



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

Reel
182

Box
68

Folder
746

In focus, 1947.

AUG 5 - 1947

...in FOCUS

A Statement by DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council

110954

TWO British sergeants who had been kidnapped by the Irgun and held as hostages were hanged after three condemned Irgunists had been hanged by the British authorities in Palestine. These sergeants were innocent of any crime. The Irgun was not vested by the Jewish community in Palestine with any authority to judge, sentence or execute men. The conditions attending their execution were particularly revolting. The Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi joined in a strong condemnation "of the dastardly murder of these two innocent men."

Taken in and by itself, this tragic occurrence will evoke a natural repulsion which may obscure the full lamentable story of which this is only a part. Justice and fairness, however, demand that we keep the entire picture in proper focus.

Upon learning of the execution of Sgt. Martin, a member of his family in Coventry, England, told reporters. "We do blame the Government. They should have waited. Surely they know now how desperate these people are and they could have waited until our lads were safe before executing those terrorists."

Why, indeed, did the British Government not wait? What was the frantic rush to hang these three Irgunists? The UN Special Committee on Palestine, foreseeing "the possible unfavorable repercussions that execution of three death sentences pronounced by a military court in Jerusalem" would have, had recommended a delay.

Why did the British Government refuse to heed the plea of this impartial body representing the United Nations and earnestly bent upon the finding of a solution for the torturous Palestine problem? Why were the sentencing of these men, the confirmation of their sentence, and their execution timed to coincide with the period of the UN Committee's investigation? It was surely clear to everyone that this would provoke violence and bloodshed. The Special Assembly of the United Nations, anxious to afford its Committee of Inquiry every opportunity to work in an atmosphere of calm and order, had called

"upon all Governments and peoples, and particularly on the inhabitants of Palestine, to refrain, pending action by the General Assembly on the report of the special committee on Palestine, from the threat or use of force or any other action which might create an atmosphere prejudicial to an early settlement of the question of Palestine."

Why did not the Government of Palestine, the one government most directly concerned, cooperate?

For over a year now, so-called illegal immigrants who arrived off the shore of Palestine were trans-shipped by the Mandatory Government to Cyprus. This was a bitter enough disappointment to the helpless refugees and to the Jews of Palestine. Thirty-two such boat-loads of refugees had thus been sent to Cyprus. Why was this policy suddenly changed during the meeting of the United Nations Committee in Palestine? Why were the refugees on EXODUS

1947—4,500 men, women and children—forced to return to Europe? This ship was rammed on the high seas by British destroyers, endangering the lives of everyone on it. It was attacked and boarded on the high seas contrary to all international law. The unarmed refugees were attacked with tear bombs, with fire hoses and bludgeons. Fifty were injured, three were killed, one a former officer of the United States Navy.

Was all this calculated to insure calm and tranquility in Palestine during the period of the inquiry of the UN Committee? Or was it a stupid act bordering on provocation, on the part of a government which does not seem to be interested in attaining peace and tranquility in that country?

The British Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, expressed in the House of Commons his feeling of "horror and revulsion" at the slaying of the two British sergeants. But he could not find it in his heart to express sorrow for the slaying of the three men aboard the EXODUS and the wounding of fifty. These people, too, were innocent of any crime. They were on their way to the Jewish National Home, whither they had every right to go. Mr. Creech-Jones knows, perhaps better than most people, that the restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine are without basis in international law, are British-made, contrary to the Mandate, and that they have been condemned by the League of Nations, by Britain's foremost statesmen, and by his own Labor Party. In killing these innocent men of the EXODUS, his Government was as guilty of murder as the Irgunists who killed the two sergeants. Both were carrying out willful, lawless policies which the moral sense of mankind must condemn.

Knowing all this, Mr. Creech-Jones declared in the House of Commons that the two soldiers whom the Irgun executed were "discharging a service in fulfillment of international obligations." Explaining why the passengers of the EXODUS 1947 were forcibly returned to Europe, he also referred to the fact that Britain "must carry out her international obligations." What international obligations, Mr. Creech-Jones? What international body approved the British White Paper of 1939? What international body authorized the setting-up of a police state in Palestine to enforce that policy through wholesale deportations, mass arrests, the screening of entire populations, endless curfews, martial law, and the imposition of death sentences by a military court in peacetime for acts which would call for no such punishment in any civilized country in the world today?

Within the last few days, following the execution of the two soldiers, British troops shot up the village of Pardess Hanna. Riding in armored cars in Tel-Aviv, British soldiers fired upon a bus full of people, all of them innocent of any crime. Five were killed and fifteen were wounded. Then followed a night of terror in Tel-Aviv, during which British troops and police fired shots and threw bombs into restaurants and cafes, into crowds emerging from the theatre; stores and shops were raided, smashed

and destroyed. An armored car manned by British police deliberately plunged into a Jewish funeral procession. Similar pogroms were perpetrated in other parts of Palestine.

These acts were undoubtedly irresponsible acts of reprisal, just as were the acts of the Irgunists. Is the British Government prepared to assume responsibility for these dastardly crimes, as they would wish the Jewish community to assume responsibility for the deeds of the Irgunists? Will Mr. Creech-Jones and the British press denounce them as bitterly as they have denounced the slaying of the two British soldiers, and will they call for the arrest and punishment of the murderers?

What is the root of all this evil and corruption? Lawlessness breeds lawlessness. The lawlessness of the unsanctioned British policy aimed at defeating the clear purpose of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration has led to violence, resentment, punishment, reprisal and counter-reprisal, to the creation of a Jewish underground movement which Jewish authorities are unable to control, and to hooliganism on the part of British troops which the Palestine Government seems to be unable to control.

Where will all this end? The British Government is maintaining today over 100,000 troops in Palestine, at a time when it is forced to consider withdrawing its troops from Germany, Italy and Greece because it is short of funds, because it is short of manpower to run its industry at home. These 100,000 troops, maintained at high cost, have not brought peace to the Holy Land. They have brought war. The British Navy is now waging war upon helpless women and children. British forces are being used by Mr. Bevin to impose a blind and blundering policy upon Palestine which he knows cannot be enforced. That policy must be quickly abandoned, before anarchy sweeps over the Holy Land.

The United Nations Committee is to submit its report within four weeks. All men of good-will hope that this report may pave the way to a just and satisfactory solution of the Palestine problem. The British Government can make a major contribution to the pacification of Palestine if it will abandon the EXODUS practice of forcibly returning Jewish refugees to Europe and if it will refrain from similar acts of provocation. The Irgun had observed an "armistice" all through the period of the inquiry of the UN Committee until the Palestine Government pronounced the sentence of death upon its men, a sentence which might well have been delayed if reason and political judgment had prevailed. The Haganah has not only maintained law and order, but it fought in every way short of provoking civil war, to curb the activities of the dissident Jewish groups. It could not, and cannot, however, stand idly by in the face of acts such as the Government's piratical attack upon the EXODUS and the intensified campaign against Jewish immigration.

Men of good-will seeking for peace will endeavor to keep the total picture in mind, in judging events and in assaying responsibilities.

Abba Hillel Silver

245
PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrachi • Poale-Zion
342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR RELEASE: SATURDAY, AUGUST 2nd

**DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER ISSUES IMPORTANT STATEMENT
OF ZIONIST POLICY**

- - - - -

New York, N. Y., Aug. 1 -- Commenting on recent outbreaks of violence in Palestine, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council which speaks for all major Zionist parties in the United States, today made the following declaration:

"Two British sergeants who had been kidnapped by the Irgun and held as hostages were hanged after three condemned Irgunists had been hanged by the British authorities in Palestine. These sergeants were innocent of any crime. The Irgun was not vested by the Jewish community in Palestine with any authority to judge, sentence or execute men. The conditions attending their execution were particularly revolting. The Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi joined in a strong condemnation 'of the dastardly murder of these two innocent men.'

"Taken in and by itself, this tragic occurrence will evoke a natural repulsion which may obscure the full lamentable story of which this is only a part. Justice and fairness, however, demand that we keep the entire picture in proper focus.

