



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series VIII: Scrapbooks, 1902-1964, undated.

Sub-series A: Clippings Scrapbooks, 1902-1964, undated.

Reel
231

Box
107

Folder
52

Clipping scrapbook, 1948 January-March.

Part 1
Jan. -Mar.
1948

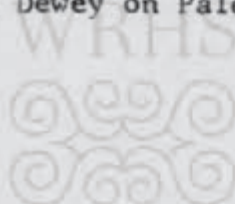
Report on dinner to AHS; departure for Palestine, Jan. 4.
AHS helps unite Haganah and Irgun.
AHS speaks before U.N., Feb. 22; rejects further compromise on Palestine.
Speaks before Security Council, March 5; State of Israel will be set up May 15, when mandate is up.
U.S. asks abandonment of partition plan, Mar. 20; AHS rejects, scores U.S. action.

Part 2
Apr.-June
1948

Palestine protest march and meeting, Madison Square Park, Apr. 4
Jewish Agency will act with or without U.N. May 15.
Jewish State established May 14, 1948.
Rally - salute to Israel, May 16, 1948, Madison Square Garden.
Republican National Convention adopts Israel plank, June 22

Part 3
July-Dec.
1948

ZOA convention, Pittsburgh, July 3
Zionists reject Bernadotte's proposals, July 6
Democratic National Convention adopts Israel plank, July 14
Cleveland tribute dinner to AHS, July 19
AHS receives first visa to Israel, July 29.
AHS flies to Israel Aug. 15; meeting of Inner Zionist Council
AHS urges U.S. loan to Israel, Sept. 8
Truman asked not to accept Bernadotte plan, Sept. 23
AHS praises Dewey on Palestine support, Oct. 29



Believed Under Discussion by
Executive of Jewish Agency
—Blasts Rock Jerusalem

By SAM POPE BREWER
Special to The New York Times.
JERUSALEM, Jan. 2—A drive to get arms from the United States for a fight with the Arabs over partition is the main topic of a conference of the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine that is now going on in Tel Aviv, it was believed in well-informed Jewish circles here today.

The next most urgent topic is probably the British over policy that was revealed by the resignation from the executive of Dr. Moshe Sneh. Dr. Sneh resigned because he considered that the Agency's policy was based too much on the western democracies.

The immediate cause of the resignation was the Agency's acceptance of continued restriction on Jewish immigration into Palestine. Dr. Sneh said that this was the opening wedge of a campaign to "betray and subjugate" the Jews.

Dr. Sneh, however, is believed to represent a minority opinion that is unlikely to swing the Agency. The meeting is suspended because of the Jewish sabbath but will probably resume on Sunday, with the participation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who is expected to arrive tomorrow.

[Twelve more persons were killed on Friday, The Associated Press said. They included four Jews, four Arabs and four Britons.]

Repeated Explosions

The Sheikh Jarrah quarter of Jerusalem, the Arab section lying between the center of the city and Mount Scopus to the north, was the scene of repeated explosions and much gunfire last night and today. Most of the city's violence today seemed centered there.

The trouble started with the throwing of a bomb at a Jewish bus yesterday afternoon. There were no casualties but at night the Jews attacked with rifle fire and then blew up a house that they apparently considered a trouble center.

Trouble began this morning with an attack on a Jewish bus in which one young woman, aged 20, was killed by a grenade fragment. The police, approaching a house at the site of the attack, were fired on by Arabs from the windows and an explosive charge was set off.

Just after the sporadic firing ended about noon a Jewish woman and her child were wounded by snipers while trying to cross an open space in the neighborhood.

Three British Army corporals were killed in three apparently unrelated incidents today. One was fatally wounded near Allenby army barracks in Jerusalem by an unknown person who made off with the corporal's rifle. Another was shot dead while guarding a roadblock between Tel Aviv and Jaffa,

and the third was shot dead near Beersheba in the south in circumstances that are still unknown.

In Tel Aviv seven Jews were admitted to hospitals with bullet wounds received in street sniping.

As fast as efforts are made to patch up one part of daily life, displaced by violence and fear of violence, other troubles develop. The main postoffice here was opened yesterday morning but had to close again in the afternoon. Today it was announced that the office would function from 7 A. M. to 1 P. M. daily.

Then 100 Jewish employees of Naafi (British Army Canteen Service) went on strike for more protection.

For the first time in three days the police today succeeded in getting trucks with food into the Jewish section of old city, but the supplies are still short.

British Shift on Mandate

The urgency for the Jews of getting a decision from the United States on the question of arms is underlined by the apparent decision of the British to try to speed their own departure.

J. Fletcher Cook, Assistant Financial Secretary to the Palestine Government, is leaving for the United States tomorrow as liaison officer with the United Nations. It was denied today that his mission was to tell the United Nations Palestine Commission that the British were moving out earlier than May 15. If consulted about British wishes, however, there is no doubt that he will indicate that they want the commission in here and themselves out at the first possible moment.

The present attitude of the top men in the British administration here is that the only British function now is to keep order (as far as they can) until the United Nations can assume responsibility, and that as the job is getting increasingly hopeless, they want the United Nations to hasten the preparations.

Two points stressed by responsible Britons are, first, that they want to hand over as soon as possible and, second, that they cannot hand over until some organized plan for handling the situation has been made by the United Nations. For the sake of their reputation the British do not want to leave chaos behind but it is beginning to look as if the mounting pressure of violence here might produce chaos despite all efforts.

What nobody will even try to explain at present is how order is to be maintained when the British police and troops leave. In private some officials already concede that the British have lost control of the situation and can try only to keep disorder to a minimum.

A matter really much more urgent than that, however, is that from now on British strength here will be decreasing and disorder presumably will increase in proportion.

This correspondent inadvertently said in a dispatch published Thursday that the Jewish Agency had disavowed responsibility for Haganah's acts. It was Irgun Zvai Leumi for which the Agency disclaimed responsibility, denying that the Irgunists had any agreement with Haganah.

January 9, 1948

Policy Keynote Set at Dinner Tribute to Silver

Zionist Orientation Leans to UN; Ives, O'Mahoney, Rokach, Zionist Leaders Laud Silver on Departure for Palestine

A capacity crowd of over 1,000 persons, including leaders in all walks of public life among whom were U. S. Senators, the Mayor of Tel Aviv and leaders of the Zionist movement, filled the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Astor in New York at a dinner in tribute to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on the eve of his departure for Palestine.

(Excerpts of Dr. Silver's address published below on this page.)

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America, who acted as toastmaster at the affair, which was under the sponsorship of the American Zionist Emergency Council, predicted that "our children and children's children, and generations yet unborn who will live in Palestine in the security of the Jewish State, will speak Dr. Silver's name with love and reverence and eternal gratitude, as one of the greatest and most illustrious names in modern Jewish history." Some day, he said, the full story would have to be recorded in detail, but for the present much of what Dr. Silver did was done behind the scenes and is not to be revealed.

Chief Responsibility

"It is to his brilliant leadership," Dr. Neumann said, "that we owe in very large measure the greatest political achievement in 2,000 years of Jewish history. His contributions have been varied and noble. As chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, his was the chief responsibility for organizing and directing the presentation and defense of the Jewish case before the United Nations. His appearance as the head of our delegation lent it lustre and distinction. His presentations of the Zionist case, both in the spring and in the fall sessions of the Assembly, will rank as

masterpieces of forensic eloquence.

"But it is not of all these things that I think when I refer to the decisive role which Dr. Silver has played in bringing about the historic decision of the United Nations," Dr. Neumann continued. "I am thinking rather of the grand design and over-all strategy of the political struggle which he has spearheaded over a period of years. I am thinking of the marshalling of our forces and the all-out political offensive which he conducted. Above all, I am thinking of the decisive part played by the United States and of Dr. Silver's role in that connection."

A strong plea for arms for defense of the nascent Jewish State

was made by Senator Irving M. Ives, of New York.

Struggle Not Over

Referring to Dr. Silver as "a leader who has won a new place of dignity for his people among the nations of the world," and adding that he had provided "that brilliant leadership without which the UN decision favoring a Jewish State would not have been achieved," Senator Ives nevertheless cautioned that "the Jewish people's struggle did not end with the United Nations decision."

Mayor Israel Rokach, of Tel Aviv, assured the assemblage that Palestinians are defending themselves against all circumstances. "We do not want to con-

quer anything," he said, "but we will defend the property and the lives of Jews and we will gain the second cause, just as we gained the first cause at Lake Success."

Goldstein Flays Embargo

Dr. Israel Goldstein, chairman of the World Confederation of General Zionists, condemned the action of the United States in placing an embargo on arms to Palestine, characterizing this embargo as an aid to "the Arab aggressors, who can secure arms readily from the neighboring Arab States." He attacked, also, Great Britain's policy in this transition stage which, he maintained, under the guise of neutrality, actually gives aid and comfort to the Arabs. He charged further that under the pretext of evenhanded justice, the British were supplying arms to the Arab aggressors and denying them to the Jewish defenders.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, in his remarks, said that "a great duty devolves upon all lovers of liberty and independence that this great venture into liberty and independence shall not fail. The one great thought we must harbor in our hearts,"

Message from Swope

In a message addressed to the Silver testimonial, Herbert Bayard Swope said:

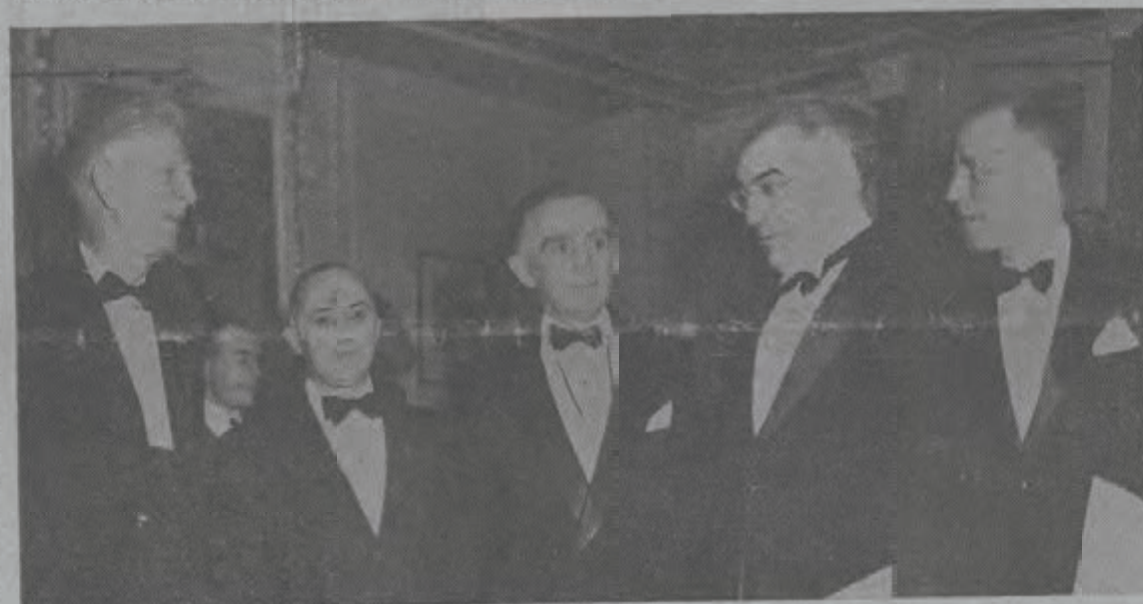
"The leadership of the man you honor tonight, Dr. Silver, has been great in bringing about the present condition (the UN decree for Jewish statehood). Let me bear testimony to the fact that I have found him a great leader. Others, notably Dr. Weizmann and his associates, also deserve this accolade but none has shown higher qualities of courage, of understanding, of persistence, of decision, in short, of leadership. I have come close to him during the emergency and I have found him determined but without rancor; persevering but never unfair. He could not be swerved from his objective and he welcomed to the cause all who could aid."

he added, "is that reconstitution of the Jewish State comes at the same time when the aspirations of mankind everywhere for liberty and peace seem to be on the verge of realization."

Consistency Applauded

Expressing admiration for the personal and political integrity of Dr. Silver, Rabbi Meyer Berlin, President of the Mizrahi, said, "His policy is clear. What he said yesterday, I expect he will say tomorrow." Rabbi Berlin added: "The Zionist Organization of America is now playing the leading role on the American scene and in the entire Galuth."

Messages were received from Governor Thomas E. Dewey; Bartley C. Crum; U. S. Senator Robert A. Taft; U. S. Representative John W. McCormack; Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House; General John H. Hildring; Mayor Thomas A. Burke of Cleveland; Moshe Shertok; Herbert Bayard Swope and many other leaders.



Seen here at the dinner at which tribute was paid to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver prior to his departure for Palestine, are, from left to right, James MacDonald, Jorge Garcia Granados, Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Senator from Wyoming, Dr. Silver and Irving Ives, Senator from New York.

סילבר: אצל פלשו העינים ל"י — מיכר או"מ לפעול

למה התפטר ד"ר סנה. למה נתעכבה העפלת ה-15 א"י. — לא לנו לתבוע צבא בינלאומי

הסוכנות טרם נקטה עמדה בענין הצבא הבינלאומי ולדעתו לא מן החכמה הוא לנו להכריע בענין. נשאר את החלטה זו ארץ עצמו — אמר ד"ר סילבר הבוקר ב"תשובה לאהת השאלות הרבות ששאלוהו עתונאים הבוקר במסיבה. עוד אמר: ה"סוכנות לא התנגדה ולא תוכל להתנגד להעפלה, אבל במקרה המסוים של 15 אלף מעפילי רומניה הרגשו שרצוי לעכב ל"כמה שבועות את ההעפלה. טרם נפגשתי עם ד"ר סנה ואיני יודע מה הניע אותו להתפטרותו אבל אם עשה כך מתוך חשבש שהסוכנות נוטה לנוער, טעות כידו. הצלחנו לגשר בין מזרח ומערב בא"י ומסוכן הוא להטיל עלינו חשדות של חרצדיקות.

במקרה של פלישה ערבית לארץ, איני סבור שאמריקה תפעל על דעת עצ"ת. אבל בטוחני שארץ יאלץ לפעול ול"הטיל ולא — יתא זה סוף ארגון תא"ר. יתוד" אמריקה מוכנים לעזור למדינה היהודית לא רק בכספים ובהשפעתם ה"פוליטית, אלא בגופם ממש ורבים מוכנים יהשתקע כאן, אבל היהודים שבאמריקה לא יעלו על הדעת להשפיע על עיצוב דמות המדינה. יהודי אמריקני, אם ירצה להיות מיניסטר בממשלה היהודית, — עליו לבוא הנה ולהשתקע ולהבחר על ידי הישוב ועל ידי היישוב בלבד. התכונות הכי בולטות המתגלות לעין בכואי לכאן הן — האומץ, הנאמנות והנכ"ב

נות לקרבנות. וזוהי שעת התגלות לעפנו — אמר ד"ר א. ת. סילבר בדברו על רשמיו הראשונים מהישוב, אחרי בואו לארץ — חגגי רוצה להבטיח לכם שיהודי אמריקה עומדים על המשמר, כדי לתגן על המדינה היהודית. יהודי אמריקה מבינים היטב ששעת ה"רוע לא עברה עוד — המשיך ד"ר סילבר ויחד עם זה לא שכחו שאמריקה עלולה להיות הגורם המכריע גם בעתיד והם מ"כיום את כל מאמציהם בכיוון זה. אם דר"ר ש"ה השעה היא, צבא בינלאומי או נשק ל"הגנה, או כסף לספק צרכי המדינה שתקום, הרי הם יודעים שאם אמריקה תרצה ותס"ב, לא יחסרו כל הערבים האלה המסו"עים להקמת מדינתנו.

אני מאמין, כמה העם היהודי, שנצליה גם הפעם, ואני בטוח בנצחון. יהודי אמ"י ריקה מעריצים בכל לב ונפש את היישוב. הם מלאים רוח גבורה. על שסוף סוף אנו עומדים על סף הגשמת התקווה המשיחית. הם שבו ביניהם את כל חילוקי הדעות והם מאוחדים במידה שלא היו מעולם. רק דבר אחד הם מבקשים מאתכם, מיהודי ארץ ישראל וזוהי — אחדות. לאחד את כל הכחות העומדים בקרב. וזוהי, כפי שהם מבינים, דרישת השעה. והם בטוחים שגם בנידון זה יעלה היישוב לדרך הנכונה". את פני האורח קיבלו בנאותי ברסה היה"י, הפטמן דר"ר, ע. קרליבאך.

Silver Lands in Palestine
TEL AVIV, Palestine, Jan. 15
(Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, leading United States member of the Jewish Agency, arrived by night train tonight. Jewish sources said he planned to spend at least two months in Palestine.)

הצפפה

סילבר: האוריינטציה שלנו על אומ"א לא מזרח ולא מערב

יהדות אמריקה מגויסת לעזרת היישוב במאבקו ודורשת ליכוד השורות ואחדות מלאה

האוריינטציה שלנו אינה צריכה להיות לא על המזרח ולא על המערב אלא על האומות המ"אחרות" הכרוי דו"ר אבא הלל סילבר במסיבה ע"י עתונאי תל אביב שהתקיימה ביום ו' לפני הצהריים.

היישגו הגדול ביותר באמ"א, אמר ד"ר סילבר בתשובה לשאלה, היה איחוד הכוחות המתנגשים בעולם, בענין ארץ ישראל. "מסך הברזל" נשבר על ידי הענין הארצישראלי ויש לצין כי הכוחות עבדו בהארמוניה מלאה ובאחדות דעות אם כי בשאר הדברים הם מנוגדים. ברור איפוא — ויהיה זה חסר הגיון אם הכרה זו לא תהיה לנו — כי לא גבוא מיד אחרי הישג זה לעמוד על צידו של גוש אחד. עלינו לשמור על קו ישר ושתי משקל וכל חשד בענין זה מסוכן מאד. מסוכן עוד יותר להפלות חוכות זה חוקק כיום שבתוצ"אחיו אנו עלולים להסתכן בין גלגלי המאבק העצום הזה. עוד לפני שנתיים נפעלה כשהוקמה החוקה תאגידאמריקאנית מתחתי ביקורת עליה על שרומיה לא השתתפה בה. דברים אלה אמר ד"ר סילבר בתשובה לשאלה מהי דעתו על התפטרותו של ד"ר סנה מהנהלת הסוכנות היהודית. הוא הוסיף שעדיין לא שוחח עם בענין זה אבל אם זו הסיבה, אין לי אלא לקבוע שבגללה הה"ת פטורות לא היתה נכדא.

יהודי אמריקה עומדים על המשמר

הגני רוצה להבטיחכם כי יהודי אמריקה עומ"דים על המשמר כדי לתגן על המדינה היהודית, אמר ד"ר סילבר בתחילת דבריו. הוא ציין את שבתו שהגיע לארץ בעצם ימי המאבק על הקמת המדינה היהודית. זו שעת התגלות לעם ישראל ותכונותיה של א"י, גבורתה לקרבנות וכל ההוד הטמון בה מתגלים בשעת מאבק זה. יהדות אמריקה עומדת לכון היישוב בכל והיא מבינה ששעת החירום טרם עברה. עדיין לא הגיעה הש"ע להעריך את המסקנה של יהדות אמריקה בה"רעה הגורלית, אבל אין כל ספק שלא היינו מגי"עים להחלטה זו ובלי הפעולה העצומה שלה יהודי אמריקה הניעו להכרה שתגורם הקובע במרל ארץ ישראל תהיה עמדת ארצות הברית גם לפני כן וגם שבה. לשם כך גייסה את כל כוחותיה ללחץ פליטי, להבהרת עמדתה של ממשלתה והודות לפעילותם של יהודי אמריקה עלה בידם לדחות החלטה את תכנית מוריסון ומ

זימא אחרת ולהעביר לבסוף את ההחלטה על המדינה. גם להבא יהיה תלוי גורלנו במדה רבה בעמדת ממשלת ארצות הברית. וידוע לנו שגם עכשיו יש התנגדות לשאיפותינו ושוררים חילוקי דעות בין גורמים שונים באסימיסטרציה האמריקאנית לבין מיניסטריון החוץ. הודושה לצבא בינלאומי לאספקת נשק להגנת היישוב, תמיכה כספית ללכלכלת המדינה המאבקת — כל אלה אם אמריקה חזיר בהם ותקום עמדה לטובת מיליונים הרי הם יושגו. יהודי אמריקה יהודים שאיובים רבים עוד מתקשים בהקמת המדינה, מוכרחים להמשיך בלחץ פוליטי גדול בלי הרף על הגורם הקובע — ממשלת אמריקה. הם יודעים על ההתנגדות הגדולה הקיימת עדיין לכן הם ידעים שעליהם להיות מגויסים לע"בורת המדינה היהודית ובעבודה זו הם עסוקים עכשיו. למטרה זו תהלישה יהדות אמריקה לא"סוף 250 מיליון דולאר והם רואים במגבית זו לא פילאנטרופיה (לא) להם לרעבים והכרי"כים למתי"א אלא תרומה להקמת המדינה היהודית. תגנת היישובי היא הסיסמה החזקה ביותר כיום באמריקה.

יהדות אמריקה דורשת מאתנו אחדות

רק דרישה אחת יש להם. הם מבקשים מה"יישוב אחרת, אחדות כל הכוחות ואחדות כל הגופים העומדים בקרב. וזוהי דרישת השעה ובטוחים הם שהיישוב ישיביל להניע גם לה"שג זה.

בתשובה לשאלות על מעמדה של יהדות אמ"י ריקה לאחר הקמת המדינה היהודית, אמר כי ישנה נכונות רבה מן יהודי ארצות-הברית לעלות לארץ-ישראל ולהשתקע בה. אולם גם להבא ימשיכו היהודים באמריקה לעזור לעניין הציוני כתושבי אמריקה. הנרעון של העם היהודי יתה היישוב במדינה היהודית והגולה תש"אר העורף החזק. ד"ר סילבר הזכיר את הדוגמה הארית, שבני העם הזה באמריקה נל"חנו בכל בוח להקמה העצמאית הארית, אף על פי שהם נשארו גם אחרי כן אורחיים אמ"י ריקה הנותנים את ידם לאחיהם במולדתם. הוא הדגן לגבי בחירתם של יהודים אורחי אמריקה לממשלה העברית בארץ — היהודים שירצו להיבחר למסודות הממשלה העברית, י"ל לארץ ויבחרו בדרך הרגילה.

היה ששנה בעבר בהערכת כוחה של היהדות האמריקאנית ומידה נאמנותה ורצונתה הלאומי. ביום מוכנה יהדות אמריקה להטיל את כל כ"הת במערכה הנוכחית. הן בנוף והן בממון. יהודי אמריקה מוכנים לעמוד שכם אחד במע"רכה שהיישוב עומד בה.

בהעפלה לשאלות בעניין ההעפלה ובדבר שתי האניות מרומנית, ענה ד"ר סילבר כי כבר נתנה הסברה מלאה על ידי הסוכנות היהודית והוא חותם עליה בשתי ידים במאה אחוז. חסר הגיון יהיה לומר שהסוכנות והמודות, שעניין זה יקר לה ביותר, תקום עמדה נגד ההעפלה. ייתכן שהיתה נטייה לדחות את ההס"לה לכמה שבועות, אולם ברור כי השמעות שורר בעניין זה אין לתן יסוד.

צבא בינלאומי ופלישה ערבית

לשאלה מהי עמדתה של הסוכנות היהודית אם הצבא הבינלאומי צריך להיות מוקם מה"ר דיוות הקטנות או הגדולות, ענה ד"ר סילבר, שכל עניין הצבא הבינלאומי שייך למוסד א"י היא והסוכנות היהודית טרם נקטה עמדה. לא מן החכמה יהיה לנו להכריע בעניין בינלאומי זה. במקרה של פלישה מצד המדינות הערביות לארץ לאחר ביטול המנדטאט, הוסיף הד"ר סילבר, יהיה הדבר נתון להחלטתה של מועצת הבטחון, ואני מתאר לעצמי כי לא תהיה בלתי פעילה בעניין זה.

אין זה נכון כי שליחי היישוב באמריקה נוטים להקטין את היקף המאורעות בארץ ענה ד"ר סילבר לשאלה אחרת. היישוב הוא הנומון, עתוני אמריקה מלאים ידיעות על המאבק בארץ, כמו"כן שאין רצון לעורר בהלה. דבר שרוצים בו אויבינו. יש לשמור על שינוי המשקל הנפשי ולהוכיח את מידת יכולתו ומידת נכסר של היישוב היהודי לתגן על מולדתו ברוח איתנה ואת היכולת לבצע את החלטת האומות בדבר החלוקה.

עיתונות האמריקאנית, הוסיף ואמר אוהדת לנו ולעניינו, רבים עושים זאת מתחלבתות ואחרים בעמדה מסיבית, שלא לדבר על "מ.מ." וה"ניו-יורק פוסט". שהם הלוחמים הגדולים לעניין הציוני, אלא גם עיתונים אחרים כגון ה"ניו-יורק הורולד טריביון" וה"וואשינגטון פוסט" מראים מידה אוהדת לנו. מאידך אין להסתיר כי התעמולה הערבית גברה באמריקה וגם חלק מן העיתונות מקדיש

לה מקום. הערבים מקיימים בארצות הברית 5-6 ציוריות ויש להם נציגים, מהם כאלה שסיימו את האוניברסיטה האמריקאנית בבירות שהם אנטי-ציונים מושבעים.

על עמדת אמריקה כלפי נשק

לשאלה על חסרי הנשק שנתגלו, ענה כי הוא לא היה בארצות הברית באותה שעה ולכן אין לו פרטים על הדבר, אולם ברור, כי אין לפרש את הדבר שממשלת ארצות-הברית ג"טזה לא להרשות ליישוב להזדוין. אל"מלא מקרה מציאת הנשק, לא היתה הממשלה חוקרת בעניין אספקת נשק ליישוב היהודי, אבל לאחר מציאת הנשק היו, כמובן, מוכרחים לחקור בדבר ולהפנות תשומת לב לדבר.

בתשובה לשאלה מדוע הסכים הד"ר סילבר לחלוקת הארץ בו בזמן שלחם עוד בקונגרס האחרון נגד החלוקה, השיב לשואל, כי רציון בהצהרות בקונגרס הציוני, שם קבעתי כי ברור שאין אנו צריכים להציע את הצעת החלוקה, אבל אם יבואו אלינו הצעות מגופים אחרים כגון גוף בינלאומי, תהיה הסוכנות היהודית נכונה לדון בהצעות אלה. גם אחרי זה עמדתי היתה חזקה וקבועה מעניין זה.

על דת ומדינה

בתשובה לשאלת סופרנו בקשר להצהרתה באמריקה שיש להפריד בין הדת והמדינה השיב ד"ר סילבר, כי ברור שבעניין זה תהיה ההח"לשה ביד יהודי ארץ-ישראל, אני כתושב אמ"י ריקאני האמיתי חסיד בהפרדה בין מכוניות הדת והמדינה כפי שהדבר נהוג בכל יתר המ"דינות, שבהן הכיתות הדתיות יש לתן רשויות נפרדות. ברור שיום המנוחה תהיה השבת, התמים והמועדים יישמרו במדינה היהודית, אבל בכל יתר הפרטים תקבע היותה בארץ ואין לפי שעה צורך להתחיל במלחמה דעות. אם תעלה לשלטון ממשלה ריפובליקאנית בבחירות בשנת 1948 איני חושב שיתחולל שינוי בעמדת הממשלה האמריקאנית לבעיה הציונית — ענה בתשובה לשאלה. שתי המפי"גות באמריקה תוסכות בעניין הציוני וההסתדרות הציונית באמריקה יעובדת עם שותיה"בהארמונית ובמידה שזהה הציונות האמריקא"נית בנידון זה היא בלתי צדדית ודו-צדדית כאתה וכל חבר בהסתדרות הציונית רשאי לבחור כרצונו. אני למשל איני חבר בשום מפלגה בארצות הברית ודומני כי אין זה נכון להכניס חילוקי דעות ומסכוכים אחרים לעניין הציוני. אנו נקבל עזרה מכל מדינה וכל גוף שירצה להגיש לנו אותה, בלי לשיב לב לזהות הפוליטית. אנו נמשיך בדרך זו לבניין מדינתנו בעזרת כל הגופים וכל הכוחות הא"רים לנו בעולם כולו.

קיימא את פניו מ"י. הפטמן דר"ר ע. קאר"ליבאך שעמד על עבודתו המפואה של ד"ר סילבר להשבת החלטה באומ"א.

ד"ר סילבר: דבר אחד מבקשים יהודי אמריקה מהישוב - אחדות!

לא אמריקה אלא ארץ יגייב על פלישת ערבים לארץ-ישראל. אחת יהיה זה סופו של הארץ. — קל ונעים להיות יהודי בארץ-ישראל כי הוא קשור בישוב ושואב ממנו חיים. — יהדות אמריקה תתמוך בנפשה ובכספה בהקמת המדינה היהודית. — אמריקה תכריע בהקמת הצבא הבינלאומי בצידו ומימון המדינה היהודית. — חלילה לנו להסתכן בסכסוך המעצמות. — אם יהודי-אמריקני ירצה להיות מיניסטר במדינה היהודית, עליו לבוא לאי להיות נתין המדינה ולהבחר כמיניסטר

כמו יודע — אמר ד"ר סילבר — איך שתי המעצמות האלו עברו יחד למען פתרון הבעיה היהודית בה בשעה שביטול השאלות הן רבות כחול ועכבר. זהו הישג בינלאומי גדול ולמה לנו להשגות אחרות על צד אחד? הכרעה מעין זו — זאת אומרת הבחירה בין מערב לבין מזרח — היא מסוכנת עד למאד ועלינו יהיה לשלם מחיר גבוה. אם נלך בדרך זו, ספינות מרובות צפויות לנו בדרך של אוריינטציה. יש לנו אוריינטציה אחת והיא אוריינטציה על ארץ-ישראל.

זה שנים לפני כן תבעתי — הוסיף ד"ר סילבר — שיש להכניס גם את כוונת התוכן המאבק למענו. התנגדתי לזעזוע החקירה האנגלית-אמריקנית כי הסר לה הגוף הבינלאומי. אך יסתכן אחרת בין ארץ-ישראל הגדולה, באם נכנס לתוך הריב בין אמריקה לרוסיה.

דוגמת האיריים בארץ-ישראל
עם הקמת המדינה היהודית — המשיך ד"ר א. ה. סילבר בתשובתו לשאלות העיתונאים. — נצטרך להתפלל לכל יתר העמים בעולם, וזהו תפקיד חדש. כי טרם חיינו היו עצמאות לאחר גולה. של אלפי שנה הישוב במדינתנו יכריע את הצורה הפוליטית והכלכלית של מדינתנו. עצמאותנו יהיה זה מנוחך אם יהודי קליבלנד או ציקאגו יכתובו ליהודי הישוב אך עליהם לשלם במדינתם הם! האיריים בארץ-ישראל נתנו כספם, מרצם ומתפוחתם הפוליטית לתמוך הקמת המדינה הארצית העצמאית. אך את עניני המדינה השאירו בידי האיריים היושבים באירלנד! אין פרוש הדבר, שהיהודי ארץ-ישראל יתנו את המדינה היהודית לנפשם! יהודי ארצות הברית יוסיפו לתמוך במדינה יהודית בלבד לבם ויכולתם ויסיפו להגיש תמיכה מדינית, משקית וכלכלית.

אם מיישבו מבין יהודי ארץ-ישראל ירצה להיות מיניסטר במדינה היהודית בארץ-ישראל, יצטרך להתחייב כן, להשיג את הנתונים של המדינה היהודית ולהתחייב על-הישוב העברי כמיניסטר

המדינה היהודית נמצאת בדרך ההתחלת וכל הגדרה סופית כרוכה בסכנות ולכן עלינו להתרחק מכל הגדרות סופיות.

עמדת אמריקה במדינת ישראל

אין אנו מאמינים, שארץ-ישראל יקבעו עמדה מיוחדת במקרה של פלישת מדינות ערב לארץ-ישראל. אמריקה תעשה או כחברת מאורם, ואם לא תהיה תגובה מוחלטת — ארץ-ישראל יהיה זה גם סופו של הארץ.

לכפוף אמר ד"ר א. ה. סילבר, שמעולם לא היה חבר לא במפלגה הדימוקרטית ולא במפלגה הריפובליקנית בארץ-ישראל. נות באמריקה אינה חדיצדית-בחי המדינה אלא מתבססת על תמיכה שווה של שתי המפלגות כאחת. ולמעשה נהנית הציונות מתמיכת הדימוקרטית והריפובליקנית. והציונים עובדים בהרמוניה יחד מלאה עם שתי המפלגות האלו. ולמה מפלגה הריפובליקנית תקח לידה את הגה השלטון בארץ-ישראל לא ישתנה יחסה של המדינה לציונות. אין אני משוכנע — טען ד"ר סילבר — כי במפלגה אחת מרוכזים האיראקיים והמפלגה שניה — הריאקציוניים.

הדבר והמדינה

בנוגע לשאלת הדת במדינה היהודית, אמר ד"ר סילבר, כי לא יתכן הדבר שהמדינה היהודית לא תכבד את יום מנוחת השבת, את החגים היהודיים וכו'. ככל ש'נמעט ברוסטריות בשאלה זו כן תגדל הצלחתנו בפתרון השאלות האלו. ובאם נעניין בהמלצות האו"ם נזכרת, כי למעשה נכתבו 'סידורי התחלופה' של המדינה היהודית בהמלצות האו"ם.

בתשובות חמות נעלם ונפרד ד"ר א. ה. סילבר מציבור הסופרים, העיתונאים והמדינאים, שבאו להקשיב לדבריו.

