist speech at the UN, he knows that the wires carry the speech home for domestic consumption. It hits the headlines, increases his popularity, keeps his government in power for many months to come. In other words, the Arab chiefs at present in power have used the UN to consolidate their often faltering position at home.

On the other hand, the proceedings at the UN this year have made it clear that the Arab leaders themselves realize how essential it is to work out and execute a long range plan to bring democracy to the Middle East through agrarian and social reforms. This could be realized through the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations—notably the proposed Economic Commission for the Middle East, just temporarily shelved by the Economic and Social Council.

When finally approved by the General Assembly, the Commission will initiate sweeping reforms in the social, scientific and agricultural fields. The Arab delegates to the UN are very eager to see it created and have described very honestly the feudalistic setup of their respective countries. This realistic approach by the Arabs themselves, in a field where politics is left out, shows that if encouraged by the rest of the world the Arabs will finally accept progress. The economic health of their countries is at stake and they certainly prefer evolution to the otherwise inevitable revolution.

It is interesting to note how this sober approach contrasted with the flattering description of democracy in the Arab world often proclaimed the very same day by the same delegations during Security Council debates on Palestine.

Economic health must be supplemented by democratic government if the Near East is to prosper. Surely, if great power pressure has in the past been exerted at times to introduce democracy, as during the war, and at times to suppress democracy, as after the war, there is no reason for not using pressure now in support of liberal groups, newspapers and parties. Such pressure is peculiarly justified now, for a corrupt and reactionary Middle East is a threat to the whole world, even as it is a threat to every democrat living in the Middle East itself, be he Moslem, Christian or Jew.

SABOTAGING EUROPEAN RECOVERY

The Facts about British Oil Policy in Palestine¹

THE Consolidated Refineries in Haifa are the third largest in the world; in normal years 2,750,000 tons of crude oil piped from Kirkuk in Iraq and 1,000,000 tons sent by sea from the Persian Gulf, are refined in Haifa. The crucial importance of Haifa's large refining capacity can be fully realized when it is remembered that, owing to war damage to plants and the general rising demand for oil, there is a world-wide shortage of refining capacity. In the United States itself a number of plants, being considered economically unsound in peacetime, were closed after the war. The establishment of additional refining facilities within easy reach of the oil-consuming lands of the Eastern Hemisphere has thus become vitally necessary. Haifa's refineries are, to be sure, not only within easy reach of Europe but also strategically close to those Middle East oil fields which represent the world's largest untapped source of crude oil—some 42 per cent at least of proved world reserves.

More thorough exploitation of Middle East oil deposits is one of the fundamentals upon which the Marshall Plan for European Recovery rests. The Middle East with its 42 per cent of world reserves now provides only about 10 per cent of the world oil supply, while the Western Hemisphere produces 62 per cent, though it possesses no more than 34 per cent of world reserves. The Marshall Plan envisages a revolution in these relative proportions, so far as European Recovery Plan countries are concerned. These got 24.6 per cent of their oil from the Middle East in 1946 and 38.6 per cent in 1948. The European Recovery Plan envisages the Middle East oil contribution to them as 82 per cent by 1951—46,000,000 tons is compared to 10,000,000 tons from the Western Hemisphere.

It is amply clear that unhampered supply of oil products from the Haifa Refineries is an integral and necessary part of the oil program of the European Recovery Plan. Yet the British Government, in its desire to crush the State of Israel by all avail-

able means, has not hesitated to cripple the European Recovery Plan oil program by shutting the Refineries and thus cutting off Iraqi oil from the oil-starved countries of Europe. It was on April 17, 1948, that the Haifa Refineries were closed and pumping from Kirkuk stopped. British oil tankers were ordered to remove as much of the remaining crude oil as possible, to the smaller refinery at Tripoli in Lebanon which is capable of refining no more than 250,000 tons annually. Seven British tankers transported 160,000 tons of crude oil from Haifa to Tripoli during May and June 1948, and in order to help the Tripoli Refinery meet this enlarged demand the British Army supplied the plant with steel plates and pipes from Palestine. Kirkuk sent pipes and valves, and an urgent order was placed in the United States for pumps and instruments. Syria and Lebanon were thus assured of oil for their war machines, and the Jews, conversely, deprived of urgently needed supplies.

The British went further in their diversion of oil to the Arab countries. Preparing for the invasion of Palestine which had been planned to coincide with the end of the British Mandate, British Army authorities provided the Arab Legion gratis with 2,500 tons of benzine and transferred large amounts of benzine and kerosene from the Haifa Refineries to Beirut in April and May. Further to assure Transjordan of necessary supplies,² the Palestine Government arranged special oil truck convoys of the Arab Legion, under British protection, which called regularly at Haifa, at the same time as the Legion was attacking the Jews in the South and in the Jerusalem area. Even after Haifa was taken by the Jews at the beginning of May, two such convoys were still brought into Haifa by the British authorities.

The Palestine Government did its best to provide aviation oil for the Arab aviation companies. Dur-

¹ The documentation here assembled is based upon a "Memorandum on Oil" issued by the Provisional Government of Israel on June 15, 1948.

² It is curious to note that on April 8, 1948—nine days before the closing of the Refineries—the British Commissioner of Commerce and Industry in Amman and the Foreign Minister of Transjordan invited the Haifa oil companies to an urgent meeting to discuss and prepare these alternative arrangements for supplying oil to Transjordan after the closing of the Refineries.

ing April and the first half of May, 25 landings were made by the Transjordan Arab Airways, Egyptian Mistr Airlines, the Middle East Airlines, the Arab Contractors Company at Haifa, where they were serviced and fueled. When the British authorities left Lydda Airport they left behind 60,000 gallons of aviation spirit, of which 20,000 gallons were looted and the remaining 40,000 obligingly sold by the representative of Shell to Transjordan.

Clearly, the logic behind the shutting down of the Refineries was the confident expectation that the Jews would speedily be defeated by a combination of factors—lack of oil, lack of munitions, the numerical superiority and the supposed military superiority of the Arabs. A swift Arab victory would reduce to a minimum the loss of revenue to the Refineries and to the oil companies producing Iraqi oil. Ostensibly, the reason for closing the Refineries was a strike by their Arab workers, but actually all preparations for the shut-down were made before the strike took place. Though there was enough Jewish labor in Haifa to reopen the Refineries, all Jewish proposals to do so, made since the Jewish occupation of Haifa, have been rejected. The shut-down can be defined as no more nor less than a British economic sanction against the State of Israel. As in the military field, so also in that of oil, British plans were, however, to miscarry sadly. The British had omitted from their calculations the basic social and economic factors in the life of the Arab countries and of Palestine Jewry.

The acute oil shortage in Transjordan, Syria, and the Lebanon created a black market and the price of a gallon rose as high as a pound sterling. The temptation to make a profit was too great to be resisted by Arab military personnel, and trade in army oil flourished in the three countries. Arab military oil stocks were further depleted by the fact that the Egyptian Army also had to be supplied to some extent. Thus by the beginning of June the Arab armies were in very poor shape as far as oil was concerned. The British knew this, and it was one of the reasons for their consent to the cease-fire.

No less disappointing to the British was the fact that the sanctions against the Jews did not work out as expected. The British military authorities had been so sure that Jewish industry, depending on

fuel, would speedily collapse that they ordered generators to be installed in Haifa harbor to provide electricity when the Jewish power station would have to shut down. There were two reasons for the unexpected outcome of the British oil policy toward the Jews. The Jews had planned ahead, introducing rationing, reducing civilian traffic and mobilizing cars for the war effort. Furthermore, the oil distributing companies and the owners of the Consolidated Refineries were not too eager to sacrifice their economic interests completely and did only what was essential to satisfy the British Government. Hence, not all the oil stores available in Palestine were removed to Tripoli and overseas.

The stocks left in Haifa served, it would seem, to make possible the daring move undertaken by the Israeli Government on July 22. At 9 A.M. on that day, by order of the Government, two hundred skilled Jewish workers appeared at the Refineries and began production of benzine, kerosene, butane gas and fuel oil. Refining is going on steadily, as are negotiations with American, Latin American and Rumanian oil companies. United States authorities have been informed by Israeli economic spokesmen that all oil refined at Haifa and not required for local consumption, would be made available to the European Recovery Program—probably some three million tons during the year. At the same time, the authorities were informed that if the United States is unable to supply the Haifa Refinery, the Israeli Government will be compelled to accept offers of crude oil from Rumania. The Rumanian offer to supply crude oil is conditional on Israeli agreement that all surplus refined kerosene will be offered first to Eastern Europe.

It is clear that the entire question of the Refineries and of Iraqi oil is now being used as a political pawn in the attempt to take Haifa from the Jews and internationalize it—a plan first projected by Count Bernadotte and since rumored to be supported by the British, French and American Governments and large oil companies. As a further contribution to that campaign, at the beginning of September the British-controlled Near East Arabic Radio on Cyprus reported that the Iraqi Government had notified the British Government that it would not resume pumping oil to Haifa until the Jews gave up that city. And so the matter stands while European Recovery is left crippled. . . .

MILITARY COMMENT

By Herbert Howarth

Mr. Howarth, an English journalist and poet, served as a wartime British official in Egypt and Palestine and knows the Middle East intimately.

TO UNDERSTAND the way the fighting went as the Arab invaders stabbed at Israel, you have to picture the terrain, the peculiar incidence of level spaces and abrupt hills, of narrow valleys and mountain gates, that made the campaign against a region as small as Wales not quite the blitz which the Arab League envisaged. It was only too easy to misunderstand the communiqués of Baghdad, or Cairo, when there was no picture to check them by. That is probably why some of the news commentators and broadcasters occasionally slipped into misleading reports, such as those which turned Latrun (a road junction) into a "town."

How did Israel look to the Arab Command as it planned its attack this spring? Roughly speaking, the territory apportioned to Israel under the U.N. Partition Plan of November 29 was ringed by a mountain barrier. It would not be altogether correct to think of this as a natural defense system. Where the Arabs had towns in the mountains, as in Samaria, they were in fact in a strong position to threaten the narrow plain lying exposed beneath them. As the war began while the Mandate still held, the Arabs had to base themselves initially on mountain Samaria, for here a guerilla army could best secrete itself. But for the period after May 15 it must have seemed easier to the Arabs to push into Israel through three gaps, these being: the coastal plain of Western Galilee (awarded to the Arabs by Partition); the east-west cleft of the Valley of Jezreel, giving from the Jordan into the richly-cultivated heart of the Jewish State; and the open Negev giving onto the coastal plain.

In practice things worked out a little differently from the obvious paper scheme. The Hagana command forestalled action from the north by a rapid move against Acre which succeeded and gave Israel the control of that narrow but flat shore of Western Galilee up to the frontier. At the frontier the Galilean mountains suddenly push their nose right to the sea edge, forming the impressive headland of Ras Naqura. When Hagana controlled that, they

were in a strong position to throttle a Lebanese attack which in any case never materialized.

A heavy attack was put in by the Arabs against the group of Jordan settlements which lie across the natural assault path from the Yarmuk gorge in Transjordan. Along the warm sultry river-bed this summer the banana-plantations have flapped idly, unharvested; the famous herds of Afikim no longer send their milk westwards; because the settlers are all occupied in defense. But their defense has been valiant and successful, if terribly costly to their hard-won agricultural gains. Iraqi and Syrian attacks, strongly supported by armor and aircraft, have failed to make a penetration.

At the southern entrance to Palestine the position was different. In the great desert-waste of sand and flint Jewish colonies, though they have increased in the last few years, are still few and young. It was a technical impossibility to attempt to arrest the Egyptian advance in the open desert. Theoretically it would have been well if a defense-line could have been established on the line of the Gaza-Beersheba road, this representing basically the boundary between endless desert to the south and the beginnings of cultivation to the north on a plain covering some thirty miles breadth between the coast and the Hebron hills. But there was no chance to build it. A movement of men and materials southwards on that scale could not have been attempted as long as Britain was holding the Mandate, and the Egyptians were on the way to Gaza by zero hour.

The Jewish Command had, therefore, to take a risk. The southernmost settlements sealed themselves up as a series of little Tobruks, the thorns in the flank of the attackers; and the main Jewish resistance was placed only a little further forward than the fertile cluster of settlements near Rehovoth. Risky indeed this was, admitting the enemy close to a most important production area. But the advantages were enormous: Egypt's communications were stretched to the utmost; Israel's own communications were shortened to the minimum; and the defenders had the advantage of an intimate knowledge of the terrain. Here as elsewhere, then, the Arab High Command was stymied.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST

A British Correspondent Discusses the Arab Refugee Problem

I WAS present when the Palestine refugee problem was born. It was late one afternoon around a green baize table in the council chamber of Haifa's sumptuous Municipal Building—on April 22, 1948.

At the head of the table sat Brigadier General U. C. Stockwell, Britain's commanding officer in North Palestine. On his right sat a group of eight Haifa Arab notables. On his left were eight young Jews representing Haganah, and some Jewish notables.

General Stockwell was very angry. The Jews looked confused and worried. The Jewish Mayor of Haifa was in tears. The eight Arabs, who but three hours earlier had joked and laughed with these Jews, looked very uncomfortable and unhappy. Had they known what they had started, they would surely have been even unhappier.

It was the Haifa peace conference after the Jewish capture of the city. Earlier in the day the Arabs had agreed to the Jewish peace terms. They would stay in Haifa, cooperate in municipal affairs, surrender the arms and foreign irregulars to the Jews. This was the formal meeting called to put the signatures to the agreement.

The meeting began at four o'clock. Suddenly, at five, the Arabs asked an adjournment. They returned two hours later, looking like men who had

just heard their death sentence. They informed General Stockwell that they would not sign the agreement. Instead, they had been ordered by higher Arab authorities to command all Arabs to leave Haifa.

General Stockwell could not believe his ears. Mayor Shabbatai Levy pleaded with his Arab ex-colleagues. But the Arab exodus was on.