"Upon learning of the execution of Sgt. Martin, a member of his family in Coventry, England, told reporters, 'We do blame the Government. They should have waited. Surely they know how desperate these people are and they could have waited until our lads were safe before executing those terrorists.'

"Why, indeed, did the British Government not wait? What was the frantic rush to hang these three Irgunists? The UN Special Committee on Palestine, foreseeing 'the possible unfavorable repercussions that execution of three death sentences pronounced by a military court in Jerusalem' would have, had officially requested a delay.

"Why did the British Government refuse to heed the plea of this impartial body representing the United Nations and earnestly bent upon the finding of a solution for the torturous Palestine problem? Why were the sentencing of these men, the confirmation of their sentence, and their execution timed to coincide with the period of the UN Committee's investigation? It was surely clear to everyone that this would provoke violence and bloodshed. The Special Assembly of the United Nations, anxious to afford its Committee of Inquiry every opportunity to work in an atmosphere of calm and order, had called

(more)

'upon all Governments and peoples, and particularly on the inhabitants of Palestine, to refrain, pending action by the General Assembly on the report of the special committee on Palestine, from the threat or use of force or any other action which might create an atmosphere prejudicial to an early settlement of the question of Palestine.'

"Why did not the Government of Palestine, the one government most directly concerned, cooperate?

"For over a year now, so-called illegal immigrants who arrived off the shore of Palestine were trans-shipped by the Mandatory Government to Cyprus. This was a bitter enough disappointment to the helpless refugees and to the Jews of Palestine. 32 such boat-loads of refugees had thus been sent to Cyprus. Why was this policy suddenly changed during the meeting of the United Nations Committee in Palestine? Why were the refugees on EXODUS 1947 -- 4500 men, women and children -- forced to return to Europe? This ship was rammed on the high seas by British destroyers, endangering the lives of everyone on it. It was attacked and boarded on the high seas contrary to all international law. The unarmed refugees were attacked with tear bombs, with fire-hoses and bludgeons. 50 were injured, three were killed, one a former officer of the United States Navy.

"Was all this calculated to insure calm and tranquillity in Palestine during the period of the inquiry of the UN Committee? Or was it a stupid act bordering on provocation, on the part of a government which does not seem to be interested in attaining peace and tranquillity in that country?

"The British Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, expressed in the House of Commons his feeling of 'horror and revulsion' at the slaying of the two British sergeants. But he could not find it in his heart to express sorrow for the slaying of the three men aboard the EXODUS and the wounding of 50. These people, too, were innocent of any crime. They were on their way to the Jewish National Home, whither they had every right to go. Mr. Jones knows, perhaps better than most people, that the restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine are without basis in international law, are British-made, contrary to the Mandate, and that they have been condemned by the League of Nations, by Britain's foremost statesmen, and by his own Labor Party. In killing these innocent men of the EXODUS, his Government was as guilty of murder as the Irgunists who killed the two sergeants. Both were carrying out willful, lawless policies which the moral sense of mankind must condemn.

"Knowing all this, Mr. Jones declared in the House of Commons that the two soldiers whom the Irgun executed were, 'discharging a service in fulfillment of international obligations.' Explaining why the passengers of the EXODUS 1947 were forcibly returned to Europe, he also referred to the fact that Britain, 'must carry out her international obligations.' What international obligations, Mr. Jones? What international body approved the British White Paper of 1939? What international body authorized the setting-up of a police state in Palestine to enforce that policy through wholesale deportations, mass arrests, the screening of entire populations, endless curfews, martial law, and the imposition of death sentences by a military court in peacetime for acts which would call for no such punishment in any civilized country in the world today?

"Within the last few days, following the execution of the two soldiers, British troops shot up the village of Pardess Hanna. Riding in armored cars in Tel-Aviv, British soldiers fired upon a bus full of people, all of them

(more)

innocent of any crime. Five were killed and 15 were wounded. Then followed a night of terror in Tel-Aviv, during which British troops and police fired shots and threw bombs into restaurants and cafes, into crowds emerging from the theatre; stores and shops were raided, smashed and destroyed. An armored car manned by British police deliberately plunged into a Jewish funeral procession, causing death and injury. Similar pogroms were perpetrated in other parts of Palestine.

"These acts were undoubtedly irresponsible acts of reprisal, just as were the acts of the Irgunists. Is the British Government prepared to assume responsibility for these dastardly crimes, as they would wish the Jewish community to assume responsibility for the deeds of the Irgunists? Will Mr. Creech-Jones and the British press denounce them as bitterly as they have denounced the slaying of the two British soldiers, and will they call for the arrest and punishment of the murderers?

"What is the root of all this evil and corruption? Lawlessness breeds lawlessness. The lawlessness of the unsanctioned British policy aimed at defeating the clear purpose of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration has led to violence, resentment, punishment, reprisal and counter-reprisal, to the creation of a Jewish underground movement which Jewish authorities are unable to control, and to hooliganism on the part of British troops which the Palestine Government seems to be unable to control.

"Where will all this end? The British Government is maintaining today over 100,000 troops in Palestine, at a time when it is forced to consider withdrawing its troops from Germany, Italy and Greece because it is short of funds, because it is short of manpower to run its industry at home. These 100,000 troops, maintained at high cost, have not brought peace to the Holy Land. They have brought war. The British Navy is now waging war upon helpless women and children. British forces are being used by Mr. Bevin to impose a blind and blundering policy upon Palestine which he knows cannot be enforced. That policy must be quickly abandoned, before anarchy sweeps over the Holy Land.

"The United Nations Committee is to submit its report within four weeks. All men of good will hope that this report may pave the way to a just and satisfactory solution of the Palestine problem. The British Government can make a major contribution to the pacification of Palestine if it will abandon the EXODUS practice of forcibly returning Jewish refugees to Europe and if it will refrain from similar acts of provocation. The Irgun had observed an 'armistice' all through the period of the inquiry of the UN Committee until the Palestine Government pronounced the sentence of death upon its men, a sentence which might well have been delayed if reason and political judgment had prevailed. The Haganah has not only maintained law and order, but it fought in every way short of provoking civil war, to curb the activities of the dissident Jewish groups. It could not, and cannot, however, stand idly by in the face of acts such as the Government's piratical attack upon the EXODUS and the intensified campaign against Jewish immigration.

"Men of good will seeking for peace will endeavor to keep the total picture in mind, in judging events and in assaying responsibilities."

PALESTINE

Vol. 4, No. 5 : September, 1947

CAUSE AND EFFECT IN PALESTINE

Events follow each other with rapid shifts and changes in Palestine today, passions run high, even right and wrong seem confused to many of those following developments from a distance. In the belief that it will help greatly to throw light upon this complex and obscure situation, we are here reprinting a statement issued on August 2 by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

TWO British sergeants who had been kidnapped by the Irgun and held as hostages were hanged after three condemned Irgunists had been hanged by the British authorities in Palestine. These sergeants were innocent of any crime. The Irgun was not vested by the Jewish community in Palestine with any authority to judge, sentence or execute men. The conditions attending their execution were particularly revolting. The Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi joined in a strong condemnation "of the dastardly murder of these two innocent men."

Taken in and by itself, this tragic occurrence will evoke a natural repulsion which may obscure the full lamentable story of which this is only a part. Justice and fairness, however, demand that we keep the entire picture in proper focus.

Upon learning of the execution of Sgt. Martin, a member of his family in Coventry, England, told reporters, "We do blame the Government. They should have waited. Surely they know how desperate these people are and they could have waited until our lads were safe before executing those terrorists."

Why, indeed, did the British Government not wait? What was the frantic rush to hang these three Irgunists? The UN Special Committee on Palestine, foreseeing "the possible unfavorable repercussions that execution of three death sentences pronounced by a military court in Jerusalem" would have, had officially requested a delay.

Why did the British Government refuse to heed the plea of this impartial body representing the United Nations and earnestly bent upon the finding of a solution for the tortuous Palestine problem? Why were the sentencing of these men, the confirmation of their sentence, and their execution timed to coincide with the period of the UN Committee's investigation? It was surely clear to everyone that this would provoke violence and bloodshed. The Special Assembly of the United Nations, anxious to afford its Committee of Inquiry every opportunity to work in an atmosphere of calm and order, had called

upon all governments and peoples, and particularly on the inhabitants of Palestine, to refrain, pending action by the General Assembly on the report of the special committee on Palestine, from the threat or use of force or any other action which might create an atmosphere prejudicial to an early settlement of the question of Palestine.