אין יהודי אמריקה שונים מיהודי מזרח אירופה, כי משם הם באו בדור הראשון או בדור השני ויש ליהודי אמריקה אותו השכל מה שיש ליהודים בעולם כולו (עליצות בכל האולם).

תעמולת הערבים בארץ-ישראל
הערבים מנהלים תעמולה גדולה. ראשית קיימות בואשינגטון 5-6 ציריות של מדינות ערב. סוכנויות ערביות ולחם ידידים ועוזרים. במחלקת המזרח הקרוב ב.סטייטס דפרטמנט יושבים אמריקנים שלמדו בארץ-ישראל. ניבויים, בבריות, או בנים של הורים אשר הגרו משם לארץ-ישראל. כולם הם אויבים גלויים לציונות ואי אפשר להוציא אותם מה.סטייטס דפרטמנט.

אלי הנפט
אלי הנפט — המשיך ד"ר סילבר — מעונינים בשקט ובשלום בחלק העולם הזה, ואין הם נלהבים מאתנו. אך אין הם מתנגדים ליהודים. הערבים שולחים מטובי הנפט אל הסטודנטים בארץ-ישראל וכן הם רכשו להם כמה אנשים בעלי שם. אך התנועות הגדולות באמריקה היא ברובה המכריע למען המדינה היהודית, ובאם הופיע ב.אמריקן מגזין מאמר שיהיה עם עבדאללה, מיד פנו אלי — אמר ד"ר סילבר — בבקשה להמציא להם תשובות. מאמר ועוד דירבנו שהתשובה תהיה חזקה.

ד"ר סילבר מודה עם הסוכנות בשאלת ההעפלה
הנני עומד במאה אחוז מאחורי הסברות הסוכנות בשאלת ההעפלה. הסוכנות לא נטשה בעמדה נגד ההעפלה. וענין שתי האני יות הגדולות היה מייחד בפינו. לא היתה אפשרות למנוע בעד הפלגתן. **אין להרכיב את הצבא הבינלאומי** אין זה מן החכמה להתערב בשאלה זו. צריך להרכיב את הצבא הבינלאומי. ה מעצמות או המדינות הקטנות. עלינו להשיג איר את ההכרעה בידיהם!

חלילה לנו להכנס לתוך סכסוכי המעצמות

ד"ר סילבר השיב לאחת השאלות בנוגע לעמדתו של ד"ר סנה, ואמר, כי לא דיבר עם מר סנה. אך סנה את ההנחה, כאילו הסוכנות נוטה לאחד הצדדים ונשענת אך ורק על המערב.

ההישג הגדול ביותר הוא שהיחידים קיר-בו את שתי המעצמות וסתמו בשאלת ארץ-ישראל את התלות הרובצת בין ארץ-ישראל וברית המעצמות. היהודים הצליחו להסיר את מסך הברזל, הסוגר את רוסיה, ומי

אין את ההכרעה בידיהם!

אין עמדה ברורה בואשינגטון
ד"ר סילבר אמר בגלוי: אין עמדה ברורה בואשינגטון. קיימים חיכוכים בין השלטון לבין ה.סטייטס דפרטמנט (מ. ניסטרוין החוץ). ניכרת היא ההתנגדות לנו, ולכן מבינים יהודי אמריקה, כי יש לעמוד על המשמר. אך נציגה, כפי שהצלחנו בעבר.

לאחר הסקירה הזאת הוטטר מטר-שאלות מכל הצדדים וד"ר סילבר עמד ב.אש מצטלבת... ותשובותיו בהחלטות האירו אור על בעיות מרובות, המעיקות עלינו. **אז כהלה**

ד"ר סילבר הכחיש את הדעה, כאילו אין מערכים באמריקה. די צרכם את המאורעות בארץ-ישראל. להיפך, כל אחד מבין את הרצינות שבמצב, אך נמנעים מיצירת מצב רוח של בהלה. כי אז יזכו הערבים, הטוענים שהחלטת החלוקה היא אינה בת ביצוע, מאחורי הקדעים.

של משולחי חומרי הנפץ
ד"ר סילבר הסביר, כי לא היה באמריקה בשעת גילוי חומרי הנפץ ולכן אין לו פטרים אם כי מסופק הוא, שבידי מיישבו אחר מצויים פטרים משמלת ארץ-ישראל. מעונינת בחקירות מעין אלו, ומבין זה מאליה כי החקירות מנוהלות פרו פורמה, ואין לפרש זאת כעמדה עוינת של ממשלת ארצות הברית כלפינו.

לא בעד ולא נגד החלוקה
ד"ר סילבר סתר את הטענה, כאילו שינה את דעתו בענין החלוקה. הוא התנגד לכך, שהתנועה הציונית תציע חלוקה מכיון שלפי דעתו התנועה הציונית צריכה היתה להבצע מילוי והגשמת המנדט, אך יחד עם זה הוסיף וטען, כי באם גוף בינלאומי יציע הצעה מתקבלת על הדעת, יהיה צורך לדון ובאם ארץ-ישראל תציע חלוקה, מובן מאליה שנאלצים היינו לעיין בדבר. וד"ר סילבר אמר: "עמדתנו היתה עקבית במשך שנים רבות".

יעזרו בכך הדרכים

יהודי אמריקה מוכנים לעזור לישוב בכל הדרכים, ולא בכסף בלבד. אין לתאר במלים כמה יהודים היו רוצים לעלות ארץ-ישראל חלק פעיל בכל מה שעושה עתה הישוב... השאלה למי זכות הבכורה: ליהודי המחתות, או ליהודי ארץ-ישראל, או שמא יש צורך במוצא: חלק מכאן וחלק משם.

וכאן יצא ד"ר סילבר נגד אלה המנסים להקטין את ערכם של יהודי אמריקה, ש'כאילו הם רוצים להסתפק בעזרה כספית.

חיים בארץ-ישראל, ושואבים מה מעיין הרוחני של הישוב
ד"ר סילבר אמר בגלוי: אין עמדה שבא לארץ-ישראל דוקא עכשיו, בימי המ' אבק ושעת החורם, ברגע שכל העם עומד על סף הקמת המדינה היהודית, כשמתגלות התכונות הנחרדות ביותר של העם הלוחם, והנכונות להקרבה, אומץ הלב והגבורה בוקעים וצולים.

טרם הגיע הזמן — המשיך ד"ר סילבר — להעריך את תפקידם של יהודי אמריקה בהכרעת הארץ בגורל העם. אך ברור לכל, כי לא פעולה ענקית של יהודי ארץ-ישראל במשך השנים האחרונות וביחוד בתקופה האחרונה לפני החלטת האו"ם, לא היינו מגיעים להחלטה הזאת.

יהודי ארץ-ישראל הסיקו את המסקנה, כי הגורם המכריע תלוי בעמדת ממשלת ארץ-ישראל. ונזכרו אז לדעת, כי עמדת ארץ-ישראל היא מעורפת. ואם אורנו מחדש דרכי הפעולה וההסברה כדי להפג זאת, ויהודי ארץ-ישראל מלאו את חובתם. אורנו הליברלים, הכנסיות, הוע"ב ורן החלטות בבתי הפרלמנט, והוכנסו גם עיפים מיוחדים בתכונות הפוליטיות של שתי המפלגות הגדולות — הריפובליקנים והדימוקראטים, רעיון המדינה היהודית הוחזק לתוך מוחות האמריקנים ואת ההכרח לגייס את כל כוחות ההשפעה בשעה גורלית זו, ולכונן את הלחץ על הסטייטס דפרטמנט ועל הבית הלבן.

לפני כן הצליחה יהדות ארץ-ישראל לזכות את תכנית מוריסון-גריידי ולהביא את הבית הלבן להסכים לדעת האו"ם.

יהודי אמריקה הם עתה כולם ציונים, כי מבינים הם ששעת החורם טרם חלפה, וכי טרם הוקמה המדינה היהודית וכי עוד צריך להסיר מכשולים רבים וכי אויבים רבים אורבים לנו. אמריקה יכולה להיות הגורם המכריע גם לתבא, ולכן מתרכזים יהודי אמריקה סביב הענין.

אמריקה תכריע חן בשעת-הצ' בא הבינלאומי חן באמפקת הנשק הישוב והן כשתן הכסף, הדרוש להקמת המדינה היהודית.

יהודי אמריקה מבינים, כי באם אמריקה תסכים לצבא בינלאומי, הרי הצבא הזה יקום. ובאם אמריקה תסכים למשלוחי נשק לצרכי הגנת הישוב, יתקבל גם החוק הדרוש לכך. ובאם תכריז אמריקה, כי המ' צב הכלכלי טעון שיפור באי, ימצאו האמצעים.

דבר אחד בלבד מבקשת יהדות אמריקה מהישוב העברי: אחדות! אחדות כל הכוחות העומדים ב' קרב ובמאבק הקשה. זוהי דרישת הישעיה — פנה ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר לקריאתו הנלהבת לישוב העברי בפגישתו הראשונה עם ב"כ העתונות העברית, והנני זאמן — אמר ד"ר סילבר — שהישוב צליח להתרומם ולעלות על כל המכשולים בדרך לאחדות. כפי שהצליח לעלות על סולם הצלחותיו בכל יתר הענינים הקשים. זה זמן לא היתה מסיבת עיתונאים כה מענינת, מלאה תוכן, ובעלת רמה מדינית גבוהה, כפי שהיה הדבר בפגישה עם ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר, יו"ר הסוכנות היהודית בארץ-ישראל ומנהיגה של יהדות אמריקה. הארץ למ המורחב של מועדון העיתונאים בתל-אביב היה מלא משה לפה, ובאו גם עיתונאי חוץ רבים, והעיקר, תשונותיו והסברותיו של ד"ר סילבר על המצב המדיני, עמדת ארץ-ישראל במדינת ישראל, עמדת ערב לארץ-ישראל, השקפות ממשלת אמריקה בענין משולחי הנשק לארץ-ישראל, תפקידי או"ם, חלקם של יהודי אמריקה בחרכמה של המדינה היהודית הראשונה, תפקידי יהדות אמריקה לאחר הקמת המדינה היהודית, יחסנו אל ההעפלה, ומה צפוי לנו לאחר הבחירות בארץ-ישראל, שאלת האו"ם יינמצאה — כל סבר הבעיות האלו מצא לו הסברה ברורה ולא משתמעת לשתי פנים.

וכמבוא להרצאתו המדינית והמקיפה של ד"ר סילבר נשמעו מהגבולות יריות חזקות בדיוק ברגע, כשמר י. הפטמן נגע בדברי ברכה שלו בשאלת, הנייטרליות... הרי קולות הנפץ הדגימו את הנייטרליות... **תרומה ענקית**

הקמת המדינה היהודית
לא עזרה, לא תרומה, לא פילנטרופיה, לא לחם לרעבים ותכריכים למתים, אלא תרומה ענקית להקמת המדינה היהודית, כזאת היא הסיסמה המכרעת במגביה השנה באמריקה, אשר צריכה להביא 250 מיליון דולר — הכרו ד"ר סילבר במסרו את דרישת השלום של יהדות אמריקה לישוב העברי.

יהודי אמריקה מחבבים בכל נפשם את הישוב ורואים את רוח הגאולה וכי סוף סוף באה הגשמת התקווה המשיחית בת אלפים שנה של עמנו, יהודי ארץ-ישראל שכו את הניגודים, את חילוקי הדעות שב' אידיאולוגיות, הם מאוחדים כעת, קל ונעים להיות עכשיו יהודי באמריקה, כי הם קשורים עם ה'.

Jews and Arabs Trade Blows in Old City Fight

Rabbi Silver, in Jerusalem, Assails British Attitude as 'Damnable Disgrace'

By Wirephoto to the Herald Tribune
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JERUSALEM, Jan. 20.—Jews and Arabs of Jerusalem's Old City traded minor blows again today in a fracas pointing up the sorry condition to which fear and hate have brought the people who live among the holy places.

The three-cornered incident occurred at a ninety-year-old home for Jewish incurables, a three-story building at the junction of Arab and Jewish quarters. It came during the evacuation of thirty-three patients to the safety of the New City, a move arranged by British authorities with the consent of the Arabs who are blockading the Old City's 1,500 Jews.

According to police reports, the inmates had to be moved through an Arab quarter. British soldiers and the Army supervised the evacuation with Arab civilians acting as stretcher bearers. About 11 a. m. five Jewish men, two of them dressed as police, entered the area.

Their purpose, Jewish sources said, was to watch the operation on behalf of the Jews.

Police let them through, but Arab civilian guards challenged. The Jews ran and the Arabs started to shoot. The Jews tossed a grenade at the pursuing Arabs, the police report continued. The weapon fell among the evacuees on a path, wounding a soldier of the Highland Light Infantry. Other soldiers answered with shots and the brief fight ended with the injury and arrest of three of the Jews.

An American Zionist newly arrived in Jerusalem, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, termed the violence in Palestine's capital "absolutely incomprehensible," as Jerusalem, under the United Nations, is to become an international city. Dr. Silver, who is head of the American branch of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, added at an interview that the situation in the Old City is a "damnable disgrace."

"At the United Nations the British said they would maintain law and order among the holy places," Dr. Silver declared. "Now the Old City is besieged and a great empire which has the responsibility for the holy places has reconciled itself to that condition."

"This proposition of claiming to be maintaining law and order on the one hand and on the other of maintaining neutrality between attacker and attacked, is a patent absurdity."



הישוב הזה

פוליטיקה נבונה...
1-22-48

המדור "הישוב הזה"

על כל פרקו, מעמוד 6 עד עמוד 13

מגוש לכם על ידי

י. גל, י. גרומן, מ. מיזלס, ש. סאמט,
מ. פיבוש, ד. קופנס, רפאל קליאצ'קין, ש.
שריה, שלום רוזנפלד (הציץ ופגע)
ומודיענו המיוחדים ברחבי הארץ.

נצחונות ואבדות

בסמינר משמר איתנות, העובדות
בזירות בלב ים סוער וזועף, כן מת'
נוססות המצודות העבריות בהרי חב'
רון: כפר עציון, רבדים, משואות
יצחק ועין צורים. הישובים הצעירים
האלה הם חוליות חדשות בשרשרת ה'
הב בין הימים הקדומים, ימי אבות
האומה — האבות והאמהות הטמנים
במערת המכפלה שבחרון — לבין
ימינו אלה, ימי הבנים והנכדים השופ'
כים דמם למען גאולת העם והמולדת:
ישובים אלה, הצופים אל קבר דחל
בדרך אפרתח, הם התשובה וקול
ברמה נשמע — ושבו בנים לגבולם:
אות הם, כי לא ישלים העם עם גזוי'
רה, שיהודה תנוק מארץ ישראל...

גלים גלים באו כנופיות הערבים
במוימה לאבד ולהשמיד את ישובינו
המבודדים, אך הגלים הוידוניים ה'
נפצו אל הביצורים העבריים, התפוררו
ונסוגו מתוך אבדות קשות. ונצחונם
של ישובי גוש-עציון לא הועם על
ידי האפיוודה הטראגית שבאה לאחריו,
הקרבת העילאי של ליה גיבורי הקו'
מאנדו שלנו מירושלים, שיצאו לדרך
החתחתים בגוב האריות כדי להחיש
תגבורת לנצורים ונפלו עד האיש האחר
רון בקרב עם מאות ערבים. עתה שוכ'
נים הבחורים הנבחרים בקבראחים ובכ'
פר'עציון ודמם יהק עוד יותר את
הקשר הנצחי בין העם והמולדת.

קטני אמונה

אך מה קטנה היא אמונתם של חוגים
מסויימים, אשר נוכח האבדות וללו
במערכת הנצחון שבהרי חב'רון כבר
נחפזו "להסיק מסקנות" שבתבוסות
ולהשיא עצות מכשילות, שמוטב, אולי,
לעזוב את גוש עציון, כי הרי בין
כה וכה איננו נמצא במדינה היהודית
לפי גבולות החלוקה...

אכן, בשביל אלה החלוקה כבר מור'
נחת בכיס, והרי לאמיתו של דבר עוד
נכוננו לנו מערכות כבדות ואבדות רבות
גם על הבטחת ביצועה של החלוקה!
ואם נהיה כה נחפזים בהסקת מסקנות
כאלו — מי יודע אנה יביאונו המומ'
חיים הנ"ל!

רוצים לתת לי "גזיב"...

על השאלות הרבות שהומטרו עליו,
ענה ד"ר סילבר באנגלית. ולא בכדי!
רבות מן השאלות היו עדינות ביותר:
— כגון אלו שהוצגו עלידי א. רמ'
בה, עורך "המשקיף", או השאלה הנג'
געת להתפטרותו של הד"ר סנה מן
הסוכנות, והאורח, יצא בשלום" ואף
יצא בנצחון מן ה"תקירה" הורועה
מוקשים. הוא נתן לכל אחד תשובה
זהירה ובהירה, באופן שנסתתמו כל
הטענות, הרושם של כל המסובים היה:
כאן מדבר מדינאי גדול.

בדברו על התעמולה הערבית הגר'
ברת באמריקה, ציין, שהציונות זכתה
להצלחה בפעולות הנגד שלה ובתעמולתה
בעתונות האמריקנית, הודות לעתונאי
מר הארולד מנסון, המנהל רב'
המרץ של מחלקת ההסברה בהסתדרות
הציונית בארצות-הברית.

וד"ר סילבר טפה בידדות על כת'
פו של איש צעיר וממושקף, שישב
על ידו. זה היה מר מנסון עצמו, שבא
אף הוא כעת לביקור בארץ.

המסובים חייכו, כשנורתה מפי אחד
מעורכי "העולם הזה" שאלה "אישית
במקצת": האם אורח אמריקני יוכל
להיות מיניסטר במדינה היהודית?...

ד"ר אבא הלל
סילבר ורעייתו
על מדרגות אכ'
סניתם בתד'
אביב במדון
גת רמון.

פוטו: ב' מ' ב' <<

המנחה הדגוי
הציוני מספר 1
של ארצות-הב'
רית, נואם בפ'
גישתו הפומ'
בית הראשונה
עם מעצבי דעת
הקהל שלנו. ב'
מועדון העתני'
איים בתל אביב.

על התמונה: מש'
מאלו של הד"ר סיל'
בר: הרולד מנ'
סון, קצין העתונות
של המועצה הציר'
נית לשעת חירום
באמריקה. מימינו:
מר י. הפטמן, נשיא
אגודת העתונאים
ומר מ. דנציגר-קרון,
מזכיר.

פוטו: ה. ס' ין

בתשובתו אמר האורח, לקול הצחוק
של הקהל:

— דומה, שרוצים לתת לי "גזיב"...

אך הוא הרגיע את ה"חוששים"
מפני התערבות יתרה של ציוני אמ'
ריקה, באמרו: "הרוצה להיות מר'
מיסטר, חייב תחילה להיות אורח של
המדינה, ושנית: עליו לחכות עד שיי'
בחר"...

ד-ר הלל סילבר

ו... "העולם הזה"

הוא ישב בכורסה המרווחת שבחדר
הנשיאות של מועדון העתונות בתל
אביב — לאחר מסכת העתונאים אתו
— והיה שקוע כולו בקריאה, כשחיוכים
עולים תכופות על שפתיו ומבטו מת'
ערפל, כשל אדם המנסה להוכר בדב'
רים אודותיהם רומזות לו רמזים אי'
תיות-הדפוס.

ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר, נציגה הדגול
של יהדות אמריקה ומן העורקים הח'
יים של הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית, שהר'
בה מאד עלינו לזקוף על חשבוננו
את זכות הישגנו בליקס-סקסס, החזיק
ביד גליון של "העולם הזה", מן הש'
בוע שעבר, כשהוא קורא בענין רב
ושפתיו דובבות: אכן, גבון נכון! זה
כתב ידי וכעת אני נזכר, שעוד בהיותי
סטודנט, או בערך באורו פרק הזמן,
כתבתי את המכתב הזה לדניאל פרסקי,
אני הספקתי כבר לשכנח את הדבר,
אבל מה נעים לדעת — ואני שמח על
כך — שדניאל פרסקי שמר על המכתב
ושהשבועון המצויר הנאה הזה, "העולם
הזה", פרסמו כעת לפי המקור בצורה
נאה ואגב הערת-מערכת ידידותית.

אכן, זוהי בשבילי הפתעה נעימה.
גליון זה יהיה שמור אצלי, ונכון הצ'



ד"ר סילבר היקר,
כשמלחמתך בד"ר סטיפן וייז, ששימש
מנהיג ציוני אמריקה לפניך, נפתחה בנצ'
חונק המלא בשעתה — שמחו הרבה ציונים
אתך, ובתוכם גם כותב הטורים האלה.
ועל מה שמחו הללו, בעצם? האם לאירו
של וייז שמחו?

חס וחלילה.
וייז הוא איש חביב באמת, ויהודי מסור
לעמו ולארצו. זה הוא — וטרם ציוני ונואם.
בעל שרשים עמוקים בתנועה, שאיש איננו
מרגיש כלפיו טינה אישית בלב.
אלא מאי? מדוע שמחנו לכך שאתה
גברת עליו באמריקה?

מטעם אחד ויחיד בלבד: מפני ששיטתך
(כפי שביארת אותה) נראתה לנו יעילה יותר
משיטתו של סטיפן וייז:
וייז יעץ להסתפק בהצהרות של נשיאים
וסינאטורים — ואילו אתה לימדת אותנו
שהעיקר הוא לא בהצהרה אלא במימושה.

ד"ר וייז היה סבור, שאף אם "הצהרות"
הם אינן מקרבות את הגאולה של עמנו
עלינו להוסיף ולהאמין בכוחותיה של המדינה
שלה שלכם — ואילו אתה חזרת ואמרת,
שבמדיניות תובעת האמונה הנוכחית.

וכן הטיף לאינצ'ורה של השפעת היהדות
האמריקאית בענייננו — ואתה דרשת להכניס
דוקא את הרחוב היהודי למאבק.
אנה הבעת גיו דילי ציוני ביחסנו אל
האדמיניסטרציה האמריקאית — וזה הוא
מה שהכריע בנישגנו למלחמתך הפנימית
אמרנו:

לפנינו — שני מנהיגים ציוניים, שניהם
חביבים, שניהם ישרים, שניהם סופולריים
ונאמנים, אלא שהאחד מהם קפא במקצת
במושגי המאה התשע-עשרה, ואילו רעהו —
נישג חדישה לו לבעיות המדיניות הלאומיות.
רשמ של זה האחרון הוא — סילבר.

ואו הושטנו לך את היר.
ושמחנו לנצחונך היפה. וציפינו באי
סבלנות לחידושיך.
עד שבא ד"ר וייזמן ובישר, כי
Silver turned Wise (משחק'מלים)
אנבלי: סילבר הפך ל"ידי" — מלה שפי'
רושה גם "גבון".

ובכן, אני אינני שייך לאלה, הסומכים
על כל מלה של וייזמן, וגם במקרה הידון
לא הייתי מכנים אותו לענין כ"עד-מלך" —
אך מה אעשה וגם רשמי אני מתקרבים בש'
אלה הגיל לרשמיי...

כי בעשה שהערפל הקודם שהוא לפעמים
אך גרוע מהקודם) מוסיף לשרור בחשיגונתן
לכשינו — שרירה וקיימת המסורת (ה"מגור'
צות") של וייז במשרדינו הציוניים בניו
יורק:

המסורת של השתוות להצהרות.
המסורת של אמונה ב"כחנות".
המסורת של התמא העובדות הרעות
ושל אינצ'ור ההשפעה, שיש לרובם היהודי
באמריקה.

כי הנה — דרכה האמתית של חשיגונתן
בשאלה הציונית:
1944: הבטחות גזולות ותבניות על אר'
דת הקמת המדינה היהודית השלמה.
1945: גניזת ההבטחות על המדינה השל'
נה — וההבטחה לפעול להעלאת "מאת
ואלף" (כנראה, בתור "סציו").

1946: גניזת ההבטחה להעלאת "מאת
ואלף" — וההבטחה לפעול למדינה
החלקית.
1947: גניזת ההבטחה למדינה החלקית
— וההבטחה להציל חלקים מהחלקית. אכן,
כל הפרשה הזאת — יעט עמלו נציגי אמריקה
לשיצוג תכנית החלוקה של מנדטורם —
עוד שמורה בזכרון כולנו, וטרם נרסאנו
מאמתה.

וגם בזה לא סגי:
כי הנה נכנסנו בעזרת השם, לשנת
1948 — וכבר נראת נסיגתה של חשיג'
בזן גם מ"החלוקה החלקית".
עדיין לא בפירושו אמנם. עדיין — ברמו
יקל בלבד: עדיין מוסרים לנו העתונות, שרק
ועדת הביצוע בלבד התחילה מהרהרת בכך.
אם תסקירה הוא אכנס כריציוני — ושא'
מריקה, המאכנת את הועדה, עוד לא אמרה

לא "הן" ולא "לא". אבל אנו, שהננו
בארומטרים חיים — די לנו גם כאלם
הזה...
די לנו לנמרי — ברמז הזה...
כי כבר עולה לעינינו באופק סיכוי הנגי'
וה"מחזו של ה"הבטחה" (ההבטחה מס' 4
דומני).

שהרי, ד"ר סילבר נכבדי!
למה לנו לעצום את עינינו בפני העובדות
היבשות?
הנה — אותה סוריה עצמה, המשמשת
עתה "פלאצדארם" כללי לפלישה הערבית
לארצנו: לפני כמה שנים חטפו ממנה נחם
מסוים מתכנן אני לנמל אלכסנדריה, שטור'
קיה קרעה אותו מוטפה. ובכן, התוכנן עוד,
מה עשתה סוריה לאור הקיפות ההוא?

אם לאו — אזכיר לך: לאימאומה. כך ממש:
לא כלום. בלעה את סטירת הלחי בשקט
ו...עברה לסדר היום. והרי אז מגעה הפגיעה
הנוכחת לא בעם המקורב לסורים, ולא
בארץ אשר בגבולה: אז נפגע פגיעה ישירה
העם הסורי עצמו. והגוילה הסריטוראלית
נגולה ממנו גופא. יתר על כן: "הניתוח",
שנעשה אז בסוריה, לא בפקודה של אונג'
נעשה. בצעו עט חלש בעצם — העם
הסורי השכן, עם שנמצא אז במצוקה בעצ'
מו — על ידי הלחץ שבא עליו מרוסיה.

ולמרות כל אלה, ואף על פי כן — שטור'
ה"גיבורים" הסוריים על עצביהם!
ושחקו. כעכברי המנור שחקו.
ומדוע שחקו?

כי ידעו הללו, שהסורים — רציניים הם...
ידעו הם, כי אף על פי שאין מאחורי בני
אנקרה אונג'. והיא, המדינה הטורקית עצ'
מה, חזקה היא רק במשט סמוריה — הרי
בכוח ההתמודדות האמתית עם דמשק יוטל
יתרון הכוח הטורקי על הערבים.

וה"ידעה" הזאת הייתה דיה, כדי לצנן
את המוחות בדמשק.
לצננם עד למטה מאפס...
והנה עתה — שוב אותה סוריה. אך
מה שונן פניה מאז!

דוקא עששו — כשאיש לא פגע בה —
הרי היא מגייסת, ומצחצחת חרבות, ומאמתת
צבאות, ופורצת גבולות, ומצהירה, ומכריזה,
ומאיימת...

ומתי באה העזתה?
כשמולת עומדת לא איוו טורקיה (ו)
הלחצה בין גרמניה ורוסיה, אלא — אח'
ויקה בכבודה ובעצמה! אמריקה אדונת
העולם, המכלכלת ומויינת יבשות שלמות.
אמריקה, שדברה — חוק הוא למתחית של
תבל. אמריקה, שמאחוריה — אונג', על כל
כוחה המוסרי!

ואכן, נגד אמריקה זאת עושה סוריה מה
שהיא לא עשתה בטורקיה...
האם מעיד זה עד כוחה של סוריה —
או על... אדישות ארצות הברית?

אכן, דומני, שהתשובה לכך צריכה לה'
יות ברורה לכל.
כי המצב הוא ברור לכל.
גם לאותם הסורים והמצרים והעיראקים
והאחרים.

שהרי מה שאנו רואים בעין — לא נעלם
גם מהאירינטאליס ההם...
שכן רואים האירינטאליס:
אנגליה רומסת את הישוב בגליל —
וארצות הברית שוחקות.
קאדוגן מצהיר, שממשלתו תשר את הת'
לטה של אונג' על הגליל החפשי" — לי'
הודים — וארצות הברית אלמות כדו!

נציג בריטניה מוסיף ואומר, שהעליה
היהודית תוגבל, למרות אונג' — וארצות
הברית אינן יוצאות מכליהן אף כאן...
רוסיה הועת לבוא לעזרנו — וארצות
הברית מתרשות.

ד-ר זאב פון ווייז

בואך למלחמה, רבי סילבר!

הבין מערכה מדינית וצבאית לכיבוש הארץ;
ג) רכישת כלי נשק ע"י מדינות אלו באנגליה
לשם הברחתם דרך עבריהירדן, סוריה, או
מצרים, לארץ-ישראל; ד) לשחק את התחבורה,
תנועת הרכבת, שירותי הודאר והמלפון בי'
ארץ-ישראל; ה) ארגונם, אימונם של צעירים
ערביים בארץ-ישראל תחת ההגנה של יו"ר
הועד הערבי והעמדת מתנגדי יו"ר הערבי
תחת מרותם של משרתי בארץ-ישראל.

כשאנגליה תמסור את המנדט בי"5 במא'
כבר יהיו מוכנים הערבים במדינות השכנות
כדי לפלוש לארץ-ישראל ואילו היהודים אינם
ניתנת האפשרות להקים צבא ממש מצויד
בתותחים, טנקים, אווירונים, חיל פרשים
וכו'. לרשותם של צבאות סוריה, עבריהירדן
ומצרים יהיו תותחים, טנקים ואווירונים. מה
שחסר להם כיום מצויד זה תספק אנגליה
במשך ארבעת החודשים הבאים, כלומר עד
לתאריך 15 במאי, והיתרון בנשק הכבד
הוא שיכריע את כף הגזעון, כי כל הארצות
הן כבר כיום מדינות עצמאיות — ואילו ה'

מדינה העברית תוכרו רק בי"5 באוקטובר.
וזהו הסערה בפי אנגליה. והיא לשתמש
בה בגלוי ללא חיסוי לשון, ממש בגסות בל'
תי דרסלומטית כל עיקר. אנגליה אמרה זאת
לאמריקנים בלייק סאכסס: היא הוזהרה את
עמי העולם, כי כל ההחלטות על הקמת מדי'
נה עברית לא תעוררנה, אם לא יוחלט תחילה
וראשית כל, מי הוא הכוח הצבאי שיהיה מוכן
לבצע החלטות אלו. על כל פנים, אנגליה עש'
תה כל מה שהיה ביכולתה לעשות לשם מני'
עת אפשרות הקמתו של כוח כזה עלידי'
סירובה להרשות כניסתו של צבא בינלאומי
לארץ-ישראל לפני חיסול המנדט. אולם זוהי
שאלה מיוחדת במינה: אנגליה גורעת מה

ברצונה היא לעשות, וההחלטה על תעשה
מאומה, כדי לעזור ליהודים להקים את מדי'
נתם הם — אך המדינות האחרות לא תחלי'
טו על כל פעולה שתביא בחשבון אוהרה זו.
אמריקה הצביעה לטובת היהודים — טרר'
מן ניצח את הפקידים העקשים ממחלקת ה'
מדינה והושגה החלטה על הקמת מדינה עב'
רית בעזרת ארה"ב ולחצה. אך בזה סיימה
אמריקה את תפקידה: עכשו היא עושה הכל
כדי באופן שיטתי לסכל את הקמתה של ה'
מדינה העברית. בנידון זה קיים שיתוף פעולה
מלא עם מיניסטריון החוץ הבריטי. עמדתה ה'
אויבת של אמריקה היא כיום כה ברורה בי'
עיני כל יהודי, שקשה לכתוב על אשא זה בי'
מלים שקטות.

החילה הצהירה אמריקה, שתאסר על יתר'
דים אזרחי ארה"ב לנסוע לארץ-ישראל, כי
לעזור לאחיהם במלחמתם. "ההיתוך" החוקי
לאסור זה הוא כמובן שקר דוקר עינים. ה'
חוקה האמריקנית אוסרת כידוע על אזרחים
אמריקניים להשבע שבועת אמונים לממשלה
זרה ולדגל זר. פירוש הדבר: אם בי"5 באוק'
טובר 1948 תקום בעזרת השם "מדינה ה'
עברית הרי אז, ורק אז, תרשות בידי הממ'
שלה האמריקנית לאסור לאזרחיה היהודים
להשבע שבועת אמונים לממשלה היהודית.
אולם האיסור הנוכחי בחוקה האמריקנית אינו
מונע כמובן בעד אזרח אמריקני להצטרף,
למשל, לשירות הצבא הפרסי, או אתמול
לחל התעופה הקנדי ומחר לה"ח-עזר אמ'
רינו למען המדינה העברית". האיסור ה'
מפרש בחוקה האמריקנית חל רק על שבועת
אמונים למעצמה זרה, אולם אם הממשלה
היהודית תרשה למתנדבים האמריקניים לה'
שבע על דגל אמריקני, נמצא שהכל בסדר
גמור — מבחינת החוקה.

אך מה התועלת בדבר אם פקדי מחלקת
המדינה מסרבים פשוט להוציא ליהודים דר'
כיתו? במקרה זה אינו קיים חוק וקובע רק
רצונה של מחלקת המדינה. בלי זרכיות אפי'
שר אולי לצאת מארה"ב — אך כיצד יוכלו
הצעירים האמריקניים לחזור לאשר גמר ה'
מלחמה?