Two days later the same thing happened in Jaffa and then spread to the villages. For days I watched the Arabs driving cattle to Jewish settlements to offer them for sale, asking Jewish settlers to look after their property. Arab children offered eggs and chickens by the roadside as the trek went on.

Of a total of almost 400,000 refugees, 100,000 were comparatively well-to-do Arabs who had already departed with their wealth in February and March; about 200,000 were the poor who departed in panic after the Haifa incident; another 100,000 left after the fighting in their villages. . . .

The final touch to the drama was the actions of Arab leaders themselves. They led the flight. When the crisis came, there was not a single Arab of note left in any Arab center to advise or lead. The simple Arab put two and two together and left in panic without checking his calculation.

JON KIMCHE in an Overseas News Agency dispatch of August 13, 1948

A Christian Lebanese Paper Comments on Palestine

THE Arab leaders have distorted the facts and withheld the truth from their peoples. They have led them to overestimate their own strength. They have uttered empty threats against the world in Arab League conferences. Great victories over the Jews were won in communiqués from Beirut, Damascus, Cairo, Amman and Baghdad. And then after we belligerently rejected a ten days' truce, we accepted a truce of unlimited duration, and the military facts were shown to be very

different from those in the Arab communiqués.

Naturally, the Arab peoples lost confidence in a leadership that can no longer convince them of its wisdom. But there are in existence in the Arab countries genuinely progressive forces. Following these forces, the Arab peoples should govern themselves by themselves, according to policies attuned to their real interests, both internal and external. But, alas! the Arab peoples are still under the yoke of feudalism and naturally the peoples' interests are

different from those of their feudal rulers. Were the Arab peoples free; were they represented in democratic governments; had the Arab voters any influence on the policy of their countries; were it not for the falsified parliamentary elections of May 25, 1947 in Lebanon and for similar elections in other Arab countries—the Palestine problem would not have reached its present pass.

Were it not for the feudal rulers who arouse and exploit the fanaticism of the masses and bring them to commit suicide by keeping themselves in igno-

rance, there would have been no question of the danger the Zionists are supposed to present to the East. On the contrary, the Jews who suffer throughout the world would have become allies of the East against Western imperialism.

The Arab nations are called upon today to rely on themselves. Their progressive national movements must be oriented toward complete liberation. If they are free, Palestine will be free.

An editorial of July 27, 1948, in AL-AMAL, organ of Al-Kataeb, the Christian Lebanese youth organization

Israel's Prime Minister Defines Israel's Function

The State of Israel was not established for the purpose of waging war and gaining military successes, nor even for the purpose of insuring the peace and welfare of its citizens alone. The State of Israel has a unique mission without which it has no right to exist, without which it cannot, indeed, exist. Its task is to reclaim the desolation of this land and to assemble the scattered exiles of the Jewish people. . . .

Only by making a treaty with the people of Israel and the State of Israel, will the Arab world be able to emancipate itself from open and covert dependence upon the external forces exploiting it. Only by cooperation with our neighbors in the countries around us will we be able to consolidate the peace of our own state.

DAVID BEN-GURION, July 23, 1948

*A Nazi File Reveals King Farouk's Wartime Duplicity**

Secret Reich Matter

March 24, 1943

THE confidential agent who transmitted a message from the Reich to King Farouk has, in the meantime, returned from Egypt. During his stay he had two lengthy conversations with King Farouk. In these conversations the King gratefully acknowledged the security measures which the

Reich had taken for his person and the manner in which this delicate question had been handled. King Farouk instructed the confidential agent to convey the King's gratitude to the Foreign Minister of the Reich.

The King also informed the confidential agent that, as in the past, he was still hoping for an Axis victory. Specifically, the King declared that the rumors which were being circulated about a rapprochement between him and the democracies were nothing else but a matter of political expediency and shrewdness, necessary for the then prevailing circumstances.

Finally, the King instructed the confidential agent to convey his best wishes to the Mufti of Jerusalem and to all those who work with him for the success and the victory of the Axis.

Submitted to the Foreign Minister of the Reich.

(Signed) EITEL

* This report, signed by one of Hitler's roving ambassadors, Eitel, is among the official documents of the Nazi Foreign Office, now in the files of the State Department and the British Foreign Office. It has recently been published by the Nation Associates in a memorandum to the United Nations, entitled "The Record of Collaboration of King Farouk of Egypt with the Nazis and Their Ally, the Mufti." The various Nazi documents there reproduced demonstrate that King Farouk went so far as to authorize giving the Nazi High Command documented information of a military nature designed to destroy the Allied Armies in North Africa. On July 28, 1942, two Egyptian military planes were instructed by the highest Egyptian authorities to fly to Fieldmarshal Rommel's headquarters. The planes contained important maps and plans intended for the German military authorities.

THAT THE BEWILDERED MAY SEE

A Review by Joseph S. G. Bolton

Dr. Bolton is head of the Department of English at Skidmore College. He has written and lectured extensively on the Palestine question.

PALESTINE, Sumner Welles declares in his recently published book,* has become more than the problem of a small corner of the world, more than the concern of a homeless people. It has become an international problem of fundamental importance, for if the UN yields before Arab threats of violence, the best hope of the world for averting a third world war will have destroyed itself.

Although the deadly parallel between the UN's actions on Palestine in 1948 and the League of Nations' failure to check Japanese aggression against Manchuria in 1931 forms the heart of Mr. Welles' book, there is a wealth of vital information on other subjects packed into this concise, 135 page volume. A thorough examination of Arab and Jewish rights shows early in the book that there is no "ground in law or in equity upon which the Arabs can base their claim to possess the right of sovereign jurisdiction over Palestine."

The gap between the demise of the League of Nations and the birth of the UN, Mr. Welles bridges legally by Article 85 of the UN Charter, with its statement that "the functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements . . . including the approval . . . of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly." Mr. Welles sees a continuity of three decades in "the organized society of nations," although this society was first known as the League of Nations and now as the United Nations. He can also give, from inside knowledge, authoritative information about President Roosevelt's attitude toward Palestine. He is positive that the President remained, to the end, a consistent supporter of an independent Jewish Commonwealth despite what

he considers the misunderstood letters to Ibn Saud.

But perhaps the author's most original contribution to the literature on Palestine is his trenchant analysis of the several forces opposing partition, both here and abroad—the Arab Higher Committee and the Arab League, British imperialism, British and American oil interests, anti-Semites everywhere, American pacifists, anti-Zionist Jews, legalists who question the UN's right to enforce any political settlements, and, lastly, three powerful groups in Washington—the Department of Defense, with its feeling that Arab oil must be safeguarded at all costs; the lobbies of the oil companies, who desire profits; and those officials in the State Department who believe (honestly, Mr. Welles thinks) that Arab friendship is the one feasible countercheck to Russian expansion in the Near East. He sets forth the positions of these groups dispassionately; he respects the personal integrity of most of the individuals concerned; but he demolishes their arguments with devastating logic.

His own constructive suggestion for the present impasse is simple and effective. We must meet the threat of force with counterforce—that is, with an international police force. Because of the mutual suspicions of the major powers, an effective body should be made up of contingents from the smaller nations, financed by the larger ones. And this force should be used to establish partition at once, because partition represents the consensus of world opinion as registered through the General Assembly.

In describing the request of the UN Commission on Palestine for some type of international force, Mr. Welles characterizes the request as written "in lapidary sentences." "Lapidary" is not a bad word to apply to Mr. Welles' own compact, cogent, carefully chiseled phrases. For within this slim volume, the argument is concise, that he who runs may read; lucid, that the bewildered may see with clearness; and compelling, that those who have hesitated need hesitate no longer. No, we need not fail again.

* WE NEED NOT FAIL. By Sumner Welles. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1948.

NOMADS AND OTHER ARABS

A Review by Emil Lengyel

Dr. Lengyel is the author of "Turkey," "The Danube" and other studies of the Near East. He is Associate Professor at the School of Education of New York University.

TWO young ex-servicemen have come home with remarkably graphic pictures of the human side of the Middle East. One of them is an Englishman, Robin Maugham (nephew of Somerset), author of *Nomad*,* and the other is an American, James Maxwell, author of *I Never Saw an Arab Like Him*.†

Robin Maugham fought in the Western Desert, was wounded, then hospitalized in Cairo. Subsequently, he was attached to the Middle East Intelligence. He covered the Arab world from Hatay to Baghdad, and from Amman to Cairo. He developed the idea of an Arab Center, where English and Arabs would be called upon to create a more efficient civil and military leadership.

Mr. Maugham's portrait of Glubb Pasha of the Transjordan Arab Legion is particularly revealing. Speaking to Maugham as one Englishman to another, Glubb asserted that the Middle East is indispensable to the survival of the British Empire, but not essential to any other power. Egypt is as vital for Britain, as Panama is for the United States. Britain wants to prevent any other power from dominating the Arabs, but she herself does not want to dominate them.

In his conversation with Maugham, the Pasha was highly critical of Arab effendis. With apparent dismay, he quoted an Arab Prime Minister who told him he did not care that one of the "richest" Arab countries, Egypt, was so appallingly poor: it made no difference that sixteen million miserable wretches could not be fed, the Prime Minister said, as long as the cream of society live on the fat of the land. "The millions are only animals."

Glubb, on the other hand, thinks very highly of the horse-sense of the simple peasants and nomads,

whose faculties are sharpened by their proximity to death through slow starvation. Maugham himself came to like the poorest of the poor, the miserable nomads, always within easy distance of famine.

An unwritten chapter of history is that of the bitter struggle between the British and French in Syria and Lebanon after the collapse of the Axis in the Middle East. Maugham gives some interesting details about the way the French were ousted from the area which they considered their heritage since the Crusaders' days. On the Palestine question Maugham is frankly anti-Zionist.

While Maugham served with the British Intelligence, James Maxwell served with the United States Army Counter-Intelligence. He spent most of his time in Tripoli and Casablanca.

Mr. Maxwell is a very good story-teller in the modern, significantly subdued vein. Human tragedies and comedies are skilfully condensed in his short chapters. A westerner is inclined to observe North African Arabs as if they were inhabitants of another planet, but James Maxwell is too much of an artist for that. His characters are not human dinosaurs, but contemporaries in a different setting.

The Arab in the title of his book is the North African equivalent of the ever-running Sammy. But while Sammy was a product of Hollywood where running is nothing unusual, North Africa produces few people of that type. Shrewd thirteen year old "Mike" knew all the devious ways of life around Tripoli and when the Americans were ready to pack up and go, he shed his tough exterior and became a scared little Arab boy.

The "state of the world" is the subject of Maxwell's writing to the extent that every human fate is the reflection of the state of the universe. Ahmed, the "Arab Editor" of one of his most penetrating stories, sums up the tragedy of his own individual destiny—and of his world—when he tells his American friend that Pan-Arabism is not what the leaders of the movement represent it to be: the instrument of emancipation. On the contrary, it is merely an effort to wrest power and wealth from Europeans and give them to a few wealthy Arabs.

* Viking, New York, 1948.

† Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1948.

Notes on the Palestine Situation

EGYPT TO BRITAIN

Fundamental Egyptian distrust of Britain—even as far as British Palestine policy is concerned—is revealed by an article in the September 8 issue of *Al Awas*, Egyptian governmental organ, which asserts that "Britain is tricking Jews, Arabs and Americans all at the same time. She is doing her utmost to annex the Negev to Transjordan, since according to the Anglo-Transjordan Treaty, British troops will be able to occupy the territory and turn it into a base dominating the Suez Canal and threatening Egypt." It would not then really matter, the article points out bitterly, if Britain evacuated her troops from Egypt.

ISRAEL AND WORLD ZIONISM

As a result of the recent meeting in Israel of the World Zionist Organization, a clear separation was effected between the new State and the Zionist movement throughout the world. Ministers of the State who had been members of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization handed in their resignations and others, not officials of the Government, took their places. It was further resolved that no part of the funds of the World Zionist Organization would be contributed directly or indirectly to the Government of Israel for any purposes whatsoever, but that the Organization would carry on its own work in Israel, directed to the settlement and the economic absorption of new immigrants, and other humanitarian purposes.

TALKING OF TRUCE VIOLATIONS

It has been pointed out by the Israeli Government in a series of communications to the chief of staff of U.N. Mediator, Bernadotte, that arms and troop reinforcements pass freely and constantly into and between the various Arab States in flagrant but unheeded violation of the Palestine truce. No supervision is exercised by U.N. observers on railway and highway traffic from Egypt to Palestine. U.N. observers do not check cargoes and reinforcements arriving by train from Egypt.

Among the specific instances of military preparation noted by the Israeli Government are the following: A fresh Egyptian brigade has been trans-

ferred from Egypt to the southern front, during the last few weeks. An Iraqi battalion was recently transferred from Iraq to Mafrak, strategic Transjordan-Iraq base situated across the Jordan just inside Transjordan territory. Large shipments of arms and munitions, brought into Syrian ports from abroad, have reached the Arab base at Kafar Fassen, located not far from Ras el Ain. Several Syrian battalions have been transferred from Syria to stations in Upper Galilee.

IN GRIM SUMMARY

Arab forces in Palestine suffered 5,090 casualties, about twenty per cent of their total fighting strength of approximately 30,000, in the nine days of battle between the expiration of the first U.N. truce and the beginning of the present truce. Some 5,000 enemy prisoners, including Europeans serving with the Arabs, are now in Israeli hands.

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BEHIND THE PALESTINE REVERSAL

BY JORGE GARCIA-GRANADOS

THE violence now taking place in Palestine is the direct result of vacillation, appeasement and the wish on the part of persons in high places, here and abroad, to sabotage the United Nations' decision to partition Palestine. This sabotage began long before the ink was dry on the resolution of November 29, 1947, in which the General Assembly of the United Nations, by more than a two-thirds vote, accepted our recommendation to divide Palestine into two independent states—one Arab, one Jewish.

I am convinced, and I believe I express the opinion of the majority of my colleagues on the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, that partition was, and is, the only possible answer to the problem. Any stopgap formula that may be advanced regardless whether it be described as "trusteeship" or "federated state" or "unitary state," can only lead to further tragedy.