Why did not the Government of Palestine, the one government most directly concerned, cooperate?

For over a year now, so-called illegal immigrants who arrived off the shore of Palestine were transhipped by the Mandatory Government to Cyprus.

This was a bitter enough disappointment to the helpless refugees and to the Jews of Palestine. Thirty-two such boat-loads of refugees had thus been sent to Cyprus. Why was this policy suddenly changed during the meeting of the United Nations Committee in Palestine? Why were the refugees on *Exodus 1947*—4,500 men, women and children—forced to return to Europe? This ship was rammed on the high seas by British destroyers, endangering the lives of everyone on it. It was attacked and boarded on the high seas contrary to all international law. The unarmed refugees were attacked with tear bombs, with fire-hoses and bludgeons. Fifty were injured, three were killed, one a former officer of the United States Navy.

Was all this calculated to insure calm and tranquillity in Palestine during the period of the inquiry of the UN Committee? Or was it a stupid act bordering on provocation, on the part of a government which does not seem to be interested in attaining peace and tranquillity in that country?

These Were Guiltless, Too

The British Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, expressed in the House of Commons his feeling of "horror and revulsion" at the slaying of the two British sergeants. But he could not find it in his heart to express sorrow for the slaying of the three men aboard the *Exodus 1947* and the wounding of fifty. These people, too, were innocent of any crime. They were on their way to the Jewish National Home, whither they had every right to go. Mr. Jones knows, perhaps better than most people, that the restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine are without basis in international law, are British-made, contrary to the Mandate, and that they have been condemned by the League of Nations, by Britain's foremost statesmen, and by his own Labor Party. In killing these innocent men of the *Exodus 1947*, his Government was as guilty of murder as the Irgunists who killed the two sergeants. Both were carrying out wilful, lawless policies which the moral sense of mankind must condemn.

Knowing all this, Mr. Jones declared in the House of Commons that the two soldiers whom the Irgun executed were "discharging a service in fulfillment of international obligations." Explaining why the passengers of the *Exodus 1947* were

forcibly returned to Europe, he also referred to the fact that Britain, "must carry out her international obligations." What international obligations, Mr. Jones? What international body approved the British White Paper of 1939? What international body authorized the setting-up of a police state in Palestine to enforce that policy through wholesale deportations, mass arrests, the screening of entire populations, endless curfews, martial law, and the imposition of death sentences by a military court in peacetime for acts which would call for no such punishment in any civilized country in the world today?

Within the last few days, following the execution of the two soldiers, British troops shot up the village of Pardess Hanna. Riding in armored cars in Tel Aviv, British soldiers fired upon a bus full of people, all of them innocent of any crime. Five were killed and fifteen were wounded. Then followed a night of terror in Tel Aviv, during which British troops and police fired shots and threw bombs into restaurants and cafes, into crowds emerging from the theatre; stores and shops were raided, smashed and destroyed. An armored car manned by British police deliberately plunged into a Jewish funeral procession, causing death and injury. Similar pogroms were perpetrated in other parts of Palestine.

These acts were undoubtedly irresponsible acts of reprisal, just as were the acts of the Irgunists. Is the British Government prepared to assume responsibility for these dastardly crimes, as they would wish the Jewish community to assume responsibility for the deeds of the Irgunists? Will Mr. Creech-Jones and the British press denounce them as bitterly as they have denounced the slaying of the two British soldiers, and will they call for the arrest and punishment of the murderers?

What the British Government Can Do to Break the Vicious Circle

What is the root of all this evil and corruption? Lawlessness breeds lawlessness. The lawlessness of the unsanctioned British policy aimed at defeating the clear purpose of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration has led to violence, resentment, punishment, reprisal and counter-reprisal, to the creation of a Jewish underground movement which Jewish authorities are unable to control, and to hooliganism on the part of British troops which

the Palestine Government seems to be unable to control.

Where will all this end? The British Government is maintaining today over 100,000 troops in Palestine, at a time when it is forced to consider withdrawing its troops from Germany, Italy and Greece because it is short of funds, because it is short of manpower to run its industry at home. These 100,000 troops, maintained at high cost, have not brought peace to the Holy Land. They have brought war. The British Navy is now waging war upon helpless women and children. British forces are being used by Mr. Bevin to impose a blind and blundering policy upon Palestine which he knows cannot be enforced. That policy must be quickly abandoned, before anarchy sweeps over the Holy Land.

The United Nations Committee is to submit its report within four weeks. All men of good will hope that this report may pave the way to a just and satisfactory solution of the Palestine problem. The British Government can make a major contribution to the pacification of Palestine if it will abandon the *Exodus* 1947 practice of forcibly returning Jewish refugees to Europe and if it will refrain from similar acts of provocation. The Irgun had observed an "armistice" all through the period of the inquiry of the UN Committee until the Palestine Government pronounced the sentence of death upon its men, a sentence which might well have been delayed if reason and political judgment had prevailed. The Haganah had not only maintained law and order, but it fought in every way short of provoking civil war, to curb the activities of the dissident Jewish groups. It could not, and cannot, however, stand idly by in the face of acts such as the Government's piratical attack upon the *Exodus* 1947 and the intensified campaign against Jewish immigration.

Men of good will seeking for peace will endeavor to keep the total picture in mind, in judging events and in assaying responsibilities.

WHAT KEPT THEM THERE?

In the statement issued by the British Government, announcing its decision to return the *Exodus* refugees to D.P. prison camps in Germany, the rulers of Britain ascribed the determina-

tion of the 4,500 Jews to go only to Palestine and their refusal to disembark in France, to "persistent Zionist threats and propaganda."

One easily understands why the British look hard for excuses and explanations which may mitigate their guilt in the eyes of public opinion. Accordingly, they try to shift the responsibility for the *Exodus* tragedy to the French Government, to Zionist propaganda, to anyone but themselves.

Is Zionist propaganda that omnipotent? Are Zionist propagandists, who, by the way, were never allowed near or on board the three British ships in Port de Bouc, so powerful as to be able to force a multitude of several thousand badly suffering men, women and children to act counter to their own will?

One has only to read any of the many first-hand reports of the conditions prevailing on the three British transports to realize how utterly ridiculous and hypocritical this British effort at shifting responsibility is. Here is one report, not from a Jewish source, but from a French doctor who boarded the transports, and later described what he saw:

Even the sickbay is in a frightful state. It is filthy; equipment and medicaments, and even a table on which to perform an operation are lacking. The 40 in the sickbay represent a minute proportion of those in need of medical attention . . . there are many cases of premature births. A girl suffering from appendicitis refused to land and demanded that she be operated on board ship, but in view of the gravity of her condition, I decided to have her landed against her wishes . . . while I was aboard a child vomited in my presence after eating a biscuit, and I saw biscuit morsels and worms in its vomit. These are not passenger ships. They are hell-prison ships. I did not think the British would carry cattle under such conditions.

If, after so many weeks on this modern *Via Dolorosa*, these men and women steadfastly refused disembarkment in France or anywhere on earth but in Palestine, "Zionist propaganda" was hardly responsible. What was responsible was their own determination and their own certainty that only in the Jewish homeland can they find rest, recovery from their wounds, self-respect and new hope.

BURNING THE BIBLE, A.D. 1947

On a British ship, British soldiers and sailors burned the Bible. . . .

Could one have believed that Englishmen, lovers of Scripture for so many centuries, would sink to this—that recent history would repeat itself so sickeningly? All Hebrew and Yiddish books sent as gifts to the refugees of the *Exodus* were automatically burned—they might be pernicious “Zionist propaganda.” Since the soldiers in charge could not read Hebrew, they could not, they explained, distinguish between the Bible and anything else in Hebrew characters. Nor was that important enough to bother about, obviously.