עו גורם מעכב במידה כזאת במעולת הגיוס
של מתנדבים יהודים בורל, שהוא מונע למע'
הישוב חזכה בקוצר רוח לבואו של ד"ר
סילבר. אמנם לא כן איראלה ממנהיגי ה'
ישוב, הללו היו מעדיפים לחיות עוד מספר
שנים מבלי לראות את נשיאהסוכנות השני.
וודאי חשב לו אחד משני נשיאים אלה, כי
האדם הוא חזק ביותר כשהוא יחידי ולכן
העדיף שלא לקבל את פני חברו בשדה ה'
תעופה בלוד.

אולם בניגוד למנהיגים הגיל ציפה כל ה'
ישוב לבואו של ד"ר סילבר, כדי שיראה בסו'
עיניו מה מעשיה של הממשלה הארצי החבי'
בה והיקרה בשטח קיום החוק והסדר בארץ.
מה מעשיה של ה"הגנה" ומה עושים ורועים
הערבים.

כי כל הישוב ללא הכול מפלגה מרגיש, כי
ארה"ב ובידוד הנשיא טרומן, אינם יודעים
מאומה על המשחק השטני המומנם כאן ואי'
גם יודעים, כי הישוב עומד היום לפני סכנת
הכליה. שרק פעם אחת הייתה כוונתה ב'
תולדותיו — בימי מערכת אל-עלמיין. הישוב
ספח, כי מנהיגים ציונים מסוימים אינם רר'
ציים להורות, מתוך גאה שפסית, בגודל ה'
סכנה האיומה ואינם נוקטים באותם הצעדים,
שרק הם עשויים להצילנו. הישוב גותן לכן
את אמונו ברבי סילבר, שכתור אורח לא ית'
פס לתמרן דברותם של אלה מן המנהיגים
הציונים כאן, שהם שהביאו על הישוב את
המשבר הנוכחי, אלא שבעינים פקחות ובי'
דעה צלולה יראה לא רק את הסכנה המאיר'
מת, אלא אף את האפשרויות הגנוזות, שהן
עצומות, כדי להפוך את הסכנות האורכות לנו
לנצחון גדול, שיעלה אפילו על כל תקוותינו
מיום 30 בנובמבר, המשל העממי אמר:

אורח לרגע.
רואה כל פגע.
הישוב מקוה, כי האורח לא ישר "לרגע".
אלא יתקע כאן את אהלו וישאר אתנו לאורך
ימים. אך הישוב מאמין, כי בתור "אדם מ'
קורב בא" ימחר לגלות את מקום התרפה
וימצא את התרופה לנכוטה.

בראש וראשונה מצפה הישוב מאת ד"ר
סילבר שיעשה כל מה שביכולתו לעשות, כדי
להשפיע השפעה חזקה על המדיניות
האמריקנית בשאלת ארץ-ישראל.

קורא יזכור ודאי את מאמרי שכתבתי בי'
חודש נובמבר בשם "אני — אינני מאמין".
במאמר זה כתבתי, שאינני מאמין, כי אמרי'
קה, או רוסיה, או כל מדינה אחת, שואפת
לפתרון בעית ארץ-ישראל. כתבתי שמה שלא
הוחלט בלייק סאכסס, הרי שלוש המעצמות
הגדולות מאחזות בתקותן, שהחלטות אלו לא
הוצאה לפועל, כדי שכשילון זה ידגים קבל
העולם כולו את רפיון ידיו של ארם. מפלתו
זאת של ארם צריכה להוכיח לאזרחיהן של
שלוש המעצמות הגדולות, כי עת דם תלוי
אך ורק בצבאותיהם ולא בהסתדרות בינלאר'
בית כלשהו.

הוספתי, כי אמנם קרה אקרה, כי חיוניותם
של היהודים הרבה, תסכל בסופו של דבר
את המומיות החשיכות של הידידים והאויבים
כאחד, אלא שלכל המדינות, בין אלו שהן
בעדנו או נגדנו, כוונה בולטת אחת והיא
לכלותנו.

עכשיו רואים בעליל כי צדקתי בחזותי ה'
קשה הזאת.
אנגליה טוענת כלפי העולם המערבי: אני
נשארת בארץ ישראל עד 15 במאי, אולם
עד לאתו יום אני מרשה ליהודים: א) לי'
עלות ארצה ישראל במספר גדול לשם הת'
חזקתם הכמותית; ב) אינני נתנת לאזרחים
אמריקניים בני דת משה ויות כניסה לארץ
ישראל במספר גדול; ג) אינני מרשה ליהודים
להביא נשק וחמרי נפץ לארץ-ישראל; ד)
אני אוסרת על היהודים לבצע פעולות צבאיות
בארץ-ישראל. אך באותו הזמן אני מרשה:
א) לסוריה וללבנון לאמן מתנדבים ערבים
מארץ-ישראל; ב) למדינות הלימה הערבית לי'

הבוקר

"HABOKER" DAILY NEWSPAPER TEL-AVIV

עתון יומי תל-אביב

יום א'
י"ד שבט
תש"ח
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1948

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קאדוגן לא הצליח להפוך את ועדת הביצוע ל"חמש ועדת הביצוע לא זזה מעמדתה: להק 2 מסקנותיה: כח בינלאומי מתא

טלגרפית מאת סופר "הבקר" בניו-יורק. וו. שפיגלמן

בעוד שועדת הביצוע מכינה את הדו"ח שלה למועצת הבטחון על שלבי הביצוע, ודעת-הקהל עוקבת בענין רב אחרי הדיונים בועדה, נודע לסופרכם ממקורות יודעי-דבר ומוסמכים כי ביותר, כי אין בדעת חברי הועדה להשאר "חמשה עולי-רגל בודדים" אמנם תשובותיו של סיר אלכסנדר קאדוגן ציערו אותם מאד, אך לא הביאו לידי יאוש, כפי כוונתו. חברי הועדה עושים מאמצים רבים בשביל להגשים את המלצות עצרת אונ"א. — נאמר לי ממקורות יודעי דבר.

חברי הועדה הגיעו פה אחד לשתי מסקנות, והן:

(א) יש להקים כח בינלאומי מתאים, שיעזור בביצוע החלטות העצרת;

(ב) יש לקיים זיונה של ההגנה.

נודע לי כי כאשר תאשרנה שתי מסקנות אלו של הועדה, מתעוררים חברים להגות לארץ-ישראל באמצע או בסוף חודש מרץ, מני מקום הסכמתו הכריזתו, שהמחזיקות תגיע לארץ לפני בוא הועדה עצמה ולפני ביטולו הרשמי של המנדט. אם כי פרסום הדוקומנטים על יחסי רופיה הסובייטית וגרמניה הנאצית על-ידי מיניסטרוני-החוק האמריקאי אינו מסייע ליצירת אורה הרמונית, ככל זאת מצפים לפעולה בענין הארץ-ישראלית כמנהל שם מועצת הבטחון בשבוע זה ומצפים, כי הדיון במועצת הבטחון יורע אור על המצב וכן יבהיר את סיכויי הביצוע.

בינתיים שוררת מתיחות רבה בחוגים רחבים של יהדות אמריקה ובעת האמריקאית, הדורשים פעולה חיובית של ממשלת ארצות הברית, אבל בתקופה קריטית זו, כשנדרש מאמץ מחודש, מורגש העדרה של היד הנגהיגה ושל הקול המשכנע של אבא הלל סילבר, נודע, כי המועצה הזיונית לשעת חירום דנה בדרישה הנשמעת בחוגים שונים לפנות לסילבר שיפסיק מיד את ביקורו בארץ-ישראל ויחזור לאמריקה, כיון שהכל כאן תמידי-דעים, כי בלי פעולה מהירה ונמרצת בארצות הברית עלולה שפי-כה הרמים בארץ-ישראל להמשך זמן רב.

תרומה חשובה להדרכת דעת-הקהל תורם מר י. רוקח, ראש עיריית תל-אביב, שהופעתו בארץ-ישראל מעוררת ענין ואהדה רבים ומגבירה יום את התמיכה במהחמתו של הישוב.

ראש עיריית ת"א ממשיך במסעו הכלי-אמריקאי למען גאולה הא"ץ, הוא ביקר באחרונה בבאלטימור, פילדלפיה וניו-יורק, מקום שם ערכו לו ומרעיתו ראשיה-העיר קבלות-פנים רשמיות בעיריות, והמונים השתתפו באספות והרעו לדבריו של י. רוקח, הוא הביא את קריאת הישוב לחזק במלחמתו נגד התוקפנות הערבית והשמיע דברי-האשמה נגד הפקידות הבריטית בארץ-ישראל, הוא תבע המשכת בנין ומלחמה עקבית לביצוע המלצות אונ"א.

Jews also broke the Haifa truce today about the same time as the Arabs when two men, apparently terrorists, opened fire with sub-machine guns on two Arab police officers who were driving two children of one of them to school in a private car.

Assistant Superintendent Khalil Shheiber was hit in the head and seriously wounded. The inspector accompanying him was wounded in the leg. The Haganah and the Jewish Bar Association, according to a Jewish source in Haifa, formally condemned the attack tonight.

Jews Clash with Police

The Jews also had a fight with the police today near Rehovoth, south of Lydda, when a police armored car approached Jews who were surrounding an Arab house. The Jews opened fire and the police fired back. The Jews then withdrew. There was no report on casualties.

An Arab National Committee for Jerusalem was formed today. The purpose of the National Committees—already in existence in nearly all other cities—is to organize local nationalist work under the national direction of the Arab Higher Committee.

The Jews, on their side, are still working for greater unity through fusion of the Haganah and Irgun Zvai Leumi armed forces. The chief hitch is believed to be

that the Haganah insists that Irgun Zvai Leumi must disband and its members become members of the Haganah militia.

A British newspaper correspondent, O'Dowd Gallagher, received a slight wound in the leg when a British armored car gunner fired a machine-gun accidentally tonight near the press center here.

Train robberies continue. One train was stopped twice today. It was looted of 200 bags of cement the first time and fifty more when it was halted again a few miles farther on.

Five hundred cases of whisky that were taken from a train last week in the south found little favor among local Moslems. It was being sold at forty cents a bottle in Khan Yunis, an informant reported from there.

Tel Aviv authorities are protesting the diversion of United States shipping from their port; it was reported tonight. Under its emergency powers the Government refused yesterday to allow the American ship Exford to unload a cargo of machinery and trucks there and diverted it to Haifa.

BRITISH AND ARABS IN 2-HOUR SKIRMISH

Tacit Truce in Haifa-Tel Aviv Area Ends—Jewish Convoy Raided—U. S. Ship Diverted

By SAM DOPE BREWER
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
JERUSALEM, Jan. 27—British troops fought a two-hour skirmish with Arabs on the Haifa-Tel Aviv highway this morning after both Arabs and Jews had broken a tacit truce in that area.

One British corporal and one Jewish truck driver were killed in the fighting. Arab casualties were not known.

The Arabs had another fight with troops in the south near Gaza in which one soldier was wounded and four Arabs killed, it was learned today, without further details, however.

In Jerusalem, Old City one Royal Air Force sergeant was killed and one British soldier was wounded when unknown persons fired on them as they were removing a roadblock near the Lion Gate. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in the United States, has been summoned home from Palestine, it was learned tonight. Dr. Silver had been conferring with agency leaders here.

Jewish Convoy Attacked

During the past week Haifa has lived in an uneasy calm, despite rumors of new trouble. Today a convoy of eight Jewish trucks heading for Tel Aviv, left Haifa at 7:15 A. M. and was heavily attacked near Ein Gazala, fifteen miles south of the city. One driver was instantly killed and two others were wounded.

Troops rushed to the scene were heavily fired on by Arabs. One British corporal was killed at the outset of the fight. The police and troops deployed and returned the Arabs' fire for two hours before the latter withdrew. Policemen then searched near-by houses and retrieved property stolen from one of the trucks.

cont. from p.6

במתנה (ה. ס. אלן)...

ואין הדבר נעשה בשננה:

פקיד גבוה בחשיגנטון הודיע, לדברי "יוניטד פרס", כי ידוע יפה בחוגי ממשלתו על חלקם של אנשי הצבא הסוריים במעשים הנעשים בארץ-ישראל! ואם לא די לה, למדי שלת חשיגנטון, באינספורמציה של נציגיה היא — בא האיוססיה" עם האינספורמציה, שהוא השיג ממקורותיו, וגם זו אומרת אותו הדבר: הערבים מפירים את החלטתה של אונ"א! — והתוצאה מכל האינספורמציה הזאת מה היא: — הצטרפות אמריקה ל...נש הערבי, המוקם עתה על ידי בחיין... כזאת מודיע העתון "סיפל", מבטאני מר בחיין וממלגתו: "אמריקה — מודיע אותו הע" חון — תומכת בתכנית הבריטית, בהוסיפו: "התמיכה שלה אינה מותנית בספספים ציוניים".

ורדיו מוסקבה מאשר את דברי "סיפל": ישנו, אומר הוא, הסכם במזרח בין מרשל וארנסט בחיין.

ורדיו לונדון מגלה מצדו: המדיניות הזאת (כלפי הערבים), אושרה כבר ע"י ה"הייס הול" — סימן נוסף לכך שמאחוריה עומדות ארצות הברית, שהרי איש איננו חושב בלונדון על ריב במזרח עם אמריקה...

ואז באה — כאילו לשם אישור ה"ק" — בקשתם המשותפת של מרשל ובחיין להפסקת ההעפלה: וההערכות המשותפת נגד משלוחי הנשק אלינו; ושתיקתם המשותפת על אף הפלישה הגדולה לארץ זו...

והסולשים רואים יפה את זאת, הכי רואים האוריינטלים הללו בעיניהם שפועות הערשה.

ולאח אן צורך לחזור פעמיים על הר"מיה השקופה...

ורצוני לנצל את בואך ד"ר סילבר, ולשאלך קבל עם:

האמנם יש לראשי הציונות באמריקה הש"מעה איזו שהיא על ממשלתם?

לא לשם קינטור אני שואל זאת — לשם בירור דברים אני שואל זאת.

כי חוששני, שהולך ונשנה באמריקה מה שקרה לנו באנגליה:

שלושים שנה הבטיחו לנו כל ה"ראשים" (שלנו) כי לא — השפעה עצומה ומכרעת על הממשלה האנגלית.

לרב הוז המנות היתה השפעה, ולליקר — השפעה, ולנמיר — השפעה, ולסאקר — השפעה, ולגאנר — השפעה, ולברודצקי ולווי ולמרס — השפעה, נו, ולחייצמן — לזה היתה השפעה כמעט טוטלית, המלך, ראש המיניסטרים — והוא...

אלא שאת צמצומה של הצהרת בלפור לא יכלו הללו למנוע, וכשבא חיסולה הנמור והמוחלט — לא הצליחו אפילו להתקבל ע"י

א"ש

ועכשיו יש ונדמה לך, שאותו החזיון הולך ונשנה לעינינו באמריקה.

סיפורים על "השפעות" ו"קשרים" מת" הלכים גם ביחס למנהיגינו באמריקה, ויחד עם הסיפורים — הולכת ומתמוטטת גם שם חזיתנו הציונית...

הגענו לכך, שאפילו אדם כפרוסקואר — בודאי ובודאי לא ציוני קיצוני — לא יכול כבר שלא לעצוק חסם באזני ממשלתו של מר טרומן!

ומור: בשעה שאפילו הפרוסקוארים אינם מסוגלים עוד לשאת בחרפת הבגידה האמריקאית — בא איש כחונן, מר סילבר, ועדיין מדבר הוא על "בטחוננו": על בטחוןנו בכוחותיה המשובחות של אמריקה! ונשיא ציוני אמריקה שולח את ברכותיו לארצו!

לשם מה זה? כלום בושנה היא להיום את האגודות על "השפעותינו", כביכול?

הכיבוד? מה ה"בושה" הזאת לגלות, כי הגוי מתנכר לעמנו?

הלאוי והיו מגלים לנו זאת מנהיגינו האנגליים בשעתם! אילו עשו זאת — היינו מתגוננים בעתו, ויתכן שלא היינו מגיעים גם שם לאן שהגענו בימינו...

לא, גילוי העובדות כהיותן איננו כלל וכלל "בושה", ואין בו כלל כדי להפחית את מעמדם של מנהיגינו בעינינו. שלושים שנה גילו ראשי אירלנד את העובדות לעמם, ואף על פי שהעובדות היו גרועות — לא נמצא בארץ ההיא שום אירי, שיטיל על שכמו של צארלדן סארנל את האחריות לאכזריותו של גלדסטון, להפך, העם נקשר למנהיגיו בשל גילוייהם וניסה לעשות מצדו דבר לשם חיוזק ידוהם, ומי יודע, יתכן שזהו מה ששיחרר את אירלנד!

וגם אנו איננו שונים מהאירים, גם אנו לא נראה "בושה" בגילוי הקל"מים של היריב.

כי לא זאת היא "בושה", ד"ר סילבר מכובד,

בושה היא להסתיר מעיני היהודים את כוונות משאנינו, כי הדבר מרדים את ערנותם, בושה היא להוסיף ולהסתמך על "הצהרות", המזויפות לכל הדעות.

ועדיין מקוה אנכי בכל לב, שזה הוא גם הלך מחשבותיך.

ושהחששות של מר חייצמן ושלי לגביך — חששות הם המצוצים בן האצבע...

ד"ר ה. רוזנבלום

PARTITION IN PERIL, SILVER WARNS U. N.

He Says Lack of World Force Jeopardizes Jewish State—British Close Bridges

By SAM POPE BREWER
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JERUSALEM, Jan. 28.—While the British took sudden steps today to tighten the frontier so as to reduce Arab infiltration into Palestine, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver asserted that without an international force in Palestine the whole possibility of a Jewish state was jeopardized.

Before leaving for Tel Aviv on the first stage of an emergency trip home to the United States, Dr. Silver issued a statement in which he said:

"It is clear that without an international force and without the arming of a Jewish militia to protect the Jewish state which has been decreed by the United Nations, the implementation of the decision will be jeopardized."

Dr. Silver had a conference last night with the High Commissioner, Lieut. Gen. Sir Alan G. Cunningham, but details of the meeting were not revealed. After his week-end conference with Jewish Agency executive officials in Tel Aviv he is expected to leave by air on Monday.

A press conference by Dr. Silver scheduled today was canceled at the last minute. In his statement he said:

"I have found the Jewish community of Palestine deeply troubled over reports that my own government is failing to put the full weight of its authority behind the decision of the United Nations and that, on the contrary, certain officials of the Department of State, have reverted to the old

technique of circumventing the declared American policy on Palestine.

"For America now to withhold positive support of that (partition) decision at the very moment when Arab violence is directed toward frustrating it, would be a betrayal of the United Nations and the Jewish people."

"Knowing the spirit of the American people, I venture the prediction that this will not happen."

Dr. Silver also urged haste in the sending of a special police force for Jerusalem which, he believed, would help to calm the whole country.

Meanwhile the British closed all but one of the bridges over the River Jordan in a move apparently intended to help block further infiltration of Arab troops across the frontier.

Patrols were also increased to prevent the fording of the river which now can be crossed legally only by the Allenby Bridge on the main road between Jerusalem and Amman.

All traffic across the Allenby Bridge is being carefully checked. However, the Jordan provides 150 miles of frontier to watch, much of it in isolated country well known to the Arabs.

Arab bands in general seem to be increasing in size and organization. Recent reports have cited well-uniformed and well-armed groups. Their latest attacks have also shown trained military leadership.

A British Government spokesman confirmed today that ten Syrian, ten Saudi Arabian and fourteen Egyptian armed guards are on duty at their respective consulates in Jerusalem.

One Arab was killed and eighteen wounded today. No Jews were reported killed but two were wounded in Tel Aviv.

A Christian woman, Leah Rosenthal, was shot and seriously wounded by an Arab in the German colony here today. Police fired at the Arab but he escaped.

The U. N. Yesterday

Wednesday, Jan. 28, 1948

Lebanon Asks Conciliation Board; Jews Exit Plans; Council Debates Kashmir

LITTLE ASSEMBLY—Lebanon proposed that the United Nations Little Assembly set up a U. N. permanent committee of conciliation—a nine-nation group to operate as a subsidiary of the General Assembly for the hearing and conciliation of any disputes referred to it by the disputing parties, the Assembly or the Security Council. As one reason for the suggestion, Lebanon said that disputes have been debated up to now "by purely political organs," leading to "passion and sense of narrow nationalism."



The proposal will be taken up when the Little Assembly meets again on Feb. 23.

PALESTINE—Jewish Agency for Palestine asked for confidential possession of the first details of the British plan of military withdrawal from Palestine—a matter kept in closest secrecy by the British and the U. N. Palestine Commission. However, the commission is not free to divulge the data and the British will not divulge it. Story on this page.

A \$20,000,000 program to lay in a six-month supply of basic foodstuffs for the coming Arab-Jewish war over Holy Land partition was embarked upon by Palestine's Arab chambers of commerce. Story on this page.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chief of the American branch of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, announced in Jerusalem that he will return to the United States to rally American public opinion behind enforcement of the U. N.'s partition decision. Story on page 11.

COUNCIL—The Security Council decided tentatively to discuss ways of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir to determine whether the state will join India

United Nations Scheduled for

At Lake Success

10:30 a. m.—Working Committee of Atomic Energy Commission (open).

11 a. m. and 2:30 p. m.—Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press (open).

2:30 p. m.—Security Council (open), continues with Kashmir question.

All reservations for public seating at open meetings should be obtained a day in advance by telephoning Fieldstone 7-1100, extension 2126 or 2156, after 8:30 a. m.

WNYC Broadcasts

Radio Station WNYC will begin at 3 p. m. to broadcast today's Security Council session on 830 kilocycles.

or Pakistan. In spite of Indian insistence that the Council should stop the fighting in Kashmir before it considers the plebiscite, both Belgium and Great Britain called for debate on the plebiscite issue first on the ground that a decision might by itself put an end to the fighting. The Council will meet again at 2:30 p. m. today, Thursday, to continue the argument.

COURT—The International Court of Justice set Feb. 26 for opening oral hearings at The Hague on the complaint filed by Britain against Albania last May 22 in the Corfu Channel mine disaster.

LATIN AMERICA—Chile and Peru decided to submit to the U. N. Economic and Social Council a warning by Peruvian Foreign Minister Enrique Garcia

Sayan that the Marshall plan for European recovery "has not great probability of success" unless modified to recognize Latin American developmental needs. Story on page 6.

HEALTH—A United States proposal that the World Health Organization take over all international functions in the field of maternal and child health and co-operate in joint problems with interested agencies such as the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Children's Emergency Fund was approved by the W. H. O. Interim Commission in Geneva.

PRESS—The U. N. subcommission on freedom of information and of the press adopted half of a proposed article for the future covenant on human rights. It provided every person shall have the right to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas, regardless of frontiers," but specified this carried duties and responsibilities. The group then began listing exceptions which a government might penalize, including "expressions that incite persons to alter by violence the system of government." Jacob M. Lomakin, of the Soviet Union, argued such an exception might block a Spanish rise against the Franco dictatorship. But Zechariah Chafee, of the United States, said Franco Spain would do as it pleased without signing the covenant, and "I have no doubt whatever it pleases will be bad."

DOCUMENTS—An old press ban, the tendency of officials to mark documents "restricted" and "top secret," rose again in

a press conference with acting U. N. Secretary-General Byron Price, when it was observed that one such paper in the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission only comprised extracts from three public documents. Mr. Price explained that every time the U. N. marked a document "unrestricted" it had to issue 3,000 copies for all hands, whereas restricted documents needed only a relative handful for a few delegates and staff members. He said survey was being made, seeking to save funds and at the same time serve the cause of information.

ד"ר סילבר: המדינה היהודית תקום עוד השנה

חיסול החלטת האו"ם כמוה כבגידה באו"ם ובעם היהודי

HAITON HA'AMMANI
1-29-48

כדי ליצור את הרושם באמריקה שתכנית האו"ם אינה מעשית. אני מלא תקווה שמדינת ישראל תהיה מוכנה להצטרף לאיחוד עם ישראל. תכנית זו היא המזוהמת הזאת.

הד"ר סילבר ממחר לחזור לארה"ב ע"פ בקשת הנהלת הסוכנות — אמר אתמול דובר הסוכנות בירושלים — כדי להצטרף שם למערכת המדינית בועדת הביצוע, הנמצאת בתחום תפקידו באמריקה, ביחוד עד כמה שזה נוגע לממשלתו. ולכן נסע אתמול מירושלים לת"א להשתתף עוד בישיבה אחת של הנהלת הסוכנות וב"ראשית השבוע הבא יסליב.

לפני צאתו את ירושלים נתקבל לשיחה מקיפה על הצב עם הנציב העליון. בין היתר דובר על האופן בו ממלאת אנגליה את תפקידה בביצוע החלטות או"ם בא"י.

של העם האמריקני הנני מעוז להגיד, שמזימה זו לא תקום.

ברור, כי בלי כוח בינלאומי ובלי צידה של מיליציה יהודית שהחלטה בעצרת האו"ם לא תוכל להתחלטה לצאת לפועל. ההחלטה יכולה להתגשם בכל הודאות אם האמצעים שהותוו להגשמתה יוצאו לפועל על במהירות ובכל הכנות ע"י האומות האמריקאיות להחלטה מדוע לא הוקמה המש"ט המיוחדת לירושלים, שעליה כבר הוחלט באו"ם, מדוע לא מארגנים אותה ושולחים מיד ומדוע, טרם מונה המושל לירושלים וטרם שולה כוח על כל איזור ומשקט יעשה צעד כזה על כל איזור ירושלים, שהוא המדאיג ביותר בכל הארץ. הצגת האלימות בארץ מחושבת בעיקרה

בהחלט בשלום. אמר הם מוכנים לכל מה שיקרה, והנצחון יהיה לצד. מצאתי בקרב הישוב דאגה גדולה — המשיך הד"ר סילבר — בקשר לירידות, כי ממשלת ארה"ב מהססת לשים את כובד סמכותה לצד החלטות האו"ם, וכי להפך, פקידים מסויימים שוב חוזר לטכניקה הישנה של שיבוש מדיניותה של אמריקה בנוגע לא"י. גישה כזו אינה מובנת לגמרי, כי דוקא עמדתה האמיצה של ארה"ב היא שגרמה בנובמבר להחלטת או"ם בנוגע לארץ ישראל, כי מניעת תמיכתה החיונית של אמריקה בביצוע החלטת דוקא בזמן שהאלימות הערבית מתכוונת לחסל את הח"ל. דעת או"ם כמוה כבגידה באו"ם ובעם היהודי. אולם בידע את רוחו

המדינה היהודית תקום עוד השנה, נח, ללא שום ספק, אמר סילבר בגילוי דעת לעתונאים לפני צאתו לארה"ב. לרגלי העבודה הדחופה שם, הדורשת את נוכחו תו. הוא השתתף בימים האחרונים בכמה התייעצויות של הנהלת הסוכנות ובדברי הפרידה שלו הביע את הקרבתו הנהגת ביותר לרוח הנבונה של יהודי ירושלים, ביחוד הנגרים והנשים הנצורים בעיר העתיקה, והעומדים על משמרתם במשמעת בנבונה שקטה ובכסחון ככה הוא גם רוחו של הישוב כולו — אמר הד"ר סילבר — רוח איתנה הבאה לידי ביטוייה הנחרד ביותר אצל הנער, זהו הנער הפוב ביותר בכל העולם כולו. יהודי בארץ רוצים

א.ה. סילבר חוזר לארצה"ב

מביע בטחונו, כי אמריקה לא תבגוד באונ"א ובעם העברי

ד"ר סילבר נתבקש על ידי הסוכנות לחזור לארצות הברית בתאריך יותר מוקדם, משהיתה כוונתה, כי בעיות בקשר עם פעולות ועדת הביצוע של אונ"א תובענה כעת את נוכחותו של ד"ר סילבר בארצות הברית — אמר אתמול דובר הסוכנות במסיבה עם עיתונאים.

לפני נסיעתו מירושלים, בה שהה ד"ר סילבר בעשרת הימים האחרונים

העולם הזה

אנשי הסלום

— יוצא אבא הלל החוצה ומושב אחי ריו את האח הבכור, מרדכי, שני הני ערים פונים אל התלמוד-תורה שבהגרי סטריט ב"א. סטריט — אותה תלמוד-תורה שיצאו לה מוניטין כ"חלוצי דא" מריקה" — ושם, ביום פטירתו של הר"ר צל, הם מקימים את המועדון הציוני הראשון של הנוער היהודי באמריקה: "דוקטור הרצל ציון קלוב".



מן המועדון הזה, התפתחה הציונות האמריקאית הגדולה והתוססת. כאן נקשרו לראשונה קשרי הידידות הא"י שית בין סילבר ועמנואל ניומן. המשרד דר ראובן גרוסמן, היושב אתנו כיום בתל-אביב, ואברהם רגלסון, המשרד והסופר היהודי באמריקה, רבי ז"ס שורק, מנהיג הציונות הקנדית, שאול כהן, עסקן במסדות ציוניות רבים וד"ר קנוראל ציפיקין, עסקן החינוך היהודי באמריקה — הם ורבים אחרים הנם יוצאי המועדון הציוני ע"ש ד"ר הרצל.

והביאוגרף אשר יבקש סמלים אצל סילבר, יוכל לרשום לפניו, שכאן — במועדון הציוני, לפני כארבעים שנה — הופיע הנער אבא הלל סילבר על הבמה כנער ראשי במחזות שנכתבו במיוחד בשביל המועדון על-ידי אברהם גולדפארן: "דוד וגלית", "משה רבנו" ו"יוסף ואחיו".

דוד משה ויוסף — האין סילבר שלפני כיום ציון של שלשתם ברוח חו ובאופיו? והר"ר גם לפני בניו, קרא הד"ר סילבר בשמות סמליים, הקרובים לד"ר

ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר

או: הציוני מס' 1 של ארצות הברית

הה זה בבואו, בקונגרס הציוני האחרון, כשהאווירה היתה מחושמלת ביותר והכל עמד להתפרץ, וייצמן הלך, היה ברור, שהפעם לא יחזור, והיה צורך להרכיב אסקוטיבה חדשה, בלי וייצמן, ואז בקעו כל הסדקים והתחיל מתקוממכר פוליטי מאחורי הקלעים והתנגשו אבסציות אישיות ואיומים והפחדות ומבול של מדיניות וקונציות. וביניהם עבר מועד הקונגרס, הצירים רוצים לנסוע הביתה ואכסוטיבה בה אין.

ואז, בתוך אבדן העצות ואולת-הידי, קם ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר ובקולו המתכתי ורק לתוך אולם הקונגרס!

— ואם גם שנה אצטרך לשבת בבואו — אני לא אווז מכאן, עד שתקום אכסוטיבה!"

זה היה האנטימסות שהכריע את הכף, ועלה בידו להדוף את הסיוט שרתף על התנועה הציונית בערב ימי ההכרעה הגורליים — והוא מנע את הפילוג ואיחד את הכוחות למאבק הציוני שבא עלינו.

אז נתגלה האיש באופיו האציל, אז גדל והיה למנהיג, למען שלום-בית וויתור על ההנהגה לבן-מרון, אבל על תפיסתו הציונית ועל עקרונותיו לא וויתר אף כמלוא הנימה. וכשסיים את מלאכתו הכבירה הזאת — חזר אל בדידותו ויחיד יצא מן האולם מיד לאחר שהקריא את הרכב האכסוטיבה שלו. ויחיד יצא את באול בדרכו ללימוד, מאחוריו גלים של הערצה, אבל הוא לא השיב אף לא בלחיצת-יד אחת, אף חיוך אחד.

ה"א שעשה את הברר המפולארי ביותר בקונגרס — את האומדן לאחר המשבר — ברח מפני תודעת המדיניות. ונולם בבואו נשאר תמהים — ומאוכזבים.

כי יש בו, בד"ר סילבר, משהו חדש — באופיו, במזגו ובהופעותיו — אשר לא הורגלו לו אצל מנהיגים ציונים קודמים, כשם שגם בתורתו הציונית-פוליטית הכניס רוח חדשה בתוך התנועה.

ויהי כובש לכבות — בחיוך, בכדיחה יהודית עממית, במסיפה על הש"כ.

על סילבר אמר ידידינו, דניאל סריש, שחשורנו הגדול ביותר הוא שאינו יודע לספר בדיחה כהלכה...

הוא — המתבודד הגדול, סמכי קהל חסידים, שמיספרם גדל והולך, והם מוקסמים מאישיותו ורוקמים את האגדה שלו. הוא איננו מעורב בעסקי יום-יום ובתרגומי הקטנו שבין המפלגות והורמים בציונות. והוא מתאים פחות מכל להיות ראש למפלגה, כי כל עניני הקלחת הפנימית כה רחוקים ממנו ולא במרפסו הוא מהלך בתוכו. על כן לא למפלגה נשואות עיניו, אלא אל האנשים המוכנים, כמוהו, לדגול בתורת הציונות הגדולה וה' לוחמה.

א' הקונגרס בא מתוך חשבון של

בהתייעצויות עם הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית, הוא הביע את הערצתו הרבה לרוחו האיתנה של הישוב העברי בירושלים, וביחוד של הישוב בעיר העתיקה הנצורה, לעזום, למשמעתם ולאמונתם העמוקה. הרוח הזאת היא אפיינית לישוב העברי כולו בא"י וביחוד היא מוצאת ביטוי נהדר אצל הנוער העברי. אין היום נוער טוב יותר בעולם, מאשר הנוער העברי בארץ-ישראל, אמר ד"ר סילבר. יהודי ארץ-ישראל שואפים בכל לבם לשלום, אך הם מוכנים לכל וידעו לעמוד במבחן. המדינה העברית תקום עוד השנה, אמר ד"ר סילבר והדגיש: אין שום ספק בכך.