History itself has already partitioned Palestine. That was the reality our committee found as we traveled the length and breadth of the Holy Land and spoke with Arab and Jew, Briton and American. We discovered two distinct peoples, each rooted in the land, each with its own religion, its own language, its own culture; two separate national entities inspired by distinctly separate needs for national survival.

From the beginning it was apparent that any solution we would recommend would have to be imposed. There could be none upon which both Arabs and Jews would agree.

This was recognized by the British High Commissioner in Palestine, Sir Alan Cunningham—in striking contradiction to the official British position that Great Britain would cooperate in any solution we recommended if it were agreed to by both Arabs and Jews.

By setting a condition that even its own representative on the spot knew was impossible of fulfillment, Britain began the process of sabotage which continues to this moment.

A Jury without Self-Interest

My colleagues and I went to Palestine as an impartial jury acting for the civilized nations of the world. None of our eleven countries was a great power: none had oil concessions in the Middle East and none had political or economic interests in Palestine; and the majority of our countries had not even religious or cultural ties with the majority of Palestine's inhabitants.

In casting about for a solution during our public hearings in Jerusalem, Vladimir Simic, Yugoslavia's representative on UNSCOP, pursued the idea of binationalism, envisaging a unitary state in which Jews and Arabs would enjoy political parity—that is, an equal number of representatives in the government.

"Would this not be an answer to

In this article, Collier's presents one side of an important controversy leading up to the scheduled May 15th withdrawal of British forces from Palestine and the plans for setting up a Jewish State.

Jorge Garcia-Granados, a member of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, is a former president of the Guatemalan congress, and was ambassador to the United States at the time of his appointment to UNSCOP. The committee went to Palestine and the Arab states last summer, charged by the United Nations, at Britain's request, to find a solution for the Palestine problem. The committee's majority recommendation—partition—and its shelving by the U.S. are detailed in this article, which is taken from the author's forthcoming book

the problem?" he asked David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

"The result would be a permanent deadlock in government," Ben-Gurion replied. "It would be ten Jews versus ten Arabs, or three Jews versus three Arabs, on every question requiring positive action, from immigration to land development. I cannot imagine how the government would function."

Karel Lisicky, Czechoslovakia's representative on UNSCOP, asked, "Then you are definitely pessimistic about Arab-Jewish agreement?"

"On the contrary," Ben-Gurion replied. "I am definitely optimistic, but there must be a Jewish State first. Co-operation between the Jewish people as a people and the Arab people as a people will be possible only when we have the same status as they—that of an independent nation."

That co-operation was possible I saw time and again as we toured the country in twenty-four U.N. cars, driven by twelve Jewish and twelve Arab chauffeurs.

On one occasion while we were visiting in the Mosque of Abraham in the ancient town of Hebron, our drivers entered an Arab café to refresh themselves with Turkish coffee. The proprietor was ready to serve the Arabs but not the Jews. He had evidently had his instructions.

One of the Jewish drivers told me, "We Jews waited out. A moment after, the Arab drivers joined us. They refused to accept the coffee unless we also were served. The proprietor, to save face, sent his boy out with 24 cups of cold water for all of us, Jew and Arab alike."

"You see, Señor Ambassador, we ordinary folk get along . . ."

Later, as I was driving, with an Arab chauffeur, through a remote area of Palestine, I saw a figure on the road before us.

It was a lone Arab Bedouin, wrapped almost to his ears in a heavy robe reaching to his ankles. As we came alongside him, I had my driver stop the car and put several questions to him.

The Bedouin listened for a few moments, then suddenly replied in a torrent of rapid Arabic, now and then pointing angrily off into the distance.

Then, his tirade finished, he flung his scarf across his face and over one shoulder and indignantly stalked off.

Puzzled, I asked my driver, "What is it?"

"Sir," he answered, obviously embarrassed, "I will give you his words. He said, 'I hear on the radio about the Jews. My sons they read in the press about the Jews. Somewhere off in that direction'—and he gestured violently as the other had done—"they tell me, there live some Jews. But I have never seen a Jew, I have never met a Jew, I have never talked with a Jew! The Jews do not concern me and I do not concern them. Now please go away and let me be in peace."

Later on, we went to Lebanon to hear testimony by spokesmen of the Arab states. We arrived in Beyrouth, Lebanon's capital, amid charges that the Lebanese government was in power illegally, because of falsification of ballots and terrorization of the electorate. Soon after we reached our hotel, word came to me that one of the highest ranking leaders of the opposition with his aides wished to speak with us.

They claimed that the government was not supported by public opinion; that the majority of the Lebanese—who were Christians—did not wish Lebanon to be a member of the Arab League, but rather a link between East and West; and that it was to the interests of the Christian Lebanon that the Jews should have a Jewish State. Lebanese Christians and Palestine Jews would mutually protect each other from being engulfed in a Moslem sea.

Later, the Lebanese opposition leader spoke to me privately.

"I will be frank," he said. "I feel very warm toward a Jewish State, but I cannot say so openly now because I would have trouble with certain persons in this country. We have a dictatorship here and that is why we must speak to you in this fashion."

The testimony later given us by the Arab states' spokesmen made perfectly clear that the only political solution for Palestine they would accept was its establishment as a unitary Arab State.

What, we asked, would be the status of the Jews in such a state? Hamid Frangie, Lebanese foreign minister,

and Emir Adel Arslan of Syria replied in effect that all Jews who had come to Palestine after the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917—which the Arabs consider illegal—would have their citizenship re-examined.

Those who had entered Palestine without "permission of the Mandatory Power" should be expelled from the country, Frangie added. Those who had entered legally but had not acquired Palestinian citizenship, would have their status determined by the Arab government.

The implication was clear: The majority of the 700,000 Jews now in Palestine had entered since 1917; most of these would be subject to deportation, depending upon the rigidity or benevolence of the future Arab multi-dominated government of Palestine.

A few days later, I had a private conversation with Camille Chamoun, chief Lebanese delegate to the United Nations and one of the most enlightened of Arab leaders. "The Arabs will never accept any further Jewish immigration," he said.

Days of Debate in Geneva

Our minds full of testimony, we flew to Europe. In Geneva, we spent long days debating the possible solutions. We began by agreeing that the mandate for Palestine had failed and that both Jews and Arabs were ripe for independence. The mandate must terminate. No other trusteeship scheme should take its place. We agreed that we could not accede to the complete demands of either Arabs or Jews. Palestine could not be wholly Arab, nor wholly Jewish.

This brought us finally to partition. We called in our economic experts; we studied the number of immigrants that could be absorbed within ten years, fifteen years, twenty years. As we probed deeper, we examined the possibility of a common fiscal system, currency and transportation, as well as a customs union—searching for an arrangement which would bind the two states together, not politically but economically, and thus ensure their ability to survive. And after all our studies, we agreed that the only solution was partition with economic union.

This concluded, we flew to Lake Success, where the partition vote itself is a matter of history. It has been said that this vote (23 to 13 with 11 abstentions) was the result of improper pressures, but I should like to make it clear that the Arabs, who have been especially vehement in such accusations, were actively working behind the scenes to procure anti-partition votes.

I myself can testify to this. A few days before the vote I was accosted in the delegates' lounge by a group of Arab spokesmen, among whom were Faris Bey el-Khouri of Syria, General Noury As-Said and Dr. Mohamed Fadhil Jamali of Iraq and Camille Chamoun of Lebanon.

(OVER)

BEHIND THE PALESTINE REVERSAL

General As-Said was smiling: "What would you do if your government would instruct you to change your position and vote against partition? Would you resign?"

Somewhat surprised, I replied, "I cannot even contemplate such a possibility. You can be sure that I act with the backing of my government and my people."

"Nevertheless," interrupted el-Khoury, "if such would be the case, what would you do?"

"I tell you it is impossible."

"But suppose it would happen, what would you do?"

"I tell you it will not happen, but if you want to know what I would do in that impossible case, I would resign before I would act contrary to my convictions."

"Well," said Jamali, "you may have to resign, because we are working very hard on your government."

No new instructions ever came to me. But I was not surprised when Ricardo Fournier, delegate of Costa Rica, told me indignantly that the Arabs had offered to support his country's candidacy for the U.N. Trusteeship Council providing he would change his propartitionist stand. "I told them flatly that I would not sell my vote or sacrifice my honor," he told me.

Partition could not be killed in an open vote of the nations, but secret forces were at work to kill it even before the vote was taken. Day after day our four-nation working group labored strenuously to fit the partition plan to Britain's program of withdrawal, and day after day Britain refused to make clear precisely what that program was.

On November 20th, nine days before the vote, I was unable to endure this any longer. I declared before the United Nations:

"We are confronted here by a situation forced upon us. The United Nations did not ask for the Palestinian question to be brought here. It was Great Britain herself who dropped this problem into our lap."

"We can only conclude that although the United Kingdom had said it would not oppose the partition plan, it is, in fact, opposing it by devious means."

"The United Kingdom's plan and behavior will lead only to bloodshed in Palestine. I warn you that there will be torrents of blood and I tell you now, before it is too late, that the only responsible party for that blood will be the United Kingdom."

Even as I spoke an intrigue was developing behind the scenes to prevent the commission which was to go to Palestine and supervise the setting up of the two independent states from being composed of men who were actively propartitionist. This commission was to be composed of the representatives of Iceland, Norway, Poland, Uruguay and Guatemala. It was no secret that Professor Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat of Uruguay and I, who had both been members of UNSCOP, would do our best to see that partition was carried out faithfully.

Pedro Zuloaga, a delegate of Venezuela, was approached by a liaison man attached to the United States delegation who suggested that to place two Latin Americans as strongly propartitionist as Fabregat and I on the commission

"would hamper its work."

A few days later the chief Norwegian delegate announced that Norway considered the present composition of the commission unsatisfactory, and must reserve its acceptance of a post.

Power Politics Like Football

I was angry. I thought it unfair for my country to become a football of the big powers. There was only one course I could take consonant with dignity. It might not be diplomatic but it would be honest. I asked Herschel Johnson of the U.S. delegation to join me for a private conversation.

Once we were alone, I began:

"Mr. Johnson, I hope you will excuse me for being frank and even rude. I have reasons to believe that your government objects to the inclusion on the commission of Uruguay and Guatemala. I know too that your delegation controls sufficient votes to bar our election. I have no right to expose Guatemala to a rebuttal from the Assembly. If through the corridor and lounge propaganda of the United States we shall be rebuked and humiliated, I prefer to withdraw the name of my country from the list of candidates."

Johnson said: "I appreciate your speaking frankly to me and I shall be perfectly frank with you, Mr. Granados. The State Department feels that to include both you and Mr. Fabregat on the commission would arouse Arab animosity. I tell you this is not my feeling but I must carry out the instructions given me."

"I think the United States is making a tremendous mistake by following this policy of appeasement," I said. "If the Arabs are not shown that a real intent exists to carry out the United Nations resolution, they will be encouraged to oppose it."

Our conversation made it obviously impossible for this concealed game to continue. Thus, later that afternoon Fabregat came to me and said soberly, "A few moments ago I was informed that the American government thinks it very inconvenient for both of us to remain on the commission. At least one of us should be withdrawn, I am told. What do you say?"

I replied with great indignation:

"I think neither you nor I have the least chance of being elected. The Big Powers are maneuvering partly to please the Arabs and partly to please the British. It is a shameful and sordid business!"

There was nothing we could do. We agreed that when the moment came, we would withdraw the names of our countries, and we did so.

In place of the original five countries, Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and the Philippines were appointed.

Let me stress that I am convinced that partition ultimately will become a fact, no matter what decisions may be taken on paper. Let me emphasize that the choice before us was never one between a solution leading toward disorder, and one leading toward peace; it was a choice between disorder leading toward a solution, and disorder without a solution.

This was the choice at the time when the British, facing bloodshed, put Palestine into the hands of the U.N. It is still the choice today.

THE END

NEW YORK Herald Tribune



Thursday, April 21, 1948

The Mandate of Events

The extraordinary, and profoundly dispiriting, contrast between the realities in Palestine and the arguments, illusions and futilities at Lake Success drags itself along. While the United Nations committees wrangle in their vacuum of either statesmanship or courage, events in Palestine continue to shape a future daily assuming a greater and greater aspect of inevitability. The U. N. may talk trusteeship as against partition, but the Zionists have already formed the independent government which will have to take over (because there will be no alternative) on May 16 and make partition a fact. Yesterday the British were evacuating most of Haifa, and the Haganah troops were moving in, as they will have to move in on the heels of British withdrawal elsewhere. Even more significant is the report that a special administration is being formed for the Jews in Jerusalem, distinct from the proposed Jewish state and responsible not to its government but to the World Zionist Organization.

Such an administration is again a recognition of facts—of the same facts which led the General Assembly, in its partition resolution of last year, to set Jerusalem aside from the proposed Jewish and Arab states, placing it under international control. Jerusalem and its holy places are an international heritage, while the proposed Jewish state, centered along the coast, neither can carry nor should be asked to carry the burden of protecting Jerusalem's Jewish community, cut off in the depths of Arab territory. The Jews of Jerusalem are thus confided not to the nascent Jewish state but to the World Zionist Organization, making possible their ultimate incorporation in the international control of some kind which is the only practicable answer to the problem of Jerusalem.

While the talk continues at Lake Success, the future is being indelibly etched by events. A Jewish state can no longer be prevented. U. N. trusteeship for Jerusalem, backed by whatever forces are necessary to maintain order and essential services, can no longer be avoided. The Arabs can no longer be dissuaded from war merely by words, hopes or "moral" pressures. These are facts. They express the actual forces at work upon the ground; they are the materials with which statesmanship has to operate. Statesmanship cannot alter them by dreams of "crucies" or "trusteeships" that have no basis in realities. What statesmanship can do is to recognize them and build on them concrete proposals that will so far as possible limit the bloodshed and hasten the achievement of practical equilibrium among the forces actually at work in that tortured country.