There have been other signs of the victory won by the defeated Hitler over the spirit and morals of the English people. The little pogroms which spread like wildfire over a good portion of the British Isles some weeks ago, some of Mr. Bevin’s memorable utterances—all these are sadly reminiscent of the growth of anti-Semitism in Germany. Now the ominous stage has been reached when Englishmen condemn the Holy Book to *auto da fe*.

IN THE SAME SPIRIT

“No amount of murders of British soldiers and policemen can presumably excuse senior officers (whether they mean it or not) monotonously repeating, as I often heard them do: ‘We ought to have given Hitler another couple of years and let him finish the job’.”

The above is a quotation from an article *Farewell to Palestine*, by Maurice Richardson, Palestine correspondent of the London *Observer*, which appeared in that paper on July 13, 1947. It is a revelation by one who is clearly no Zionist partisan, of the Nazi spirit prevailing among the responsible ranks of the British military in Palestine.

These British Nazis could find consolation in the fact that apparently Hitler is not needed to “finish the job” on the Jewish people. Mr. Bevin and his associates have proved themselves worthy successors. They are “finishing the job” for Hitler in the streets of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, on the roads of Judea, on the scaffold of Acre, in the harbor of Haifa and on the blue waters of the Mediterranean.

LAND AND WATER: the facts about Palestine

By Eliezer Kaplan

Eliezer Kaplan, treasurer of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, set forth the economic aspects of the Palestine question before the members of the UN Committee. The major part of his testimony is here reprinted.

GENTLEMEN, with a clear conscience I say: the truth is that this little country contains sufficient land and water to feed not only its present population but twice and thrice this number. I say it upon the strength of our colonizing experience during three generations and on the basis of the scientific research which we have conducted during the past thirty-five years.

The White Paper divided Palestine into three zones: paradoxically, the free zone, consisting of about 5 per cent of the total area of Palestine, embraces the most congested areas. The restricted

zones (constituting 32 per cent of the total area), and the prohibited zone (constituting 63 per cent) are the zones which comprise land to a large degree uncultivated and described by the Government as “uncultivable.” It may be of interest to add that the agricultural standard of living in the so-called congested free zone is the highest in Palestine. The Government of Palestine has restricted or prohibited land transfer and development precisely in those parts of the country in which least development has taken place. The backward are to remain backward.

The total area of Western Palestine is about 26,400,000 dunams,* counting a thousand square meters to the dunam. About a third of this area

* A dunam is equivalent in area to about one-fourth of an acre.

is uninhabited desert and largely unexplored. Of the remaining 17,000,000 dunams about 9,000,000 are cultivated, though some of it not permanently, and about 8,000,000 are uncultivated and given up by the Government as uncultivable. We have shown by experience and reasonable analogy that millions of the so-called uncultivable dunams can be cultivated and can provide a livelihood for tens of thousands of families in agriculture.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, you have visited the Negev. In accordance with Government figures there are in that area about 1,600,000 dunams of cultivable land of which only one-half is cultivated.* You have seen the primitive form of cultivation which now prevails, and you have seen the beginnings of our efforts to convert this semi-desert into a highly cultivated area. We are pursuing the method of trial and error. After observing the experience of three experimental settlements over a period of three years, we established thirteen additional settlements during the past ten months. I should rather say the nuclei of additional settlements. We have tried to study the climatic conditions, the proper form of cultivation; we have tried to bring water to these places. You have seen the dam and the reservoir at Revivim. It was quite costly, as is each new experiment, but—from the point of view of the development work that will be carried out there in the future—the cost is amply justified.

In the neighborhood of Beersheba, on a plateau 300 meters above sea level, we are trying a different system of water supply—that of underground storage. By building a number of lower dams, we are trying to stop the fast-flow of flood water and to recharge the underground basin. Experiments have shown that by this method an accumulation of millions of cubic meters of water is possible. We are trying a third method of bringing water from a distance, and you have seen the work done at Nir Am and our water pipeline that may soon cover a distance of 164 kilometers. The cost of the water through the pipeline will be, in its first stage, about 16 mils per cubic meter. But again we are still in the stage of experimentation. Higher than average water costs are justified in this arid zone. Water will bring blessings not only to the Jewish settlements but to the whole area. We are al-

ready supplying water to our Arab neighbors.

During your visits you have no doubt had an opportunity to see our reclamation work in other parts of the country. You saw that we have succeeded in converting large areas of so-called bad land into some of the most productive parts of the country. May I mention that of the one million dunams of land acquired by Jews during the last twenty-five years, more than half was thought to be uncultivable and unhealthy waste land. We believe that not only in the Negev but also in northern Palestine still greater possibilities are before us. More than half of northern Palestine—about eight million dunams—consists of hill country, of which only about two million dunams, according to Government statistics, are cultivated. This very low ratio of cultivation is the result of centuries of neglect. By deforestation, over-grazing and improper cultivation, large areas have been reduced to rocks and boulders. The soil itself is of the highest fertility. Many of these areas can be revived, and I state this on the strength of the achievements both of our settlements in the hills and of many Arab farms. All this area is now part of the prohibited zone. We firmly believe that the White Paper of 1939, with its land prohibitions and restrictions, is not only a blow to the Jews but continues to be a major handicap to the proper development of the country as a whole. So much for the legend of the scarcity of land.

OF EVEN greater importance than the size of cultivated area is the question of better, more economic, and more intensive use of the land. In my statement before the Anglo-American Committee, I dwelt at some length upon farming methods. I told the story of the reduction of the land area in our settlements from as much as 300 dunams per family three generations ago, to twenty-five dunams of irrigated land in our intensified farms of today. Experience has shown that on the average, in northern Palestine, one dunam of irrigated land is worth, from the agricultural point of view, five dunams of unirrigated land. The land area that we now accept as the unit of our settlement activities is as follows: In the plains, ten to twelve dunams of irrigated land for citriculture or for market gardening in the neighborhood of towns; 25 dunams of irrigated land for mixed farming; 100 dunams of unirrigated land for mixed farming.

* Jewish Agency experts estimate that some eight to twelve million dunams in the Negev are cultivable.

In the hills, a family unit should comprise 50 dunams of which 30 should be of superior quality reclaimed and ameliorated for fruit growing, green fodder and vegetables, and 20 dunams of inferior quality for carob plantation and controlled grazing.

Our experience in agricultural improvement is the basis of our belief that it is the character of land use which is of primary importance to both Jews and Arabs. Our Arab neighbors have improved and intensified their land use greatly during the past fifteen years of rapid Jewish growth. This improvement has taken place often as a direct consequence of resources made available by Jewish land purchases. Other stimuli have been Jewish urban markets, the example of Jewish farm methods, and the aids made available through Jewish-paid taxes. It is a most notable fact that in Transjordan, under the same mandatory rule, but from which Jewish immigration was excluded by the partition of 1922, the Arab farmer shows no corresponding progress despite the availability of large land reserves.

In accordance with official figures, the average income of the Arab farmer increased from the year 1931 to 1939 by approximately 30 per cent (disregarding the gain in citrus). By 1945, again utilizing only official figures, *and disregarding wartime price advantages*, the income of the average Arab farm family was approximately 50 per cent higher than in 1931. This gain reflects great progress in land use and in farm management. The Arab fellah has diversified his farm and has greatly increased his production of vegetables, olives, fruits, eggs, and fodder. The Arab agricultural economy also profited to a very important extent from a favorable wartime price development. Because of this price differential in his favor—along with his increased productivity—the Arab fellah was able to raise his standard of living notably and at the same time to pay off the greatest part of his debts.

There has been, in the past eight years, an even greater development in Jewish agriculture. The increase of the output of Jewish agriculture (apart from citrus) during the war, in constant prices, was about 110 per cent. This increase has continued in the two years after the war; output is now about 140 per cent higher than the output of 1939. This increase in Jewish agriculture was caused by further intensification, by a substantial

increase in the irrigated area, and by establishment of new settlements. Since the beginning of the war, we have established ninety-four new settlements; this includes thirty-six nuclei of new settlements established during the past fifteen months.