מצאתי את הישוב מודאג מאוד בקשר לידעיות כי הממשלה שלי לא העמידה את כל משקל האוטוריטה שלה מאחורי החלטת אונ"א וכי פקידים מסוימים של מיניסטרוני החוץ האמריקאי חזרו לנסינות שלהם לע"ק את המדיניות האמריקאית המוצהרת לגבי ארץ ישראל. אם הידיעות הללו נכונות, הרי שעמדה מעין זו היא בלתי מובנת, הרי בעיקר הודות לעמדה התקיפה שנקטו ארצות הברית קיבלו בסוף האומות המאוחדות את החלטתם ב"29 בנובמבר, אם אמ"ר יקרה תסרב לתת את תמיכתה החיונית לביצוע ההחלטה, ברגע של מעשי-אלמות, המכוונים לבטל את החלטת אונ"א, תהיה זו בגידה כלפי האומות המאוחדות והעם העברי.

דבר הזה לא יקרה

בידעי את רוח העם האמריקאי, המשיך ד"ר סילבר, אני מרשה לעצמי לומר, כי דבר כזה לא יקרה. ברור, כי בלי כוח בינלאומי ובלי הקמת מיליציה יהודית מור"י ומוצוידת להגנת המדינה היהודית — דבר שעליו הוחלט על-ידי האומות המאוחדות — ייכשל הביצוע של החלטת אונ"א. הנשיא טרומן ומוכיר המדינה מארשל, שתמכו באופן פעיל בהחלטה זו, יצטרכו להכיר בכך. הם בודאי לא ירשו לפקידים הכסופים להם להכשיל את התכנית. הביצוע יקל, אם התנאים שהוטו, יומשו מהר ובלב שלם על-ידי האומות האחראיות להחלטה, ובמיוחד על-ידי ארצות הברית. יש מתפללים מדוע לא אורגנה ולא נשלחה מיד לירושלים המשטרה המיוחדת, שעל הקמתה כבר הוחלט באומות המאוחדות ולמה לא נחמנה עדיין מושל ירושלים ולא נשלח מושל זה, זה היה משמש בלי ספק גורם חיובי להרגעת כל איזור ירושלים, שהוא הסביבה הלא שקטה ביותר בכל ארץ ישראל.

האלמות בארץ ישראל מחושבת ליצור בארצות הברית את הרושם, שתכנית הארץ מות המאוחדות אינה ניתנת לביצוע. אני תקווה, שמדינאי העולם ומנהיגי ארצי, לא ייכנעו לאיום נחשק זה.

בשבוע הבא — לארצות-הברית

דובר הסוכנות הוסיף, כי ד"ר סילבר הסכים לחזור לארצות הברית כדי לטפל בצדדים המיוחדים של עבודת ועדת הביצוע, השייכים לתחום פעולתו באמריקה, ביחוד ביחס לממשלתו (ממשלת ארה"ב). ד"ר סילבר עזב אתמול את ירושלים וישתתף בשיבת הנהלת הסוכנות בתל-אביב, ובשבוע הבא יסע לאמריקה. היה בדבר זה להופיע בעצמו במסיבת העיתונאים, אמר דובר הסוכנות, אך מכיוון שמייד נסוע הש"ר לי את הצהרתו, בה אתם יכולים למצוא הסבר מדוע הוא חוזר לארצות-הברית.

נתקבל לראיון אצל הנציב העליון

לפני שד"ר סילבר עזב את ירושלים, הוא נתקבל לשיחה ע"י הנציב העליון. הדברים שעליהם דיבר ד"ר סילבר עם הנציב העליון אינם נכללים, כמובן, בהצהרתו. הדובר נשאל מדוע אין בהצהרת סילבר כל זכר לתפקיד, שאנגליה צריכה לטול על עצמה בסיווד הבטיח הארץ-ישראלית. הוא ענה, כי על דבר זה דובר בשיחה עם הנציב.

ד"ר סילבר בת"א

ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר הגיע אתמול אחה"צ מירושלים לתל-אביב בלויית רעייתו והעתונאי הרולד מנסון (מהמועצה הציונית לשעת חירום באמריקה).

ד"ר סילבר ישאר בתל-אביב כשבוע ימים ולאחר ישיבת הנהלת הסוכנות, שתתכנס בת"א בתחילת השבוע הבא, ישוב לאמריקה לשם המשך הטיפול בעניני המדיניות הארץ-ישראלית בלייקסנסס.

חו: ירמיהו ודוד, על שמותיהם של נביא התוכחה ושל ראש שלשלת המלוכה בישראל... אלה שתי תכונותיו של סילבר: המוכיח הגדול בדור זה של הציונות והמנהיג הדגול.

הוא מוכיח לפי מקצועו, "ראבי" ומטיף.

מגעוריו חלם על יעוד של תיקון נשמות. והוא עוזב, נער צעיר, את בית אביו בניוירוק והולך לקנות תורה בסניפינאטי. כאן הוא מחלק את זמנו בין האוניברסיטה וה"היברו וניוין קו" לד"ר — כלומר: בין חכמת העצמים ותורת ישראל. והוא יוצא מסניפינאטי מצויד בתעודות "מוסמך למדעים" ו"ראבי", כורך יחד יהדות ואגויות והולך לקראת מסעו הארוך — זה יותר משלשים שנה — על פני נשמותיהם של בני האדם ולבנותיהם של יהודים, כמטיף, מוכיח ומנהיג.

התחנה הראשונה היא בווהלינג שבניוירוגיניה, בהיכל, שמיסדיו קראו לו "לשם שמים". הוא עושה כאן רק שני תימים, עד שנקרא ב"1917 לקליבלנד לעמוד בראש ה"היכל" היהודי המסור. אך ביותר באמריקה, ההיכל שבראשו הוא עומד עד היום הזה, אלא שכי נוסחו לכאן היתה מלווית ברעש גדול. הוברר לו, שבבאי ה"היכל" הם יהודים מתבוללים ושנאי ציון ויום אחו הוא מקבל הודעה, שהטפותיו ברוח הציונות בוויכל אינן לשביעות-רצון הג' באים. עמדה בפניו הברירה: לחזור לן הציונות שלו או לחזור על הכהונה הגבוהה ביותר בסולם אנשי הכהונה היהודיים באמריקה. הוא בחר בברירה השניה והשיב את כתב-המינוי לגבאי ה"היכל".

הוא לא פוטר. הגבאים נסוגו מפני עקשנותו ולמדו להעריצו ול-כבדו.

לכאן, אל ה"היכל" בקליבלנד, בא כעבור עשרים וחמש שנים באמצע מלחמת העולם השניה, מנהיג יהודי זקן ועייף והתדבק על דלתו של אבא הלל סילבר. כן, וייצמן הוא האיש שקרא לסילבר להכנס בעול ההנהגה הציונית — כל כמה שלא תיראה עובד זה זו מפתיעה לאור השתלשלות העניינים שבאה אחריה, כשסילבר צמח להיות יריבו הפוליטי הגדול של וייצמן, מן הציונות וכשמואל "קו וייצמן", שהציונות הלכה לפיו זה עשרים וחמש שנה, הסתמן באופק הציוני. "קו סילבר", קו התנופה הגדולה מבפנים וה' תביעה הגדולה מבחוץ.

הוא היה יריב לייצמן עוד לפני עשרים וחמש שנה, כשהלך אחרי ברג' דיים וסיעתו, וכבר ב"1921 רושם הפ' רוטוקוליסט של הקונגרס הציוני את אחד מנאומיו האופוזיציוניים החריפים. אלא שסילבר פרש כעבור זמן קצר ממחנה הברנדייסיסטים וחזר אל הציונות הרשמית ואל קרן היסוד.

עד אותו יום שסילבר קם לציונות ככרנדייס חדש. אלא שהפעם — המ' הפכניות שלו כבשה את העם והפעם לא הוא אלא האחרים היו צריכים לפ' רוש ממושגים שליוס-אתמול וללכת אחריו.

והוא עומד לפניו בקומתו הגבוהה משכמו ומעלה בסולם ההנהגה הציוני. גית הלוחמת ברוחו, בכתפיו הרחבות שלא יכבד מהם כל משא אשר יוטל עליו, ובמבטו החוד והעמוק הצופה למרחקים גדולים בכח נבואה ואמונה הממלאות את כל ישותו.

והעם העומד במערכה, הצמא למשה חדש, רוצה לראות את ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר לא בקליבלנד — אלא בירושלים.

הוא גם לפני בניו, קרא הד"ר סילבר בשמות סמליים, הקרובים לד"ר

הצהרת ד"ר סילבר ערב צאתו לארצות-הברית

אין ספק כי המדינה היהודית תקום השנה

סירוב אמריקה לתמוך בביצוע ההחלטה כמוהו ככניסה באו"ם ובעם היהודי. דבר כזה היה לא יהיה

בידינו את רוח העם האמריקאי, המשיך ד"ר סילבר, אני מרשה לעצמי לומר, כי דבר כזה לא יקרה. ברור, כי בלי כוח בינלאומי ובלי הקמת מיליציה יהודית מוויזת ומצוידת להגנה המדינה יהיה דת - דבר שעליו החלט עלינו האוי טוח המאחדות - ייסל הביצוע של החלטת ארם. הנשיא טרומן ומזכיר הכנינה מארשל, שהסמכו באופן פעיל בתחלטה זו, יעטרנו להכיר בכך, הם בודאי לא ירשו לפקידים הסופיים להם להכשיל את התכנית. הביצוע יקל, אם התנאים שהותנו, ימומשו מהר ויבטיח שלם עלינו האומות האחראיות להחלטה, ובמיוחד עלינו ארצות הברית. יש מתי פלאים מדוע לא אורגנה ולא נשלח חה מוד לירושלים המשטרה המיוחדת, שעל הקמתה כבר החלט באומות המאוחדות ולמה לא נתמנה עדיין מושל ירושלים ולא נשלח מושר זה, זה היה שממש בלי ספק גורם חיובי להרגעת כל איזור ירושלים, שהוא הסביבה הלא-שקטה ביותר בכל ארץ ישראל.

האלמות בארץ ישראל מחושבת ליצור בארצות הברית את הרושם, שתכנית האומות המאוחדות אינה ניתנת לביצוע, אני מקוה, שמדינאי העולם ומנהיגי ארצו לא יכנעו לאיום נתעב זה. דובר הסוכנות הוסיף, כי ד"ר סילבר הסכים לחזור לארצות הברית, כדי לספק בצדדים המיוחדים של עבודת ועדת הביצוע, השייכים לתחום פעולתו באסרי קה, ביחוד ביחס לממשלתו (ממשלת ארצ"ב).

ד"ר סילבר עזב אתמול את ירושלים וישהתף בישיבת הנהלת הסוכנות בתל-אביב, ובשבת הבא יסע לאמריקה. היה בדעתו להופיע בעצמו במסיבת העיתוני אים, אשר דובר הסוכנות, אך מכיוון שסיחה לנסוע, השאיר לי את הצהרתו, בה אתם יכולים למצוא הסבר מדוע הוא חוזר לארצות-הברית.

לפני שד"ר סילבר עזב את ירושלים, הוא נתקבל לשיחה ע"י הנציג העליון, הדברים, שעליהם דובר ד"ר סילבר עם הנציג העליון, אינם נכללים, למובן, בהצהרתו. הדובר נשאל מדוע אין בהצ"ה סילבר כל זכר לתפקיד, שאנגליה צריכה ליטול על עצמה בסידור הבטיח הארץ-ישראלית, הוא ענה, כי על דבר זה דובר בשיחה עם הנציג.

לפני נסיעתו לירושלים, בה שהה ד"ר סילבר בעשרה הימים האחרונים בתל-ייעצויות עם הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית, הוא הביע את הערצתו הרבה לרוחו האיתנה של הישוב העברי בירושלים, וביחוד של הישוב בעיר העתיקה הנצורה לעזום, למשמעתם ולאמונתם העמוקה, הרוח הזאת היא אסימט ליישוב העברי כולו בא"י וביחוד היא סוצאל ביטוי נהדר אצל הנוער העברי, אין ויום נוער טוב יותר בעולם, מאשר הנוער העברי בארץ-ישראל, אשר ד"ר סילבר, יהודי ארץ ישראל שואפים בכל לבם לשלום, אך הם מוכנים לכל וידע לעמוד בסבבה.

המדינה העברית תקום עוד השנה, אמר



ד"ר סילבר והדגיש: אין שום ספק בכך, מצאתי את הישוב מדאג מאוד בקשר עם ידיעות, כי המשימה שלי לא העמ"י דה את כל משקל האוניברסל שלה מאחרי רי החלטת אים וכי פקידים מסוימים של מיניסטריון החוץ האמריקאי חזרו לנסויר גיה שלהם לעקוף את המדיניות האמ"י רוקאית המוצהרת לב" ארץ ישראל, אם הידיעות הללו נכונות, הרי שעמדה פעין זו היא בלתי סיבבת, הרי בעיקר הודות לעמדה התקיפה שנקטו ארצות הברית קיבלי בסוף האומות המאוחדות את החל"תם ביום בנובמבר, אם אמריקה תסרב לתת את תמיכתה החיובית לביצוע ההחל"טה, ברגע של כעשיאלמות, הסוכנות יבטל את החלטת ארם, תהיה זו בגידה בלפי האומות המאוחדות והעם העברי.

ד"ר סילבר נתבקש ע"י הנהלת הסוכנות לחזור לארצות הברית בתאריך יותר מוקדם, משהיתה כוונתו, כי בעיות בקשר עם פעולות ועדת-הביצוע של אים תיבטע כעת את גובחותו של ד"ר סילבר בארצות הברית - אשר אתמול דובר הסוכנות במסיבה עם עיתונאיות.

DR. SILVER RETURNING TO UNITED STATES

Palestine Post Staff

1-29-48

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive, left Jerusalem for Tel Aviv yesterday en route to New York. He has been requested by the Executive to return to America at an earlier date than he had previously intended. Problems connected with the work of the U.N. Commission necessitate his presence in the U.S.A., a Jewish Agency official said yesterday.

The American Zionist leader was received by the High Commissioner on Tuesday night, but no details of their conversation have been released.

Expressing "unqualified admiration for the magnificent spirit of the Jewish community of Jerusalem," especially the men and women besieged in the Old City, Dr. Silver, in a statement prior to his departure, commented on "the quiet courage, discipline and confidence" of the Jews. It was characteristic of the entire Yishuv, he added, and was most "gloriously manifest in the youth - there is no finer youth in the world."

Prepared

The Jews of Palestine, he went on, ardently wanted peace, but they were prepared for every eventuality. He was confident that they would win through and that the Jewish State would be established this year. He continued:

I have found the Jewish community of Palestine deeply troubled over reports that my own Government is failing to put the full weight of its authority behind the decision of the U.N. and that - on the contrary - certain officials of the Department of State have reverted to old techniques of circumventing the declared American policy on Palestine. If it has been correctly reported, such an attitude is incomprehensible. It was largely as a result of the vigorous stand taken by the U.S. that the U.N. finally took its decision of November 29.

For America to withhold positive support now from the implementation of that decision "at the very moment when Arab violence is directed towards frustrating it, would be a betrayal of the U.N. and of the Jewish people. Knowing

the spirit of the American people, I venture the prediction that this will not happen," Dr. Silver emphasized.

Active Support

President Truman and Mr. Marshall, who had actively supported the U.N. decision, must realize fully the need for an international force and for the arming of a Jewish militia - they would "surely not permit subordinate officials to scuttle the plan."

The U.N. decision could be carried out if the provisions which had been made for its implementation were quickly and wholeheartedly put into effect by the nations responsible for it - especially America.

"One wonders," Dr. Silver said, "why the special police force for Jerusalem, whose formation has already been decreed by the U.N. is not immediately organized and sent here, and why the Governor of Jerusalem has not yet been appointed and sent out. This would have a very salutary and pacifying effect on the entire Jerusalem area, which is the most troubled region in Palestine."

The show of violence in Palestine, Dr. Silver concluded, was deliberately calculated to create the impression in America that the U.N. plan was impractical. He was hopeful that the statesmen of the world and "the leaders of my own country will not yield to this shabby intimidation."

Silver Questions State Department Palestine Attitude

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, on leave as rabbi of the Temple, arrived in New York from a trip to Palestine last night reporting there is a growing suspicion in the Holy Land that some State Department officials are seeking to sabotage the Palestine partition plan.

On his arrival by plane from a three-week stay in the Middle East, Dr. Silver told the Associated Press the suspicion was that "some officials of our State Department are collaborating with British officials to defeat the plan (for a Jewish state) or to force a revision of it to meet Mr. Bevin's (British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin) bankrupt ideas."

"The situation in Palestine will deteriorate," he said, "unless the United Nations Commission is allowed to go there as soon as possible to take over the administration of the country and to mobilize and equip the militia."

Charging that the British ad-

סילבר: «אשוב בעוד חדשים מספר לחוג הקמת המדינה»

הד"ר אבא הלל סילבר בא השבת להתפלל בכית-הכנסת הגדול בתל-אביב. הקהל קיבל את פניו בהתלהבות עצומה. נשיא בית-הכנסת הגדול וחבר הנהלת הועד הלאומי, מר ד. ג. סנקס, קיבל את האורח בדבר-ברכה ושלה באמצעותו להודות אמריקה תודה בעד המאמץ הגדול, שהביא לנו את החישוב המדוי בלייק-סאנסט, בהס"ך דבריו אמר מר סנקס, כי התשובה על השאלה מה דמות תהיה למדינת היהודים נמצאת במרשתת השבוע: «ואתם תהיו לי ממלכת כהנים וגוי קדוש».

הרב ד"ר א. ה. סילבר עלה על הבמה עטוף בסליית והשיב במלים נרגשות על הכבוד הרב, שחולק לו, הוא הובע את התרשמותו העמוקה מעמידתו האיתנה של הישוב אבות כבנים, למרות הסכנות הרבות וכן הביע את צערו שעליו כבר לשוב /אמריקו למילוי חובתו שם במערכה המכונה לנו. המצב המדיני באמריקה - אמר הרב סילבר - הוא ברגע מעורפל, והקו איננו ישר כמו שלא היה ישר לפני היום בנובמבר, אך בטוח אנכי בעם האמריקני ובממשלתו, שלא יבגדו בעם ישראל גם עכשיו, ומובטחת, שמדינת ישראל קום תקום עוד השנה. מקרה אנכי לשוב הנה בעוד חדשים מספר ולחוג עם כל הישוב את החוג הגדול של הקמת המדינה העברית.

הקהל הרב סרץ בשירה אורית של «התק"ו» והודה לנואם בתשובותיו. התזן הראשי, מר יהושע דלין, עבר לפני התיבה בתפילה. «מוסף» לכבוד האורח ה"י שוב, הרב ד"ר סילבר לחץ את ידו לאות תודה בעד התפילה הנאה.

TEL AVIV, Palestine, Jan. 31 (Del) (UP) - Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, American president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, said today that he had succeeded in his mission here of restoring unity between the Haganah and other armed Zionist organizations.

HAITON HA'AMMANI יום ראשון, כ"א שבט תש"ח 27-48 מפה לאוזן

ד"ר סילבר בתל-אביב מלך. גת'ריטון בתל-אביב בו מתגורר ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר עם רעייתו, הפך לבחור חפצם של "עוירי רל" שונים. עולים לכאן מדנאם, עתונאים, עסקי נים מתחרים, כל מיני, בעלי המצאות לסתרון בעיית ארץ-ישראל, איסטרטגים ביתיים, באי-כוח חבורות, נוצאות, מוסדות תיאטרונים ובכפי כל אוד מהם דרישה דחופה: "שיחה בסוד ארבע ענים לשעה..." והסלטון עמוס עבודה: "האם ד"ר סילבר בחזר?" "ואף בשעת ארוחת הצהרים באים ומת' גנבים" ישר לחדר האוויל ותוקעים כף שלום עליכם..." "ד"ר סילבר מחייך ונא. ה: - מען לאוט נישט לעמען... (לא נותנים לחיות). אן הוא מסרב, מקשיני לכל אחד, אך מנין לקחת זמן? "ד"ר ישמריני בברקלין ההמתנה במ"ן גת רימון" ישוב בלי שבת שני בחושים צעירים. לב"י שי מדים וסטרטגים בידים. על מי שומרים? "כובן" שעל ד"ר סילבר, והנה הופיע ד"ר סילבר והתיישב באחת הבורסאות ונכנס לשיחה רעים.

האם אלה הם שומרי הראש שלך? - הם וחלילה! - מכחיש ד"ר סילבר. - אני מתנועע חופשי לגמרי וללא כל משמרות. והנני סומך על אלוהי ישראל! הוא ישמרני! וכעבור רגעים מספר קמו שני התיילים וליוו את מספק המשטרה התל-אביבית, אשר יצא מחדר האוכל של המלון. בשרונה יום ו' היה יום ביקורים בשרונה ובשאר מחנות הנוער. ד"ר סילבר ביקר במקומות שונים, הופעתו מעוררת התענינות. כולם חולקים לו כבוד, הוא איש והתשגחה. מתנת אלוהים בשעה הגורלית לעמנו, ובו מתגלמת כל יהדות אמריקה, וכל אחד רואה מאחורי קומתו הזקופה מיליונות יהודים, העולים ל"בית הלבן" ומזכירים: - הבטחתם! - והוא מבט לתוך עיני הנוער ובטחונו עולה ומתחוק: - עוד השנה קום תקום המדינה העברית! א-ב

Jewish Unity Attained, Rabbi Silver Claims

TEL AVIV, Feb. 2—(UP)—Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, American president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, revealed today that he has succeeded in his mission of establishing unity between the agency's Haganah Defense organization and other Jewish armed groups.

Dr. Silver made the revelation on the eve of his departure for the United States. He said that "detailed results of my efforts to achieve this unity will be made known later."

Dr. Silver had planned to stay two months longer in Palestine and his quick return to the United States forced him to telescope his schedule.

Asked whether he had met with Menachem Beigin, 40-year-old commander in chief of Irgun Zvai Leumi on whose head the British have placed a premium of \$12,000, he said, "If I did I would not tell you."

Dr. Silver stressed his "great confidence" in the Jewish youth of Palestine but said that arms and equipment are "badly needed here."

Asked if he thought there was a need for military advisers for the Jewish defense forces, Silver said "that would be wise," noting that there are large numbers of Jewish officers with front experience in all parts of the world.

Concerning the present Palestine situation he said that "the United States and Russia would have to be side by side on this issue. If the two parted it would be disastrous."

Dr. Silver said that he had been called back to the United States by the Jewish Agency office owing to a "feeling that measures there to implement the establishment of the Jewish state have been bogging down."

He said the decision of the

United Nations Palestine Commission to establish a Jewish militia was a "good sign" and that it could be expected to receive American support.

He expected optimism over the statement of Secretary of State George Marshall on Palestine, observing that "that's saying a lot coming from Marshall because he doesn't talk much."

Meanwhile in Jerusalem the five-story building of the Palestine Post, only English language Jewish newspaper in the Holy Land, was blasted and burned to rubble early today by Arabs using a barrel bomb technique.

An official announcement said no one was killed in the blast and the raging oil-fed fires that followed, but that 20 persons were injured, nine seriously. Damage to the building was set at \$600,000.

Scattered violence yesterday caused the deaths of six Arabs in the Acre area and one Jew in Jerusalem. British warships intercepted a Jewish blockade runner off the Palestine coast, the 38th to reach Palestine since war's end, and immediately transferred its 280 passengers to Cyprus.

Silver Is Recalled From Holy Land To Appear at UN

JERUSALEM (P)—Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, spiritual leader of the Temple in Cleveland, announced today that he has been recalled from his tour of the Holy Land to appear before the United Nations in New York.

Silver had planned to stay in Jerusalem for two months but said he would leave on order of the American Jewish Agency Executive at once.

In a parting statement he said:

"It is clear that without an international police force and official arming of the Jewish militia (Hagana) implementation of the United Nations decision to partition Palestine will be jeopardized."

He told newsmen he had found the Jews in Palestine "deeply troubled over reports the United States is failing to put its full weight back of implementation of the United Nations partition decision."

"On the contrary," he said, "they feel the State Department is reverting to the old technique of trying to circumvent policy on Palestine. If America withholds support from implementation at the very moment Arab violence is trying to frustrate it, it would be a betrayal of both the United Nations and the Jewish people."

He added that "President Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall must fully realize the necessity of an international force and arming of the Jewish militia. They surely won't permit subordinate officials to scuttle the plan for partition which they supported."

O'DWYER ASSAILS JEWISH ARMS BAN

Mayor, at Protest Meeting,
Calls for U. N. Police Force
to Succeed British

Mayor O'Dwyer called last night for a lifting of the "one-sided" State Department embargo on the shipment of arms to the Jews in Palestine and urged the formation of a United Nations International Police Force which would be ready to move into the troubled land when British troops depart.

The Mayor spoke at a mass meeting in Manhattan Center protesting United States policy in the interim between the United Nations decision on partition of the Holy Land and its effective date.

United States Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire, a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee, told the gathering that the Security Council possessed both the precedent and power to deal effectively with the Arab states in their "conspiracy" to attack Palestine.

Other speakers at the meeting, which was held under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council, included Moshe Shertok, Jewish Agency liaison representative to the United Nations Palestine Commission; Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America, and Dr. Israel Goldstein, acting chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, who presided.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, was scheduled to speak immediately after his return by plane from the Holy Land. His plane, however, reached La Guardia Field so late that he was unable to attend the gathering.

ZIONIST DENOUNCES U. S. ARMS EMBARGO

Dr. Silver Fears 'Another Spain,'
Charges Conspiracy Here to
Frustrate Palestine Plan

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declared yesterday that unless the embargo was lifted to permit the arming of the Jewish people in Palestine the world would "build up to another Spain, just as bloody and as disastrous."

The Zionist leader, who returned on Thursday night by plane from a three-week visit to Palestine, made his statement at the agency office, 16 East Sixty-sixth Street. He asserted that Palestine Jews were resolved to defend the United Nations decision on the Palestine partition "to the last man."

"I returned sooner than I expected," he said, "first to report what I saw; then to mobilize the sentiment of our people here in support of the people in Palestine who are making a great effort to cooperate with the United Nations in setting up the Jewish state; and finally to help defeat what I regard as a conspiracy to frustrate the partition plan—a conspiracy in which I am afraid that some members of our own Government here are collaborating."

U. S. Indecision Blocks Palestine Peace—Silver

Stability will come to Palestine only when the Arabs are convinced that the United Nations is prepared to enforce its decision for establishment of a Jewish state, Rabbi Abba H. Silver said today.

He said action of UN depends on United States leadership and charged there is a conspiracy among certain U. S. Government officials, abetted by oil interests, to frustrate the United Nations plan.

Rabbi Silver, American president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, returned to Cleveland this morning following a three-week stay in Palestine, where he helped in preliminary work of setting up the provisional government which will precede establishment of the permanent state.

Other Palestine News on Page 1

"The United States," he declared, "has demonstrated an unwillingness to implement the policy to

which it committed itself when it participated in the UN decision to support a Jewish state.

"It has established an embargo on arms by which the Jewish militia can defend the state against Arabs. It is unwilling to join an international force which is needed to back the UN decision."

"Is the establishment of a Jewish state U. S. foreign policy or not? If it is, why is not the Government backing it as it does its policy in other parts of the world? It finds no difficulty sending arms to Greece and Turkey but has placed an embargo on weapons for defense of a state which it is pledged by UN decision to defend."

"Meanwhile, the British are selling weapons to neighboring states which are arming Arab brigades. If there is any sense to all of this, I wish somebody would explain it to me."

People of Palestine, Rabbi Silver said, are not fearful but face the day when British forces will be withdrawn with calm courage. Life there, he declared, is not chaotic. Strife exists mostly in outlying sections of the country.

Silver Returns, Says UN Holds Palestine Fate

The situation in Palestine will deteriorate unless the United Nations Commission takes over the administration of the country and mobilizes and equips the militia.

So declared Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple in Cleveland when he arrived in New York from a trip to Palestine, Associated Press dispatches reported.

The Rabbi also reiterated his charge, made first when he was called back to this country, that "there is a growing suspicion in the Holy Land that some State Department officials are seeking to sabotage the Palestine partition plan."

Referring to the British administration in Palestine, Dr. Silver said, "It is evidently determined to keep the Jewish nation as defenseless and unprepared as possible in spite of repeated threats by the Arabs and the invasion of Palestine by well-equipped armed bands from neighboring countries."

Assails Arms Embargo

In denouncing the State Department's embargo on arms shipments, Dr. Silver asserted that the Arab states "are free to purchase arms in the open market, but the Jews are unable to do so."

The Zionist leader declared the British "are unable to maintain law and order" despite the presence of strong military forces in Palestine. He said the British Army there "is a blunted instrument, blunted by Mr. Bevin's policy for that area." He asserted Mr. Bevin "is resolved to sacrifice the Jews in order to win certain treaties with neighboring Arab countries in which he is very much interested, but which treaties he is not given, as proven by the case of Iraq."

Dr. Silver denounced "certain members of our Government" for taking part in an attempt to defeat the partition plan. "There are certain interests," he added, "that don't want to see a Jewish state created for fear of Arab punitive action against American oil interests."

He belittled what he termed an Arab contention that they hold oil necessary to foreign interests. "Actually," he asserted, "Arab states that have oil are dependent upon our purchasing oil more than we are dependent on their selling the oil."

Denounces "Faked Stories"

In repudiating the British Foreign Office's recent charge that Communist agents were on board the two immigrant ships that sailed from Rumania, Dr. Silver denounced THE NEW YORK TIMES for printing "these faked stories."

At this point Moshe Shertok, director of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, said that all the "adults on these ships were carefully screened by Zionist groups in Europe and no Communist organization has yet applied for affiliation with the Zionist organization."

The Jewish people in Palestine, Dr. Silver said, are anxious to see an international force for the Jerusalem area and the appointment of a governor for Jerusalem, which is provided for by the United Nations decision. Palestine Jews, he added, desire the creation of a militia for both the Arab and the Jewish states, "provided the Arabs accept the decision of the United Nations."

The Zionist official said he found Palestine "a disturbed country but far from chaotic; not a single point nor a single settlement has been abandoned by the Jews, nor is there any intention to abandon any area whatsoever." The cultural and economic life of Jewish Palestine continues unmolested, he reported, pointing out that the fighting has been on the borders.

Silver Charges Minor U.S. Aides 'Sabotage' Division of Palestine

JERUSALEM (AP)—Rabbi Abba Silver, spiritual leader of the Temple in Cleveland, charged today that "certain officials of the U. S. State Department are sabotaging implementation" of the United Nations Palestine partition decision.

Silver was recalled today from his tour of the Holy Land by the American Jewish Agency Executive to appear before the United Nations.

He declared that both President Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall should immediately approve an international police force and arming of the Jewish militia, if the partition decision is to be made effective.

"It is clear," Silver said, "that without an international police force and official arming of the Jewish militia (Hagana), im-

plementation of the United Nations decision to partition Palestine will be jeopardized."

He told newsmen he had found the Jews in Palestine "deeply troubled" over reports the United States is failing to put its full weight back of the partition plan.

"On the contrary," he said, "they feel the State Department is reverting to the old technique of trying to circumvent policy on Palestine. If America withholds support from implementation at the very moment Arab violence is trying to frustrate it, it would be a betrayal of both the United Nations and the Jewish people."

He added that "President Truman and Secretary Marshall surely won't permit subordinate officials to scuttle the plan for partition which they supported."

"Neither will American statesmanship submit to the shabby

intimidation of the Arabs who are going all out in a show of violence in order to influence public opinion against the decision," he concluded.

(In London a British Foreign Office spokesman said today that in the British view the United Nations plan for partitioning Palestine "does not provide for creation of a Jewish militia."

"The idea of a Jewish militia in any case is new to us," the spokesman said. "The Assembly plan did, of course, lay down that the Jewish area of Palestine should have the right to recruit and arm its own internal and frontier security force, but in that area the Arabs form 45 per cent of the population. In terms of the UN plan we assume that they should be represented in any militia formed."

(He declined to say whether the British have any ideas on how Palestine's Jews should organize their own defenses.)



Rabbi Silver—returning

Foes of Palestine Partition Peril U.N., Rabbi Silver Says

Enemies of the United Nations plan to partition Palestine have rallied to defeat it and their success would threaten the whole structure of the U.N., Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver said yesterday in speeches here and in Washington.

Reporting on his recent three-week stay in Palestine, Dr. Silver scored Great Britain in a talk in the morning at the Temple. In the afternoon he flew to Washington to appear on the program at the opening of a two-day emergency conference of Zionist leaders from 35 states.

An audience of more than 2,000 crowded into the Temple to hear Dr. Silver express disgust at the

British policy, bewilderment over America's stand, fear of a U.N. collapse and yet confidence and hope in eventual peace.

The Cleveland rabbi, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, was recalled from Palestine last week by the council to work in Washington and Lake Success, N. Y., until the U.N. decision of last Nov. 29 to partition Palestine was made secure.

Dr. Silver denounced the mandatory government of Palestine for what he termed its failure to protect Jews traveling the main highway between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, either by adequately patrolling

the road with the available 100,000 British troops or by allowing Jews armored cars to defend themselves. "The mandatory government," Dr. Silver told his Temple audience, "which has assumed the sole prerogative of maintaining law and order, says it is too costly to remove the armed gangs of Arabs that have taken control of the gates of the old city of Jerusalem. Instead, convoys of food are sent in two or three times a week. The great mandatory government has reconciled itself to this situation."