America and Partition

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1948

The Fact of Partition

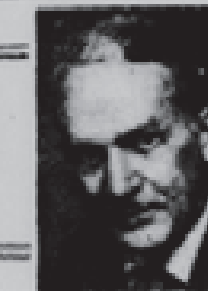
The report of the Palestine Committee of the United Nations reveals candidly how little has been accomplished by this body in implementing the partition resolution of last Nov. 29. It foresees in Palestine, unless adequate outside help is forthcoming, "administrative chaos, starvation, widespread strife, violence and bloodshed." At the same time, in a solemn declaration, the General Zionist Council has asserted that an independent Jewish state will be established on May 15, the day following Britain's departure. The vacuum left by the Palestine Commission is thus being filled by the Zionists themselves; and partition, which has had its setbacks as a theory, is being transformed into a solid fact.

That the Zionists have been driven to act without the official blessing of the international organization is regrettable; yet it is difficult to see how any other result could have been anticipated. The partition resolution of the United Nations fanned to consuming flame the long-held hopes of the Jewish world; it was not to be supposed that Zionists could wait indefinitely upon the hesitations and delays of outside powers. As the Arab opposition to a Jewish state forced upon them the need for military action, so the Western indecision has forced on them the political initiative. Though we dislike to see the international authority by-passed, we cannot as Americans be wholly insensitive to the reasons which impel a people to declare its independence, not wholly unmoved by the courage which makes such a declaration possible.

The rapidly developing situation in Palestine calls our policy-makers to a re-examination of their course. They still tend to act as if partition were something which depended on their will, and could be given or withdrawn by turns. They talk, if reports from Washington are correct, about sending troops to maintain security in the Holy Land only if a truce between Jews and Arabs has first been achieved—ignoring the fact that the Arabs will make no truce with partition, and that the Jews will not surrender the goal they have desired so long and which they have seen coming so near. The United States must seek to limit its involvement in this troubled area and apply its force in the most efficient possible way. But the time has come when a course must be laid which accepts our full responsibility and is shaped to the unescapable factors—military and political—of the Palestine situation as a whole.

On the Other Hand

By Lowell Mellett



Washington.

When the United Nations convenes in a special assembly on Friday, strangers in the visitors' gallery should be able to pick out the representatives of the United States of America by the color of their faces. Their faces will be, or should be, red.

The American representatives will occupy a humiliating position, humiliating to themselves and to the great country for which they undertake to speak. They will have come to argue that the world organization should crawl before the threats of a coup of small Arab countries and reverse itself on a decision made a little more than four months ago. This decision, the partition plan for Palestine, was reached in large part because of the public and private urging of these same American representatives.

On orders from Washington the American delegation back in November worked day and night, in the Assembly chamber and in hotel rooms, to line up a majority of the nations for the partition plan—the only plan that seemed to contain the elements of justice and practicality. They were completely successful. Even the Soviet Union agreed.

Now, on a change of orders from Washington, the embarrassed Americans must undertake to undo one of the truly constructive jobs thus far accomplished within the U.N. This of itself would contain no cause for humiliation if anything had happened to reveal that the original action was unwise, unfair or in

any way improper. But nothing of that kind has happened.

The Arab countries, to be sure, have declared they will not accept the authority of the U.N., of which some of them are members; that they propose to keep on killing off the Jews and nobody can stop them. But no great power—certainly not one that professes itself prepared to "contain" Russian aggression wherever it may show itself—could be expected to capitulate to such threats and ask the rest of the world to join in the capitulation.

To replace the partition plan the American government will suggest a trusteeship under the U.N. This is acceptable to neither the Arabs nor the Jews. For one thing, there is no reason to believe that it can be made to work or can even be set up before the date of May 15, when Great Britain is due to relinquish her Palestine mandate. For another, it is a flagrant affront to both the Jews and the Arabs.

"It certainly seems to imply," said Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Australian Foreign Minister, "that the peoples to be placed under trusteeship are not sufficiently 'advanced' for self-government. Such a suggestion would seem to be untenable in relation either to

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Washington, D. C.

and

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the Palestinian Arabs or to the Palestinian Jews."

If it seems that way to the Australian statesman, it is easy to understand how it seems to the Jews and the Arabs. The Jews have reason for pride in the capacities they have shown in developing their corner of Palestine. The Arabs could take pride in their ability to throw a great power such as the U.S. off its stride. Both can feel they are capable of governing themselves. In any case both are dead set against the trusteeship idea and that means double trouble if the plan is forced on them.

The U.S. is engaged in a series of brave adventures—all part presumably of a concerted whole—to win the world to our concept of democracy. What doth it profit us that we gain the whole world and lose our own soul? has long been asked. An even more devastating question, however, is raised by this proposed abandonment of our self-respect. It is: What will it profit us if we lose our soul and yet fail to gain the whole world? That is one risk we should not even calculate.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue

New York 17, N. Y.

U. S. Stand on Palestine Called Sacrifice of Moral Leadership

Sumner Welles Says the 'Vital Elements in Our National Security' Which Swayed Marshall Cost Us Repute With Small Nations

By Sumner Welles

Former Under Secretary of State

The official explanations of the reversal of our policy on Palestine at least make two points wholly clear. There is no shadow of justification for this reversal; and the position which the United States now occupies is profoundly humiliating.

Secretary Marshall states that our action is due to "vital elements of our national security." He implies that the enforcement of partition would bring about the dispatch of Soviet troops to Palestine, and that the resulting situation would "touch off the powder keg."

If this government had had the foresight, when the Assembly adopted its partition resolution, to insist upon the creation by the Security Council of a United Nations constabulary for Palestine composed of contingents from the lesser powers, there would have been no possibility that Russia or any other major power could seek to police Palestine. The Arabs would never have resorted to extreme measures. Today Arab aggression is increasing. Encouraged by the way the mighty United States has weakly given in to their threats, the Arabs have flouted the United Nations. They reject any suggestion of a trusteeship. They will try to seize the whole of Palestine as soon as the British withdraw.

Jews Seek to Hold Area

The Jews are defending the areas granted them under partition. They have announced the establishment of a provisional government to assume control of those areas the day after the British leave. They are abiding by the terms of the Assembly's decision. But they will resist any proposal that does not give them their promised freedom.

Because of our previous vacillation, partition may now mean local hostilities. But a trusteeship would touch off the very "powder keg" of which we are told to beware. In that event Russian intervention would be certain.

Are military dispositions the only "vital elements of our national security"?

To many of us the good faith of the United States, the preservation of its moral leadership among the nations of the world, the confidence that other peoples possess in its dependability and the survival of the United Nations are elements that are also vital. It is these elements that the reversal of American policy on Palestine has flagrantly disregarded.

The legalistic arguments that the American delegate was instructed to deliver to the Security Council represent a flat denial of the responsibility of the United Nations for the preservation of world peace. That denial undermines the very foundations upon which the United Nations was built. The action of the United States in regard to Palestine can be as far-reaching in its results as the refusal by the League of Na-

tions to protect China when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. We are destroying the faith of the peoples of the world in the efficacy and authority of the United Nations.

The U. N. as a "Vital Element"

Are the American people willing to agree that the United Nations has already ceased to be a "vital element of our national security?"

What confidence can the weaker nations have in our good faith when this government waffles on its commitments?

The United States was chiefly responsible for the adoption by the Assembly of the partition resolution four months ago. Since that time the President, the Secretary of State and the American delegate to the United Nations have given repeated assurances that the American government stood foursquare behind that decision. The Jews of Palestine have relied on those assurances. Their entire course has been governed by that faith. Yet those assurances have now been deliberately violated.

The lesser members of the United Nations are already in open revolt.

The effect upon the confidence of the smaller nations in American leadership can best be illustrated by the published statement of a representative of one of the Latin-American republics: "First they convinced us that partition was the only answer. Now they are trying to convince us that partition is insane. It is true that I represent a small nation which cannot stand alone. I am willing to accept United States leadership. But this is treachery. By this latest reversal the United States has forfeited whatever moral justification it once had for leading the small nations."

War Danger Aggravated

At this crucial moment when we seek to rally the countries of Eastern Europe to our leadership in the fear of Russian expansion, are we prepared to agree that our moral prestige and the confidence of other peoples in the good faith of this country are no longer "vital elements of our national security?"

This reversal by the United States will increase, and not diminish, the danger of a major war in the Near East. It deals what may well be a death blow to the United Nations, and to our hope for collective security. It shakes confidence in the United States throughout the world.

For what is alleged to be momentary expediency we have thrown away national assets that were essential to our safety. And these, unfortunately, are not assets which can be soon regained.

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SILVER EXHORTS US TO BACK PARTITION

Holds Truce, Trustee Moves
for Palestine Futile—
Presses Defense Rights

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declared yesterday that the latest United States proposals for a truce in the Holy Land and further consideration by the United Nations of the future government there are wholly unsatisfactory and futile.

What is needed, he said, is adherence to the partition plan sanctioned by the General Assembly of the United Nations last November, and the organization and equipment of a Jewish militia to support the provisional government scheduled to be set up in Palestine not later than May 15. To this end he urged the removal of all embargoes in the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine.

The statement was delivered over a network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, which announced that Ambassador Warren R. Austin, representing the United States in the United Nations discussions, had been invited to reply on April 7.

TEXT OF STATEMENT

Last November the United Nations Assembly, under the leadership of our Government, overwhelmingly approved the recommendation of its special committee to solve the Palestine problem by the setting up of two independent states in Palestine, one Arab and one Jewish, within an economic union, and the internationalizing of the Jerusalem area.

This action came in reply to a request which was made in April of last year by Great Britain, the mandatory for Palestine, asking for a Special Assembly of the United Nations to make recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

The recommendations made by the United Nations in November, 1947, were accepted by Great Britain which later announced its intention to relinquish the mandate on May 15 next and to complete the withdrawal of its troops from Palestine by Aug. 1.

In the meantime the United Nations appointed a commission to implement the plan. This commission has already done an enormous amount of work in connection with the execution of the plan. A committee of experts is already at work in Jerusalem. Were it not for the refusal of the mandatory government to permit it to come any earlier than May 1, the commission would now be in Palestine completing the arrangements for taking over all governmental and administrative functions.

April 1 was the last day set for the announcement by the commission of the Provisional Council of Government for the new states. The Jewish Community of Palestine has already informed the commission of its suggestions for the composition of the Provisional Council of Government for the Jewish State.

It was on the eve of the consummation of this plan that the United States Government, on March 19, requested that the Palestine Commission should suspend its work and that a Special Assembly of the United Nations be called to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine pending an eventual political settlement. The explanation given for this sudden reversal is that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means and that a further opportunity should be given the interested parties to reach an agreement regarding the future government of Palestine.

It was, of course, never anticipated that the partition plan or, for that matter, any plan for the settlement of the Palestine problem, could be carried out entirely by peaceful means, and that no force whatsoever would be required to back up a settlement. In fact, it was the United States delegation itself, last November, which first spoke of the need for an international constabulary made up of volunteers to enforce a United Nations decision.

Throughout the long discussions which preceded the vote at

the Assembly, the representatives of the Arab States and of the Arabs of Palestine made it unmistakably clear that they intended to resist by force any decision of which they did not approve. It was in the full knowledge of this resolve of the Arabs to resort to violence that the Assembly of the United Nations, inclusive of our own Government, nevertheless took the step which it did.

Militias Provided For

State militias were provided for in the plan to preserve law and order, and the Security Council, it was understood, would step in if a breach of peace developed, exercising all the power assigned to it under the Charter.

Equally misleading is the other reason given for suspending work on the partition plan and the calling of a Special Assembly, namely to afford another opportunity to Jews and Arabs to reach an agreement regarding the future government of Palestine. In this connection it would be well to recall what the representative of the United States, Ambassador Herschel Johnson, said last November when this subject was being discussed in the Assembly:

"Much has been said during the course of these debates on the desirability and necessity of presenting to the General Assembly a plan which would command the agreement of both the principal protagonists in this situation. I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented either to the Assembly or to the mandatory Government during its long years of tenure or in any other place which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented."

At the General Assembly last November, the British representative, Sir Alexander Cadogan, stated: "After years of strenuous but unavailing effort, His Majesty's Government have reached the conclusion that they are not able to bring about a settlement in Palestine based upon the consent of both Arabs and Jews, and that the mandate is no longer workable."

As far back as ten years ago the Royal Commission on Palestine, which made a thorough study of the situation and recommended partition as the only practical solution, declared:

"Neither Arab nor Jew has any sense of service to a single state . . . The conflict will go on. The gulf between Arabs and Jews will widen . . . The hope of harmony between the races has proved untenable. We would suggest that there is little moral value in maintaining the political unity of Palestine at the cost of perpetual hatred."

When in the face of this overwhelming testimony, the United States Government now requests the abandonment of a plan which has been approved by the United Nations and which is in process of implementation, in favor of renewed consultations in order to reach an agreed solution between Jews and Arabs, it is not making a serious contribution to the subject. It is, in fact, engaged in an act of inept political improvisation which is dictated by no responsible statesmanship and by concern neither for basic national interests nor for the larger interest of the world community.

Sumner Welles Is Quoted

No one can help but agree with the sentiments expressed on Monday last by Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, who stated:

"There is no shadow of justification for this reversal; and the position which the United States now occupies is profoundly humiliating. . . . The United States was chiefly responsible for the adoption by the Assembly of the partition resolution four months ago."

"Since that time the President, the Secretary of State and the American delegate to the United Nations have given repeated assurances that the American Government stood foursquare behind that decision. . . . This reversal by the United States will increase and not diminish the danger of a major war in the Near East. It deals what may well be a death blow to the United Nations, and to our hope for collective security. It shakes confidence in the United States throughout the world."

The United States Government has requested a Special Assembly of the United Nations to reconsider the Palestine problem.

To what end? What can another Assembly do that the last Assembly failed to do? What new facts are available now that were not previously known? This problem and this little country of Palestine have been investigated by more commissions in recent years than any other problem or any other spot on the face of the globe.

What new solutions can be pulled-out of the bag? There are none, and the Palestine problem cannot be solved by postponements and procrastinations. That way lies continued strife and growing chaos.