BUT it is now two years after the war, and both Jewish and Arab farmers face a difficult problem of readjustment and adaptation to world markets. Jewish agricultural economy is based mainly on the production of protective foods. The prices of its products have risen since the beginning of the war by about 360 per cent. During the past year there was a limited decrease in the prices of Jewish farm products, but I regret to say that there was at the same time some increase in the cost of production. Jewish agriculture, which produces about 75 per cent to 80 per cent for the market, depends to a high degree on imported fodder. The cost of fodder has increased substantially even during the last year. We are compelled—as a result of Government policy—to buy our fodder mainly in Middle Eastern countries, where prices are extremely high. We pay about six times the pre-war price for grain! Jewish farming has to face the difficult situation of a high cost of labor resulting both from the high cost of living and from the scarcity of labor. An increase in immigration will make labor more readily available. Then, with a sizeable increase in the importation of cheaper fodder, we will be able, though not without a difficult transition period, to adapt ourselves to prevailing world prices as we did before the war.

But the question of agricultural reconversion will be no less difficult for the Arabs. The prices of Arab products have increased since the war even more than those of the Jews, in fact by 460 per cent. The Arab farm is based to a much greater extent than Jewish farming on the production of grain, and when the present sellers' market is over, Arab grain growers too will have to adapt themselves to world market prices. Before the war Arab cereal villagers were generally unable to cover their expenses out of their farm income and were compelled either to incur debts or to seek additional sources of income through hiring themselves out for labor. In our view the only way for these Arab farmers to avoid a postwar relapse into their former indebted and impoverished condition is by the improvement of farming methods

and additional irrigation—with corresponding expansion of urban markets.

The Government of Palestine stresses the great obstacles in the way of rapid development. Certainly they exist, but the chief ones among them are the present system of tenure of land, the lack of education and training, and finally the lack of capital. These obstacles call for a bold development scheme. The methods of land tenure and the extreme fragmentation of holdings call urgently for a throughgoing land reform; lack of capital can be made good by additional Jewish immigration and new farm credit facilities; marketing possibilities can be provided by a rise in the standard of living and by additional Jewish immigration. Irrigation water can be provided in exchange for land. There must be Government intervention, guidance and planning; without Government authority and initiative, it is hardly possible to carry out large development schemes. But I regret to say that our experience under the present regime has been a disappointing one. The Government of Palestine has lacked imagination, determination, and interest in economic development. The aim of the Mandatory Government's intervention in economic affairs has been "keeping the balance"—and the sufferers have been Jews and Arabs alike.

Only this week we were confronted with the publication of a draft law called "Irrigation Water Bill, 1947." We were amazed by the Government's decision to introduce such radical legislation, putting all underground water under strict Government bureaucratic control without recourse to the courts, at a time when the whole question of Palestine is *sub judice*. The general tendency of this law, as of most other laws enacted since 1939, is restrictive and not creative. What Palestine needs is a Governmental authority which is determined to execute large development schemes. This is the primary economic requirement both of the Jewish and Arab population now resident in the country and of the many hundreds of thousands of Jews who need to come here.

I TURN now to the second of the stultifying legends woven about this country—that of the scarcity of water in Palestine.

About forty years ago, in 1908, the Zionist organization started its colonizing work in this coun-

try. There was then not a single modern well in Palestine. About fifteen years later, the total irrigated area in Palestine was about 30,000 to 40,000 dunams. Now the area under irrigation totals 450,000 dunams, which means that in the last twenty-five years the area has increased more than tenfold. But we are confident that it is possible to increase the irrigated area further to an amount totaling at least eight times as much as is now irrigated. In this direction, lies the future of Palestine's agriculture. We are only at the beginning. The discovery of water is, in our view, the greatest discovery ever made in Palestine. I would like to say that in the last fifteen months we have had quite a number of further striking successes in finding water in different parts of the country.

I discussed the question of irrigation at length in my statement before the Anglo-American Committee, and on that occasion explained the work of our water companies and the schemes prepared by local and American experts, especially the overall irrigation scheme prepared by Messrs. Hays and Savage.* In accordance with Mr. Hays' report, an additional area of about 2½ million dunams, beyond what is now irrigated, can be irrigated by utilizing the water sources of this country. He envisages even further development by way of co-operation with the neighboring countries.

As regards the cost of water I would like to stress again that what is decisive is not the absolute price of the water, but the relation of the cost of water to the value of crops produced. Our Agricultural Research Institute has made a detailed study of the ratio of the cost of water to the value of different crops in the different parts of the country, and they came to the encouraging conclusion that a price up to 2¼ mil per cubic meter is an economic one as regards most of the products of an intensified farm unit, even assuming the low prewar level of agricultural prices. Mr. Hays believes that the price of water in Palestine will be less than two mils. He emphasizes that the water will cost less here than in California. We know that it will be less than the cost in many places in Palestine before the war.

I do not underestimate the magnitude of the financial problem of the years before us, but the

* The two distinguished American engineers associated with the drawing-up of detailed plans for the Lowdermilk JVA project

upbuilding of Palestine should not be discussed merely as an economic and financial problem. It is a great human problem for all peoples of the world; for us it is a question of the revival and survival of the Jewish people, and who is able to appraise the cost of the survival of a people?

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: The economic evidence of the Jewish Agency has tried to show

you the Jewish achievements in Palestine and the possibilities latent in this country. This is a small country, but at a time when the whole world became too small for those Jews fleeing from Nazi persecution Palestine alone was large enough to provide them with a haven and a home. Palestine is our home, our only home. The Jews need Palestine, and Palestine needs the Jews.

SPIRITUAL WICKEDNESS: the story of the EXODUS 1947

By John Stanley Gravel

When the "Exodus 1947," a one-funneled former Chesapeake Bay ferry-boat, left France on July 11 with 4,500 Jewish refugees bound for Palestine, a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee was on board as a member of the crew. John Stanley Gravel, a young journalist and lecturer

and former clergyman, witnessed the British attack on the boat in international waters and upon his arrival in Palestine testified as to what he had seen before the members of the UN Committee. This description of his experience appeared originally in "The Churchman" for September 1.

Ephesians 6:12—For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of darkness in this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

THESE words are being written with a deep sense of sorrow and of shame. The sorrow stems from the horror of seeing one's friends murdered in a most savage manner by those who claim a tradition of justice, truth and Christian virtue. The shame stems from seeing my brethren and one time fellow workers in the Christian ministry, in large part, refusing to recognize one of the greatest tragedies of our time; failing to sound calls of righteous indignation because of the failure of the world's statesmen to make compensation to the Jewish people who suffered so much. It is deeply disheartening to observe the religious who consider the Kingdom of God is to be fulfilled in a campaign against the "little" sins even as the "greater" sins destroy the very foundations of civilization.

The time has come to recognize that neither our nation nor Great Britain is to be absolved from responsibility for the political situation of Palestine. The fact that Great Britain was a symbol of cour-

age and tenacity through the years of the war is no excuse for blinding ourselves to one of the most damnable displays of political treachery in the history of our modern world.

For three recent months and for eight terrible days I have witnessed the unfolding of a truly tragic drama. I have seen the product of *spiritual wickedness in high places*.

I was a member of the crew of the Jewish Haganah ship *Exodus 1947*. I went on the journey because I wanted to observe for myself the Jewish problem from that particular angle. Most of all, however, I wanted to help. We had brought the ship from America and one bright and sunny morning we loaded a precious cargo of 4,500 human beings in a French port and turned our bow in the direction of Eretz Yisrael—the land of Israel. These people were refugees from the flaming hell of Hitler's Europe. On their arms were the tattooed numbers of concentration camps. On their faces were the imprints of years of fear and suffering. In their hearts was the spirit of people who after long years of absence are going home.

On the morning of July 18, the vessel was rammed and attacked on the high seas by a

flotilla of five destroyers and a cruiser of the British Royal Navy. It was an action brutal enough to do credit to the Nazis. It is a matter of record. The action was the result of orders from British leaders in "high places." The *Exodus 1947* was to be prevented from arriving in Palestine in time for the United Nations Palestine Commission meeting. Failure came when the "illegal" Haganah radio in Palestine broadcast a message to the Commission advising them of the situation.