U. S. Embargo Criticized

Calling Britain's attitude one of "malevolent neutrality," the rabbi maintained it was largely a result of her failure that made Palestine a disturbed nation. He also criticized the United States for the embargo on exportation of "badly needed arms" to the Jews and for what he called its failure to throw itself behind the U.N. decision, which it supported, and to aid the Jewish state as it aided Turkey, Greece and other countries.

In Washington last night Dr. Silver joined with Congressmen John W. McCormack (D.-Mass.) and Franklin J. Maloney (R.-Pa.) in demanding that American arms be made available immediately to Palestine Jews.

"Partition was a compromise to end an interminable controversy," Dr. Silver was quoted by the Associated Press in a text of his Washington speech. "The justice and conscience of the world approved of it. The enemies of the plan have rallied to defeat it."

"It now remains to see whether the friends of the plan and those who voted for it will yield to intimidation and threat or will rally to maintain the authority of the U.N. and insure its implementation by acts and not by words."

No Other Proposals

"No one of those who advocate vague compromises indicate what they would do or what they would want the U.N. to do, if such a new attempt on compromise would fail," Dr. Silver said, "even as such attempts always failed in the past due to Arab intransigence, which increased through the years because of their success in forcing revisions of international decisions by threats and violence."

Congressman McCormack termed the arms embargo "tantamount to arming Arabs to attack Jews" while it prevents Jews from getting arms. He noted "rumors" that the United States government's position had changed since the vote for partition.

Maloney asserted President Truman "and his subordinate officials" had "carefully refrained" from helping make the U. N. decision on Palestine a reality. He said they "have done plenty in the other direction."

Abba Hillel Silver

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who has been working for "causes" ever since his graduation from the University of Cincinnati in 1915, in



Dr. Silver

his first public appearance since returning from Palestine a few days ago to sparkplug American support for Jews there, did his part for the cause at the Jewish Community Center last night.

The Lithuanian-born rabbi, who celebrated his fifty-fifth birthday January 28, spoke as chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and head of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

He has been spiritual head of the Temple in Cleveland since 1917, taken an active part in Jewish, nonsectarian civic and philanthropic activities, and is a member of more organizations than you can shake a stick at. He has also found time to write several books.

It is his belief that the Palestine problem is the test of the United Nations' effectiveness.

ZIONISTS DISAVOW COMPROMISE TALK

Washington Conference Hears Charges of Conspiracy—Arab Arming Is Noted

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25.—Zionist leaders declared today that friends of the United Nations plan to partition Palestine must rally against a "last determined attack" on the projected Jewish homeland.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver in his first public appearance since returning from the strife-torn country told delegates from thirty-five states that further compromise was impossible.

Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, Democratic whip in the House, and Representative Franklin J. Maloney of Pennsylvania, Republican member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, were applauded when they called for abandonment of the American embargo on arms to Palestinian Jews.

The delegates to a national emergency conference of Zionist leaders also heard their president, Dr. Eliezer Neumann of New York, charge British authorities in Palestine with conspiring to arm the Arabs.

Dr. Silver denounced "so-called moderates" who propose a "new compromise" plan for Palestine. He said the partition plan itself as accepted by more than two-thirds of the United Nations members represented a "supreme decisive compromise when all other proposals had failed of acceptance."

"Partition was a compromise to end an interminable controversy," said Dr. Silver. "It was a compromise which appeared fair and reasonable to the United Nations. The justice and conscience of the world approved of it. The procedure for implementation was defined. The United Nations commission was appointed with authority to carry out the plan."

Conspiracy Is Charged

Dr. Neumann charged that British authorities in Palestine were "conspiring to establish within the borders of that country large Arab forces, fully armed, drawn from the regular military establishments of the Arab states, to be hurled against the Jews of Palestine at the appropriate moment."

Dr. Neumann described as an "obstructionist" step the British Government's refusal to permit the United Nations commission to go to Palestine until a week or two before the mandate is terminated in May. He said the British had also refused to free a port area in the territory of the Jewish state and had blockaded all ports not only against refugees but also against shipments of "desperately needed" arms and equipment.

These, and other activities, Dr. Neumann charged, added up to a "conspiracy to plunge Palestine into a war between Jews and Arabs."

Representative Maloney called the present position of the United States towards Palestine "a most reprehensible attitude of coolness . . . an attitude of straddling the issue."

The conference will continue through today.

NEWS -AND- VIEWS

Dr. Silver's Retort.
To Talk About New
Compromise.
Partition As Last Compromise.
Smokescreen About Moderates.

—By DR. S. MARGOSHES—

Washington, February.—

One of the significant things to come out of the National Conference of the American Zionist Emergency Council, held at Washington, was, no doubt, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's authoritative and categorical assertion that the Jews of America will not countenance any new compromise at the expense of the U.N. decision with respect to Palestine. As strongly as he could possibly make it, Dr. Silver served notice on all and sundry that any attempt to foist a new compromise on the Jewish people will be regarded as an unfriendly act and will be resisted as such by all the means at our disposal.

This warning has not come a minute too soon, nor could it have been couched in too strong language. For weeks now, the Arab politicians, aided and abetted by the Arab army, might, have been conducting a systematic drive for the revision of the U.N. decision. Dr. Emanuel Neumann has pointed it out on a number of occasions and also, at this National Conference of the Zionist Emergency Council, that bloody and tragic as the Arab acts of violence may be, their purpose is not military in the sense of conquering or annihilating the Yishuv—a feat the Arabs know full well they cannot hope to accomplish—but political, that is, of so changing the political mood the world over as to bring about a revision of the partition plan. And it is as a result of the Arab drive that voices have been heard both in London and in Washington for a new compromise on the disputed Palestine issue. Dean Gildersleeve's and Dr. Magnes' may be disregarded as coming from impractical meddlers, but there are others that cannot be dismissed so lightly. Some of them belong, as a matter of fact, to the highest authorities in the United States.

Dr. Silver, as he spoke, was directing his remarks to just such high, if not the highest authority in the land. Evidently falling for the Arab propaganda line and Secretary Forrestal's talk about American national interests in connection with the Middle Eastern oil reserves, that high American dignitary had turned from his support of partition to a search for a new compromise on Palestine. To a visiting Jewish friend he said: "Something will have to be done on Palestine and the moderates of both the Jews and the Arabs will have to get together."

This new menacing development on the Palestine front in Washington had to be met promptly and decisively. And it was met by Dr. Silver in his own decisive way. "Partition," he said, "was a compromise to end an interminable controversy. It was a compromise which appeared fair and reasonable to the United Nations... Those who talk piously of new compromises can only refer either to new concessions to be forced from the Jewish people who have seen the Jewish Na-



Dr. Silver addressing a luncheon in his honor in Palestine on his recent visit there.

Dr. Silver Assails Malevolent Neutrality

"The next three months are the crucial months," Dr. Abba Hillel Silver told a press conference upon his return from a three-week trip to Palestine. At the same time, he charged some members of the United States Government with collaboration in a conspiracy with the British to frustrate the Palestine partition plan.

In a long statement to the press, which began with a recital by Dr. Silver of the "very normal life" lived by the Jews in the compact Jewish area, the chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency and head of the American Zionist Emergency Council presented a lucid report on conditions prevailing in Palestine at the present time as well

as a picture of the current political scene.

Although Palestine is "disturbed," Dr. Silver found that the disturbances are "on the periphery of the Jewish State." Castigating the British for inadequate patrolling of Palestine, Dr. Silver declared that India, China and Greece are far more disturbed than Palestine. The economic life of Palestine, he said, has not been too seriously affected.

The Zionist leader asserted that fear of "Arab punitive action against American oil interests" is the main reason for certain government people to attempt to reverse American Palestine policy. He stressed, however, that the Arab states need American money paid for oil more than the U. S. needs the oil itself.

Dr. Silver said that the American arms embargo proves that Americans have fallen into a "trap" of neutrality between those supporting the UN and those sabotaging it. "Unless the embargo on arms is removed," he said, "I'm afraid we're building up to another Spain, as bloody and as disastrous." He said that he had returned sooner than he had expected from Palestine in order to mobilize American support for the arming of the Yishuv.

Stressing that the "oil argument" and the "Communist argument" have been trotted out to oppose Jewish statehood, Dr. Silver castigated the New York Times for printing stories fabricated by the British foreign office concerning Communist agents among shiploads of Jewish immigrants attempting to enter Palestine.

"What does the Yishuv want?" Dr. Silver asked. It wants "the quick implementation of the decision of the United Nations. Any delay is dangerous," Dr. Silver warned.

Moshe Shertok, who joined the press conference when reporters were questioning Dr. Silver, pointed out that all refugees on immigrant ships are carefully screened and that, as a result, it was impossible that any of them could have been Communist agents.

ZIONISTS ASSAIL 'NEUTRAL' BRITAIN

Policy Abets Arabs' Attacks.
Jewish Agency Tells U.N. in
Virtual Palestine 'Break'

By GEORGE BARRETT

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Feb. 22

—The Jewish Agency for Palestine, presenting to the United Nations a formal indictment of British rule in the Holy Land, today accused the Palestine Government of abetting Arab attacks and deliberately undermining peace and security in that part of the world.

The 12,000-word bill of particulars, submitted both to the special Palestine Commission and to the eleven member nations of the Security Council, sharply condemned scores of acts allegedly committed by Britain in defiance of the principles set forth in the General Assembly's three-month-old decision on partition of the Holy Land.

Charging that Britain's policy of "neutrality" was actually giving aid and comfort to the foes of partition, the Jewish Agency vigorously protested that the British had, in fact, taken stringent measures against Jewish defenders while adopting "a policy of comparative leniency toward Arab attackers."

The voluminous complaint, handed to the international organization just forty-eight hours before the Council's meeting next Tuesday to take up the key problem of implementing partition with an international police force, was so denunciatory as to be in the nature of an informal "break" in relations between the official Agency and the Palestine Government.

An overtone to the Agency's formal charge to the Council was provided later today by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the Agency's American section, who accused the Palestine Government of "unpardonable failure" to protect Jerusalem from explosions such as the one that rocked the city this morning and took a heavy toll of lives.

There is no doubt, Dr. Silver said, that "these outrages are the direct result of the British policy of malevolent 'neutrality' and non-cooperation with the United Nations decision."

Dr. Silver further charged that the Palestine Government had "persistently yielded" to Arab violence, and had compromised law and order by "abjectly abdicating" control of the Old City and its holy places to Arab "gangs." Such "professed guardians of law and order are the architects of anarchy," Dr. Silver exclaimed. If continued for another few months the policy would lead to utter chaos, he warned.

Quick Retort Elicited

The theme of Dr. Silver's accusations was carried throughout the huge report presented by the Agency. It brought from a British delegation spokesman a quick retort that both Jews and Arabs had been guilty of terrorist acts since partition had been approved. The British Government, he complained, was caught between two extremes. He added that the delegation was reluctant to engage in "mud slinging" but that it might be necessary to make a formal reply before the Council.

A preliminary official answer was contained, however, in a speech made today by Britain's Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech Jones, who spoke on the National Broadcasting Company's Chicago

University Round Table broadcast. Mr. Creech Jones said that Britain had been "traded" and "judged less than generously" concerning her twenty-five-year mandate in Palestine.

Pointing an accusing finger of his own, Mr. Creech Jones placed much of the responsibility for the failure of the mandate upon the Palestine people themselves. They, he contended, had made the difficulties of the mandate much worse by failing to build up a central representative government or to accept increased responsibility for the central administration.

Foresees Changed Verdict

While Britain was today being subjected to critical attacks from many sides, later generations would acknowledge the "great work" the British had done in the Holy Land in a quarter-century of insuperable difficulties, he declared.

In its lengthy point-by-point recital of alleged British violations of both the letter and the spirit of the partition recommendation, the Jewish Agency charged that the "neutral" policies of the British Government were "directly costing human lives at this very moment." As bad as that was, the report went on, there was even deeper significance in the conditions that would be determined "or the immediate future by a continuing policy of 'partial neutrality.'"

"It seems inevitable, unless preventive action is taken internationally, that at an early date there will be a full-scale Arab attack upon the United Nations decision, countered by a whole-hearted Jewish effort to defend that decision," the report declared. The Arab attack, it was held, would be stronger and the Jewish defense weaker as a direct consequence of Britain's policy and administrative practices.

Police Force Urged

Pressing strongly for an international police force under United Nations auspices to take over where it was charged, Britain was failing to keep order, the Agency warned that if the first violent Arab attacks could be carried out with impunity and the targets for those attacks remain undefended, then a "prolongation of disorder becomes almost inevitable."

"A swift assertion of lawful authority can nip the evil in the bud and prevent violent movements from gathering momentum," it was declared.

Attacking Britain for her insistence on a "neutral" policy in the Arab-Jewish conflict over partition, in spite of the General Assembly decision in favor of partition, the Jewish Agency said that both Arabs and Jews were regarded by the British Government as being "equally wicked in that both parties fire at each other, throw grenades and recruit men for further violence."

The statement went on to say with sarcasm that the United Kingdom Government apparently considered military operations in support of the United Nations policy of partition in the same category as military acts in defiance of United Nations policy.

"By this disingenuous method any 'neutral' could have proved that the Nazis and the Allies were equally 'aggressive' in the recent war, since in the course of fighting both sought equally to take the military initiative and each bombed the other's cities," the statement declared.

Arabs who aspire to alter the Assembly's resolution by force are "powerfully encouraged" by the atmosphere of tolerance and relative impunity in which they have been able to operate, according to the Agency.

The statement charged that they were free to send forces into Palestinian territory; to assemble those forces in large concentrations in central parts of the country; to establish a country-wide military organization for launching a concerted attack against the Jews; to set up headquarters in the Old City of Jerusalem, where the commanders and

cont. on next page

that the political objectives of their attackers are abhorrent to the conscience of the world and subversive of United Nations authority, the Jews of Palestine have assumed a responsibility which formally rests on the mandatory power."

The report cited many instances, most of which have been reported in news dispatches, allegedly proving the "biased neutrality" of the British in Palestine, and protested that although the Palestine Government had promised to cease its searches of Jewish convoys for defensive arms, it was still doing so.

The report went on to say that it was interesting to compare the laxity of the British in tolerating the entry into Palestinian territory of organized and well-equipped Arab gangs, with the determined, expensive and intricate measures that the British adopted by land, sea and air and through diplomatic action to prevent the victims of Nazi persecution from entering Palestine under the immigration provisions of the mandate.

Special protest was made over the fact that Britain's refusal to permit immediate preparations for the formation of a militia for the Jewish State had the effect of "enhancing the prospects of Arab aggression and weakening the prospects of Jewish defense." That Britain could wilfully insist on leaving the Holy Land after a long period of trusteeship "with no authorized security forces in any area," with the exception of municipal police, marked an "unusual episode in the history of government," the memorandum said.

Fanned Into Flame

In a brief elaboration of his own accusations, Mr. Creech Jones said that the British had done their "utmost" to reconcile the differences in the Holy Land, but that the conflict had smoldered and from time to time had been fanned into flame "now by the Arabs and now by the Jews."

Britain had hoped, he said, that its announcement that the mandate would be terminated on May 15 and British forces withdrawn by Aug. 1 would bring Arab and Jewish communities to a solemn realization of the disastrous prospect if there were no reconciliation.

"Acting with complete impartiality, British troops have so far prevented open civil war, but elements on both sides have resorted to violence, and the normal services of the administration are being maintained under conditions of utmost difficulty," he declared. He added wryly that both sides kept accusing the British of partiality.

He emphasized that Britain had paid a "great price" in Palestine during the last twenty-five years and said that the British public could not be asked to assume new liabilities in the Holy Land. "It is the turn of others now to take up whatever active participation becomes necessary," he declared.

Tensest Air Felt in U. N. Chamber As Throng Hears Palestine Debate

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

By GEORGE BARRETT

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Feb. 24.—The tensest atmosphere yet felt in this international headquarters accompanied the long-awaited Palestine debate that opened today in the United Nations Security Council as disrupting crowds twice forced the Council's president to rap angrily for silence.

The general reaction among most visitors to the meeting was one of bewilderment and gloom over the United States position. Most of them did not seem to understand whether the United States was or was not for an international army, and at least one member of the Russian delegation echoed this feeling with the remark:

"Very interesting speech, but precisely what does the United States want?"

As one unofficial observer put it more caustically, the United

States position was best illustrated by the motto: "Let's do nothing—at once!"

Never before had the Council's scheduled discussion aroused so much interest, and a record-breaking number of visitors tried to get seats or standing room in the paneled chamber. In the first ninety minutes of the day at least 3,000 applicants asked for tickets to the 514 seats in the public gallery, and another 500 telephone inquiries failed even to get through to the busy telephone in the admission office.

Credentials were carefully examined, and one Tunisian Arab, Reza Porter, was temporarily ejected after some angry but futile protests until he was able to bring back a bona fide entry pass. Secretariat employees took corner seats or lined up against the

armed force, to "maintain international chamber's crowded walls with other lucky standees."

It was one of the rare times when every booth in the chamber was filled with cameramen and sound engineers and technical experts, and the great array of cameras jutting from the rear booths looked like the operating end of a battleship's broadside directed against the eleven diplomats highlighted against the spotlight's amber rays.

The delegates' lounge was more packed than usual. The expectant feeling was very evident there, with four gallons more than the usual quota of orange juice being drunk at the bar, plus some hard liquor not usually sought in the morning hours. Late arrivals like Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, watched his hat and coat tossed among scores of others on a cross-bar by a harried check clerk who figured that his usual average of one coat every thirty seconds went up today to four hats and coats every thirty seconds.

On two occasions—after the speeches made by Karel Lisicky of Czechoslovakia and Warren R. Austin of the United States—there was a spontaneous exodus of visitors and reporters, with so much ado and whispering that Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton of Canada, the Council's chairman, gavelled sharply for quiet.

There was little of the order and dignity customarily found in these quiet corridors. The startling departure from tradition was stressed further by the wail of a baby heard in the Little Assembly chamber during the Korean debate, just across the hall from the Security Council. Babies are not permitted into these debating halls, but rushing guards braked in further astonishment when Mrs. Chung-cha Chung, a Korean visitor with bawling 16-month-old Soo-Sung in her arms, tripped daintily from the hall in a flowing pink silk chugori and chima, a Korean dress that is colorfully resplendent even to the United Nations guards.

Mrs. Manuela Hawranick, a French war bride from Paris who works as information clerk at the main desk, called it one of the worst days she had known, and flinched as she told of the sour retorts she kept getting from the Security Council's overflow visitors whom she tried to send to the Economic and Social Council.

The central figure in today's debate was, of course, Mr. Austin, who kept his customary calm, arising at the usual hour of 7 A. M. and conferring with his aides en route to Lake Success in the limousine that is really his moving office. As Mr. Austin got into his car this morning to come to the United Nations, he chuckled when one of his aides cracked that he would not need his heavy fur-lined coat, what with the day at the United Nations certain to be "plenty hot enough."

Two United States soldiers, heavily medaled, hovered outside the chamber during most of the discussion and on one occasion joined a chorus to present the same anxious query to a passer-by: "Will the international army be strictly volunteer?"

U. S. ACCEPTS SOVIET CHANGES ON PALESTINE

One Is for Talks Outside the Council—Austin Says Step Seeks Harmony.

JEWS PLANNING TO CARRY ON

Silver Says Agency Feels Bound to Partition Decision Even if U. N. Move Fails.

The United States accepted today in the United Nations Security Council a series of Russian amendments in an attempt to line up Soviet support for American proposals for meeting the crisis over Palestine partition.

United States Delegate Warren R. Austin said he agreed to several changes in plan as suggested by Andrei A. Gromyko. One of them was a Soviet suggestion for private Big Five consultations outside the framework of the council rather than in a big Power committee formally responsible to the council.

Austin told the council the step had been taken to "establish harmony between the United States and the Soviet Union." It was the first yielding on the American partition position in two weeks of council sessions. As the council adjourned for lunch, Austin and Gromyko went out to confer in private.

Austin also agreed to a Russian move to limit the big Powers to fifteen days for consultation. He held firm to his demand that the council vote today on accepting the General Assembly's decision to partition the Holy Land into Arab and Jewish countries and spearheaded the opposition to a proposal by Colombia that the council adjourn its Palestine debate for a week.

Jews Plan to Go Ahead.

This move came after the Jewish Agency told the council in effect that it planned to go ahead

with the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine even if the council was unable to carry out its plans for partitioning the Holy Land.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the agency, told the council at Lake Success: "We feel under obligation to make our position absolutely clear. As far as the Jewish people are concerned, it has accepted the (partition) decision of the United Nations. We regard it as binding and we are resolved to move forward in the spirit of that decision."

The Cleveland rabbi said that if the council is unable to carry out its own decision and as a result "the Jewish community of Palestine is confronted with the threat of annihilation, it will be compelled by the considerations of sheer survival, not to speak of the preservation of its rights, to take all the necessary measures which the situation will call for."

Council Meeting Today.

The council met at Lake Success with prospects of reaching its first test vote during the day on the Palestine partition issue.

Off the floor, Zionist sources emphasized that Dr. Silver's statement meant that the agency was going ahead with plans to set up a Jewish country.

Dr. Silver renewed appeals to the U. N. for permission to organize a Jewish militia. Great Britain recently turned down efforts of the U. N. Palestine commission to help organize such a force. He said that all nations which have approved the partition plan were under "moral obligations" to remove all embargoes on the shipment of arms to the Jews.

Urges Arming of Jews.

The agency speaker declared that the organization and equipping of a Jewish militia was of greater urgency than the sending of an international army into the Holy Land. He questioned the usefulness of the American proposal for renewed Arab-Jewish consultations on partition, asserting that it would only cause delay and would give opponents of partition another chance to try to sink the plan.

Britain, he said, is following a lawless policy in Palestine, and he accused the British Labor party of refusing to honor any of its promises made to the Jews.

Colombia made a surprise move for a week-long adjournment of debate on Palestine to enable the

Big Five to consult on the issue, but it was defeated when only Syria voted in favor of it. The United States and Russia voted against it.

Alexandre Parodi of France made his first speech on the Palestine problem, condemning both Jews and Arabs for their part in the Palestine fighting. The French delegate said that he was not in favor of the Security Council endorsing partition at this time.

cont. from p.13

instigators of Arab aggression passed to and fro as honorable belligerents under the eyes of British military and police authorities—in short, to make full preparations for defeating the United Nations decision.

Army Policy Attacked

Although the Arab countries have openly declared their intention to invade Palestine and supply arms in support of Arab aggression, the British Government does not consider this sufficient ground for discontinuing its arms deliveries to countries such as Iraq, the Jewish Agency continued. On the other hand, it declared, permission had been refused to the Jewish population of Palestine openly and legally to organize its own defenses.

The Jews' defensive efforts have been crippled by searches, and its resources of arms have been constantly depleted by confiscation, the protest declared.

Recalling that a British Foreign Office spokesman had indicated on Jan. 13 that Britain intended to adhere to her formal treaty with Iraq to supply arms in spite of the Arab declarations to oppose partition with force, the Agency statement accused the British of violating the United Nations Charter by this act.

Citing Article 103 of the Charter, the Agency noted that it provided that "in the event of a conflict between obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail."

"The Jewish people in Palestine have come to recognize that only their own forces stand between them and annihilation," the Agency report declared. "Faced with the Government's neutrality in the issue of their survival or extermination, fortified by the knowledge

INFORMAL DISCUSSION DURING U. N. SESSION AT LAKE SUCCESS YESTERDAY



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of the Jewish Agency with Warren R. Austin, the United States representative.



Alexandre Parodi (left), French delegate, and Faris el Khouri of Syria.

The New York Times (by Falk)

ZIONISTS VOW FIGHT EVEN WITHOUT U. N.

Silver Warns That Jews Would Wage War for Survival if Partition Were Abandoned

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 5—Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chief Zionist spokesman before the Security Council, contended today that the Jewish community in Palestine would be threatened with annihilation if the partition plan failed. In that event, the Jews of the Holy Land would have to act in the interests of self-preservation, he said.

The speaker declared that the Zionists regarded the partition recommendation as binding and relied on the United Nations to carry out the General Assembly's decision but were determined to defend themselves against armed bands "bent on war."

The chairman of the United States section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine then made this announcement of the Zionist stand:

"We fully respect the authority of the United Nations, but if it is unable to carry out its own decisions and, as a consequence, the Jewish community of Palestine is confronted with the threat of annihilation, it will be compelled by the considerations of sheer survival, not to speak of the preservation of its right, to take all necessary measures which the situation will call for."

Palestine Tied to U. N. Survival

Dr. Silver spoke to the Council before the voting on the Belgian and United States resolutions. He made it clear that in his eyes the question of Palestine was linked to the entire future of the United Nations as a peace-keeping organization.

"What is involved here is far more than a technical legal question," he said. "It is a question whether the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for world peace and the salvation of mankind or whether it is to be but an impressive stage-setting for actors and supernumeraries busily engaged in a meaningless play of long-winded futility."

Dr. Silver branched off from the topic of the Council debate to plead for help in organizing the Jewish militia called for under the partition plan. He noted that the militia would have the responsibility of keeping law and order in the proposed Jewish state after May 15 but that it had not yet been set up and that the British refused to allow it to be set up before they relinquished the League of Nations mandate.

The Zionist asked the Council and all other members of the United Nations to appeal to Britain to allow the immediate organi-

zation of a Jewish militia. He added a plea for the lifting of arms embargoes against the proposed Jewish state.

"The organization, recognition and equipment of the Jewish militia is for us of greater urgency than the sending of a non-Palestinian armed force by the Security Council," he said. "The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves, but their hands must not be tied."

Assembly Plan Held Flouted

Dr. Silver listed other charges of "obstruction" against the British. He recalled to the Council that the United Kingdom had refused to open a port to Jewish immigration on Feb. 1, as called for by the partition plan. He asserted that it had refused to allow the Palestine Commission to enter the Holy Land and that it had rejected the idea of a progressive transfer of areas to the Commission's administration.

"We most regretfully note that almost every way which is suggested by the responsible agency of the United Nations is effectively blocked by the mandatory power."

Dr. Silver denied the criticisms of the Jewish Agency by Arthur Creech Jones, Britain's Colonial Secretary. He said that the British Labor party and Mr. Creech Jones himself had frequently voiced support of the Zionist movement.

"But since coming into office they have refused to honor a single one of these promises," he said.

Taking up the question of terrorism, Dr. Silver said that it had been denounced by the Agency "time and again." The real source of terrorism in Palestine, he declared, is the "immoral and iniquitous policy of the White Paper [of 1939], a self-willed and unlawful policy decreed by Great Britain."

Text of the Resolutions on Palestine

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 5—Following is the amended United States resolution on the Palestine question, voted on by the United Nations Security Council today. The sections in italics were rejected.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having received the resolution of the General Assembly of Nov. 29, 1947, on Palestine and having received from the United Nations Palestine Commission its first monthly report and its first special report on the problem of security in Palestine; [Adopted: 8 for, none against, three abstentions].

RESOLVES:

1. To accept, subject to the authority of the Security Council under the Charter, the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in Paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of the General Assembly resolution of Nov. 29, 1947*, [Rejected: 5 for, none against, six abstentions. Failed to get the required majority of 7.]

2. To call on permanent members of the Council to consult and:

(a) To inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine and to make as the result of such consultations recommendations to it regarding the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly. The Secur-

ity Council requests the permanent members to report to it on the results of their consultations within ten days. [Adopted: seven for, none against, four abstentions.]

(b) To consider whether the situation with respect to Palestine constitutes a threat to international peace and security and to report their conclusions as a matter of urgency to the Council, together with any recommendations for action by the Security Council which they consider appropriate. [Rejected: six for, none against, five abstentions. (Failed to get the required majority of seven.)]

(c) To consult with the Palestine Commission, the mandatory power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendation. [Rejected: 6 for, none against, five abstentions. (Failed to get the required majority of 7.)]

APPEALS to all governments and peoples, particularly in and around Palestine, to take all possible action to prevent or reduce such disorders as are now occurring in Palestine. [Adopted: 8 for, none against, three abstentions.]

Following are paragraphs (a) and (b) of the General Assembly resolution of Nov. 29, 1947:

(a) The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;

(b) The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the

transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Article 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution.

†The relevant parts of the articles referred to in Paragraph (b) are as follows:

ARTICLE 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Article 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security.

ARTICLE 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic relations.

BIG FIVE TALKS SET ON PALESTINE ISSUE BY U. S.-SOVIET MOVE

977941
Security Council Asks Powers
to Draft Partition Guide to
Commission by March 15

BRITAIN LIMITS HER ROLE

Abstains With Argentina, Syria
in 8-0 Vote—Zionists Warn
of Fight Even Without U. N.

Amended Palestine resolution
adopted by U. N., Page 2.

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March

5—The United Nations Security Council decided today to ask the Big Five to consult and to submit to it by March 15 recommendations for instructions to the Palestine Commission "with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly." The vote, on a United States-Soviet resolution, was 8 to 0, Argentina, Britain and Syria abstaining.

Although the Council refused to accept the specific responsibilities contained in the Assembly resolution of last November for a partition of the Holy Land, the effect of its action was somewhat more favorable to partition than had been expected.

The Council was warned by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, principal Zionist spokesman, that the Jews of Palestine would fight for survival even without the United Nations if the world organization "is unable to carry out its own decisions."

In accordance with the Council's request, representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, China and France will meet Monday at 11 A. M. in the Park Avenue office of Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister.

Britain Keeps Hands Off

A spokesman for the British delegation announced that Britain would not be represented at the first meeting but that a representative would be available to provide information if the four other nations requested it. This decision apparently is in accordance with the hands-off attitude maintained by Britain throughout the Palestine discussion.

Some delegates noted that the resolution calls upon the great powers to consult, and predicted that the pressure of public opinion would compel Britain to participate.

The Council's success in avoiding a deadlock was largely a result of a series of Soviet amendments to the United States resolution, which were accepted promptly by Warren A. Austin, the United States representative, at a conference with Mr. Gromyko during the lunch hour.

Zionist supporters expressed regret that the Council had refused to accept at this time the Assembly's request for measures to keep the peace in Palestine despite the Arab opposition to partition.

Zionist Reaction Mixed

On the other hand, they were pleased that the Council had also rejected a paragraph in the United States resolution that would have asked the five great powers to consult Jewish and Arab representatives as well as Britain about the implementation of the Assembly resolution.

This, they contended, could have resulted only in an attempt to re-

verse the Assembly plan or to give up the partition idea entirely. As only the Assembly has the right to modify the partition plan, Zionist supporters felt that this part of the United States resolution was dangerous.

The all-day Council meeting revolved around three crucial documents. The first was the General Assembly resolution of partition, which, by invoking the power of the Security Council, attempted to bolster the limited powers of the Assembly. The Assembly can make recommendations, which are not legally binding.

To this end, the Assembly asked the Council to "take the necessary measures" for carrying out partition and to take steps short of actual warfare if it decided that the Palestine situation constituted a threat to peace during the transition between the expiration of the British mandate on May 15 and the establishment of independent Arab and Jewish states by Aug. 1.

The Assembly asked the Council also to consider any attempt to alter the partition plan by force a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, under Chapter VII of the Charter.

Chapter VII authorizes a series of measures, culminating in the use of armed force, to enforce a decision by the Security Council. Mr. Austin noted in his statement to the Council on Feb. 24 that the Charter did not authorize the use of such measures to carry out the partition plan. He implied, however, that the United States would agree to sending an international force if this were found necessary to maintain the peace.

Accordingly, the United States resolution, introduced the next day, stated merely that the Council would accept the responsibilities that the Assembly had asked it to assume. In addition, it proposed that the five great powers establish a committee to make recommendations to the Council about its instructions to the Palestine Commission, to consider whether the situation in Palestine was a threat to peace and security and to consult with the commission, Britain, as the mandatory power, and Jewish and Arab representatives on implementation of the partition plan.

Belgium Submits Amendment

Two days later Belgium submitted a counter-proposal that was virtually identical to the United States resolution except that it omitted any reference to accepting the responsibilities the Assembly sought to place on the Security Council. The representatives of Belgium and France, which also supported the amendment, contended that to omit this part of the United States resolution would not constitute any decision on the partition plan but would merely postpone a decision until the Big Five reported their findings.

However, there was a general feeling in the Council that acceptance of the Belgian amendment would be interpreted by world opinion as a body blow to partition.

Although the Council refused to accept the responsibilities contained in the Assembly resolution, this was at least partly balanced by the fact that Mr. Austin accepted Mr. Gromyko's suggestion for the inclusion of the phrase "with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly" in the instructions to the great powers.

Abstentions by the Soviet Union and the Ukraine resulted in the defeat of the parts of the United States resolution calling for con-

sultations by the great powers on whether Palestine constituted a threat to peace and security and with the Palestine Commission, Britain and the Jews and Arabs on implementation of the Assembly resolution.

The Belgian proposal, which technically was an amendment, was in fact identical to the joint United States-Soviet resolution with two exceptions: omission of the paragraph accepting the responsibilities requested by the General Assembly and of the phrase "with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly."

The first five paragraphs lost by a margin of two votes, getting only five instead of the seven required by Security Council rules. In each case Belgium, Canada, China, France and Syria voted in favor, there were no votes against and Argentina, Colombia, Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States and the Ukraine abstained.

An appeal for refraining from violence got only four votes, Syria joining the abstainers.

The Council, having rejected by a margin of two votes the proposal to eliminate the acceptance of Security Council responsibility, rejected this part of the United States resolution by the same margin. Belgium, France, the United States, Soviet Union and the Ukraine voted for it and there were no votes against, but Argentina, Canada, China, Colombia, Britain and Syria abstained.