The United States has proposed a temporary trusteeship for Palestine, although in its formal resolutions introduced yesterday in the Security Council it made no reference to trusteeship. It avows that this is no substitution for partition. The President still maintains that he is for partition, and so does the Secretary of State.

The United States feels that emergency action is needed inasmuch as there will be no public authority in Palestine after May 15, and that large-scale fighting among the people of that country will be the inevitable result of the vacuum thus created.

But if the plan of the United Nations is carried out faithfully in letter and spirit, there will be a public authority in Palestine on May 15. There will be a commission of the United Nations to take over. There will be an organized Jewish militia in the Jewish State to maintain law and order, provided the mandatory regime fulfills its obligations loyally and permits this militia to be organized and adequately equipped in time.

Government Set-Up Ready

The Jewish Provisional Government on May 15 will be prepared to take over all the responsibilities of administration of the proposed Jewish State under the guidance of the United Nations Commission. There is no need for a temporary trusteeship to fill any vacuum.

An international trusteeship will require as much force, if not more, to maintain itself as would the partition plan. Where is this force to come from? Is the United States prepared to send troops into Palestine to impose a trusteeship upon that country when it is unwilling to send troops to back up the United Nations decision on partition? If so, why? Why is it willing to send in troops to back up what is clearly a temporary arrangement which leaves the basic solution still unsettled, and why is it unwilling to make such a contribution in troops toward a final and permanent settlement? Palestine has lived under a trusteeship (the British mandate) for twenty-five years. If, through this long period, a trusteeship has not been productive of any agreed solution for Palestine, why are we now to expect a solution to result from another and temporary trusteeship?

It is clear that no trusteeship is contemplated without British participation. Great Britain would not permit any other power to come to Palestine before May 1. It has denied that right to the United Nations Commission. How then will a trustee power, other than Great Britain, be able to take over in time and fill the so-called vacuum? For all practical purposes it is to be either a new British trusteeship supported by the United States or a direct Anglo-American trusteeship with or without France.

In any such event the trusteeship will be drafted on British terms. British policy in the Middle East is firmly wedded to the sponsorship of the Arab League. Consultation with "states directly concerned" called for under the trusteeship rules of the Charter would be interpreted by Great Britain as consultation with the Arab states.

An unfriendly mandatory power and hostile Arab states would thus, in the main, determine the terms of the agreement upon which the new trusteeship is to be based. Is it not clear that this new trusteeship would be directed against those fundamental Jewish rights in Palestine which the United Nations, under American leadership, has but recently approved. The ask of suppressing a disillusioned and resentful Jewish population which has been prepared for independence and statehood would inevitably involve the individual or collective trustee in heavy military liabilities.

The American Government is

proposing a trusteeship without any assurance that a trustee is available, that the special General Assembly to be convoked will approve of such an arrangement, that any section of the population will cooperate, or that adequate means of enforcement can be secured. The partition plan admittedly involves difficulties, but these can hardly compare with the accumulation of hazards and difficulties involved in its abandonment.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine feels that the cause of justice and the cause of Palestine will best be served by carrying out the decision taken by the United Nations last November. That decision represented a major compromise. Partition was never the Jewish solution. It represents a grievous abridgement of Jewish rights. Nevertheless, the Jewish people reluctantly but loyally accepted that decision because it appeared reasonable to the United Nations.

Acting on U. N. Decision

Relying upon the collective judgment and authority of the United Nations, the Jewish people of Palestine has been moving forward in the spirit of that decision. It has notified the Security Council that it must oppose any proposal designed to prevent or postpone the establishment of the Jewish State, and that it rejects any plan to set up a new trusteeship regime.

It informed the Security Council that upon the termination of the mandatory administration, and not later than May 15 next, a Provisional Jewish Government will commence to function in Palestine. This decision of the organized Jewish Community of Palestine was taken after the most searching and serious deliberation. It may involve a measure of conflict after May 15. It still hopes that there may be no need for prolonged conflict in Palestine.

The Jews of Palestine hope that the Arabs of Palestine will come to accept the United Nations decision and thereby put an end to the scourge of strife and bloodshed which can only do incalculable hurt to both peoples. But in the face of the mounting threats and the incursion of armed bands across the frontiers from neighboring Arab States bent on war, the Jewish people of Palestine is compelled to make all necessary preparations for self-defense.

It asks that it be permitted to organize and equip its own militia. This is an elementary moral obligation of the United Nations in view of the decision which it took. It is likewise an elementary moral obligation on the part of those nations who have approved the plan, to remove all embargoes on the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine who have accepted the decision, and to deny such arms to those who are violently resisting it.

The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves, but their hands must not be tied. They plead with the United Nations to remove all obstacles in the way of their self-defense. They are carrying out the purposes of the United Nations. They should not be penalized for doing so.

They appeal to the United States, the greatest democracy on earth, whose people have, through the years, manifested deep understanding and sympathy for the historic right of the Jewish people to rebuild its national life in its ancient homeland, to desist from a course of action which is calculated to do them grievous wrong, prolong strife in the Holy Land and discredit the United Nations as an instrumentality for solving grave international problems and making its decision stick. They appeal to the people and the Government of the United States to help them in their desperate struggle toward freedom and independence.

Brewster Calls Palestine Arms Ban Illegal

Charges State Dept. Has Usurped Legislative Power

By I. F. STONE
Washington Editor

WASHINGTON

In an exhaustive legal memorandum made public here, Sen. Owen Brewster (R., Me.), calls the State Dept.'s action in denying export licenses for arms shipments to Palestine, "a high-handed, arbitrary, and wholly unwarranted usurpation of legislative authority."

Sen. Brewster disclosed that in the course of his investigation he questioned the chief of the Munitions Division of the State Dept., E. T. Cummins, who is also executive secretary of the National Munitions Control Board in charge of arms export licenses.

"Mr. Cummins," the Senator reported, "was unable to cite any specific law or any treaty which would be violated by arms shipments to Palestine."

Challenges Sincerity Of 'Neutrality'

Sen. Brewster not only attacked the legality of the embargo but the sincerity of the "neutrality" policy advanced as its excuse.

Sen. Brewster cited three cases "to show that our State Dept. has not always stood on the sidelines as an impartial observer":

¶ "The assignment of 50 destroyers to Great Britain before our entry into the war, but after Great Britain had declared war on Germany."

¶ "The shipment of arms and ammunition to the Finns during their encounter with the Russians in 1939."

¶ "The Flying Tiger episode [before the U. S. A. entered the war.—Ed.] in connection with which we

supplied large numbers of airplanes, equipped with machine guns and bomb racks, set up a factory for the manufacture of military aircraft for the Chiang Kai-shek government, and continued to supply this factory with the machinery and tools for the construction of military aircraft."

State Dept. Obligated To Grant Licenses

Sen. Brewster—firing the first gun in what may become a major battle on the Senate floor—pointed an accusing finger at President Truman's message of April 15 last, transmitting a proposal for legislation to control exports and imports of arms.

That message, Sen. Brewster said, "admits that the Secretary of State must grant every application for a license for the exportation of arms unless such action would be in violation of a treaty."

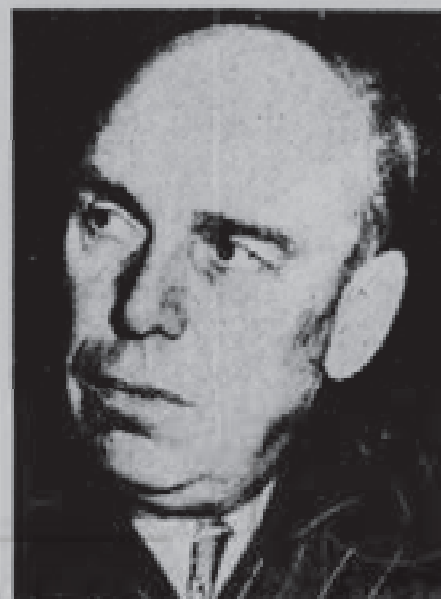
The Senator declared that since Congress had yet to act upon the President's request for stricter controls, the State Dept. "proceeds to exercise that control without authority."

Reasons For Which Exports Can Be Banned

Sen. Brewster quoted the language of the existing law to show that arms licenses for export may be denied only under two circumstances:

¶ If such export were in violation of "any treaty to which the United States is a party."

¶ If the President had issued a proclamation declaring that the export of arms to any specified country or area "would be con-



Sen. Brewster Gives Legal Brief

trary to the interest of the United States."

Past proclamations of this kind have barred shipments at various times to China, Honduras, Nicaragua and Cuba.

"No such proclamation has been issued," the Brewster memorandum declared, "precluding the shipment of arms to Palestine."

State Dept. Cites 'Inter-Office Memo'

Sen. Brewster said he had "quizzed the officials of the Munitions Division of the Department of State specifically and exhaustively on this point" but that the only authority they could cite for their embargo action was an "inter-office memorandum from the Secretary of State."

The Brewster memorandum opens the Administration to imputations of hypocrisy, by pointing out that the principal reason cited by the President for asking greater power over arms shipments from Congress last April was to be able to support UN decisions.

"We have committed ourselves," the President said in that message, "to international cooperation through the United Nations. If this participation is to be fully effective this Government must have control over traffic in weapons which will permit us to act in accordance with our position and in the United Nations and will be adaptable to changes in the international situation."

UN Hasn't Asked Ban on Shipments

Sen. Brewster in comment on this plea asserted: "The United Nations has not, however, by resolution or other action directed or requested its member nations to withhold shipments of arms to Palestine."

The Senator said he had "checked this point thoroughly with the local office of the United Nations."

Sen. Brewster said the discretionary powers asked last April had not been granted, but that "nonetheless the State Dept., presuming to know what is good for the world and this Nation far better than the Congress, proceeds to exercise that control without authority."

The Senator said the State Dept. had not even published an order or regulation as required by law, but had merely issued a press release on Dec. 5, 1947, putting the embargo into effect.

Letters to The Times

Arabs as Aggressors

United Nations Asked to Authorize An International Police Force

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Current pleas for compromise in Palestine are misleading and dangerous. They are misleading because they are based upon two untenable assumptions; dangerous because they becloud the issue and give encouragement to the aggressors.

These two false assumptions are: First, that the Jews and the Arabs are equally or almost equally responsible for the present bloodshed in the Holy Land; and, second, that a substantial group of Arab leaders would accept a compromise if one were offered.

The responsibility for bloodshed today in Palestine is not divided. The Arabs alone are the aggressors. They have rejected categorically the United Nations partition decision voted by more than two-thirds majority of the Assembly on Nov. 29; the Jews have accepted that decision. The Arabs are using or are threatening to use all their available military forces to forestall the implementation of the United Nations judgment. The Jews are using all their strength to uphold that judgment and are begging the Security Council of the United Nations to implement it. Thus the Arabs have clearly indicted themselves as the aggressors. Under these circumstances, talk of compromise involving a reversal of the United Nations decision can only tend to appease and, therefore, to encourage such aggression.

No More Conciliatory

The second assumption of the "compromisers" that there are a number of Arab leaders who would accept a compromise—even if this involved some further weakening of the Jewish position in Palestine—is also untrue. Not the slightest evidence has been adduced to show that the Arab leaders are today any more conciliatory than they were in February and March, 1946, when my colleagues and I of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry spent several weeks investigating opinions in Palestine and in its Arab neighboring states. Then not a single important Arab spokesman dared to support any deviation from the accepted

line that the whole of Palestine must be an Arab state. During the past two years Arab leadership opinion has become, if that were possible, even more intransigent. Any Arab leader who today spoke of compromise would do so at the risk of his life.

Clearly, the Arab leaders would not be satisfied even with the complete reversal of the United Nations action. In addition, they demand that the internationally recognized bases of the Jewish homeland in Palestine, established by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate, be scrapped and the Jews there be reduced to a defenseless minority.

The "compromisers" forget also that the United Nations decision was itself a compromise. In accepting it the Jewish Agency, as representative of the Jewish community in Palestine and of Zionists throughout the world, made large sacrifices of Jewish claims and of Jewish traditional aspirations. The non-inclusion in the Jewish State of Western Galilee, a substantial portion of the Negev and of Jerusalem were large Jewish concessions in order to secure an international and peaceful solution. The Arab leaders, on their part, offered no concessions during the United Nations discussions and offer none now.

No Compromise

There is today only one way to bring peace to the Holy Land. It is for the United Nations to make unmistakably clear to the Arab leaders that there will be no compromise with aggression. This can best be done by the authorization of a relatively small international police force to represent the United Nations in Palestine. Such a force would not have to be large in order to re-establish order and maintain peace, particularly since it could count on the wholehearted cooperation of the Jewish militia, Haganah.

In this crisis our Government, by permitting the impression to prevail—as is indicated in a revealing dispatch on Feb. 10 in THE NEW YORK TIMES—that "the United States policy remains one of theoretical support of the partition plan" is encouraging Arab intransigency and is thereby endangering the peace in Palestine and the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

JAMES G. McDONALD.

New York, Feb. 11, 1948.

Friday, February 6, 1948

Collective Paralysis on Palestine

Last spring the situation in Palestine appeared desperate enough to necessitate a special session of the United Nations Assembly. A committee was appointed to investigate and report; the regular Assembly session debated the question and, after a bitter fight, adopted a plan calling for the partition of the Holy Land. The British refuse to bear sole responsibility; the Arabs are in arms—and the Jews remain for all practical purposes, in the same position as when this lengthy U. N. process began nearly a year ago. That is to say, they have no legal defense organization, no legal method of acquiring (or even possessing) arms, no legal method of increasing their strength through immigration. To be sure, they do have a paper promise of statehood from the U. N., but the international organization, apparently exhausted by the effort required to produce this document, is now striking attitudes of languor and embarrassment, waiting for Palestine to explode, or for someone to take the initiative in averting tragedy.

The position of the United States at this juncture is one of peculiar responsibility. Officially and unofficially the United States took the lead in urging a change in the conditions of the British mandate, and later in promoting partition. If Palestine collapses into anarchy upon the withdrawal of the British it will be a terrible reflection upon American policy no less than upon the prestige and authority of the United Nations. It is necessary, therefore, that this country take the initiative in securing U. N. action to implement partition.