In three and a half dreadful hours, I saw a fifteen year old boy die from bullet wounds. He and his brother were the last survivors of their family in Europe. I stood by the side of my friend, twenty-four year old American Naval Reserve Officer, William Bernstein, as he fought a losing fight against the effects of a fractured skull. While attempting to escape from a gas-filled bridge, he had been smashed by a steel-headed club wielded by a British

sailor. There were countless numbers of other equally frightful incidents. Forty-five were seriously injured and a hundred more were hospitalized. One thought haunted me. *Here by some twist of History might have been a Peter or a Paul or a—Jesus.*

Those who survived were put on board three prison ships and at the time of this writing, one month later, are floating around in the heat of the Mediterranean in the stinking holds of those vessels, locked in wire cages like wild beasts.

Something must be done. Great Britain stands judged for her sin by all too few. The hour has come for Christians of our nation to protest in such manner that, with the power of a surging sea, that protest will sweep the abomination of such international crimes from the face of the earth. We claim the Christian ethic. In God's name, let us practice it!

LEON BLUM TO BRITAIN

CONSIDERATION for the British Government's prestige cannot be the world's chief concern in the matter of the *Exodus 1947*. The conscience of the world is concerned only with the fact that here are a handful of Jews, survivors of Hitler's massacres, whom victory has failed to liberate from German concentration camps and who are forcibly debarred from the only haven to which they naturally aspire—the land of Palestine, reclaimed from the desert by their brethren.

When the British shipped these immigrants back to their point of embarkation, the French Government, faithfully interpreting public opinion in France—as unanimous comments in the French press bear witness—and faithfully interpreting, also, public opinion in the world, withheld its cooperation. The passengers were told that if they disembarked of their own free will, they would find hospitality on French soil. They turned down the offer; with some few exceptions, the same reply was given by the many ill passengers on board: "We are grateful to France," they all said in one voice, "but it is in Palestine we want to live. We would rather die than leave this ship which was to have taken us there."

I stated, some months ago, what I think of terror in Palestine. The British themselves, I believe, are largely responsible for it, as they were for the terrorist acts of the women suffragettes and the Sinn Feiners. Terror unfailingly results whenever fanatic adherents of a just cause are driven to hopelessness. . . . But the passengers on the *Exodus 1947* are not terrorists; they are simply martyrs. Like the ancient Christian martyrs, they resist only with their faith and with their resolve to go unflinchingly to the end of the sacrificial road. To yield before this faith and this readiness for self-sacrifice is not to lose face but to gain greatness. . . .

From "Le Populaire," Paris, August 1, 1947

COMMENTS TO THE POINT

Sumner Welles: *That the Mandate Be Terminated*

There is nothing to be gained by mincing words. The British military administration in Palestine is shot through from top to bottom with anti-Semitism. The British forces of occupation, now numbering 100,000 men, have been presumably sent to Palestine to keep the peace between Jews and Arabs. They are there as the agents of a mandatory power charged with the duty of insuring the safety of the peoples temporarily entrusted to its care as wards.

But the plain truth is that that great majority of the Jews in Palestine who are wholly innocent of the acts of terrorism committed by a handful of fanatics, and who are trying to prevent the repetition of such acts, are not only deprived of every semblance of their legitimate rights but are also being treated as outcasts by the very authorities who are supposed to be acting as their trustees.

The Rubowitz case provides a shocking illustration of existing conditions. The British police force in Palestine has a notorious "strong-arm squad." Last spring a sixteen-year-old boy named Alexander Rubowitz was kidnaped by members of this squad, headed by a Major Farran, taken down the deserted Jericho Road, and tortured. He died on the spot. The officers responsible were advised to flee to Syria. Due to unexpected publicity, Major Farran was compelled to return to Jerusalem, was identified by eye witnesses, was imprisoned, was helped by his fellow officers again to escape and, subsequently, because of further publicity, surrendered once more. His accomplices are generally believed to be back on duty in Jerusalem.

When we know that the authorities charged with the protection of the inhabitants of Palestine are guilty of such atrocities, and learn of the gross miscarriages of justice that have taken place in the case of the individual officials responsible, it is easier for us to understand why such acts of retaliation as the murder of the British sergeants have been perpetrated. . . .

However often Mr. Bevin may deny the self-evident truth, the evils resulting from present-day conditions in Palestine are a threat to world peace. They are engendering international friction and ill will. They are jeopardizing friendly cooperation between the western powers. Neither the Assem-

bly nor the Security Council can afford to ignore the fact that their obligations under Articles 11 and 39 of the United Nations Charter will not be met unless some way is promptly found to terminate the British mandate and to replace the British forces now in Palestine with some truly impartial peace-enforcement agency.

From Mr. Welles' column in the
August 12, 1947, "New York Herald Tribune"

Cleveland Plain Dealer: *The New Report*

The eleven-nation commission appointed last May by the United Nations to conduct the inquiry uncovered no fact that was not already hallowed by age and repetition.

It has one trend in common with all of them, however. This is that it is another retreat from the Balfour Declaration. If Britain, author of the promise to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine and the old League of Nations mandate over that unhappy country, had used half the energy to implement its pledge that it has consumed in finding devious and dishonest ways of avoiding it, the Palestine issue would years ago have ceased to exist.

Britain could do nothing because the Arabs would object. London overlooked the fact that the Arab population doubled since the Jews came into Palestine in numbers simply because the Jews created conditions that were beyond their wildest dreams under the old feudal system prevailing in Arab countries. . . .

Now the Holy Land, if the UN Commission's ideas are realized, will be divided into Arab and Jewish states.

Under the conditions prevailing since the war, this may be the answer. That is a question for the Assembly to ponder. But as it enters its deliberations it is well to remember that before the Commission set foot in Palestine, the British announced that unless its findings fitted into British ideas they would not be recognized. Will Britain admit the helpless refugees from Europe as the Commission recommends? Or will it continue to make the world believe it is frightened by Arab opposition? Neither the UN solution nor any other will bring peace to Palestine until there is a greater measure of honesty in high places injected into whatever method is employed.

From an editorial for September 2, 1947

London Tribune: *Britain and the S.S. Exodus 1947*

What happened to that ship and what is to happen to the 4,500 passengers is perhaps more important to the future of Britain than to that of the Jews. There is something rather pathetic—and also rather ridiculous—about this affair. . . . Here are these Jews with 955 children among them. British Intelligence officers have closely watched them in Poland, in Austria, in Germany, in France. The Jews reach France; their ship is spotted, and detained by the French authorities after diplomatic *démarches* in Paris and London.

Meanwhile, the Navy concentrates a force almost equal to that assembled for the first battle for Narvik. Five destroyers and a cruiser are prepared to pick up the ship; Lancasters shadow it across the Mediterranean; 66,000 troops prepare in Palestine to keep order. Altogether some 90,000 British soldiers, sailors, airmen, Intelligence officers, diplomats and police have been engaged directly on this operation "pre-war."

Why? Mr. Bevin told the Labor Party two years ago that he could not allow an increased rate of Jewish immigration into Palestine because that would mean sending another division, about 15,000 men, to Palestine; he could not spare these men. According to the Colonial Office Report published last week-end, at that time there were 25,000 British troops in Palestine. Mr. Bevin has since sent in, not one, but three divisions—not 15,000 but 40,000 men. He has also trebled the Naval contingents in Palestine waters; and he has increased the Air Force and the British police there.

But these immigrants, who are prepared to undergo conditions almost as bad as those suffered by the English settlers of America when they fled from political and religious persecution (the famous *Mayflower* was a ship of 180 tons), are no longer deterred by detention in camps. Evidently, after you have spent some years in a German extermination camp, Cyprus is quite bearable; after all, there is hope of journey's end beyond it.

Meanwhile the Palestine High Commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham, has protested in vain that the Foreign Office action has undone all the goodwill he has gained in recent weeks; the Army in Palestine has protested that just when things were settling down, the Government in London, still

without policy, unites the entire Jewish population against the British.

But the Foreign Office, too, is undeterred. Britain may be short of dollars and oil and coal and manpower, but when the Middle East Department of the Foreign Office calls, the Navy and the Army and the diplomats and the spies are all ready, the refugees shall not pass.