Reversal on Preamble

Similarly, the Council approved the preamble of the United States resolution, 8 to 0, Argentina, Britain and Syria abstaining, although it had just rejected an identical preamble, as contained in the Belgian proposal, by a margin of two votes.

In view of the rejection of the proposal for acceptance of the Assembly recommendations, the key vote was Paragraph 2 (a) of the United States-Soviet resolution, which contained the directions on implementations. This was approved by the seven votes required. Canada's affirmative vote was decisive.

Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton of Canada, whose speech on Tuesday favoring an agreed solution had been interpreted as a heavy blow to the partition cause, indicated just before the voting that he would vote against this clause because of its reference to implementation. However, he joined the representatives of Belgium, Colombia, France, the United States, the Soviet Union and the Ukraine in supporting it. Argentina, China, Britain and Syria abstained.

Paragraphs 2 (b) and 2 (c) got only six votes and were defeated, since Argentina, Britain and Syria, together with the Soviet Union and the Ukraine, abstained. The appeal to refrain from violence was adopted, eight to none, Argentina, Syria and Britain abstaining, and the resolution as a whole was adopted by the same vote.

Jews to Form State if UN Fails—Silver

Urges Security Council to Allow
Jewish Militia in Preference
to Creating International Army

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 5—(UP)—The Jewish Agency for Palestine announced in the United Nations today it would act on its own to form a Jewish state in Palestine if the UN cannot back up its own Holy Land partition program.

The agency called on the Security Council to make possible immediate formation of a Jewish militia declaring it was more urgently needed than an international army in embattled Palestine. It denounced what it termed a move to scrap or alter the General Assembly plan for partitioning Palestine into independent Arab and Jewish states beginning on May 15, when Great Britain ends its mandate over the Holy Land.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland spoke to the council for the agency.

"The Jews of Palestine," Silver said, "wish first and foremost to defend themselves but their hands must not be tied. The quicker and stronger the Jewish militia is permitted to become, the less sizable need be the international force which the (UN Palestine) Commission had requested."

Silver, seated at one end of the council's crowded table as the representative of "an interested party," quoted from statements of the British Labor Party and of Arthur Creech Jones, who sat nearby as Britain's chief spokesman in the Holy Land debate, to support the Jews' right to an independent state in Palestine.

Silver delivered to the council a plea for strong and speedy approval of the partition program in the face of Arab resistance and a growing movement in the UN to try altering the Holy Land plan.

Silver attacked the United States proposal for the Big Five to consult on the growing trouble in Palestine, saying that it would "be seized upon by the opponents of the United Nations decision as another opportunity to reopen the question . . ."

"Talk at this late hour of Arab-Jewish conciliation or a new Palestine settlement, the Cleveland rabbi said, offers 'neither hope nor promise.'"

"That road," he warned, "leads to a 'confusion of indecision and inaction. There is but a brief time left, and time is fast running out to chaos and anarchy.'"

Silver reminded the council that Great Britain had re-emphasized its determination to lay down the mandate May 15, turning over all responsibility for the Holy Land to the Jewish and Arab communities.

"We feel under obligation to make our position unmistakably clear," Silver said. "As far as the Jewish people are concerned, it (the Jewish Agency) has accepted the decision of the United Nations."

"We regard it as binding and we are resolved to move forward in the spirit of that decision. Under the plan there are dates to be met. We must assume that these dates will be met."

Silver emphasized that the Jewish Agency considered the formation of its own Holy Land militia more urgent than formation of the international force sought from the Security Council by the UN Palestine Commission.

He asked the council to call on Great Britain to permit immediate organization of the Jewish militia and the preparation for its armament.

Another Jewish Agency spokesman said today the Jews are making arms and ammunition in European Mediterranean ports for use in Palestine.

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U. N. Council Puts Partition Up to the Big 5

Asks Powers to Report
in 10 Days on Possible
'Guidance' in Palestine

Careful Resolution
Drops Conciliation

But U.S. Says Amity Idea
Is Still to Fore; Russia
Hints at Firmer Stand

By John G. Rogers

LAKE SUCCESS, March 5.—The Security Council eased cautiously into the United Nations problem of Palestine partition today by voting to ask the Big Five nations to consult and report within ten days on "the guidance which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view to implementing" partition.

The ballot on this decision, which virtually put it up to the Big Five to make or break the U. N. project of Palestine partition by the Ides of March, was 8 to 0, with Great Britain, Argentina and Syria abstaining.

In taking this step at the conclusion of eight meetings devoted to the Palestine issue, the Security Council approved one main section of a United States resolution which included three Russian-proposed amendments. At the same time, however, two other main sections of the American proposal were rejected.

The first of these, supported only by the United States, Belgium, France, Russia and the Ukraine, would have put the Council immediately and formally on record as committed to try to follow through on the partition of Palestine.

Russia Abstains

The second, which was opposed by Russia, although she merely abstained on the vote, would have directed the Big Five specifically to make last-minute attempts to persuade the Arabs to accept partition, or persuade the Jews to accept something less than partition.

Tonight, however, the American delegation issued a statement asserting in effect that the spirit of an attempt to conciliate Arabs and Jews was still implicit in the adopted resolution. It was not clear whether this meant the Americans would continue to push for conciliation within the Big Five.

In summary, then, the Security Council refused to commit itself strongly on partition, refused to lay stress on hopes of conciliating the Arabs and the Jews at the last minute, and then allowed ten days for the fate of Palestine partition to be settled among the United States, Russia, Britain, China and France.

Talks Begin Monday

The Big Five consultations will begin at 11 a. m. on Monday in New York at the office of Russian delegate Andrei A. Gromyko at 630

Discussing Palestine Case Before Yesterday's Security Council Session



Warren R. Austin, left, the American delegate, talking with Andrei A. Gromyko, of Russia, before the opening of the session at Lake Success, L. I., yesterday



Moshe Shertok, member of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, talking with Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the agency's American section, who spoke later to the Security Council

Park Avenue. Actually, they will be four-power meetings because the Palestine Mandate holder, Britain, has dealt herself out of any role other than that of supply information when requested.

And, within the four powers, the fate of Palestine partition obviously will be settled by the attitudes of the United States and Russia. The Russian program in support of partition, if there is one, is the big mystery.

During Palestine debates in the Security Council, Mr. Gromyko has not tipped his hand in any definite manner, although here there he has given indications that Russia may be concretely interested in trying to guarantee the success of partition.

For example, officials of the Jewish Agency for Palestine showed a great sigh of relief today when, because of the absentions of Russia and Ukraine, that part of the American resolution calling for eleventh-hour Jewish-Arab conciliation was rejected.

There was another Russian hint that may prove to be of great importance. The main section of the United States resolution that passed today called merely for Big Five consultation on "the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission."

At Mr. Gromyko's suggestion, the following words were added to that: "with a view to implementing the [partition] resolution of the General Assembly." Thus, although the council rejected the American request for immediate recognition of partition by the council, the resolution as finally adopted did include words reflecting some degree of determination to something about partition.

The first of today's sessions opened with a speech by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chief of the American section of the Jewish Agency. He implied that whatever the Security Council does, the Jews will try their best to set up their state, and he pleaded for U. N. help on setting up a Jewish militia, a matter on which he said Britain was "un-cooperative and obstructive."

He opposed the American proposal on conciliation with these words: "This grave international problem can not be solved by indecision or postponement. . . . That road leads to a quagmire of indecision and inaction. There is but a brief time left and time is fast running out to chaos and anarchy."

Then French delegate, Alexandre

Palestine Resolution

From the Herald Tribune Bureau
LAKE SUCCESS, March 5.—Following is the text of the Palestine resolution which was approved today by the Security Council and which refers the Holy Land emergency to the Big Five countries for consultation:

"The Security Council,

"Having received the resolution of the General Assembly of 29 November 1947, on Palestine, and having received from the United Nations Palestine Commission its first monthly report on its first special report and the problem of security in Palestine;

"Resolves:

"To call on permanent members of the Council to consult and

"To inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine and to make as the result of such consultations recommendations to it regarding the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine commission with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly. The Security Council requests the permanent members to report to it on the results of their consultations within ten days.

"Appeals to all governments and peoples, particularly in and around Palestine, to take all possible action to prevent or reduce such disorders as are now occurring in Palestine."

Parodi spoke for the first time in the Palestine debates, and his remarks included the charge that the Arabs are in open revolt against the U. N., while the Jewish attitude is not much better inasmuch as the Jewish terrorist deal in "organized assassination," with the Agency apparently not doing its best to suppress the terrorists.

At that point, the Council left its initial phase of general debate and got down to business on what sort of resolution it would pass. It was obvious from the start that Big Five consultation of one kind or another would be the result, but a lot of details remained to be settled.

Before the house was the American resolution, and a Belgian amendment which had the effect

of deleting the American words calling for the Council to honor partition immediately by voting to accept certain partition responsibilities laid down by the partition resolution of the U. N. General Assembly.

Dr. Alfonso Lopez, of Colombia, proposed that instead of devoting any more time and words to debating resolutions, the Council should simply vote to adjourn on the understanding that the Big Five will consult and report back by next Thursday.

That proposal was defeated when only Syria and Colombia supported it. The United States, Canada, China, Russia and Ukraine opposed it, and the others abstained.

Then Mr. Gromyko suggested two amendments to the United States resolution. First, he wanted simply consultations among the big five rather than the formality of a Big Five "committee" as proposed by American delegate Warren R. Austin. Second, he wanted it written in that the Big Five report back inside of ten or fifteen days.

Mr. Austin accepted both of these changes immediately, and then Mr. Gromyko came right back and wanted two more whole paragraphs tossed out of the American resolution—the one on conciliation and the one calling for the Big Five specifically to examine Palestine as a peace threat.

By this time everyone was getting hungry. Council President T. F. Tsiang of China adjourned the session and asked Mr. Gromyko and Mr. Austin to get together during lunch and agree on the wording of a resolution acceptable to both.

This agreement was reached, except that Mr. Austin would not agree to deleting the two contested paragraphs and Mr. Gromyko would not agree to vote for them. Meanwhile, Mr. Gromyko added and Mr. Austin accepted the words "with a view to implementing the [partition] resolution of the General Assembly," which words appeared in the finally surviving parts of the resolution as the only mention of partition.

At the afternoon session, the first thing that happened was the defeat of the Belgian amendment. In general, through the paragraph voting on the proposal, the Belgian amendment was supported by Syria, Belgium, China, France and Canada, with the others abstaining.

Seven separate ballots were required to take action on the United States proposal—one on each of its six main parts, and then one on the whole that survived the first six ballots. In all of them, the vote was either for or abstain. No country voted against anything.

The first important ballot was on whether the Security Council accepted partition immediately as the solution to be pushed. It was lost when only Belgium, France, United States, Russia and Ukraine supported it. The odd thing here was that Belgium voted for the acceptance, although the Belgian amendment which had just been defeated would have had the opposite effect.

The ballot that defeated laying stress on conciliation found the following six countries voting in favor—Belgium, United States, China, Canada, Colombia and France.

The final ballot on the whole was taken at 4:55 p. m., after the Council had devoted five hours and five minutes to the Palestine problem during today's two meetings.

דער פאג



"THE NATIONAL JEWISH DAILY"

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אידן ווערן אריין שאפן מלזוכה, אויב יז-עז ענדערט חלוקה-פלאן, ווארענט מילזוער זיבערקייע-ראט

מילזוער טרעט ארויס קעגן פארשלאג פון אמעריקע וועגען „גרויסע פינף“

אמעריקאנער ציון-פירער ווייזט אן דארויף, אז נייער פלאן פון אמעריקע העלפט בלויז די יעניגע, וואס ווילען אויפסניי עפענען א דעבאטע וועגען דער ארץ-ישראל פראבלעם. — אויך אין ארץ-ישראל ווערט דערקלערט, אז אידען וועלען מיט אייגענעם כח פרא-קלאמירען אידישע דעפובליק.



ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער

לעיק סוקסעס, מערץ 5 (יוני. פרעס.). ווארענט צום זיבערקייעסיראט אין ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער, דער פירער פון דער אידישער אגענטור אין אמעריקע, האט הוינט דערקלערט ביים זיבערקייעסיראט פון דער יו.ען. אז די אידען וועלען אליין, מיט זייערע אייגענע כוחות, עטאבלירען אן אויטאפענענדיגע שטאט אין ארץ ישראל — אויב די יו.ען וועט אים מאכען די קלענסטע ענדערונגען אין דעם פון פריהער באשטימטען חלוקה פלאן.

ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער, דער הויפט פארשפערעכער פון דער אידישער אגענטור אין אמעריקע, האט דערקלערט אין זיין רעדע, אז די אגענטור בא-טראכט דעם חלוקה-פלאן אלס בינ-דענדיג, און וועט אליין אננעמען מיט דער ארבייט דעם פלאן דורכצופירען, אויב ד.ר. יו.ען איז נישט פעהיג דורכצופירען.

נעלענענהייט צו עפענען די גאנצע פראגע וועגען ארץ ישראל. ד.ר. סילווער האט אויך אנטישיידען צוריקגעוויזען אלע רייד און פארשיידענע וועגען פארהאנדלונגען צו סא-„שלוס“ צווישען אידען און אראבער, אזעלכע רייד גיבען אינעם איצטיגען מאמענט קיין האפענונג און פאר-שפרעכען פאר דעוולאפמענט, האט ער דערקלערט.

„אט די רייד“ — וועגען ברענגען איצט שלום צווישען אידען און ארא-בער — „קאנען בלויז פארפירען אין דער ריכטונג פון אומאנטישיידענקייט און אומאקציע.“

„עס איז פארבליבען איצט זעהר ווייניג צייט, און עס געהט שנעל אין ארץ ישראל צו כאאס און אנארכיע“ — האט ד.ר. סילווער דערקלערט.

ד.ר. סילווער האט דערמאנט זיינע צוהערער ביים זיבערקייעסיראט, אז ענדלעכער האט פארשפראכען אויפצו-געבען דעם מאנדאט נישט שפעטער ווי דעם 15טען מאי, האיאיר, אין יענער צייט וועט ענדלעכער, לויט איר צוואג, איבערגעבען אלע פאראנטווארטליכ-קייטען אין ארץ ישראל צו דער יו.ען. די אידען האבען די פליכט איצט קלאר צו מאכען זייער שטעלונג צו דער לאגע אין ארץ ישראל, וואס אג-באלאנגט די אידען, האבען זיי אג-נענומען די אנטשיידונג פון דער יו.ען

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ZIONISTS VOW FIGHT EVEN WITHOUT U. N.

Silver Warns That Jews Would Wage War for Survival if Partition Were Abandoned

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 5—Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chief Zionist spokesman before the Security Council, contended today that the Jewish community in Palestine would be threatened with annihilation if the partition plan failed. In that event, the Jews of the Holy Land would have to act in the interests of self-preservation, he said.

The speaker declared that the Zionists regarded the partition recommendation as binding and relied on the United Nations to carry out the General Assembly's decision but were determined to defend themselves against armed bands "bent on war."

The chairman of the United States section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine then made this announcement of the Zionist stand:

"We fully respect the authority of the United Nations, but if it is unable to carry out its own decisions and, as a consequence, the Jewish community of Palestine is confronted with the threat of annihilation, it will be compelled by the considerations of sheer survival, not to speak of the preservation of its right, to take all necessary measures which the situation will call for."

Palestine Tied to U. N. Survival

Dr. Silver spoke to the Council before the voting on the Belgian and United States resolutions. He made it clear that in his eyes the question of Palestine was linked to the entire future of the United Nations as a peace-keeping organization.

"What is involved here is far more than a technical legal question," he said. "It is a question whether the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for world peace and the salvation of mankind or whether it is to be but an impressive stage-setting for actors and supernumeraries busily engaged in a meaningless play of long-winded futility."

Dr. Silver branched off from the topic of the Council debate to plead for help in organizing the Jewish militia called for under the partition plan. He noted that the militia would have the responsibility of keeping law and order in the proposed Jewish state after May 15 but that it had not yet been set up and that the British refused to allow it to be set up before they relinquished the League of Nations mandate.

The Zionist asked the Council and all other members of the United Nations to appeal to Britain to allow the immediate organization of a Jewish militia. He added a plea for the lifting of arms embargoes against the proposed Jewish state.

"The organization, recognition and equipment of the Jewish militia is for us of greater urgency than the sending of a non-Palestinian armed force by the Security Council," he said. "The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves, but their hands must not be tied."

Assembly Plan Held Flouted

Dr. Silver listed other charges of "obstruction" against the British. He recalled to the Council that the United Kingdom had refused to open a port to Jewish immigration on Feb. 1, as called for by the partition plan. He asserted that it had refused to allow the Palestine Commission to enter the Holy Land and that it had rejected the idea of a progressive transfer of areas to the Commission's administration.

"We most regretfully note that almost every way which is sug-

HAGANAH ACCORD ON IRGUN REPORTED

Zionist Armies Said to Agree on 'Coordination' of Action but Not on Merger

LEGAL STATUS IS SOUGHT

Ben-Gurion Declared Asking Britain to Recognize Interim Council in Palestine

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
JERUSALEM, March 8—The Haganah, Zionist militia, and Irgun Zvai Leumi, Zionist terrorist organization, have reached an agreement for "coordination of activities" under the over-all command of the former, a Jewish source said tonight. However, the two groups have again failed to agree on a merger, according to this informant.

The accord on coordination has not yet been signed, it was said, but it was believed that it would be ratified formally on Wednesday.

These developments are the likeliest of many conflicting reports on the present state of the negotiations. Some sources maintain that there will be a merger, but they agree that Irgun Zvai Leumi will retain its freedom of action.

One report said that Irgun Zvai Leumi, while reserving its freedom to act, would agree not to attack the British. British sources are skeptical of that. They say that Irgun Zvai Leumi, always insisted on paying off old scores before the end of the League of Nations mandate.

Under the agreement, it was said, this terrorist group would remain in separate units in close cooperation with the Haganah.

This agreement, it was reported, is to last only until a Jewish state is established. Then, it was said, Irgun Zvai Leumi will have to dissolve.

Ben-Gurion Delays Signing

An agreement had been expected to be signed tonight in Tel Aviv. However, David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, was in Jerusalem for a conference with the High Commissioner, Lieut. Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham.

When an agreement is signed, the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Council will obtain the participation of the Revisionist party in the provisional government they are trying to form.

Irgun Zvai Leumi, approximately 4,000 strong, will, it was said, form a separate brigade, which will have its own high command and plan its own operations.

gested by the responsible agency of the United Nations is effectively blocked by the mandatory power."

Dr. Silver denied the criticisms of the Jewish Agency by Arthur Creech Jones, Britain's Colonial Secretary. He said that the British Labor party and Mr. Creech Jones himself had frequently voiced support of the Zionist movement.

But since coming into office they have refused to honor a single one of these promises," he said.

Taking up the question of terrorism, Dr. Silver said that it had been denounced by the Agency "time and again." The real source of terrorism in Palestine, he declared, is the "immoral and iniquitous policy of the White Paper [of 1939], a self-willed and unlawful policy decreed by Great Britain."

It was said to have agreed not to act without informing the Haganah. Later it would have a representative on the Haganah general staff.

Agreement has been near before but always failed on the point of autonomy for the terrorists, to which Mr. Ben-Gurion objected strenuously. American Zionist circles headed by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver are reported to have pressed for a union of the two forces.

Though the Revisionists still proclaim their opposition to a partition of Palestine and insist on a Jewish state consisting of all Palestine and Trans-Jordan, they were said to be willing to work with a partitioned state until more could be achieved.

Obligation of Legal Party

In accepting the coordination arrangement, it was said, they undertook to act as a legal party and not to use violence, even against their Arab neighbors, except in defense.

Irgun Zvai Leumi was organized ten years ago, following a disagreement with the Jewish Agency and the Haganah, whose policy it considered mild. By terrorism it has fought tendencies toward any compromise. It is larger than ever before.

Mr. Ben-Gurion was reported to have asked General Cunningham

for British de facto recognition of the "Provisional Council of Government" as the government of the new Jewish state as of April 1. The Commissioner was said to have agreed to consider the matter.

A provisional government is to receive recognition, as of April 1, by the United Nations Palestine Commission, according to Jewish Agency sources, although the British Palestine government will still be functioning.

Mr. Ben-Gurion asserted, according to Jewish sources, that unofficial de facto recognition would not mean implementing partition but allowing a smooth transfer of powers. He also sought again to have the Haganah recognized as a militia between now and the formal end of the mandate on May 15. That question also was left pending, it was reported.

The United States Consul General, Robert B. MacAtee, conferred with Dr. Hussein F. Khalidi, secretary of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, in another effort to persuade the Arabs to meet the representatives of the United Nations. It was understood, in the hope that some means might be found for halting the violence.

Details of the meeting are not known, but Dr. Khalidi was insistent that nothing would persuade the Arabs to relent in their refusal to have any contact with the United Nations representatives.

The Haganah intensified its drive in Jerusalem against so-called shirkers and deserters from "national service." Pickets entered public places and asked customers to produce registration cards. Those who had none were asked to leave. Zionist service institutions are mustering men and women between 26 and 35.

Pickets seen in one place wore

armbands inscribed in Hebrew, "Registration Service." They asked a young, well-dressed woman whether she had a card. "No, I haven't," she replied. A woman picket thereupon said, "You had better not come here again or attend any movie performances or be seen in public until you register."

The picket did not specify what action would be taken.

A house in Ramat Gan, near Tel Aviv, was seized by the Haganah on the ground of the departure abroad of the family's eldest son.

At Rishon-le Zion, southeast of Tel Aviv, a man and woman were fined the equivalent of \$4,000, ordered to place their homes at the Haganah's disposal and warned to assure the return from England of their 18-year-old son, whom they had sent there by air. A Haganah "court" similarly directed that unless the son returned within six weeks an additional \$8,000 fine would be imposed, along with other penalties.

The Haganah operates through

Gromyko Bars Arabs, Jews In 4-Power Palestine Talks

By MALLOY BROWNE
The Soviet Union bluntly opposed renewed efforts by the United States yesterday to extend the four-power consultations on Palestine to include Jews and Arabs. Confronted with a per-

sistent attempt on the part of the United States delegation to the United Nations to bring the Jewish Agency for Palestine particularly into the present stage of the talks, Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet delegate, made it plain he would not take part in any meeting attended by the Agency, the Arab Palestine Higher Committee or the Palestine Commission.

Any hope that the four powers, the United States, Soviet Union, France and China might be able to reach an agreement by Monday on recommendations to the Security Council for action in the Palestine crisis was virtually destroyed by the split at yesterday's session, a spokesman for the United States delegation said. Two or more separate reports to the Council are now expected when the ten-day time limit expires.

Just before yesterday morning's great power consultations, which were held at the headquarters of the United States delegation at 2 Park Avenue, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, for the Jewish Agency, conferred with Warren R. Austin, head of the United States delegation, for more than twenty minutes.

The United States delegation, it was learned from an authoritative source, is determined to go ahead—if necessary without the Soviet Union—with its plans to consult the Jewish Agency to see whether any prospect still exists of bringing the two parties in Palestine nearer together.

Despite a categorical refusal received two days ago from Isa Nakleh, representative in New York of the Arab Higher Committee, the United States has not yet finally abandoned hope that the Arabs also might agree to consultations.

The Jewish Agency, however, issued a statement after Dr. Silver's talk with Mr. Austin reaffirming that the United Nations partition plan for Palestine was an "irreducible minimum" beyond which it could not go.

Referring to reports that the United States might agree to a federal solution of the Palestine problem if the Jews concurred, the Jewish Agency statement condemned this suggestion. It said that the term "federal state" was a misnomer, concealing what would in fact be "an Arab state in which Jewish immigration and territory would be restricted and Jewish sovereignty denied." No such plan is acceptable to the Jewish Agency, the statement said.

The Arabs have made it similarly clear that they will refuse to enter into any consultations with the United Nations so long as partition is the basis of these consultations.

A spokesman for the United States delegation issued a statement yesterday saying that there had been "no hints" of any change in United States policy on Palestine, and that this policy still remained the support of the partition plan as outlined by Mr. Austin.

The United States made it clear at yesterday's meeting of the Big Four, however, that it intended to persevere in its efforts to see whether consultation with the Jews and Arabs would not reveal some hopes of getting the two parties together by some means,

ZIONISTS GIVE PLAN TO SPEED PARTITION

Four Powers Hear Nine-Point Jewish Agency Program—Arabs Invited to Talks

By MALLORY BROWNE

The representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, China and France heard leaders of the Jewish Agency for Palestine present yesterday a nine-point plan for implementation by the Security Council of the United Nations General Assembly resolution for a partition of the Holy Land.

While Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet delegate, was silent and with Britain still absent from the meeting, the three other powers decided to invite the Palestine Arab Higher Committee to attend the consultations Monday.

Although Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Moshe Shertok had just made it plain that the Jewish Agency would accept no modification of the General Assembly's plan and the Arab Higher Committee had refused to agree to consultations on the basis of partition, Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, who was at the talks, was delegated to transmit an invitation immediately to the Arabs.

In a statement handed to newspaper men after the meeting, at the French delegation's headquarters at 4 East Seventy-ninth Street, the Soviet Union accused the United States of trying to delay the implementation of the partition plan by its insistence on further consultations with Arabs and Jews. It said that the countries that thus

delayed the United Nations discussions on Palestine must "assume full responsibility for the consequences of such a step."

The United States delegation had issued a statement designed to correct press reports that the United States had abandoned the partition plan. Declaring that the purpose of the present consultations was "to find a means for the peaceful implementation of the General Assembly resolution," this statement emphasized that the people of Palestine "must live together, not fight constantly."

This purpose, the statement continued, "is not being assisted by the refusal of one or more powers to take part in the consultations." This was apparently an allusion to the Arabs and to the refusal of the Soviet Union to take part in the proposed consultations with Arabs and Jews.

Austin Denies Plan Is Dropped

Warren R. Austin, chief United States delegate, who was questioned before the meeting, strongly denied press reports that the United States Government was abandoning the partition plan. Saying that a "great effort has been made to make it look different," he insisted that partition "is what we are talking about."

With the ten-day period of big power consultations ending Monday and a meeting of the Security Council set for that afternoon, it looked, after yesterday's session, as if the Jewish Agency's recommendations for implementing partition might be the only ones emerging from the talks.

The proposals did not call specifically for an international force. They called for assumption by the Security Council of the responsibility for implementing partition that had been assigned to it in the Assembly resolution. They suggested that the Council should determine that a "threat to the peace" existed in Palestine because of the action of the Arab nations in resisting the establishment of a Jewish state.

The agency called for arms for the Jews and none for the Arabs, and urged that Britain, as the mandatory power, be asked to expel the Arab incursionist bands.

Answering questions submitted primarily by the United States delegation, Mr. Shertok told the powers that he did not believe there was any possibility of agreement between Jews and Arabs on the partition plan "if what is meant is a public agreement signed

between two representative bodies before implementation of the plan."

He indicated that the Agency did not believe partition could be implemented peacefully, although there was "a large measure of acquiescence by Palestinian Arabs." The Jewish Agency, he said, is prepared to accept full responsibility for governmental administration

Jewish Agency Proposals

Following is the plan of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, presented at yesterday's meeting of the United States, the Soviet Union, France and China, for implementation of the United Nations General Assembly's resolution for a partition of the Holy Land. The Agency asked that the Security Council:

1. Assume the responsibility assigned to it in the General Assembly's plan for implementation.
2. Determine any attempt to alter by force the Assembly's resolution as a "threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression."
3. Determine that a threat to the peace does exist in view of action by certain Arab Governments.
4. Call upon Arab member states to stop recruiting and organizing armed forces to resist the Assembly's resolution and to withdraw

their nationals already sent for this purpose.

5. Call upon Arab states to stop their warlike propaganda and incitement, contrary to the unanimous resolution of the General Assembly against warmongering.

6. Call upon the mandatory power to prevent the entry of unauthorized forces and to expel those already in Palestine.

7. Instruct the Palestine Commission to proceed with all speed with all phases of implementation, with special priority to establishment of provisional councils of government and the organization and equipment of militias.

8. Call upon member states to offer arms to parties cooperating with the United Nations resolution and to withhold them from those defying it.

9. Empower the Palestine Commission to take all steps which may assist in the maintenance of peace in Jerusalem.

and for the maintenance of law and order within the proposed Jewish state.

Holds Arabs Intransigent

Mr. Shertok, repeating the Agency's opposition to any substantial modification of the partition plan—Dr. Silver had also stated this opposition at the beginning of the meeting—said no modification of the plan would commend itself to the Jews. He expressed the opinion that nothing short of complete scrapping of the partition idea would be acceptable to the Arabs.

Answering a further question about possible modification of the plan, Mr. Shertok insisted that all the basic elements of the Assembly's plan were considered important by the Jewish Agency.

Mr. Shertok contended that the proposed economic union between Jewish and Arab states, although naturally desirable, was not essential to the implementation of partition. The Jews, he said, would give "any paper guarantee, and agree to any formula" for the protection of Arab minorities in the proposed Jewish state. The Agency, he said, would cooperate with the proposed United Nations administration of Jerusalem.

Similar questions on the implementation of partition had been submitted to the Palestine Commission, and answers to these were given to the four powers. The Commission said "no" when asked whether it had found sufficient acceptance of the partition plan on the part of Jews, Arabs and the British to afford a basis for its peaceful implementation.

The Commission dodged an invitation to suggest possible modifications in the plan that might offer a basis for agreement. Pointing particularly to Arab resistance, it declared that it "does not consider it possible to implement the plan by peaceful means either as a whole or in substantial part."

Making its first formal statement on one of the principal tasks set for it by the General Assembly, the commission told the four

powers that the noncooperative attitude of the Arab Higher Committee and Arab resistance in Palestine "preclude any possibility of selecting a Provisional Council of Government" by April 1, as required in the plan.

Furthermore, it stated that while some steps toward setting up a provisional government of the proposed Jewish state had been taken, the Provisional Council "will not be able to 'carry out its function,' in the sense of the plan, prior to the termination of the mandate."

Zionists' Presence Remarkd

The usual cordial informality of the consultations between the four powers was strained when the talks started. Dr. T. S. Tsiang of China noted that the representatives of the Jewish Agency were present and asked whether they should be heard.

Mr. Gromyko said bluntly that as long as they were here at the demand of the United States, China and France these three powers might as well listen to what they had to say.

He did not object when it was proposed to invite the Arab Higher Committee to the next meeting, which will be held at the Empire State Building headquarters of the Chinese delegation.

The Arab Higher Committee issued at Lake Success a long "Black Paper on the Jewish Agency and Zionist Terrorism." This charged that the "totalitarian atrocities" of terrorists are "backed by Haganah and the Jewish Agency."

Saying that the "terror methods of intimidation" were "the same methods that were applied by the Nazis," the "Black Paper" lists many of "the most distasteful outrages" committed, it says, by the Haganah, Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang. At heart, the Arab statement alleges, these organizations "have always been in full agreement with each other and with members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency."

The Arab statement quotes from the British Government White Paper of July, 1946, as evidence that the Haganah worked under the "political control of prominent members of the Jewish Agency," and that Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Group worked in cooperation with the Haganah high command on certain operations.

Jewish Agency spokesmen at Lake Success dismissed the allegations as "preposterous."

cont. from p. 19

or at least getting them to "acquiesce" in some substantial points of detail within the framework of the General Assembly resolution.

Mr. Austin suggested this at the outset of yesterday's meeting. He referred to a series of questions that had been drawn up by the United States delegation "after consultation with other delegations," for submission to the Jewish Agency, the Arab Higher Committee, the Palestine Commission and Britain as the mandatory power. Then he asked if it were agreeable that these agencies should be called into the consultations.

Gromyko Firm in Opposition

It was then that Mr. Gromyko, restating emphatically the position already taken by the Soviet Union in the discussions before the Security Council, refused to agree to the broadening of the consultations by the inclusion of any of these agencies except the mandatory power. In fact, he agreed to further consultations with Britain as the mandatory power only on the condition that they were officially considered to be the continuation of the questions already put to the British at Tuesday's meeting of the big powers.

Mr. Gromyko declared that if the Jewish Agency, the Arabs, or the Palestine Commission were brought into the meeting for consultations, he would not participate in those consultations.

Asked by Mr. Austin whether he had any objections to trying to get the opinions of the Jews and Arabs, the Soviet delegate curtly said that he already knew the views of the Jews and Arabs, that they had been made abundantly clear in the reports of the Palestine Commission and in other statements made to the Security Council.

Mr. Gromyko further insisted that the Big Four had not been instructed to reopen consultations with Jews and Arabs. On the contrary, he said, such consultations had been specifically stricken from the resolution adopted by the Security Council.

When Mr. Austin then asked if

Mr. Gromyko thought it would be all right if questions were sent in written form to the parties concerned and the answers sent back in writing, the Soviet delegate suggested instead that this be done by the United States alone if it wished.

It was finally agreed that Secretary General Trygve Lie should submit the proposed questions to the Palestine Commission, and that Britain as the mandatory power should be invited at once to come before the Big Four and answer the questions that had been prepared.

British Exit Dates Stand

Sir Alexander Cadogan, in answer to this invitation, arrived after the meeting had been in progress about an hour. Mr. Austin asked the British delegate whether, if it proved possible to get an accord between the two parties in Palestine, the British Government would modify its timetable of scheduled dates for leaving Palestine.

Sir Alexander replied that he could not say yes. Pressed to say whether that meant no, he said that his instructions were that the dates announced by the British Government were fixed.