The most obvious procedure would be to give the Jews of Palestine the legal right and the means to defend themselves. Mr. David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency, is confident of the ability of his people to protect their interests if they are allowed to form a militia and are armed by the U. N. Such a program, then, should be the first order of business for the Palestine Commission and the Security Council, and the United States could well exert every legitimate influence to secure the adoption of a definite plan toward this end.

If the Jews of Palestine can be armed and organized in time, there may well be no occasion for further U. N. action. But as a matter of insurance the world organization should canvass other methods of enforcing its decision. Palestine could be defended by contingents from U. N. member states. This would involve, in all probability, a Russian unit, as well as American troops. Another method would be through the formation of a distinctly U. N. constabulary, recruited from volunteers who would not represent individual states but the organization as a whole. Such a force would take time to form and train, but it would be open to fewer objections than any other means of U. N. military intervention.

The U. N. is looking to the United States for some light and leading on the enforcement of partition, and this country cannot afford to withhold it. The keynote of American policy must be collective action; it should not involve unilateral measures that would impose the entire burden on the United States. But the present state of collective paralysis on the Palestine issue is too dangerous to endure—too dangerous for Palestine, for the U. N. and for the United States.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

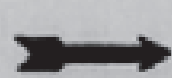
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U.M.T. Is Conscription

An Editorial

Federal Union Is Not Enough!

By Truman B. Douglass



Palestine and the
Jew—A Reply

By Philip S. Bernstein

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• February 4, 1948 •

Six Dollars a Year

Palestine and the Jew—A Reply

By Philip S. Bernstein

NO ONE can take exception to some of the broad objectives enunciated by Rabbi Lazaron in his article, "Palestine and the Jew," which appeared in *The Christian Century* for November 19, 1947. The reign of God and the obligations imposed by his moral law are recognized by Jew and Christian alike. Both accept the responsibility of working for his Kingdom on earth. However, when Rabbi Lazaron considers the problem of Palestine in detail, he is less than fair to the facts.

His position may be briefly restated as follows: The Zionist movement does not express the wishes of most American Jews; the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine is a political, non-religious act which will destroy the moral authority of Judaism; the fulfillment of Zionism will worsen, not solve, the problem of the Jews; in the long run, the Jew will be better off if he allies himself with progressive forces marching toward freedom than if he sets up a separate state in Palestine.

I

Let us begin by asking what the Jews themselves want. Elmo Roper, the well known authority on opinion surveys, published on November 22, 1947, the results of the most recent poll on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Jews only were queried. The results were: 80.1 per cent for a Jewish state, 10.5 per cent against, 9.4 per cent undecided. These figures simply confirm what is evident to any objective student of contemporary Jewish life in America. In every community there is a handful of anti-Zionists, but the overwhelming majority of American Jews are either outspoken in their advocacy of a Jewish state or, when presented with a direct question, will express sympathetic approval.

This is true also of the religious leadership. All the rabbinic bodies, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, have strongly repudiated Rabbi Lazaron's position. Of the 311 Jewish chaplains in the United States armed services less than 10 were members of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism.

Between May 1946 and August 1947, while serving as adviser on Jewish affairs to the United States army in Europe, I talked with over a hundred thousand Jewish displaced persons. I did not meet a single anti-Zionist among them. Even those who desired to migrate to the United States to join their families believed in the necessity of a Jewish state in Palestine. From their earliest years they had suffered from anti-Semitism. Since their postwar "liberation," they have seen their hopes blasted by violent pogroms and have faced the obvious unwillingness of every country to open its doors to any considerable numbers of D.P.'s. These Jews are tired of vapid platitudes. They have no faith in international conferences on refugees which simply highlight the reluctance of nations to take them in. They are sick of the humiliation of knocking as beggars at closed doors. Nor do they want a reluctant tolerance which would be followed, according to their

experience, by overt anti-Semitism. They want a Jewish state in Palestine to which they would come as of right, not on sufferance. They wish to live as normal human beings among the free peoples of the world. The anti-Zionist, it should be clear, speaks for a very small minority of the Jewish people.

II

Rabbi Lazaron's second point is that establishment of a political state will destroy the moral authority of Judaism. He forgets that the overwhelming preponderance of Jewish scholarship inextricably links Jewish nationalism and Jewish theology. From the ancient Hebrew prophets to the latest book of Prof. Salo Baron, it is incessantly affirmed that out of Zion shall go forth the Law. Daily the believing Jew prays for the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

To charge Zionism with being anti-religious is not only to contradict the facts, it is to ignore current realities. The leaders in the American Zionist movement are rabbis: Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress; Abba Hillel Silver, president of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine; Israel Goldstein, chairman of the United Palestine Appeal. When the *Herald Tribune* Forum sought an authentic spokesman for modern Judaism, the choice was Chaim Weizmann, revered leader of the world Zionist movement.

Although in Palestine, as elsewhere, there are irreligious people, essentially Zionism has a profound religious motivation. It is based on prophetic teaching and professes a messianic goal. Modern Judaism has been revitalized in Palestine. The ancient ritual practices have already evolved new meaning and new forms. The observance of the Sabbath and the festivals now expresses a living people's soul. New songs and dances and other art forms have emerged which are enriching the religious life of Jews all over the world. With the exception of a handful of old-line Reform temples, all the synagogues of America reveal the fructifying influence of the Jewish renaissance in Palestine. In short, most Jews not only see no conflict between Zionism and Judaism, but find them integrally bound together and complementary.

But Rabbi Lazaron claims that the establishment of a Jewish state will adversely affect the position of the Jews of the world. What are the facts in this connection? First of all, fear of the possible adverse effects of Jewish statehood is irrelevant to the present Jewish position in Europe. Most of Europe's Jews were slaughtered by the nazis. Most of the survivors either huddle in D.P. camps or live in lands where anti-Semitism continues to terrorize them. As the nazis persecuted Jews not for being Zionists but for being Jews, so today Europe's Jew-hatred is unrelated to Zionist aspirations or to the political decisions affecting Palestine. European anti-Semitism is as old as European Jewry. Hitler did not create it; he exploited it. European Jews are worse off today than they have been at

any other time in the nineteen centuries of dispersion. They would smile wryly at Rabbi Lazaron's appeal that they ally themselves with the forces that are marching toward freedom. Where? In what country?

The largest surviving Jewish population of Europe is in Rumania. Most of these 400,000 Jews "sit on their suitcases" awaiting the opening of the doors to Palestine. Many thousands could not wait. I saw them in the D.P. assembly centers in Austria and Germany, their bodies emaciated, their eyes terror-stricken. I asked them whether, since UNRRA had been liquidated and the army prohibited by war department directive from providing aid to new infiltrates, they would not have been better off if they had waited in Rumania. Without exception, they said that the security of the D.P. camps under American protection was infinitely preferable to the menace of Rumanian anti-Semitism.

I saw Polish Jews on the march after the Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1946. They had left behind everything they possessed to flee in panic toward safety in the United States zone. They have been waiting a long time in Germany and Austria, but they will not return to Poland, for they regard it as certain that their return in any numbers would evoke again the violence which forced them to flee. The Jews remaining in Poland—90,000 out of the pre-war total of 3,250,000—await the opportunity to move to Palestine.

The second-largest Jewish community in Europe is that under U.S. army care in D.P. camps. Of these, 90 per cent have expressed the desire to go to Palestine. Their eagerness for resettlement has been intensified by the growth of outspoken German anti-Semitism. Recent army studies reveal that six out of every ten Germans would participate in or condone overt acts against Jews. Feeling against the D.P.'s is running high. Nazi songs are heard again. Stones are thrown into the windows of Jewish homes. Jews are abused in trains and other public places. It is generally believed that the removal of the American army would be followed by pogroms.

III

Informed persons know that most of the Jews of Europe have no future there. (Excluded from this statement are the Jews of Soviet Russia, who live behind the "iron curtain," whose precise condition is unknown and who are not free to express their wishes.) Where shall they go? Again I speak from experience. Disregarding the expressed wishes of the displaced persons, I explored every possibility for their resettlement. Occasionally small numbers could be placed here or there, but the results were canceled out by the increasing birth rate and by new infiltration. There simply was no place to send the great bulk of Europe's surviving Jews.

Anti-Semitism, although a major factor, was not the only obstacle. The countries which needed labor wanted farmers, miners, lumbermen, heavy manual workers. The Jews were chiefly artisans, professional people, small business men. Moreover, there is a soul sickness in the world which has made all nations distrustful of foreigners. Even the United States, the richest country in history, has been unwilling thus far to liberalize its immigration laws. It is no secret that anti-Semitism was the most powerful factor

in blocking the passage of the Stratton bill to admit 100,000 displaced persons a year for four years.

Thus it was that not only Jews but American military and governmental authorities became convinced that Palestine was the only answer to the problem of displaced Jews. And when it became clear that there could be no large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine without Jewish political control, they threw their support behind the proposal for the establishment of a Jewish state.

The claim that the establishment of such a state will worsen the position of the Jews in Europe has no basis in fact. The Jews feel that their position could not be worse. That is why they are ready to brave every danger and hardship in order to reach Palestine. I am inclined to think that if Rabbi Lazaron had spent some time among these displaced Jews he would feel different about their future in Europe.

IV

What really bothers the anti-Zionists, I suspect, is the effect of a Jewish state in Palestine on the status of American Jews. This situation however is not without parallel. Ireland and Czechoslovakia became independent nations only after World War I, but the loyalty of Irish- or Czech-descended American citizens was never questioned on that account. Of course in the case of American Jewry adjustments will have to be made—and can be made. All that is required is a little common sense. Jews must and will remain politically loyal to the United States of America. Spiritually they will have some such attachment to Palestine as the Irishman cherishes for Eire and the Catholic for Rome. If ever there should be a war between the United States and the new Judea—which certainly seems very unlikely—the Jew will be faced with the same conflicts as other groups. This should be no more an insoluble problem for the Jewish-American than it has been for the Italian-, German- or Finnish-American.

On the other hand, the normalizing of the Jewish position in the world should do a great deal to reduce the strain under which the Jew lives in this country. It was the abnormal position of the Jew in Europe which evoked violent anti-Semitism there. Furthermore, the pressure of the unsolved Jewish problem in Europe has been a constant irritant here in America, exacerbating the general problem of refugees and displaced persons for both the taxpayer and the army. Even the burden of guilt on the American conscience, which recognized that something must be done and yet did nothing, was in a sense an irritant.

All this has led to a growing feeling of annoyance with the Jews. The solution of the European Jewish problem will relieve these strains and burdens. The Jewish problem will then be transferred from the arena of controversy to the area of constructive effort. Regardless of the political problems that may arise in Palestine, I envision a more settled condition for the Jews of the United States as a result of the Jewish state.

V

Finally, I would deal with Rabbi Lazaron's charge that Zionism is a reactionary movement and his insistence that the Jews should align themselves with the progressive

forces of the world. Actually, it is the opponents of Zionism who are the known reactionary forces. The grand mufti, who is the leader of the Arab opposition to Zionism, joined Hitler in Berlin during the war to fight Western democracy. He is the spokesman for an unhealthy combination of economic feudalism and religious fanaticism. Before the Jews revolutionized social conditions in Palestine, he condoned a work day of fourteen hours for five cents. He and his like keep the Arab masses ignorant and poverty-stricken, denying them the benefits of modern medicine and modern agriculture. These reactionaries inevitably conflicted with the progressive Western ideas introduced by the Jews into Palestine.

Certainly neither the Arab rulers nor the British colonial administrators in the Middle East represented the forces of social progress. But the Jews did. Into one of the most backward countries of the world they introduced cooperatives, social insurance, universal education, public hygiene, hydro-electrification, newspapers and soap. They established in Palestine one of the most progressive labor movements in the world. Today the Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, has a higher percentage of the population in its membership than is to be found in proportion to numbers in any free country. The other day, I heard Henry Wallace say that the Arabs in Palestine had the lowest wheat yield in the world, even lower than in the time of Christ. Jews, on the other hand, have developed an amazing productivity. They are showing the Arabs the way to prosperity, literacy and good health.

Here is hope for the Middle East. The Jews in Palestine are the progressive forces on the march toward freedom, and it would be well for the Arabs and the world if the Arabs were to join them.

Since Rabbi Lazaron wrote his article his views have taken on a somewhat academic character. The conscience of the world organized in the United Nations has spoken. A clear policy for Palestine has been enunciated. The greatest powers in the world have made the decision and can be relied on to support its implementation. The Jews, having suffered so much and waited so long, and seeing no alternative, will not be turned aside. The Jewish state in partitioned Palestine is on its way.

The question now is, What kind of Jewish state? And what shall our relations with it be?

The new state will face terribly difficult practical problems. At the moment the security problem looms large, but this will become secondary as time passes, while economic and social problems will assume priority. The resettlement and absorption of such vast numbers of Jews will require large funds as well as statesmanship, imagination and social vision. However, it may confidently be expected that the Jewish commonwealth will not only right ancient wrongs and help to bring prosperity and progress to the feudalistic Middle East, but will also yield new insights into life and faith to troubled mankind, once more bringing forth out of Zion the law of God. In an enterprise of such importance and spiritual significance every Jew and all Christians of good will should aid.



1948

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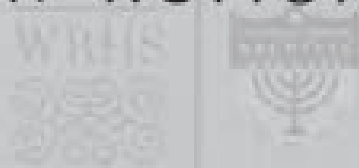


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Harold P. Marcus

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PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE

THE declaration of May 14, 1948, establishing the independent state of Israel, significant as it was in Jewish history, carried with it many responsibilities of an immediate nature. The tasks ahead were centered about the two fundamental issues: organization of the provisional government and intensive preparation to meet an eventual military conflict with the Arab states. Unless these two problems were resolved, the heroic declaration would prove but an empty gesture.