Editorial in the July 25, 1947, issue of the "Tribune," weekly organ of Aneurin Bevan's group of the Labor Party

I. F. Stone: *The Cost of Fighting Refugees*

The British Government, in its drive to stop Jewish immigration into Palestine, has been high-presuring the White House, bullying the French and offering economic concessions in Eastern Europe to countries which will help to smash the Jewish "underground railway."

Officials of several governments, in discussing the problem, have expressed surprise at the amount of money, time, effort and attention British officials are spending on this cold war against refugees.

Jewish leaders abroad estimate that the British are spending far more to block the illegal ships than the Haganah and its supporters are to buy and outfit them. . . .

The blockade against Jewish illegal immigration has become one of the major items in the expenses of the British Admiralty. Lately, British naval vessels have taken to shadowing suspected ships from one harbor to another, creating difficulties for them in each. One ship was "tailed" for seven weeks in European waters by a British destroyer.

There are British agents today in all the ports of the Mediterranean on the watch for Jewish boats, and they do not hesitate to use bribery where necessary to prevent them from taking on supplies, doing repair work and embarking refugees. . . .

"PM," July 27, 1947

New York Herald Tribune: *The DPs and Palestine*

VIENNA, AUGUST 10—United Nations investigators arrived here tonight from Munich deeply convinced of the gravity of the problem of the Jewish displaced persons in the camps they inspected in Germany yesterday and today.

Except for a Greek Jewish doctor, every one of the desperate DPs questioned by the inspection team of the United Nations Special Committee on Pales-

tine has refused to consider any other future home but Palestine. And the doctor only said he might consider an alternative suitable to his professional future.

As a result, the problem of the Jewish DPs, who are apparently unwanted by everyone but Palestinian Jews, has gained much significance among the UN committeemen as an inseparable part of the Palestine problem as a whole. . . .

Itzak Hesko, 35-year-old leather worker from Hungary, a wan, beaten Jew who is the father of three small children, summed it up as well as anyone when he said through embittered lips: "I am tired, so very tired of being kicked around, and I want to take my family to a place where we may have peace among our own. The place is Palestine."

JOHN G. ROGERS, "Herald Tribune"
Correspondent with the UN Committee

NBC: *The Bitter Fruits of Censorship*

What are the British people told about the Palestine situation? Only that nice British boys are being murdered in cold blood in Palestine by Jewish terrorists. You can search and search for news in Britain about Jewish citizens in Palestine being shot by British soldiers, for news of the curfews and mass arrests in Palestine . . . nor do the British get news about anti-British opinion in some of the world because the British Navy hauls Jews off their ships as they try to reach freedom in Palestine. In my very careful opinion, the British press has irresponsibly distorted the whole Palestine picture by giving only one side of the story. They have their reward this morning—front-page stories of anti-Jewish demonstrations in Britain.

STEPHEN LAIRD, London reporter, Columbia Broadcasting System, August 5, 1947

THE PERENNIAL DEBATE

By Hugh Weston

Hugh Weston is a Unitarian minister who served the pulpit for three years in Pittsburgh, Pa. Following a trip to South America, he lectured extensively in the United States on Pan-American affairs. More recently, he has covered Europe and the Middle East for the Pittsburgh "Post-Gazette" and Pittsburgh "Courier." He is now a radio commentator on Pasadena's KXLA.

NOT long ago I was asked by the University of California at Los Angeles to debate Aouney Dajani (or Dejan as sometimes spelled) of the Arab Office on the question of Palestine before the students of the University.

Mr. Dajani asserted that he had been under the impression that he was to speak uncontested and therefore declined to debate. I was accordingly asked to give a reply on a later occasion.

I slipped in to hear Mr. Dajani's lecture. He is a man of medium height and build, with typical swarthy complexion, jet black hair and dark mustache. He was lecturing calmly, yet forcefully, in a manner calculated to suit the surroundings of a university.

"The Jews are a Christian problem and not an Arab responsibility," he began with the familiar approach.

Playing upon the anti-Semitic prejudices that consciously or unconsciously affect a large percentage of any non-Jewish audience, he said, "If the United States were to absorb as many Jews as Palestine already has, there would be eighty million Jews entering America." Lengthily he dwelt on this point, showing how by comparative figures, untold thousands of Jews would have to enter America if its Jewish immigration were to keep pace with that of Palestine. The implication was that we would not want so many Jews in America, therefore why expect the Arabs to be any happier over such an unlovely prospect? It was anti-Semitism, but so cleverly disguised that it served to win the naturally anti-Semitic proportion of the audience without unduly offending the more tolerant individuals. That such arguments had neither logic nor relevance was too much to expect many of these university students to see.

The lecturer argued that the Jews of Europe

did not want to go to Palestine as much as they wanted to go to America, that their first choice was the U. S. A. He contended that the Jews entered Palestine by force thousands of years ago and stole it from the "Arabs" at that time; that they now wished to establish a Jewish government, that is, *religiously* Jewish, in Palestine—a kind of theocracy. The Jews could have returned to Palestine during the Middle Ages, but would not, he maintained; now the Jews wish to make the Arabs leave Palestine, their own country. Palestine is inseparable from the Arab world: "With a Zionist state there can be no peace in the Middle East." Regarding Zionist-brought benefits, he stated: "The fact that one people are advanced does not justify another people's taking their land from them." Most Zionist benefits, he continued, are for the benefit of the Jewish community. Hebrew schools are closed to Christians and Moslems; no Arab labor is allowed on Jewish-owned lands.

After speaking of Arab progress throughout the Middle East, he went on to report that "Palestine cannot be industrialized either in the sphere of agriculture or in the sphere of manufacturing."

He ended by announcing the Arab demand for independence and democracy along Atlantic Charter lines.

He was generously applauded by the students as a whole.

I knew I had a job to do.

I SPOKE the following week to a large aggregation of students, including many who had heard Dajani.

I decided to begin this way: I mentioned Dajani's recourse to the Atlantic Charter and the ideals of majority rule. I asked the students to let us suppose that Dajani were speaking, not in America, but in Palestine, and, as an Arab, not against Zionism, but in favor of it. "What," I suggested, "would happen to Mr. Dajani?" I told them I could hazard a rather safe guess, and I read them a United Press dispatch regarding another Dajani, perhaps a kinsman of our own Aouney Dajani. It ran as follows:

Jerusalem, December 18, United Press—A rich Arab landowner was assassinated in the center of Jaffa tonight, probably by his own people, for selling property to the Jews.

The assassinated Arab was Mustafa Dajani. He had been to the Jaffa land registry office to complete the transfer of property to a Jew.

After leaving, he was walking down a Jaffa street toward his home in the nearby village of Beit Dajan when three shots felled him.

Najada, the Arab secret army, was believed to have plotted the killing.

I told them about the Arabs who were slain by their own people for concluding friendship pacts with the Jews; about the Mufti, whose mention Aouney Dajani had sought to avoid. I asked them about Arab democracy. The students were amazed. They had not heard of these things before. Dajani hadn't told them.

Then, point by point, I showed them how they had been misled by a tissue of falsehoods and misconstructions. I even warned them against their own tendencies to let prejudices influence the logic of their decisions. Regarding Dajani's remark that the Jews do not want to go to Palestine, I quoted not merely my own experience with the Jews who survive in Europe, but the Anglo-American Committee's statement: "The vast majority of the Jewish displaced persons and migrants, however, believe that the only place which offers a prospect is Palestine." I quoted the leading exponents of Zionism to the effect that the Jewish hope was for a democratic state in which all religions would be given equal treatment, not for a theocratic state in which the Jewish faith received preferential treatment. I read to the students the proclamations of the Jewish Agency on the absolute religious equality of all citizens in a Jewish Palestine. I told them that I had never heard from any Zionist source whatsoever any statement to the effect that the Arabs would have to leave Palestine.

I mentioned, however, that though I had never heard of any Jewish suggestions that the Arabs leave Palestine, I heard of Arab suggestions that the Jews leave Palestine. I referred them to Haj Amin el Husseini's testimony before the Royal Commission:

Q. "Would Palestine be able, in your opinion, to absorb all of the Jews now there?"

Haj Amin: "No."