Asked further whether Britain thought the partition plan could be implemented by peaceful means, Sir Alexander said it would be difficult to carry out the plan with-

out a backing of force. He gave a similarly negative answer when Mr. Austin asked him if he thought the partition plan could be implemented if the Jews received arms and permission to constitute a militia.

Britain's representative replied in the negative also to the question of whether he thought that modifications of detail acceptable to the Jews and Arabs might be made in the partition plan. He said that no modification in Britain's time table was required from the British point of view, and he had no suggestion to make when asked if he thought a bridge could be thrown across the gulf between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

Palestine Deficit Foreseen

Further discussions brought out that by May 15 there would be a "very sizable deficit" in Palestine's bank account, and that the Palestine Commission would need outside financial assistance when it took over. Saying that the total budgeted revenue of Palestine was \$96,000,000 annually, the British spokesman said the cost of the British garrison in the Holy Land was "considerably larger" than that amount.

The cost of the Palestine police, he said, was \$28,000,000, and he estimated this could continue to be covered by Palestine's own resources.

At Lake Success, the Palestine

Commission met and prepared for the Big Four answers to such questions as whether it considered peaceful implementation of the partition plan possible, and whether any basis for agreement between the Jews and Arabs existed through possible modifications in the substance or procedure of the Assembly's partition plan. The answers were not revealed, but negative responses on both points were considered certain.

The commission sent a memorandum to the British delegation asking for Britain's urgent cooperation in aiding the commission to arrange for the purchase and shipment of food to Palestine within a week to avoid "very serious gaps" in the food stocks there when the commission takes over May 15.

Lion in Israel, Dr. Silver

Symbol of Militant Action

3-14-48

Throughout the Jewish world, . . . in the DP camps where thousands still dream of their first cherished glimpse of Eretz Israel . . . on the sandy plains of Southern Palestine and in the teeming cities of the new Jewish State . . . the mention of Abba Hillel Silver produces an instantaneous nod of admiration and respect.

Dr. Silver is more than a name in Zionism. He is an institution. From the early days of his rise when the voice of Silver pierced betrayal and appeasement and demanded a new strong vigorous policy for Zionism, to the present day, the gentleman from Cleveland has become symbolic of courageous, dynamic action for the Jewish people.

Here is the story of Dr. Silver. . . a Lion in Israel.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, former President of the Zionist Organization of America, and chairman of the American Zionist Council, was elected chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency Executive at the recent Zionist Congress. In addition to his political leadership of the Zionist movement, Dr. Silver has distinguished himself as a scholar and spiritual leader.



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Dr. Silver has struck out repeatedly against the foes of the Jewish people. His voice resounded throughout the chambers of Lake Success in the critical pre-partition discussion at the United Nations. Today he continues to represent the cause of Zion before the UN, determined that another promise not be broken to the wanderers of Israel.

He has long been an articulate spokesman of a militant Zionist policy, and is currently leading a program which will afford maximum assistance to European Jewish refugees by opening wide the doors of Palestine, and the establishment of the Jewish State.

Following graduation from the University of Cincinnati in 1915, and his ordination as a Rabbi from the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati in the same year, Dr. Silver rendered special war service, for which he was decorated by the French Government with the order of Officer de l'Instruction Publique. In 1917 he became spiritual leader of The Temple, in Cleveland, which has under his leadership become one of the foremost Jewish congregations in the country.

In addition to having served as National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, which combines the fund-raising efforts of the Palestine Foundation Fund, and the Jewish National Fund, Dr. Silver has held the posts of national co-chairman of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine; Dupleian lecturer at Harvard University 1939-40; member of the Near East Relief Committee; member of the Executive Board of the Larger Regional Government of Cleveland, and member of the Consumers League of Ohio.

He is the author of "Messianic Speculations in Israel," "World Crisis and Jewish Survival," and numerous pamphlets and monographs.



ד"ר. אבא הלל סילבער, פארשטייער פון דער אידישער אגענטור לייגט פאר די 9 פונקטען פאר די פארשטייער פון די "גרויסע 4" ביי דער ירען.

U. S. PALESTINE AIM HELD ECONOMIC TIE

Shift Will Stress Autonomy
of 2 States—Powers Hopeful
Arabs Will Attend Talks

By MALLORY BROWNE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 13—The United States still has some real hopes that the Arabs will accept the invitation of the United States, France and China to consult with them on Palestine next Monday.

But if these hopes are disappointed, the United States delegation is determined to keep on trying to find a peaceful solution to the Palestine problem within the framework of the General Assembly's plan. The basis of these continued American efforts, it was learned from an authoritative source today, will be a shift in emphasis from partition to "economic union."

As Warren R. Austin phrased it today in a speech in New York, the Assembly's plan provides for Jews and Arabs "to live together in economic union, with autonomy for two states and a special regime for Jerusalem."

The United States delegation believes that it has already made some progress in getting this new point accepted by the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The statements made yesterday by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and other Jewish Agency leaders, while repeating that the partition plan constituted an "irreducible minimum" from the Agency's point of view, also envisaged the possibility of eventual agreement with the Arabs of Palestine after the plan had been accepted and implemented.

The Jewish Agency's spokesmen also emphasized the practical importance of economic union to the proposed Jewish state in the future, while declaring at the same time that failure to achieve economic union at present would not in the Jewish Agency's opinion constitute an obstacle to implementing partition.

Partition Called Misnomer

The attitude of the United States delegation is that the provisions for economic union in the General Assembly plan contain in fact a sufficiently broad basis upon which agreement in practice between Jews and Arabs should be possible. From the first, the United States has emphasized its conviction that the General Assembly's plan was wrongly termed the partition plan. The provisions for economic union in this plan are regarded by the United States as broad enough to justify the plan being called federation if one

chose to call it by that name.

The United States delegation believes further that the Arabs in Palestine would be willing to work in practice on the basis of such a broad economic union. The idea would be that both the Jewish and the Arab states would have their own representatives at the United Nations and in this respect would be completely sovereign states. But at the same time, the union between them and also between them and the proposed special regime for Jerusalem would necessarily be so close that in fact, if not in name, it would amount virtually to federation.

Acceptance Is Doubtful

Whether these views are actually acceptable to the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee is doubtful. But the United States delegation remains convinced that this kind of approach to the Palestine problem holds the only possibilities of a peaceful solution.

The delegation leaders are, of course, aware that by adhering to a compromise policy they are laying themselves open to charges, on the one hand, of abandoning partition, and on the other, of refusing to face the unpleasant realities, as Arab opposition to the partition plan.

In spite of this criticism, the United States, it was learned authoritatively, intends to keep on hammering away in the Security Council in the hope that sufficient backing can be obtained for this view to rally both Jews and Arabs ultimately to its support.

The United States delegation, it was stated, does not favor a special session of the General Assembly to reconsider the plan as a whole. It believes that prospects of getting an agreed solution in the long run would be greater by trying to work within the framework of the existing plan.

If the Arabs reject the invitation to join in the consultation of the powers on Monday morning, then it now looks as if there will be no agreed recommendation made to the Security Council at its afternoon session. It is now regarded as virtually certain that each of the Big Four will make a separate report to the Council as to what "guidance and instructions" should be given by the Security Council to the Palestine commission.

Jewish Agency Insists Partition Is 'Irreducible Minimum'

By VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN

Hopes of the U. S. Government that the Jewish Agency might be willing to accept modification of the partition plan have been blasted by a forthright Agency statement that partition represented the "irreducible minimum" of Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

The Agency position, made clear at a conference Friday of the four big powers, was essentially this:

¶ That the partition plan is the "irreducible minimum" of Jewish demands;

¶ That the creation of a UN force to implement partition would save bloodshed and bring peace quicker to Palestine;

¶ That, whether a UN force is created or not, the Jews of Palestine will fight to the last for what they consider their rights.

This was the gist of testimony given Friday by Moshe Shertok, political chief of the Agency, and Rabbi Abba Hilel Silver, chief of

the Agency's U. S. section, in a dramatic appearance before the delegates of the U. S. A., the USSR, China and France.

Only three of the four powers present really "listened" to the testimony of the Jewish representatives.

Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union, who had already made clear that he did not approve of what he termed useless consultations with either Jews or Arabs at this stage of the game, sat impassively and silently throughout the conference.

He did not walk out of the conference, as Thursday's news dispatches said he would. If he had, it would have been one of the most dramatic walk-outs in UN history.

The conference was held in an upper floor of the French UN mission at 4 East 79th Street. In the lobby below, newsmen waited for nearly three hours as the discussion continued. Gromyko's appearance on the steps at any time before the

official break-up of the meeting would have made fat headlines for the afternoon newspapers.

Restates Opposition To Consultations

The Soviet delegate elected not to make headlines and not to break up the four-power meeting. Instead, he distributed, at the end of a meeting, a written statement to newsmen which said in part:

"From the first day of consultations among the representatives of the permanent members of the Security Council, it became clear that the delegation of the U. S. A. was insisting upon beginning all over again consultations with Jews and Arabs, although it is known that such consultations have been carried out, and are being carried out, by the Palestine Commission and those parties who are willing to consult.

"Under such conditions, consultations of this character . . . can only lead to complications in the implementation of the General Assembly resolution on the question of Palestine."

Agency Officials Hesitated to Attend

This correspondent is in a position to affirm that certain members of the Jewish Agency, feeling as the Russians do that "consultations" at this stage were only designed for delay, doubted the advisability of accepting the invitation from the U. S. delegation to appear at Friday's conference.

Shertok and Silver did appear, but not in the role of conciliators or compromisers. They answered a series of questions, designed primarily by the U. S. delegation, in a fashion making plain that Arab bombs have not changed one iota Jewish determination to support the UN solution for Palestine as approved by the General Assembly of Nov. 29 last.

The session was opened with a brief statement by Gromyko that the Jewish representatives were present "at the request of the U. S., French and Chinese delegations." He declared he would not obstruct proceedings but would not participate in them.

Silver then read a short opening statement in which he expressed surprise that references should be made at this point to possible "modifications" of the partition plan.

The Agency spokesman was obviously referring to questions which

have been addressed to Britain and to the Palestine Commission by Warren Austin, U. S. delegate, and which have stressed interest in possible alterations of the plan to make it more suitable for the Arabs.

Shertok then answered a series of questions posed by Austin. The Agency spokesmen stressed: that the Jews of Palestine were "overwhelmingly" in favor of the partition plan; that he did not believe that mere "modification" would satisfy the Arabs; and that Jewish self-interest would dictate fair treatment of Arabs if and when the Jewish state were created.

Silver then offered a nine-point program for enforcing partition, notable for the fact that nowhere did he directly ask for an international force to implement partition. Rather, his stress was on ability of the Jews to take care of themselves provided the arms embargo was lifted and the UN did its duty in discouraging aggression against Palestine from neighboring Arab states.

Basic points in Silver's program for the Security Council:

¶ To accept the responsibilities assigned to it by the Assembly partition plan.

¶ To determine that any attempt by force to alter the partition plan was a breach of peace under the UN charter.

¶ To agree to stop Arab states from sending invaders into Palestine and to see to it that invaders already there be withdrawn.

U. S. Delegation Reacts To PM Report

¶ To request Britain to stop further invasions and to expel the more than 6000 non-Palestinian Arabs on Palestine soil.

¶ To request the Palestine Commission to proceed immediately with recognition of a Provisional Council of Government for the Jewish State and to hasten the establishment of an armed and organized militia.

¶ To call upon member states of UN to offer arms to parties co-operating with the UN partition plan and to deny arms to those opposing.

The U. S. delegation reacted quickly Friday to stories published by PM and the UP that this country was abandoning the partition plan. A U. S. spokesman put out a formal statement declaring that the four big powers were now consulting "to find a means for peaceful implementation" of the plan.

Every piece of evidence available since last Nov. 29, evidence available in the violence in Palestine and through spokesmen at Lake Success—indicates clearly that there is no way of "peaceful implementation" of the plan.

gling to be delivered from oppression, the Jewish people as well as every other.

"These problems are difficult but by no means impossible of solution. Wise, experienced, just statesmen adhering to fundamentals and seeking peace instead of war can work them out and bring the disordered world back to sanity. But there must be a strong vigorous foreign policy which will enunciate clearly and unmistakably to Russia and her puppets that tyranny over others and illegal unconscionable aggression can never and will never be substituted for the rule of law—arbitration, argument, persuasion, justice and the instrumentalities of freedom and civilization."

Congressman PHILBIN also discussed the plight of the displaced persons and European relief measures and present efforts of the Congress to deal with these problems.

"Freedom and self-determination do not exist for all people except the Jewish people. Freedom is a great universal natural principle, God-given in character, and an inalienable right of every people and every living human being. That is why in determining and resolving these great world questions we must cling tenaciously to the doctrines and guarantees of the American Constitution as well as our professed war aims. If we really meant what we said when we gave effect to the Atlantic Charter, then we must support the aspirations of every people for freedom and self-determination and that means the Jewish people as well as every other. Our Nation and the United Nations, if it is to be more than mere laughing stock, if it is to be an effective instrument for maintaining the peace, must seek and strive to carry out the basic guarantees of a free world expressed in its charter, and implicit in the sacrifices made in the great war.

"The question of a free Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is not a new idea. It had the sanction and approval of the American Government and people as long ago as the Balfour declaration which was agreed to solemnly by Great Britain and approved by virtually every nation.

"Let it be said that our own Nation shall never renounce the cause of freedom, that we are ready to send a message of hope, inspiration and assistance to all those strug-

World Conditions and Palestine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1948

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks in the RECORD, I include a summary of my recent remarks before the Congregation Shaarei Zedeck at Clinton, Mass., Sunday, March 14, 1948:

WORLD CONDITIONS AND PALESTINE

(Remarks in part of Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN before Congregation Shaarei Zedeck Sunday, March 14, 1948)

Speaking before a largely attended meeting of the Men's Club of the Congregation Shaarei Zedeck, Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN deplored the wave of war hysteria which is sweeping the Nation.

"While we cannot possibly minimize the gravity of the international situation, particularly our relations with Russia, it is most unfortunate that those who are seeking to militarize the country—war or no war—and those who are eager to enact the Marshall plan before it has been carefully considered by the Congress, should move at this time to incite the American people into a crisis psychology for war.

The situation is bad enough without making it worse. It might be well to utilize economic measures to check aggression through collective action of the democracies; it might be well to institute a real offensive for peace through cooperation and genuine collective security before adopting rash, hysterical policies which will plunge the whole world into

another war. Let us keep our feet on the ground, whatever we do at this juncture. Let us use sound considered judgment in dealing with this disturbing impasse in our relations with the Soviet.

The local Congressman analyzed world conditions at length and traced the steady encroachment by communism and totalitarianism and other un-American forms of collectivism which he declared, "have wrecked the economies and destroyed the hope, incentive and initiative of practically every European nation." "If we yield to this pressure and this trend away from democracy and free enterprise, we will merely invite to the United States the same privation, hardship, want, and low standards which European nations are suffering," he said.

"In country after country," he declared, "freedom is being extinguished. One nation after another is losing its cherished freedom. Most unfortunate and pitiable of all, are those nations which are losing their freedom at their own hands. Whether communism has proceeded too far in these nations to permit the United States to rehabilitate them through present aid proposals is certainly debatable, but assistance we render must be based upon two considerations—first, self-help and their own willingness to throw off the curse of radical social doctrines, and secondly, the capacity of our own Nation to assist without inflicting damage, harm, and detriment to our own productive economy and the health and welfare of our own people."

Cong. Record Appendix
Palestine Partition—Quinn Resolution
Adopted by New York State Legislature
in Support of Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1948

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, at a time when we do not know from day to day what the policies of the great powers are in Palestine, it is a solid comfort to know that the Legislature of the State of New York has rallied to the support of the Jewish National Home by adoption of the resolution introduced by the Honorable Elmer F. Quinn of New York City, the minority leader in the State senate.

Under consent, I am inserting in the RECORD the text of the Quinn resolution, which was adopted on February 10:

Senate Resolution 70

Whereas the United Nations has decreed that Palestine shall be partitioned into separate Arab and Jewish states; and

Whereas the Arab nations, in defiance of the decree of the United Nations, have refused to participate in negotiations preparatory or subsequent to the vote on the partition plan; and

Whereas the Arab nations have persistently followed a course of terror and violence designed to nullify and prevent the implementation of the United Nations Palestine decision; and

Whereas the Jews of the world, in a spirit of amity and compromise born of the suffering and persecution which they have endured through the ages, have gratefully accepted and agreed to be bound by the decision of the United Nations on Palestine, although it does not carry out promises made to them in the Balfour declaration; and

Whereas the public press carries daily accounts of unprovoked mass Arab raids and terroristic attacks against the Jewish people in Palestine and the toll of wounded and dead Jewish people continues to mount with unabating intensity; and

Whereas the Arab attacks on the Jews threaten to disturb the peace of the world and the Jewish people should be permitted, assisted, and encouraged to arm and defend themselves against such attacks; and

Whereas this Nation, through its embargo on arms and munitions destined for shipment to the Middle East, has prevented the Jews of Palestine from obtaining the weapons of defense sorely needed by them to resist and defend themselves against the attacks of the Arabs, while the Arabs continue to secure arms and munitions from neighboring Arab and other states; and

Whereas the Honorable William O'Dwyer has openly announced his opposition to the arms embargo and has urged the Government of the United States to cancel the same and to permit the immediate shipment of weapons and munitions to the embattled Jews of Palestine; and

Whereas the people of the State of New York are justifiably disturbed and alarmed over the plight of these defenseless Jews in Palestine and urgently implore the President and the State Department to cancel the

arms embargo without further delay: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved (if the assembly concur), That the President, the State Department, and the Congress of the United States be and they are hereby respectfully memorialized to take such steps as may be necessary to cancel the present embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to the Jewish people of Palestine who are defending the decision of the United Nations and make possible the immediate shipment of arms and munitions for the defense of the Jewish people of Palestine against the unprovoked acts of aggression and warfare of the Arabs; and be it further

Resolved (if the assembly concur), That copies of this resolution be immediately transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State of the United States, the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of Congress duly elected from the State of New York.

By order of the senate.

WILLIAM S. KING, Clerk.

In assembly, February 10, 1948. Concurred in without amendment.

ANSLEY B. BERKOWSKI, Clerk.

Forty-one Members of the Senate and House of Representatives Join in Sending Letter to Secretary of State Marshall on Palestine Situation—Protest Lack of Vigor and Firmness by the United States in Support of Partition Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1948

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, 41 Members of the Senate and House have joined in sending a letter to Secretary of State Marshall protesting against activities on the part of the Department of State with reference to the support of the Palestine partition recommendation of the United Nations, and further seek a clarification of the present attitude of the Government toward the Palestine situation. The text of the letter of transmittal and the letter signed by forty-one Members of the Senate and House, as well as the list of signatories, follow:

MARCH 10, 1948.

HON. GEORGE C. MARSHALL

Secretary of State,

Department of State,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Forty-one Senators and Representatives, members of the Democratic Party, have joined in sending the attached letter to you. They seek a clarification of present United States activities with reference to the Palestine situation.

These Members of Congress have authorized us to transmit the attached letter to you over their names.

With assurances of esteem, we are,

Respectfully yours,

JAMES E. MURRAY,

United States Senate,

EMANUEL CELLER,

United States House of Representatives.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, D.C., March 10, 1948.

HON. GEORGE C. MARSHALL

Secretary of State,

Department of State,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: While we are cognizant of your reply to the questions posed by other Members of Congress, we, the undersigned Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, feel the need for further clarification of the present attitude of your Department toward the situation presently existing in Palestine. While your statement is predicated on action of the United Nations, we realize, as you undoubtedly do, that the United Nations is no stronger than the sum of its members, and that it is incumbent upon the leading member nations to initiate action by that body wherever such action is indicated. Our Government has shown its full appreciation of this fact, as witness the initiative taken by it on several occasions where gross abuses called for United Nations action.

From the theoretical viewpoint, your answers might allay the rising fears that the United Nations decision on Palestine is being sabotaged, but the confusion has not been cleared away by the approach which does not attack the heart of the actual conditions existing in Palestine.

The events which have taken place since the United Nations decision have caused us considerable concern. Naturally, the violent opposition of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and his adherents is most deplorable, but this was only to be expected. More serious is the attitude of the Arab states, most of them members of the United Nations, who openly engage in acts of aggression against the neighboring country of Palestine. This is seriously emphasized by the Palestine Commission in its report to the Security Council. Similarly, it is most regrettable that the British Government, while refusing to facilitate the execution of the United Nations resolution, and while insisting on its sole and exclusive control of Palestine, is using its power of control in a manner hardly calculated to decrease Arab violence in that country. Again, this has been emphasized by the report to the Security Council.

In addition to the attitude which the United States Government displayed toward Palestine within the framework of the United Nations, we are perplexed by the steps which have or have not been taken by our Government unilaterally. We understand that, without being requested to do so by the United Nations, our Government has prohibited the export of arms to the Middle East, irrespective of whether such arms are to be used to defy the United Nations decision, or on the contrary, to uphold it. We are unable to accept the explanation that this action was taken in the belief that it would discourage armed conflict in Palestine. It is a matter of common knowledge that Arab bands, supported by neighboring Arab states, are supplied out of stocks made available to those states by our own Government in the past, and by the British Government at present. To refuse export licenses to the Jewish defense forces in Palestine could obviously have no other result than to increase the odds against the Jewish defenders of the United Nations decision. We are surprised that such a policy could have been inaugurated by the American Government on its own initiative, and that it is still being maintained.

Reports have reached us of other activities by the United States Government which can hardly be taken as an indication of either a sympathetic or even a neutral attitude toward the problem of implementing the United Nations resolution. We hear that, while refraining from any representation to the British Government in favor of the immediate admission into Palestine of a large number of Jewish immigrants or in favor of opening a Palestine port to Jewish immigration on February 1st, as recommended in the United Nations decision, informal representations by the United States Government have been made to certain foreign governments and to the Jewish agency for Palestine with a view to slowing down such immigration. Another example of what we have in mind are the series of announcements by the Department of State and by the American Consul General in Jerusalem, indicating that the American Government disapproves of individual American citizens joining the Jewish defense force Haganah to defend the Jewish population of Palestine against attack. We do not recall that similar action was taken either in 1914 or in 1940 when thousands of American citizens volunteered to defend what they believed to be the righteous cause of maintaining the freedom of Great Britain, France, Finland, and other countries.

We do not see how steps of this kind, taken by the United States on its own initiative, can be interpreted by either the British or Arab Governments as anything but an indication that American support for the United Nations plan is far from genuine, thus encouraging them to undertake further attempts to overthrow the United Nations decision.

We have noticed with pleasure the recent statements emanating from President Truman and from you to the effect that the United States Government stands by the decision of the United Nations. We would be less than frank, however, if we did not express to you our profound misgivings lest the attitude taken by our Government in the specific cases noted above, rather than facilitate the implementation of that decision, would render this implementation more difficult, thus reflecting on the integrity and the good name of our country.

We wish to point out, as well, that Ambassador Warren Austin's statements before the Security Council did not in any way obviate the necessity for a clarification of the view of the United States on partition. It appeared to make distinctions so fine as to leave unanswered the question of our willingness to participate in the implementation of the partition decision. In tone and approach it seemed to contradict Herschel Johnson's statement last fall before the General Assembly which clearly indicated our recognition of the possibility of using force and indicated as clearly our willingness to do so. Can you clarify for us this seeming contradiction between the two approaches.

We have deemed it our duty to acquaint you with our doubts and misgivings on this score, and we would be very grateful if you could reassure us regarding this matter.

Respectfully yours,

LIST OF SIGNATORIES OF LETTER TO SECRETARY MARSHALL OF MARCH 10, 1948, ON PALESTINE SITUATION

United States Senate: CARL HAYDEN, Arizona; EDWIN C. JOHNSON, Colorado; JAMES E. MURRAY, Montana; FRANCIS J. MYERS, Pennsylvania; GLEN H. TAYLOR, Idaho.

House of Representatives: JOE E. BATES, Kentucky; JOHN A. BLATNIK, Minnesota; SOL BLOOM, New York; WILLIAM T. BYRNE, New York; JOSEPH R. BRYSON, South Carolina; FRANK BUCHANAN, Pennsylvania; CHARLES A. BUCKLEY, New York; EMANUEL CELLER, New York; JOHN J. DELANEY, New York; JOHN D. DINWEL, Michigan; ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ, New Mexico; ARME J. FORAND, Rhode Island; MARTIN GOSSKI, Illinois; THOMAS S. GORDON, Illinois; EDWARD J. HART, New Jersey; FRANK R. HAVENNER, California; JAMES J. HOFFERMAN, New York; CHET HOLIFIELD, California; WALTER B. HUBER, Ohio; AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY, Pennsylvania; EUGENE J. KEOGH, New York; ARTHUR G. KLEIN, New York; THOMAS J. LANE, Massachusetts; WALTER A. LYNCH, New York; JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Massachusetts; RAY J. MADDEN, Indiana; HUGH A. MEADE, Maryland; THOMAS E. MORGAN, Pennsylvania; ABRAHAM J. MULTER, New York; DONALD L. O'TOOLE, New York; JOSEPH L. PFEIFER, New York; PHILIP J. PHILLIPS, Massachusetts; JOHN J. ROONEY, New York; ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, New York; ADOLPH J. SABATH, Illinois; GEORGE G. SADOWSKI, Michigan.

Yishuv Hails Haganah-Irgun Agreement; Silver Congratulated on Efforts for Accord

JERUSALEM. — All sections of the Yishuv rejoiced over the agreement which has been reached between the Haganah and the Irgun Zvai Leumi.

Many leaders of the Yishuv cabled messages to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver congratulating him on his efforts, particularly during his recent visit to Palestine, which are credited with contributing in a very large measure toward bringing about the

unison of the two forces. On several previous visits there, Dr. Silver spent much time in this direction.

This agreement for a united Jewish front and national discipline was brought about following prolonged negotiations. The coordination of activities will be under the overall command of the Haganah, although the Irgun will retain its separate units in close cooperation with Haganah.

Silver Confers With Big Four; U. S. Denies That It Supports Palestine Federalization Plan

New Palestine

AMERICAN INDECISION ON PARTITION ISSUE FLAYED

3-17-48

As this issue goes to press, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American Section of the Jewish Agency Executive, together with Moshe Shertok, is meeting with the Big Four at the office of the French delegation in New York. The invitation was tendered to Dr. Silver by Warren Austin, chief American UN representative.

Prior to this invitation, Dr. Silver had a lengthy conference with Senator Austin in the course of which he indicated to the U.S. representative that he insisted on a prompt denial of the story published on the front page of the New York Times which reported that "a spokesman for the U.S. delegation hinted that the U.S. would agree to the establishment of a federal regime in Palestine, instead of the proposed Jewish and Arab States, if the change was accepted by the Jewish Agency for Palestine."

"Irreducible Minimum"

During the conference, Senator Austin took pains to deny this report which denial was subsequently issued in a formal statement by a spokesman of the U.S. delegation. The statement declared that there had been "no hints" of any change in the U.S. policy on Palestine, and that this policy still remained the support of the partition plan as outlined by Mr. Austin.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, in a formal statement following Dr. Silver's talk with Mr. Austin, reaffirmed that the UN

partition plan for Palestine was "an irreducible minimum" beyond which it could not go.

Events of recent weeks have shown that the enemies of the Jewish State are resorting to a war of nerves in their attempt to obtain nullification or revision of the UN partition decision.

The fog of confusion would have been completely evaporated were the U.S. government to have adopted a firm and unequivocal stand in line with the position it took when it fought for the Palestine resolution at the UN Assembly. As this is being

written, all indications are that American policy is floundering and drifting along. Members of the American UN delegation and Washington officials do not seem to know in what direction they are going.

It is an open secret that some UN delegates have voiced their desire to go along with the U.S. government provided America assumes the lead. But nobody seems to know exactly what the U.S. government is aiming at—whether it plans to go forward or remain stuck in the morass of indecision.

THE NEW PALESTINE

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ERNEST E. BARBARASH, Editor

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The Haganah— Irgun Accord

Out of the welter of disconcerting reports on the Palestine situation there emerged this week the gratifying news of the accord reached between the Haganah and the Irgun in Palestine. This establishes a united front to meet the aggression of the armed Arab bands and other related activities. This agreement tightens the national discipline of the most significant elements of the Yishuv. It is reported from Jerusalem that the agreement provides—as it should—for the over-all command of the Haganah, although the Irgun will retain its separate units in close cooperation with Haganah. It is understood that this arrangement will remain in effect until the formal establishment of the Jewish State. It is then expected that the Irgun will dissolve and merge with the official Jewish militia of the State.

Advocated by ZOA Leadership

The importance of this agreement cannot be overestimated. It is in the spirit of the unity reflected in the formation of the coalition Provisional Governing Council that has been established and represents virtually all political factions in Jewish

Palestine. It will enable the Yishuv to forge a cordon of steel against the onslaught of invading Arab bands encouraged by the attitude of a "neutral" British Administration. At the same time, the sense of national discipline will serve as a coordinating factor in all matters of policy and strategy governing the security and welfare of Jewish Palestine.

This fusion of forces has finally brought about a result which the spokesman for the ZOA advocated and fought for at the World Zionist Congress and especially at the last meeting of the Actions Committee in Zurich. The accord paves the way to a genuine unification of all factions in the Yishuv when it is fighting with its back to the wall and is determined to establish the Jewish State in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution. This agreement is conducive not only to amalgamation of organizations but to a deeper understanding between the different factions of the Yishuv. United, they will march on to the establishment of the Jewish State.

Silver Efforts

It is not without a feeling of satisfaction that we point out that a large measure of credit for achieving the agreement is attributable to the untiring efforts of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver during his recent visits to Palestine. With a singlemindedness of purpose and in direct negotiations with each of the groups over a long period of time, Dr. Silver has pursued his endeavors for the unification of the Haganah and Irgun. These efforts were practically consummated on his last visit to Palestine a few weeks ago.

For these activities, Dr. Silver, Dr. Emanuel Neumann and their associates have been the target of criticism and attacks from various sources, but events have again validated their position as the only logical line in the present situation. Leaders of all sections of the Yishuv, in hailing this agreement, have expressed their grati-

fication and appreciation for Dr. Silver's efforts which contributed so greatly in bringing about this united front.

Terrorism Condemned

The ZOA has had occasion in the past to condemn acts of the dissident groups in Palestine. In resolutions passed at the last convention the ZOA went on record as opposing terroristic acts and breaches of discipline committed by these groups. Such a resolution was in consonance with similar resolutions adopted by the World Zionist Congress and had the wholehearted support of the American Zionist delegation.

At the same time, American Zionists are fully mindful of the fact that the blame rests in large measure with the lawless acts of the British Administration in Palestine.

The official Zionist position was lucidly stated by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver in his recent address before the Security Council of the UN in his capacity as Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. We quote his words:

"The Jewish Agency has never condoned terrorism. It has deprecated it and denounced it time and again. It has carried on an intensive campaign of education among the Jews of Palestine against it. It took practical steps to combat it, as was acknowledged by the Palestine Government, even at the cost of life. The Jewish Agency, be it remembered, has no governmental or police authority. It could not reach the source of the evil which was feeding terrorism in Palestine. That source was the immoral and iniquitous policy of the White Paper, a self-willed and unlawful policy decreed by Great Britain. This policy was condemned by the foremost of Great Britain's statesmen . . .

British Lawlessness

"This lawless policy, which was imposed upon the Jewish people in Palestine at a time when their brothers and sisters were seeking to escape from the Hell of Europe where they were threatened with extinction and where six million of them ultimately perished, aroused the bitter resentment of the entire population. They came to regard such a repressive Government as hostile. Resistance flared up. The sharp injustice of seeing thousands of their unfortunate fellow Jews turned away from the shores of Palestine and sent back to concentration camps to resume a life of despair and homelessness inflamed the passions, especially of the youth of Palestine. Is there any wonder then that some of the most intemperate of them resorted to acts which no one condones, which the authoritative organs of our movement have repeatedly condemned and denounced as harmful to the Jewish people, but which everyone in all fairness must try to understand?

* * *

Dr. Silver's speech before the Security Council served to clarify to the world the fact that it is too late for any authority to prevent the establishment of the Jewish State as decreed by the General Assembly of the UN by more than a two-thirds vote.

The Yishuv has accepted the authority of the United Nations. Is it to be penalized for such action and become the pawn of power politics and oil interests? The Yishuv has given its answer with the formation of a provisional government to demonstrate to the world that it means to carry out the will of the United Nations.

Dr. Silver Protests Blaming Jews Also for Zion Violence

By FERN MARJA
Staff Correspondent

Lake Success, Mar. 19.—Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Executive of the

Jewish Agency for Palestine, today appealed to the U.N. Security Council against bracketing the Jewish people with Arab guerrilla

bands seeking to violate partition by force.

In a bitter protest to the U. S., Rabbi Silver struck back at "possible aspersions on our poor people, who are already carrying such heavy burdens" in an American report that indicated condemnation of both Arabs and Jews.

The Zionist leader decided to address the 11-member council after Warren R. Austin, chief of the American mission, said that the Big Four considered that continued infiltration into Palestine "by land and by sea" would aggravate the present situation.

Silver, a broad-shouldered, massive figure with a Leonine head, then took the floor in behalf of the Jewish people to point out that British reports have never cited Jewish armed incursions by sea.

After reading the official reports to the crowded chamber, he asserted that the mandatory power however had repeated "confirmed stories that non-Palestinian Arabs, all in uniform and well armed," had invaded the Holy Land from neighboring Arab countries.

"I am sure the Security Council is not willing to let this stand on the record," Silver told the attentive members. "The danger is that if the phrase is left there, there will be an equation in some

minds between the armed band and the so-called illegal immigrants who have come into Palestine from Cyprus, without mortars, without guns, without arms.