In the first place it was necessary to take over all essential functions of government from an outgoing regime which was chaotic and uncooperative. Actually British rule in Palestine had for months been largely fictitious. Since the United Nations decision on partition on November 29, 1947, a gradual process of deliberate disintegration had been taking place within the British administration. Vital services came to a halt; Arab violence was encouraged directly and indirectly and an obvious trend to obstruct the partition was set in progress.

Fortunately, the Jewish community in Palestine had not been entirely unprepared. A form of internal self government had been in operation under the mandate and a simple exposition of its history and operations will help to explain the transition that took place from foreign rule to independence.

Under the Mandate

Internal Jewish self-government was provided for in a Government ordinance, published in 1928, which recognized the establishment of the *Assefath Haniuecharim* (Jewish Elective Assembly) supreme governing body of the Jewish community. Membership of the Assembly was first chosen by popular elections in 1931.

The *Vaad Leumi* (Jewish National Council), a small executive body functioning within the Assembly, exercised the administrative functions. The extent of its duties may be ascertained from its various departments, which included social welfare, education, culture, religious affairs, health, organization, enlistment and war effort. The Vaad Leumi had legal authority to tax all members of the community for education, social welfare and maintenance of the Rabbinical Courts, and the tax could be enforced in the civil courts.

Additional functions in the fields of immigration, colonization, land purchase, building, agriculture and industry were assumed by various agencies of the World Zionist Organization.

This, then, was the skeleton which formed the framework for the government of Israel.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE provisional government of Israel was formed by merging the Palestinian membership of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi, and by adding members from parties not previously represented in either of these two bodies: the ultra Orthodox Agudath Israel, the Revisionists and the Sephardim. The latter group represents communities of Oriental Jews in Palestine.

The executive branch was composed of a 13-member Cabinet based on a broad coalition of all major parties, excluding the extreme right and the extreme left, the Revisionists and the Communists. The coalition included members of the Mapai (the Labor party of Israel), the General Zionists, Mapam (the United Workers Party), the Mizrachi, Hapoel Hamizrachi (both religious parties), Aliyah Chadashah (New Immigrants) the Sephardim and Agudath Israel.

The 38-member provisional council of government exercised functions of a legislative character. All major decisions in internal, external or financial affairs were under its jurisdiction. Because of the provisional status of this council, however, many issues were deferred to be dealt with by the constituent assembly which was elected on January 25, 1949.

CONSTITUTION

A draft constitution, now being studied and revised, establishes Israel as a democratic republic on Western lines. It provides equal non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters to all persons, and grants human rights and the fundamental freedoms. Special minority rights are accorded to the Arab citizens of Israel.

The draft provides for a single legislative Assembly, the members of which are to be elected by proportional representation.

The president is chosen by the Assembly, and the executive cabinet, composed of members of the council, is also responsible to this body.

While the president has no executive veto over legislation, he is authorized to dissolve the Assembly if no stable cabinet, commanding general support, can be formed.

Judges are appointed by the executive and can be removed only with the consent of two thirds of the members of the chamber.

Dr. Benjamin Akzin characterizes the essential features of the draft constitution as follows:

"What the author (Dr. Leo Kohn) has striven to fashion, and what is sure to survive all amendments, is a state utterly dedicated to the principles of the freedom of the individual, of equal rights and opportunities, and of social progress. The state is given al

necessary safeguards to preserve it from chaos and lawlessness, and yet the draft's principal preoccupation is not with the machinery of the state but with the welfare of the individual: his right to live, worship, earn a livelihood, obtain an education, choose his own associations, and be protected from abuses of state power. This preoccupation is also noticeable in the draft's enumeration of the curbs placed on the liberty of the individual. Their aim is to prevent any one man from encroaching on his neighbor's freedom and rights.

"This is the constitution's one underlying principle. Its other basic feature is that it seeks to link the state in an indissoluble manner to the twin traditions of Judaism as a religion and to Jewry as a historic nationality."

First Elected Assembly

After many months of preparations, the first general elections were held in Israel on January 25, 1949, and 440,000 ballots were cast, constituting about 85 per cent of the eligible voters.

The following table reveals the division of the votes, and the allocation of seats in the Constituent Assembly. Approximately 3,500 votes were required for each of the 120 seats.

<i>Party</i>	<i>Votes Obtained</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>	<i>No. of Seats in Assembly</i>
Mapai _____	155,274	35.72	46
Mapam _____	64,018	14.73	19
United Religious Bloc _____	52,982	12.19	16
Herut _____	49,782	11.46	14
General Zionist Party _____	22,661	5.22	7
Progressive Party _____	17,786	4.09	5
Union of Sephardic Jews and Oriental Communities	15,287	3.52	4
Israeli Communist Party _____	15,148	3.49	4
Democratic List (Arab) _____	7,387	1.70	2
Fighters and Soldiers _____	5,363	1.24	1

WIZO _____	5,173	1.19	1
Yemenites _____	4,399	1.01	1
Workers' Bloc (Arab) _____	3,214	0.74	0
Revisionists _____	2,892	0.66	0
Religious List _____	2,835	0.63	0
Arab Peoples' Party _____	2,812	0.63	0
Women Workers and Religious Women _____	2,796	0.62	0
Gruenbaum List _____	2,514	0.58	0
United List of Religious Workers _____	1,250	0.30	0
Pro-Jerusalem _____	842	0.20	0
Independent Agudat Israel _____	239	0.05	0

The composition of the first Assembly may be further analyzed thus: there are 108 men and 12 women. Three are Arabs, the remainder Jews. Less than 20 were born in Palestine. By occupations they are divided as follows:

35 farmers	5 rabbis
19 union officials	5 manual laborers
18 writers	3 bank directors
12 lawyers	2 mayors
10 business men	2 teachers
8 politicians	1 university professor

The President

The Chief Executive of Israel does not possess the broad powers which we have learned to associate with this office in the United States. Even the limited powers given to him in the draft constitution are under fire from some quarters, and there is possibility that these powers will be reduced even further.

The President, who must be 35 years of age or over, is elected not by direct ballot of the people, but by secret ballot of the Assembly and will hold office for five years. He may be elected for an additional term, immediately thereafter or later, but no more.

Significant limitation of the powers of the President is found in the constitutional provision that "Every official act of the President shall be countersigned by the Prime Minister or a member of the Executive Council who shall thereby assume responsibility for it."

The President may appoint the Prime Minister and the members of the Executive Council, as well as the foreign ministers of the state and the commander in chief of the armed forces.

His other duties are largely honorary in nature. He can exercise executive clemency, receive diplomatic envoys accredited to Israel, formally promulgate laws enacted by the Assembly, and with the approval of the Chamber conclude foreign treaties.

The Judiciary

The judicial system of the country is divided into an order of five courts, each with clearly defined jurisdictions, largely carried over from the existing British judicial system. They are:

1. Magistrates' Courts, which have jurisdiction over small civil cases and light penal cases.

2. District Courts which take jurisdiction over major criminal and civil cases, and also handle appeals from the Magistrates' Courts.

3. A High Court, with original and appellate jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, and with exclusive original jurisdiction in all questions relating to the validity of any law relating to the Constitution.

4. A Supreme Court, which has five members.

5. Religious Courts of the Jewish, Moslem and Christian communities, which have jurisdiction in matters of personal status and of religious foundations and endowments. Marriage and divorce, for instance, are subject to the jurisdiction of these courts.

Judges are appointed by the President with an elaborate advisory system consisting of the Minister of Justice and a representative Selection Board. In the case of the Religious Courts advice for appointments is given by the Minister for Religious Affairs on the basis of recommendations by the several Religious Councils.

The Assembly

Israel is governed by a one-house parliament, known as the Knesseth Israel, literally, Assembly of Israel, elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation. Citizens who have reached the age of 21 may vote.

The Assembly is elected for a four year period, though the constitution empowers it to extend its life no more than one additional term in case of national emergency. In the event of a governmental crisis, and the failure of the President to form a Cabinet which will command the support of the legislature, the President may order the Assembly dissolved and may call for new elections.

The legislature elects its own chairman and vice chairman.

The body takes its name from "Knesseth Magdola," the Great Assembly established in ancient Israel during the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, following the return from the Babylonian Exile. Assembly members are addressed as "Chaver Haknesseth."

Executive Council

Corresponding to the Executive Cabinet, but with much broader powers, is the Council of Government. The Council consists of the Prime Minister, heads of the various ministries, and possible Ministers without portfolio, totalling in all not more than fifteen. Unlike the American cabinet, members of the Council can sit as members of the Chamber of Deputies. They are appointed by the President with the advice of the Prime Minister.

The Council is responsible to the Assembly and must have the support of that body. Should the majority of the Assembly fail to extend that support the Council will resign, and in the European manner the President will appoint a new Prime Minister who must form a Cabinet which can command legislative support. Individual ministers may from time to time resign from their posts and be replaced without entailing the falling of the whole cabinet.

Following are the portfolios in the first elected government of Israel:

David Ben Gurion—Prime Minister and Minister of Defense
Dr. Bernard Joseph—Minister of Food Distribution and Supply
and Minister of Agriculture
Mrs. Golda Myerson—Minister of Labor and Social Institutions
Zalman Shazar (Rubashov)—Minister of Education
Moshe Sharet (Shertok)—Minister for Foreign Affairs
Eliezer Kaplan—Minister of Finance and of Industry
David Remez—Minister of Communications and Post
Rabbi Judah Leib Fishman—Minister of Religion
Yitzhak Meir Levin—Minister of Social Welfare
Moshe Shapira—Minister of Interior and Immigration and
Minister of Health
Behor Shitreet—Minister of Police
Felix Rosenblat—Minister of Justice

The Council holds the power of initiating legislation in the Assembly. Laws proposed by individual members of the Assembly must first be referred for study and formulation to a Select Committee of that body, and shall then be introduced by the Council if a majority of the Committee approves.

Flag and Seal

Though radical changes in the flag of Israel had originally been contemplated, the flag as finally officially adopted by the government is not substantially different from the Zionist flag except that its specifications are now made exact. It is described in the official gazette as follows:

The official size is 220 centimeters long and 160 centimeters wide. On a white field, two deep blue stripes of 25 centimeters width each run along the whole length of the flag from one rib to another. The stripes are 15 cms. from the upper and lower length ribs. In the center of the white background and equidistant from both blue stripes is a Shield of David composed of six blue stripes of 5.5 cms. width each, forming two superimposed equilateral triangles, the bases of which are parallel to the dark blue stripes running along the flag.

Since one centimeter is 2.54 inches, the standard flag is approximately five by seven feet.

The Israeli coat of arms consists of a seven-branched candelabrum, replica of the candelabrum reproduced on the Arch of Titus, with olive branches on either side, and "Israel" inscribed in Hebrew underneath.

Prime Minister

In the provisional government David Ben-Gurion occupied the posts of both Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, and he has continued in these offices, thus emphasizing the importance of coordinating all efforts of the nation in the successful prosecution of the war. The Prime Minister, however, has clear-cut duties and responsibilities which in normal times are more than sufficient to keep him fully occupied. His is the only post in the Executive Council whose duties are outlined in the draft constitution, as follows:

"The Prime Minister shall preside over the meetings of the Executive Council. He shall be responsible for the coordination of activities of the Executive Council and for the execution by the Department of State of policies adopted by the Executive Council. He shall keep the President of the Republic informed on all major questions of domestic and foreign policy."

The Prime Minister's Chief Secretary is head of the General Secretariat of the Government. The Secretariat is the liaison between the Prime Minister and the other Cabinet officers. Among its numerous functions are publishing the Official Gazette, keeping the State Records, and registering all Civil Service appointments.

The Prime Minister is appointed by the President after consultation with the leaders of all parliamentary parties. He advises the President on the naming of other members of the Executive Council.

Should the Prime Minister resign, for lack of support for his policies, it will entail the resignation of the entire Council.

Minister of Defense

The Ministry of Defense, as the civilian body, and the General Staff, as the military, are two distinct organizations. The Minister of Defense has three deputies: one for manpower and recruiting, one for war material, and one for auxiliary army services. Each of these three divisions is of course paralleled by a more elaborately organized section of the General Staff. Liaison is maintained between the Minister and his deputies on the one hand and the General Staff on the other through the Chief of Staff, Yaakov Dori. The Minister is assisted by an A.D.C. (Aide-de-Camp) with a small staff, a Military Adviser and an officer for liaison with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This relatively simple establishment is the result of strenuous efforts for concentration in the interests of efficiency. The Minister

of Defense combines the authority of all the defense services, the Army, the Air Force, the Navy and the other auxiliary services.

One more body, the Security Committee, should be mentioned in this connection. This is a public advisory body without executive functions, composed of eleven persons representing an even wider range of public interests (political parties, separate communities, religious groups, etc.) The Committee discusses the broad lines of the Ministry's policy and keeps the Minister informed of the state of public opinion. The Committee's endorsement of the Ministry's action in any particular instance is thus a real source of strength.

Foreign Affairs

The process of establishing the machinery of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was based mainly on the nucleus of former members of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. For the first month, the whole complex of urgent issues was dealt with by the Minister, Moshe Shertok and his handful of assistants, without political archives nor the simplest works of reference at their disposal. Diplomatic correspondence was conducted only in English and French. A beginning has now been made, however, in establishing Hebrew equivalents for the technical terms of international diplomatic usage.

The first action of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was to inform the governments of the world of the establishment of the State of Israel and to submit requests for recognition. The U. S. A. accorded immediate recognition; then came Guatemala, the Soviet Union, Poland, Uruguay, Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Nicaragua, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Finland, Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela and Paraguay. Negotiations were begun at once for the exchange of diplomatic and consular representatives. Various Israeli representatives were appointed including Eliahu Epstein, to the United States and Mrs. Golda Meyerson, to Moscow. The United States and

Russia, in turn, sent their representatives to Tel Aviv. A Consulate General has been established in New York, headed by Arthur Lourie and a branch consulate has been set up in Los Angeles headed by Reuven Dafni.

Almost fifty nations have in the intervening months announced their recognition of Israel.