Q. "Then some of them would have to be removed by a process pleasant or painful as the case may be?"

Haj Amin: "We must leave all that to the future."

I made reference to documents such as M. A. Shulwas' book, *Rome and Jerusalem*, to point out

the restrictions and difficulties encountered by the Jews during the Middle Ages in their desire to return to the Land of Israel. Dajani's falsehoods regarding the refusal of the Jews to open their schools and hospitals to the Arabs or to share with them the benefits of progress and industry were easily refuted by reference to my own many experiences last summer in the Holy Land.

Point by point I had showed the students that this polished lecturer was, to put it nicely, a prevaricator. Yet it was not I, but the facts that showed them. For I did not even rely on my personal experiences. I relied on indisputable and uncontroverted facts. Mr. Dajani made a brilliant appeal. But his appeal was brilliant because of the twists he gave his thought, not because of the merit of his case. And when his lecture was paralleled point by point with the stubborn evidences of fact, his contentions melted away.

But there was one last task to be performed. These students needed more than the facts. They needed to capture something of the imagination and heroism of a people. And so I told them a story.

It was a story about some people who lived in the midst of swamplands north of the Sea of Galilee

in a settlement called Kfar Blum. As I approached it I saw a sign in English addressed to British troops. It read something like this: DANGEROUS MALARIA AREA. NO STOPPING FOR TWENTY MILES.

But some people had stopped there. They were Jews. They were some of those 200,000 Jews who are members of the Histadruth, toilers whose Jewish hands are building a nation. They didn't think of themselves as heroes, those Jews at Kfar Blum. Yet not a one except the newcomers had escaped the sting of the malaria mosquito. At times more than half of their number had been down with malaria at the same time. They had come from all over the world, a large proportion of them from the United States of America. They were there to drain those swamps and restore that land, not for themselves, but for their children and their children's children. It didn't matter to them that their lives would be shortened. But it did matter that generations yet unborn would have a corner of the world over which to unfurl the banner of freedom, freedom for Jews, for Arabs and for all men.

They were patriots, just like our American forefathers, giving all for a nation yet unborn.

WITH UNSCOP IN PALESTINE

IN GALILEE, at Kfar Giladi on the northern border of Palestine, the Australian member of the UN Committee was greeted by several non-Jewish Australian soldiers who are members of the settlement. They had been its guests when they were on leave during the war and were so attracted by the economy and life of the communal settlement that they chose to remain there and throw in their lot with that of the Jewish pioneers.

When the Committee reached the settlement of Dan at the foot of Mount Hermon, all of the children and many of the settlers in working clothes welcomed them in the tree-lined avenue leading to the village. In the dining-hall, where the Committee gathered around tables for refreshments, was a banner inscribed: "Our home is open to our refugee brothers."

The history of Dan was reviewed briefly by a

villager. "The new Dan, with its 450 inhabitants, has become a source of well-being not only for its own builders but also for the neighborhood on both sides of the Palestine-Syrian border," he said. "The incidence of malaria has dropped from 100 per cent to 1 per cent, and the disease might be entirely wiped out but for the non-cooperation of the Syrian Government. Our Arab neighbors, both Palestinians and Syrians, are treated by our physicians, and our relations are friendly."

The speaker recalled an old legend that the Jordan was so named because its source was at Dan. "We dwelling here cannot help asking you not to let reactionary water regulations prevent the use of this water for the benefit of the whole land," he continued. "Instead of cold stone monuments to the memory of our dead families, we wish to create a living monument of villages and green fields."

Notes on the Palestine Situation

"A FOREIGN HAND"

After a week of disturbances and loss of life precipitated by the August 10 Arab assault on a Tel Aviv cafe, marked attempts at rapprochement were made by both Arabs and Jews throughout Palestine. Jewish villages reported without exception that relations with their Arab neighbors were completely normal. Leaders of the Arab villages showed no signs either of tension or hostility; several of them volunteered the opinion that the incidents were British-inspired and would not do the Arabs any good.

Members of the local council of the Arab village of Salameh, adjoining the Yemenite Jewish Hatikvah quarter of Tel Aviv, called on the Jewish officials of Hatikvah and thanked them for the fact that Jewish policemen in that area had protected Arab lives and property. The heads of both communities reached a peace agreement which was solemnized by a traditional Arab ceremony. Officials of the two quarters gathered in an open field and slaughtered a lamb, after which all partook of the sacrifice.

A similar ceremony was celebrated in a nearby section, the Arab leaders declaring "that a foreign hand has tried to instigate us against the Jews, but only irresponsible youngsters responded, for all the rest of us are opposed."

SYRIAN DROUGHT AND PALESTINIAN POPULATION

The Lebanese paper *Al-Amal* recently carried an article about a devastating drought in the Hauran, the section which is the wheat granary of Syria. The paper quotes a report on conditions in the Hauran made by an economist and an expert from the Syrian Ministry of Agriculture. According to the experts, *certain villages have been completely deserted by the peasants who crossed into Palestine in despair*. An even larger immigration movement across the border is inevitable unless the Syrian Government helps the Hauran by introducing irrigation projects, farm machinery, and training in

modern farming techniques. Farming is still done entirely by hand in the Hauran.

THE TRUTH BECOMES CONVENIENT

In the attempt to win the Arab states to Britain, it has consistently been British procedure to conceal or minimize the pro-Axis record of the Arab countries in the war. Pro-Arab apologists, for instance, often quote a 1945 statement of Mr. Churchill's to the effect that Britain had in fact preferred Egypt to remain neutral.

The truth about British awareness of Egypt's pro-Axis stand came out with dramatic bitterness before the Security Council at Lake Success on August 13. In the course of a heated Anglo-Egyptian exchange over the Sudan issue, the Egyptian Prime Minister charged Britain with interference in Egypt's internal affairs during 1940 and 1942, when it forced King Farouk to install Cabinets favorable to the Allies. Answering those charges, the British delegate, Sir Alexander Cadogan, asserted that British interference was made necessary by the pro-Axis activities during that period of "certain very highly placed Egyptian personalities." Britain could produce documentary evidence of this charge, Sir Alexander asserted, but did not wish to embarrass the Egyptian Government more than necessary.

The British delegate also took issue with Egyptian statements that Egypt's loyalty to the Allied cause was "the first element of victory" in the Middle East. "I myself had thought," he said, "that the first element of victory over the Axis in the Middle East was constituted by those soldiers of the British Commonwealth and other Allied powers who fought and bled and died in the North African deserts and on Egyptian soil."

IN THE CHRISTIAN SPIRIT

In Jerusalem, on August 24, Rev. Ronald Adeny, Vicar of Christ's Church (low Evangelical), while praying for those in distress on the high seas, specifically mentioned the refugees of the *Exodus* 1947. "May God overrule the Government's decision," he said, "and may a right and just solution be found."

ZIONISTS AND THE U.N. REPORT

Issuing its report on Palestine on Sept. 1, the United Nations Special Committee made a number of unanimous recommendations, chief among them that the mandate for Palestine be terminated at the earliest practicable moment; that independence be granted after as short a transition period as possible, during which period "the authority entrusted with administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations"; that the General Assembly immediately make international arrangements "for the alleviation of the plight of the 250,000 Jewish DPs and of the Palestine problem"; that preservation of the economic unity of the country be accepted as a cardinal principle.

The minority report signed by the delegates of Iran, India, and Yugoslavia proposes an independent federal state; the majority report proposes an internationalized Jerusalem, a Jewish state in eastern Galilee, Esdraelon, the coastal plain, Beisan and most of the Negev, an Arab state in the rest of Palestine, Jewish immigration of 150,000 during the two-year interim period.

The General Council of the World Zionist Organization, meeting in Zurich, issued the following statement, representing the reaction to the report of the leaders of the Zionist movement.

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

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

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

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Sec. 562, P. L. & R.
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
NEW YORK, N. Y.
Permit No. 7381

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

The Temple

Cleveland, Ohio

Postmaster: If undeliverable for any reason, notify sender, stating reason, on Form 3547, postage for which is guaranteed.