Immediately after the establishment of the State, Aubrey Eban was appointed to represent Israel at the United Nations. He has taken part in the sessions of the Security Council concerned with the Palestine question and he negotiates with the U.N. Secretariat on behalf of the Israeli Government. As early as July, 1948, Mr. Eban was recognized at the table of the Security Council as the representative of Israel and not, as formerly, as the representative of the Jewish Agency.

Ministry of Finance

The achievements of the Ministry of Finance, headed by Eliezer Kaplan, are truly phenomenal. On May 15, 1948, the Ministry took over all the financial functions of the Palestine Government without any gap in time or hitch in action. This change-over was effected by a skeleton staff since the greater number of Treasury officials of the Palestine Government were cut off in Jerusalem.

As a result of careful preparation beforehand, income tax, customs and excise duties were collected without interruption, and the money flowed through the local sub-accountancies throughout the country to figure on the books of the Accountant General at the seat of Government. The main source of revenue in Palestine had always been and has remained customs and excise.

The Department of Economic Planning prepares and executes what may be called the economic budget as distinct from the financial budget. Its scope includes: the control of foreign exchange, import and export policy; banking, insurance and investment; na-

tional income, manpower. The primary need of the foreign exchange control has been to ensure that the foreign currency at the disposal of the State is to be used for vital supplies only. This control removes one of the main stumbling-blocks that the Mandatory Government had placed in the way of the rational development of the country's economy — the squandering of assets on non-essential imports.

The same department in cooperation with the Ministry of Commerce deals with import and export policy, and watches over the balance of payments. It thus has the congenial task of reversing the policy of its predecessors, which was to prevent or hamper the import of raw materials and encourage that of finished products, to impose heavy customs duties on essential commodities and squander the country's currency assets.

However, new financial and economic policy is hampered by the blockade of Palestine's sterling balances in London. A complete "freeze" without any condition stated or any negotiations in sight, is unprecedented in the history of British financial dealings and constitutes a simple and shameless default.

A new currency, which was printed in the United States, has already been put into circulation. The official rate of exchange of the new Israeli pound in relation to the dollar is one to three.

Trade and Industry

The functions of this ministry in promoting domestic industry and international commerce will develop during the years ahead, though its present activities are necessarily of an emergency nature.

Because of the scarcity of many essential commodities, as well as the lack of foreign currency, a machinery of controls has been set up, covering import and export, supply, food, the diamond industry, fuel, weights and measures, mines and concessions.

The Import and Export Licensing Control issues licenses to Israeli citizens only, and only after consulting the Controller of Foreign Exchange, the Food Controller, the Controllers of Light and Heavy Industry, the Controller of Fuel and the Controller of Diamonds. No priority of essential goods was at first set up, and licenses were issued on the basis of the currency situation and the immediate needs at the time of application. During the early part of the operations of the ministry, licenses for imports were granted roughly in the following proportions: (value not quantity): 30% for foodstuffs and fodder; 8% raw materials; 62% manufactured goods.

Labor and Social Institutions

The Ministry of Labor at first took over the former Public Works, Survey and Town Planning Departments of the old Palestine Government. All essential services were in operation when the new state began functioning on Sunday, May 16, 1948, and the ministry at once became responsible for road maintenance in sectors not under Army control, air aid shelters, and the entire work of setting up the seat of government at Hakirya.

The activities of the Directorate of Labor include: supervising the General Labor Exchange established by the Jewish Agency and the labor institutions; mobilizing manpower and supervising the employment of those mobilized; occupational training of skilled workers, more particularly, at the moment, for the metallurgical industry; supervising the application of existing labor legislation, building regulations and the like, and promulgating new labor legislation and social security measures for both Jewish and Arab workers; absorbing new immigrants into agriculture and industry; workers' housing schemes; agricultural allotments for seasonal citrus workers.

The task of mobilizing the country's labor potentialities is so important that a special Directorate has been set up to deal with it. In the Government Gazette of June 16, 1948, an order was issued empowering the Ministry to register, classify and direct labor for essential work. All men between 15 and 55 and all women between 16 and 50, not called up for military or auxiliary services, are liable to be mobilized under this order. Their labor is directed in the first place to produce supplies for the Army, and secondly to food production; next in importance are public services and urgent housing. A Manpower Council has been set up, composed of representatives of industry, agriculture and labor. A considerable transfer of workers from non-essential to essential industries and agriculture thus took place.

Agriculture and Cooperatives

Organizing the Ministry of Agriculture was an exceptionally complex task because of the quantity and variety of agencies connected with agriculture.

The Ministry from the outset turned its attention to many of the urgent problems of the moment: salvaging field crops and reconstituting herds of cattle neglected or damaged during the fighting; combatting the black pest in citrus groves; organizing the harvest and preparing for the next season.

A major difficulty facing the country's agriculture is the labor shortage. This has existed for years, and now, under war conditions, the agricultural settlements have sent a high proportion of their men and women into the Army. It is hoped that the civilian manpower being mobilized by the Ministry of Labor will to a large extent replace the labor of those bearing arms and enable the settlements to produce at least as much of the country's food now as they have done in the past, and even more of certain kinds of food. The cautious estimate of the Ministry for the coming year's output is as

follows: it is believed that the Israeli farmers will produce 80% of the liquid milk that the population needs, 29% of the butter, 83% of the eggs, 70% of the vegetables, 80% of the potatoes, 24% of the grain and 25% of the fish.

This prosaic sketch can hardly convey the farmers' passionate conviction that with the help of a devoted administration they will be able to outstrip all their own previous achievements in reclaiming the hard-won soil of Israel.

Interior and Immigration

Immigration to Israel is now under full Jewish control. This is the true first fruit of Jewish statehood. It was above all in the fight for immigration that the need for statehood became inescapably clear to the Jewish people.

The Minister of Immigration, Moshe Shapira, is thoroughly familiar with his present task. He and many of the Ministry's staff are former members of the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency in Palestine and abroad.

It is hoped to maintain and even speed up the present rate of immigration, that is to say, between 100 to 200 thousand Jews a year. There are eight reception camps functioning at present, capable of housing 20,000 people usually for two week periods. This one part alone of the Ministry's functions in helping absorb newcomers costs roughly \$400,000 a month. Immigration at the rate of 100,000 a year will cost, it is estimated, about \$40,000,000 annually.

Interior functions of the Ministry are concentrated in organizing local regional rule, undertaking all the tasks involved in supervising municipalities and serving as an intermediary between the Israeli citizen and his Government.

The Ministry is now seeking to improve the extent of democracy in city and town administration. Under British regulations, the right

to vote was often subjected to certain dues and taxes. It is hoped that the new constituent assembly will approve the reforms which the Ministry proposes for a better democratic system in local Government.

Communications and Post

The Ministry of Communications took over a postal system that had been deliberately dislocated and disrupted by the outgoing authorities. On May 16, 1948, the first day in the life of Israel, internal postal services continued without interruption. New stamps were on sale at the post offices, bearing the traditional designs of ancient Hebrew coins and the legend "Hebrew Post" in Hebrew and Arabic. (At the time the stamps were designed and printed, the name of Israel had not yet been decided on.) The Post Office is establishing a special bureau to handle relations with stamp collectors and stamp dealers.

David Remez, Minister of Communications, and the Postmaster General, have been endeavoring to correct the many errors caused by the former regime before its departure. Telegraphic communications within the country and with the rest of the world have functioned from the beginning without interruption. New radio installations have been put into operation to extend the communication service of Israel. A radio-telephone service has been set up between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, but it has thus far been confined to Government and Army use only. Normal telephone services have continued to operate for civilian use. Inter-urban lines have already been extended and the whole network will be further improved as far as wartime limitations on the use of men and material permit.

The Government broadcasting service, "*Kol Israel*," (The voice of Israel) is functioning under the direction of the Ministry of the Interior and though not very powerful, its transmissions have been heard in central Europe.

An Israeli Merchant Marine has also been established. Some of its ships are the former so-called "illegal" immigrant ships, and the ships of the "Kedem" and "Atid" lines. The shipping companies have agreed to pool all their shipping space for the duration of the present emergency. This pool is being administered by a shipping controller, in close cooperation with the security authorities.

The railways are the Ministry's most difficult problem. The system had been strained to the utmost in recent years. Jewish dissident sabotage and Arab attacks almost completely disrupted the service. The Ministry has concentrated on getting freight trains running again, so as to reduce the heavy consumption of fuel for freight transport by road. The conquest of Lydda's station during the ten day period between the two truces brought into Israeli hands many engines and freight cars. Arrangements are in hand for the opening of a new service from Tel Aviv to Hadera, so that the line will pass deep in Israeli territory. The line from Hadera to Haifa operates regularly.

The Ministry of Communications acts also as the Army's channel for requisitioning vehicles for troop transport. The system is working well, but the civilian population inevitably suffers. Gasoline rationing has been introduced and civilian unessential traffic has been checked in order to save fuel.

Police

The Jewish Police that existed in the area of Palestine under Jewish control on May 14, 1948, was established as the Israeli Police Force. The outgoing Government can scarcely be said to have handed over any central police organization. Criminal records were in complete disorder, buildings stripped of equipment and political records burned. There were some 700 men in uniform, and it was necessary to reconstruct the entire system.

Under the former administration, Jewish and Arab police officers had not been given any real training in criminal investigation. The newly-appointed Inspector General of Police and his assistants have concentrated first on establishing a central Police Staff and district headquarters. Later, selected officers will be sent abroad to study modern police methods.

In the meantime, the Israeli Police, at less than half strength, has met in its stride the crime wave that has afflicted the post-war world everywhere. It is noteworthy that crimes of violence are some 30% less than a year ago in the cities and 50% fewer in rural areas.

Justice

The Ministry of Justice, headed by Dr. Felix Rosenblueth, could not be created overnight, but the courts and the judiciary had an independent existence and continued to function even after the end of the Mandate. In Jewish areas, including Jerusalem, Magistrates' Courts and District Courts continued dealing with ordinary civil and criminal cases without interruption. The one exception was the Supreme Court, which sat in Jerusalem, and which in effect ceased to function several months before the end of the Mandate.

The Bench of the Supreme Court has now been reconstituted. The Government Council has approved the permanent appointment by the Minister of a Chief Judge and four associates. The law now provides that the Supreme Court sits with at least three judges (in the past it could sit with two judges or even one.) This is the only change made thus far in the constitution of the Supreme Court, but the Ministry is considering obtaining Government approval for a diversion of High Court Jurisdiction from the Supreme Court to the District Courts; this would mean that legal recourse could be had against the Government itself in the District Court sitting as the High Court, and appeal would then lie to the Supreme Court. Hitherto, there has been no appeal in such cases. If this change is agreed

to, claims against the Government would be as easily made and as fully tried as suits against private individuals.

The following are the important Departments of the Ministry of Justice:

1. *Attorney-General's Department.* The office of Government Attorney-General is held by an outstanding barrister, at one time legal adviser to the Jewish Agency, who is also Director-General of the Ministry. Since many of the functions of the former Attorney-General have been distributed among the various Departments of the Ministry, the office is now mainly a supervisory one. A staff of seven law officers, headed by the former Solicitor-General of the Palestine Government, advises the Government and the other Ministries and, if need be, the other Departments of the Ministry of Justice on all legal matters.

2. *The Government Prosecutor's Department* is charged with representing the Government in the courts. Since it is proposed to centralize all the criminal and civil legal business of the Government in the Ministry, this Department will have the services of some 30 to 40 Government Advocates all over the country. District Attorneys will be in charge of District Offices in Haifa and Jerusalem.

3. *The Drafting Department.*

4. *The Courts Department* supervises the administration and functioning of all the Courts.

The official language is to be Hebrew. Arabic will enjoy equal rights and privileges in practice; it will be used in the courts and in public statements when necessary, and the Official Gazette will be published also in Arabic.

The distinction will be a formal and legal one: promulgation of a law in Hebrew will be deemed effective, and in any conflict of interpretation the Hebrew version will prevail. For general informa-

tion abroad it is hoped in the future to publish the Official Gazette in English and French as well.

The present legal system has three main elements:

1. Statute Law of Palestine enacted since 1919; this constitutes the bulk of existing law.

2. Ottoman Law in effect in 1919. Some small remnants of this remain in force unaltered.

3. English Common Law and Equity have been applied if and where no other relevant law existed.

The possible role of rabbinical law in a Jewish State — an academic exercise in the past — has now become a matter of lively controversy and practical import. The Minister of Justice has established an institute for research into Jewish law. The institute will report on how far Jewish law can be incorporated into a new civil code. This will doubtless be one of the most important influences in the formation of the Israeli legal system, a process which will in the nature of things be the work of many years.

Religious Affairs

The Ministry of Religious Affairs, headed by Rabbi Yehuda Fishman is vested with general administrative authority over religious communities and congregations, organized as such. That is, it is not concerned with individual practicing Jews, Christians and Moslems in Israel, but with their religious institutions and foundation. There is no question of imposing any sort of rabbinical rule on the Jewish population as a whole. An outline of the activities of the Ministry will make this clear.

Three Departments in the Ministry deal with Jewish religious questions in Israel: 1) Department for Religious Councils; 2) Department for Religious Courts; 3) General Religious Affairs.

Local and district Religious Councils supervise the observance of ritual food laws, ritual baths, holy days and Sabbath bounds, oblations and tithes, burials and maintenance of cemeteries. The Religious courts have jurisdiction in all matters of personal status—marriage and divorce, wills and inheritance; the Department for General Affairs deals with every question that does not fall within the purview of the religious courts or councils, but is more directly a matter to be handled by the State authorities or by leaders of opinion in various fields. Many problems of the Sabbath, for instance, fall into this category.

A fourth Department is in charge of relations with Jewish religious institutions outside Israel. It should be needless to add that in such relations the Ministry will have no authority over Jews who live outside of Israel. There will be for the most part merely exchange of teachers, ideas, and ideals.

A department for Christian Religious Affairs has also been set up. This Department will be charged with general supervision of all institutions and property now in Israeli hands. Liaison officers with the Christian clergy of the various denominations have been nominated and have already established contacts. The Department of Moslem Affairs has also been organized.

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