"They have not come to take part in violence. On the contrary, the Agency speaking for them has loyally accepted the United Nations resolution on partition. hTe armed bands have infiltrated in order to destroy partition. Surely you do not wish to put these two groups on the same moral level."

U.S.S.R. Delegate Refuses to Admit Warring Factions to Talks

NEW YORK. (JTA)—SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE ANDREI GROMYKO last week made it clear at a meeting of the Big Powers on Palestine that he would categorically refuse to participate in direct talks on conciliation with the Jewish Agency or the Palestine Arab Higher Committee.

Gromyko argued that all efforts to bring about Arab-Jewish conciliation have been exhausted. In addition, he pointed out, the Security Council eliminated conciliation from the U.S. resolution which turned over the Palestine issue to the Big Four—to establish whether the present situation in Palestine continues a threat to peace.

Gromyko's point-blank statement widened the existing gap between the United States and the U.S.S.R. on implementation of the U.N. partition decision. The American delegation is still proceeding with its plans in the hope that Arab-Jewish conciliation may be possible.

country. He revealed that, despite reports to the contrary, the Arab Legion has not yet been withdrawn and would not be withdrawn until April 15.

The meeting then formulated ten questions to the U.N. Palestine Commission requesting further clarification of several issues. U.S. delegate Warren Austin asked many questions about the establishment of a Jewish militia, indicating that the American delegation is greatly interested in this problem.



Jewish Agency Executives At U.N. Security Council

British representative Sir Alexander Cadogan, appearing at the meeting on behalf of the Mandatory Power, seemed to support the Soviet rather than the American view. In answering six questions put to him at the meeting, he indicated that Britain believes that no modification of the details of the partition plan would be acceptable to the Jews or the Arabs. Britain, he said, considered all bridges between the Jews and Arabs destroyed when she brought the Palestine case to the United Nations.

Doubts Partition. Sir Alexander also expressed doubt that partition can be implemented by peaceful means. He reiterated Britain's determination not to change its time-table of evacuation from Palestine. He informed the Big Four that about 7,000 foreign Arabs have invaded Palestine.

Fletcher Cooke, Palestine advisor to Sir Alexander, told the parley that on May 15, there will be no funds left in the Palestine treasury for the use of the U.N. Palestine Commission which is to take over the administration of the

U.S. Stands Pat

Lake Success, (JTA)—The American delegation here denied press reports that the United States is inclined to support a federation scheme in Palestine instead of partition. "No hints of a change in the U.S. policy have been made by any U.S. spokesman, because the policy has not been changed," the statement said. "The policy remains as stated by Sen. Warren Austin in the Security Council on February 24 and subsequently."

Rabbi Silver Calls U.S. Proposal 'Shocking Reversal' of Its Stand

American Leader of Jewish Agency Says U. S. Is Conceding That a U. N. Judgment Can Be Revised by Threats and Violence

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

LAKE SUCCESS, March 19.—Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, told the Security Council today that the American proposal to substitute temporary trusteeship by the United Nations for putting the Palestine partition plan into effect was "a shocking reversal of its position."

Only a few days ago, he said, the spokesman of the American delegation assured the Security Council that the government stood by partition and in recent weeks similar statements had been made by the President and the Secretary of State. United Nations trusteeship, he said, would not insure peace in Palestine.

"The world will not profit," said Rabbi Silver, "by the lesson which is now being read to it by the United States that a revision of an international judgment, maturely arrived at after prolonged and objective investigation and discussion, can be extorted by threats and violence."

His statement follows:

"The proposal of the United States government to suspend all efforts to implement the partition plan, approved by the United Nations General Assembly last November under the leadership of the United States, and to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine, is a shocking reversal of its position."

"Up to the last few days the spokesman of the United States delegation told the Security Council that the American government firmly stands by partition. Both the President of the United States and the Secretary of State have repeatedly within recent weeks maintained that the position of the United States on partition remained unaltered."

"We are at an utter loss to understand the reason for this amazing reversal which will bring confusion, is likely to lead to increased violence in Palestine and will incalculably hurt the prestige and authority of the United Nations for whose effectiveness the President of the United States pleaded again as recently as Wednesday last."

"It is clear, from the statement of the American delegation that the reason for scrapping a decision

of the United Nations General Assembly—overwhelmingly approved by its members—was the threat on the part of some member states to alter that decision by violence. This will be a fateful capitulation on the part of the world organization to threats and intimidation which will completely destroy all of its future effectiveness as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes and the maintenance of world peace.

"It should be clear to every one that the establishment of a trusteeship by the United Nations in Palestine will not automatically insure peace in that country, and that force will have to be used to maintain that arrangement, just as it would have been necessary to carry out the partition decision of the United Nations.

"The statement that the plan proposed by the General Assembly is an integral plan which cannot succeed, unless each of its parts can be carried out, is incorrect. This conception was never part of the plan. Indeed it is contrary to the statement made by the representative of the United States during the General Assembly.

"It is clear that an attempt is being made to force a solution upon the Jewish people of Palestine which would diminish its sovereignty, territory and immigration as was provided for in the partition plan. Otherwise no few proposals would now be made by the United States delegation looking towards a new solution. The United States knows full well that the Arabs have opposed and continue to oppose every solution which offers any satisfaction to the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

"The Jewish Agency has repeatedly been under necessity of stating that the partition plan represented maximum sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people beyond which it cannot go. Any proposals calling for further sacrifices will have to be imposed upon the Jewish community of Palestine by force.

"We hope that the United Nations will not knowingly assume the role of the British mandatory in an effort to carry out the kind of restrictive crippling and discriminatory measures under which the country has been administered in recent years.

"We are under obligation at this time to repeat what we stated at the session of the Security Council last week. The decision of the General Assembly remains valid for the Jewish people. We have accepted it and we are prepared to abide by it. If the United Nations Commission is unable to carry out the mandates which were assigned to it by the General Assembly, the Jewish people of Palestine will move forward in the spirit of that resolution and will do everything which will be dictated by considerations of national survival, as well as the considerations of justice and historic rights.

"The world will not profit by the lesson which is now being read to it by the United States that a revision of an international judgment maturely arrived at after prolonged and objective investigation and discussion, can be extorted by threats and defiance."

U. S. ABANDONS PALESTINE PARTITION; ASKS A SPECIAL ASSEMBLY SESSION, U. N. TRUSTEESHIP TILL FINAL SOLUTION

WORLD RIFT FACTOR

British Are Expected to Put Off Yielding of League Mandate

GROMYKO STILL FOR PLAN

Denies Peaceful Division of Holy Land Is Impossible—Silver Calls Our Shift 'Shocking'

Austin's Palestine statement;
resolution, Silver reply, Page 2.

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 19.—The United States asked the United Nations Security Council today to suspend action on a partition of Palestine and to call immediately a special session of the General Assembly to reconsider the question.

Pending a decision on its permanent status, Palestine should be administered as a trusteeship by the United Nations, Warren R. Austin, the United States representative, told the Council. Under the Charter, Palestine could be administered either by the United Nations collectively or by an individual member nation if the General Assembly approved a trusteeship agreement by a two-thirds vote.

The veto does not apply in the Trusteeship Council or the General Assembly.

In the light of developments, it is believed that London will postpone the termination of the League of Nations mandate.

Says Zionists Won't Yield

Immediately after Mr. Austin had spoken, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, the spokesman for the Jewish Agency for Palestine, denounced his statement as "a shocking reversal" of the United States position. Dr. Silver said that any proposals calling for further Zionist sacrifices "will have to be imposed upon the Jewish community of Palestine by force."

Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet representative, made it plain that the Soviet Union still wanted partition carried out. He said Mr. Austin's proposals were "the logical continuation" of the position taken by the United States during the great powers' consultations on implementation of partition, but he did not make an extended attack.

Mr. Austin had emphasized the finding in the great powers' talks that partition could not be enforced "by peaceful means."

Mr. Gromyko, however, said: "The position of the United States and the proposal submitted by the United States delegation today for the consideration of the

Security Council, as we all know, have nothing in common with the General Assembly's resolution on the Palestine question. . . .

"The representative of the United States has tried repeatedly to emphasize the fact that there seems to be general agreement that the partition plan cannot be implemented by peaceful means. This statement is rather misleading. I know what the statements of the United States and Chinese representatives were on this question. I do not know of statements by the representatives of any other state which hold that, in the opinion of the government of that state, the peaceful implementation of the partition plan is impossible.

Russian Dissents

"At any rate, as regards the Soviet Union, it cannot accept this position. Certainly it cannot be said that there is general agreement as regards this proposition."

There were no other speakers, and the Council, amid a hubbub of private discussion, adjourned until Wednesday at 10:30 A. M., when it will take up Mr. Austin's proposals.

Dr. T. F. Tsiang and Alexandre Parodi, the Chinese and French representatives, had told Mr. Austin at a four-power meeting during the luncheon recess that they would support the new United States proposals.

China had abstained on the passage of the partition resolution, and France had supported it only with reluctance.

Sir Alexander Cadogan, the British representative, also attended the meeting but did not express an opinion.

Definite word of the United States proposals was communicated to a small number of governments two days ago. Other members of the Council had expected such a move, but they were surprised when Mr. Austin announced it today. They had expected it to come later.

Mr. Austin told the Council that a "temporary" trusteeship would be "without prejudice" to the eventual status of Palestine. However, delegates and members of the secretariat agreed that the United States statement dealt a death blow to the partition decision adopted by the General Assembly on Nov. 29.

Partition was approved then by a vote of 31 to 13 (with ten abstentions) largely because the United States and the Soviet Union, almost for the first time since the United Nations was established, agreed in so controversial an issue.

Some delegates saw a possibility that the Assembly would become deadlocked on a new settlement, and there was unanimous agreement that an international military force would be necessary to restore order in Palestine.

Mr. Austin who showed the strain under which he had been laboring during the great power consultations, gave as a basic reason for the reversal in United States policy what he said was the unwillingness of the Security Council "to go ahead with efforts to implement this plan in the existing situation."

He added that "the loss of life in the Holy Land must be brought to an immediate end" and that "the maintenance of international peace is at stake."

A number of informed delegates, including supporters and opponents of partition, said later that they

felt that the basic reason, however, was the growing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. This was intense last November but has become steadily worse, as was made plain by President Truman's special message to Congress two days ago.

Soviet Foothold Feared

Despite the legal arguments by Mr. Austin in his statements to the Security Council on Feb. 24 and today, most delegates seemed convinced that the change in the United States position resulted primarily from fears that the Soviet Union would gain a foothold in Palestine if an international military force were sent.

In addition, the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington contended that United States participation in an implementing of partition would alienate the Arab countries and jeopardize the supply of oil to Britain and the United States from Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Despite strong indications that the United States was about to reconsider its position, President Truman reiterated on Feb. 12 his support of partition.

An impending shift in the United States position became unmistakable on March 9, when Mr. Austin, replying to a Soviet demand for measures to carry out partition, said that this "prejudged" the case. At that time Mr. Austin did not deny a Soviet spokesman's charge that the United States wished to reopen the Palestine question to the very beginning, and the United States subsequently joined France in opposing a great power declaration that the situation in Palestine constituted a threat to peace and security.

This trend was confirmed today when the four powers submitted to the Council a watered-down report that proposed no action at all. Except for the part condemning the arrival of Jewish as well as Arab fighters from outside Palestine, Mr. Gromyko was in general agreement with the report, but he insisted that it must be supplemented by concrete measures to carry out partition.

The other representatives remained silent, and, at the suggestion of Mr. Austin, the afternoon meeting was postponed until 3:30 o'clock to permit the four powers to renew consultations.

Since it would take more than two weeks to convene a special session of the Assembly and obtain its consent to a new solution, delegates were unable to see how the United States plan could be adopted and implemented before the British give up the League of Nations mandate in Palestine, which they have held since 1922.

Jebb Arrives Suddenly

The British have announced repeatedly that they will give up the mandate May 15. This date was inserted today in the bill before the House of Commons to authorize this action. However, when the Security Council convened it was noted that Gladwyn Jebb, an Assistant Secretary in the Foreign Office and a close associate of Foreign Secretary Bevin, had arrived from London and joined the British delegation.

Mr. Jebb refused to comment when asked whether he had come to the United States to discuss a postponement of the May 15 date, but it was generally believed that his presence indicated that the United States and British Governments had begun discussing this crucial point.

Even if the Soviet Union does not veto a time-saving call by the Security Council, considerable time will elapse before a special session begins. It is unlikely that the Council will decide before the end of

next week. As fifteen days must elapse before the special session convenes, it is apparently impossible to begin before April 9. Barely a month would remain before the announced date for the termination of the mandate.

As the British schedule does not call for the evacuation of all troops until Aug. 1, it is believed that London will defer the date for terminating the mandate to give the special session time to debate the question.

A more serious issue, in the view of most delegates, is that international force would be required to keep order under a trusteeship. Whoever becomes trustee, whether the United Nations collectively or an individual member, will have to decide whether to continue the restrictions on Jewish immigration and on the purchase of land by Jews that were imposed by the British under the White Paper of 1939.

Continuance of such measures, it is believed, would make Jewish resistance certain. Repeal might precipitate Arab resistance. Some sources believed that it might be necessary to fight both sides.

At the Council's morning session the Syrian representative, Faris el-Khuri, anticipated Mr. Austin's statement by proposing that the entire question be returned to the General Assembly and that Palestine be placed under the Trusteeship Council.

However, the Arab representatives were unenthusiastic about Mr. Austin's statement. Camille Chamoun, the Lebanese representative, said that under the League mandate it was intended that Palestine should become independent when its population was ready for self-government and the mandate terminated.

Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, who took part in the four-power conference at

which Mr. Austin gave an advance announcement of his proposals, immediately raised the question how an international force would be raised to keep order. He was assured by Mr. Austin on this subject.

A paraphrase of this discussion, as issued by the United Nations press division, follows:

Mr. Lie: I should like to point out that the question of a trusteeship was discussed by UNSCOP [United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended partition to the General Assembly last year]. It was raised by Australia, but the proposal was withdrawn after a discussion, because UNSCOP found that a trusteeship for Palestine would be fought by two parties instead of one and that it would require more military help to restore peace and security than partition. As Secretary General, I feel that I must ask whether the big powers, if they should adopt this proposal, are prepared to accept the responsibility for it and see that it is carried through.

Mr. Austin: I can answer that question. The United States is ready, of course, to back up a United Nations decision.

As most delegates see it, the fundamental legal difficulty with the partition plan was that it did not provide for the transfer of power directly from Britain to the proposed Jewish and Arab states. The British insisted that this would amount to their carrying out partition, and as a result power was to be transferred to the United Nations Palestine Commission, which

on Aug. 1 was to transfer it to the two states.

This interregnum was the core of the legal problem, but the essential difficulty was that of providing an international force to carry out partition in view of the feeling between the United States and the Soviet Union. These difficulties, competent sources predicted, will be more acute if, as is generally believed, an international force is required for the temporary trusteeship.

Declaration by Austin on Palestine Situation in the Security Council

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 19—Following are the texts of a statement on the Palestine question by Warren R. Austin in the United Nations Security Council today and of a report by Mr. Austin on behalf of the United States, the Soviet Union, China and France:

Mr. Austin's Statement

The resolution adopted by the Security Council on March 5, 1948, requested the permanent members of the Council, first, to consult and inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine and, second, to make, as a result of such consultations, recommendations to it regarding the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly.

In support of the position agreed on by at least some of the permanent members, it might be helpful to the Council, Mr. President, for me to summarize briefly, as we understand them, the present positions of the Palestine Commission, the mandatory power and the Jews and Arabs of Palestine concerning implementation of the partition plan recommended by the General Assembly.

During the consultations of the past two weeks the Palestine Commission was asked whether it had found sufficient acceptance of the partition plan on the part of the Jews, the Arabs and the mandatory power to afford a basis for its peaceful implementation. The commission's answer was no. It observed, in this connection, that the Jews of Palestine generally accepted the plan, that the Arabs of Palestine generally opposed the plan and that the mandatory power had declined to take any action which might be interpreted as involving implementation of the plan.

Commission's Stand on Force

The commission has repeated its view that it could not discharge its responsibilities on the termination of the mandate without the assistance of an adequate non-Palestinian armed force for the preservation of law and order. The commission does not consider it possible to implement the plan by peaceful means either as a whole or in substantial part so long as the existing vigorous Arab resistance to partition persists.

The commission considered itself unable, within the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly, to consider whether any modification of the recommended plan might offer a basis for agreement among the people of Palestine.

With regard to the establishment of the provisional councils of government in the proposed Jewish and Arab states by April 1, 1948, the commission has concluded:

(a) That the attitude of the Arab Higher Committee and Arab resistance in Palestine preclude any possibility of selecting a provisional council of government for the proposed Arab state by the first of April;

(b) That while the commission can take, and has in fact taken, some preliminary steps toward the selection of the provisional council of government for the Jewish state, the provisional council will not be able to carry out its functions, in the sense of the plan, prior to the termination of the mandate;

(c) The position of the mandatory power precludes any possibility of fulfilling by April 1 the provisions of the plan as regards either the Arab or the Jewish provisional council of government.

Remarks on Jerusalem

With regard to the City of Jerusalem, the commission's view is that the administration of the City of Jerusalem by the United Nations is possible if the plan of partition with economic union is generally accepted by the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine and peacefully implemented.

The permanent members held two discussions with the representative of the mandatory power. One of these was devoted to security problems and the other to the implementation of the partition plan.

From the information supplied by the mandatory government, it appears that several thousand Arabs have entered Palestine, in bands of varying size, and have infiltrated the Palestinian population. The identification of these Arabs has not been firmly established but it appears to be common knowledge in Palestine that they include nationals of most of the neighboring Arab states and that they have entered from Lebanon, Syria, Trans-Jordan and Egypt. The United Kingdom reports that these bands are irregular formations and are not organized units of any national armed force.

The representative of the mandatory power was asked whether his government considers that there is a threat of force against Palestine which now constitutes a threat to international peace and also whether the existing situation in Palestine is a situation which constitutes a threat to the peace. He replied that his government would furnish all the facts available, but that the question of what constitutes a threat to the peace is for the Security Council to decide.

Britain's Position Stated

In response to questions concerning implementation of the General Assembly recommendation, the mandatory power stated that it has "accepted" the plan of partition with economic union recommended by the General Assembly but that it cannot participate in its implementation. While it wished to avoid any action which might be considered as obstructive, it could not itself be

instrumental in putting into effect a plan which is not accepted by both the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine.

The representative of the mandatory power informed the permanent members that his government considered that it would be very difficult to carry out the plan without the backing of force; that even if the Jewish militia were sufficiently armed to insure the organization and protection of the Jewish state such action would not be the equivalent of a settlement, that the United Kingdom did not believe that there were any modifications in detail which would make the plan acceptable both to the Jews and Arabs of Palestine and that no change in the timetable of British withdrawal from Palestine is contemplated by the United Kingdom. The representative of the United Kingdom further stated that his government had no suggestions to make with regard to means by which the Jews and Arabs of Palestine might be brought together, although successful efforts in this direction would be welcomed.

Budget is \$96,000,000

Representatives of the mandatory government further indicated that there would be a very substantial deficit in the Palestinian budget following British withdrawal and that, while the Palestinian Government has been financially self-sufficient, the cost of maintaining British forces in Palestine is considerably larger than the total Palestinian budget of \$96,000,000 annually.

Representatives of the Jewish Agency stated that the Jews of Palestine accept the partition plan. The Agency claimed that the plan represents, however, an irreducible minimum for the Jews of Palestine since it already involves a great reduction in what they consider their rightful claims; also, that, although there is no perfect or easy solution, the present plan is the only practical solution reached after many other plans had failed of acceptance. The Agency representatives stated that it should now be taken as a postulate that any plan whatever will require enforcement. No modifications in the plan would commend themselves to the Jews, and the Jewish Agency does not see any possibility of modifications which would make the plan acceptable to the Arabs.

The Jewish Agency stated that the Jews of Palestine would be ready to undertake the responsibilities for government and for the maintenance of law and order within the proposed Jewish state. They expressed confidence that they could assert the authority of the Jewish state and maintain essential public services. This would presuppose the establishment and equipment of the militia contemplated in the plan and the removal of restrictions on the importation of arms. They believed that an international force would be necessary and that if no international force were provided much more serious losses both to Arabs and Jews would result.

Armed Intervention Noted

On the question of implementation by peaceful means, the Jewish Agency stated that it did not believe it would be possible to obtain a formal public agreement with the Arabs of Palestine in advance of implementation. They believed, however, that, if left alone, considerable sections of Palestinian Arabs would be willing to cooperate or acquiesce but that armed intervention by neighboring states completely changed that situation.

With respect to economic union, the Jewish Agency stated that they accepted economic union as a part of the plan although they themselves did not ask for it. The Agency does not consider the principles of the proposed economic union essential to the economic life of Palestine as a whole or to creation of the Jewish state. The Agency considers that economic union should not be an obstacle to the creation of the Jewish state.

The representatives of the Jewish Agency stated that the Jews would cooperate in the administration of Jerusalem by the United Nations, considered, however, as part of the partition plan. The United Nations administration of Jerusalem apart from the plan would create a serious obstacle to cooperation.

Asked Rule of Immigration

The Jews insist upon the control of immigration, said the Jewish Agency, because that was a question of sovereignty and was a most essential part of the whole scheme. The Jews, they said, must have the keys to their own homeland in their own hand. The exclusive control of immigration was the most powerful argument in persuading the Jews to accept the partition plan. They had in mind a rate of immigration of 80,000 to 100,000 a year (roughly 1,000,000 over a ten-year period) subject to changing conditions both inside the Jewish state and in areas outside. They pointed out that there no longer is a great reservoir of Jews in Europe and that Arab fears that Palestine would be inundated can no longer be considered as well grounded.

The assumption of administrative or governmental responsibility by the United Nations is another matter. If the United Nations is to act as a government, a large administrative task is involved. The organization itself becomes directly responsible for all phases of the life of the people over whom such powers are exercised. It is a formidable responsibility and a heavy financial commitment is incurred by all fifty-seven members of the organization.

The United Nations does not automatically fall heir to the responsibilities of the League of Nations or of the mandatory power in respect of the Palestine mandate. The record seems to us entirely clear that the United

Dr. Silver's Statement

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 19—Following is the statement made today for the Jewish Agency for Palestine by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the United Nations Security Council:

The proposal of the United States Government to suspend all efforts to implement the partition plan approved by the United Nations General Assembly last November, under the leadership of the United States, and to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine is a shocking reversal of its position.

Up to the last few days the spokesman for the United States delegation has told the Security Council that the United States Government firmly stands by partition. Both the President of the United States and the Secretary of State have repeatedly within recent weeks maintained that the position of the United States on partition remained unaltered. We are at an utter loss to understand the reason for this amazing reversal, which will bring confusion, is likely to lead to increased violence in Palestine and will incalculably hurt the prestige and authority of the United Nations, the reversal of a plan whose effectiveness the President of the United States pleaded again as recently as Wednesday last.

It is clear from the statement of the United States delegation that the reason for scrapping a decision of the United Nations General Assembly, overwhelmingly approved by its members, was the threat on the part of some member states to alter that decision by violence. This will be a fateful capitulation on the part of the world organization to threats and intimidation, which will completely destroy all of its future effectiveness as an instrument of the settlement of international disputes and for the maintenance of world peace.

It should be clear to everyone that the establishment of a trusteeship by the United Nations in Palestine will not automatically insure peace in that country and that force will have to be used to maintain that arrangement, just as it would have been necessary to carry out the partition decision of the United Nations.

The statement that the plan proposed by the General Assembly is an integral plan which cannot succeed unless each of its parts can be carried out is incorrect. This conception was never part of the plan. Indeed, it is contrary to the statement made by the representative of the United States during the General Assembly.

Nations did not take over the League of Nations mandate system.

The League of Nations Assembly on April 18, 1946, at its final session, passed a resolution which included the following two paragraphs:

The Assembly . . .

3. Recognizes that, on the termination of the League's existence, its functions with respect to the mandated territories will come to an end but notes that Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter of the United Nations embody principles corresponding to those declared in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League;

4. Takes note of the expressed intentions of the members of the League now administering territories under mandate to continue to administer them for the well-being and development of the peoples concerned in accordance with the obligations contained in the respective mandates until other arrangements have been agreed between the United Nations and the respective mandatory powers.

At the first part of the first session of the United Nations General Assembly, on Feb. 12, 1946, the Assembly passed a resolution regarding the transfer of certain functions, activities, and assets of the League of Nations to the United Nations. No transfer of functions concerning mandates was mentioned. The resolution included the statement that:

The General Assembly will itself examine, or will submit to the appropriate organ of the United Nations, any request from the parties that the United Nations should assume the exercise of functions or powers entrusted to the League of Nations by treaties, international conventions, agreements and other instruments having a political character.

U. N. Trusteeship Framework

Provision was made in the United Nations Charter for the voluntary placing of mandates under a trusteeship system by means of trusteeship agreements between the General Assembly or the Security Council and the states directly concerned. By such an agreement, the United Nations itself, under Article 81 of the Charter, could become the administering authority for a trust territory. No such proposal has been made by the mandatory power with respect to Palestine and no action has been taken by the United Nations itself which would have that result.

A unilateral decision by the United Kingdom to terminate the Palestine mandate cannot automatically commit the United Nations to responsibility for governing that country. We think it clear that the United Nations does not succeed to administrative responsibility for Palestine merely because the latter is a mandate. Signing the Charter did not commit the signatories to a contingent liability for mandates, to become operative by the decisions of mandatory powers to

abandon their mandates. On the facts reported by the permanent members, Palestine is a land falling under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter, a non-self-governing territory.

Does the General Assembly recommendation of Nov. 29, 1947, constitute an acceptance by the United Nations of governmental responsibility for Palestine?

On April 2, 1947, the United Kingdom directed a request to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the first part of which states:

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

Thus the question of Palestine came before the General Assembly only as a request for a recommendation. No proposal was made by the United Kingdom to the General Assembly that the United Nations itself undertake responsibility for the government of Palestine.

Following consideration of the question of Palestine in a special session, in a special committee (the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine), and at its second regular session, the General Assembly passed a resolution which recommended "to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory power for Palestine, and to all other members of the United Nations, the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the plan of partition with economic union" set forth in the resolution.

Under the plan, the United Nations agreed, as a part of the recommended general settlement, to undertake administrative responsibilities for the City of Jerusalem. Further, the General Assembly agreed that a commission elected by it would perform certain functions to effect the transfer of responsibility from the mandatory power to the successor governments in Palestine. The limited responsibilities of the United Nations set forth in the plan are inseparable from the plan as a whole and are dependent upon the adoption and implementation of the entire plan. This essential unity of the General Assembly recommendation was emphasized by the chairman of the Palestine Commission in his statement to the Security Council on Feb. 24:

I have put some stress upon the words "plan of partition" since it has been envisaged by the General Assembly" since it is with the implementation of such plan that our commission has been entrusted. It is quite natural and legitimate—for interested parties to concentrate their

efforts preponderantly—if not exclusively—on such parts of the plan as are intended more especially for their sake. The commission is not in such a position; its duty, according to its terms of reference, is to provide for the implementation of the whole plan which has been conceived by the General Assembly as a whole. . . .

Since the plan has been envisaged as a whole, the realization and sound functioning of one part of the plan has been made, in a substantial degree, dependent upon the establishment and functioning of its other parts.

Political Vacuum Foreseen

The limited functions which the General Assembly offered to undertake in connection with its Palestine recommendation stand or fall with that resolution. If it proves impossible to give effect to that resolution, the United Nations will have, on May 15, 1948, no administrative and governmental responsibilities for Palestine, unless further action is taken by the Assembly.

The plan proposed by the General Assembly was an integral plan which would not succeed unless each of its parts could be carried out. There seems to be general agreement that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means. From what has been said in the Security Council and in consultations among the permanent members of the Council, it is clear that the Security Council is not prepared to go ahead with efforts to implement this plan in the existing situation.

The Security Council now has before it clear evidence that the Jews and Arabs of Palestine and the mandatory power cannot agree to implement the General Assembly plan of partition through peaceful means. The announced determination of the mandatory power to terminate the mandate on May 15, 1948, if carried out by the United Kingdom, would result, in the light of information now available, in chaos and heavy fighting in Palestine. The United Nations cannot permit such a result. The loss of life in the Holy Land must be brought to an immediate end. The maintenance of international peace is at stake.

The United States fully subscribes to the conclusion reached by the permanent members that the Security Council should make it clear to the parties and governments concerned that the Security Council is determined not to permit the situation in Palestine to threaten international peace and, further, that the Security Council should take further action by all means available to it to bring about the immediate cessation of violence and the restoration of peace and order in Palestine.

Under the Charter, the Security Council has both an inescapable responsibility as well as full authority to take the steps necessary to bring about a cease-fire in Palestine and a halt to the incursions being made into that country. The powers of Articles 39, 40, 41 and 42 are very great and the Council should not hesitate to use them—all of them—if necessary, to stop the fighting.

Move Called Temporary

In addition, my government believes that a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations to maintain the peace and to afford the Jews and Arabs of Palestine further opportunity to reach an agreement regarding the future government of that country. Such a United Nations trusteeship would, of course, be without prejudice to the character of the eventual political settlement, which we hope can be achieved without long delay. In our opinion, the Security Council should recommend the establishment of such a trusteeship to the General Assembly and to the mandatory power. This would require an immediate special session of the General Assembly, which the Security Council might call under the terms of the Charter.

Pending the meeting of the special session of the General Assembly, we believe that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its effort to implement the proposed partition plan.

I shall now read three propositions which are being submitted by the United States. I am not making any representation for any other one of the permanent members. The United States propositions are contained in a paper entitled "Additional Conclusions and Recommendations Concerning Palestine," which has been circulated to the members. It reads as follows:

1. The plan proposed by the General Assembly is an integral plan which cannot succeed unless each of its parts can be carried out. There seems to be general agreement that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means.

2. We believe that further steps must be taken immediately not only to maintain the peace but also to afford a further opportunity to reach an agreement between the interested parties regarding the future government of Palestine. To this end we believe that a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Such a United Nations trusteeship would be without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned or to the character of the eventual political settlement, which we hope can be achieved without long delay. In our opinion, the Security Council should recommend the establishment of such a trusteeship to the General Assembly and to the mandatory power. This would require an immediate special session of the General Assembly, which the Security Council should request the Secretary General to convene under Article 20 of the Charter.

3. Pending the meeting of the

proposed special session of the General Assembly, we believe that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its efforts to implement the proposed partition plan.

Draft resolutions which would give effect to the above suggestions will be circulated shortly for the consideration of the Security Council.

Big Powers' Report

I shall make a brief report on the consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council up to date relating to the resolution of 5 March, 1948, which reads as follows:

RESOLVES:

1. To call on permanent members of the Council to consult and to inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine. . . .

The permanent members of the Security Council have met several times. In fact, they have met as often as circumstances have permitted. The Secretary General has attended two of the meetings in his official capacity of administering authority and has furnished information.

What I am about to read to the representatives on the Security Council will be well documented by the Secretary General, and each representative will have papers that contain questions, answers and reports of the United Nations Palestine Commission upon which is based the paper I am about to read. The matter stated in this paper has the agreement of three of the permanent members of the Security Council, China, France and the United States. To what extent it has the agreement of the Soviet Union will probably be stated by the representative of the Soviet Union.

Powers to Continue Meeting

I shall not proceed with this very brief document which contains Part 1 and Part 2. I should like to have the representatives on the Security Council understand that this is only the beginning; this refers only to the first operative part of the resolution, and the permanent members intend to continue their consultations as soon as possible, perhaps today if the time is afforded, in order to carry on with the consultations relating to the second operative part of the resolution, and then report to the Security Council as soon as possible in an attempt to meet the timetable that is set forth in the General Assembly resolution.

The consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council and informal communications with the Palestine Commission, the mandatory power, the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee, held since 5 March 1948, have developed the following facts regarding the situation with respect to Palestine:

1. The Jewish Agency accepts the partition plan, considers it to be the irreducible minimum acceptable to the Jews and insists upon the implementation of the plan without modification.

2. The Arab Higher Committee rejects any solution based on partition in any form and considers that the only acceptable solution is the formation of one independent state for the whole of Palestine, whose constitution would be based on democratic principles and which would include adequate safeguards for minorities and the safety of the holy places.

3. No modifications in the essentials of the partition plan are acceptable to the Jewish Agency, and no modifications would make the plan acceptable to the Arab Higher Committee.

Peaceful Action Doubted

4. The Palestine Commission, the mandatory power, the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee have indicated that the partition plan cannot be implemented by peaceful means under present conditions.

5. The mandatory power has confirmed that a considerable number of incursions of illegal arms and armed elements into Palestine have occurred by land and sea.

6. The gradual withdrawal of the military forces of the mandatory will, in the absence of agreement, result in increasing violence and disorder in Palestine. Warfare of a guerrilla type grows more violent constantly.

7. If the mandate is terminated prior to a peaceful solution of the problem, large-scale fighting between the two communities can be expected.

Part 2 of this paper reads as follows:

1. As a result of the consultations of the permanent members regarding the situation with respect to Palestine, they find and report that a continuation of the infiltration into Palestine, by land and by sea, of groups and persons with the purpose of taking part in violence would aggravate still further the situation, and recommend:

(a) That the Security Council should make it clear to the parties and governments concerned that the Security Council is determined not to permit the existence of a threat to international peace in Palestine, and

(b) That the Security Council should take further action by all means available to it to bring about the immediate cessation of violence and the restoration of peace and order in Palestine.

At a time that appears suitable to the permanent members who may be in agreement regarding the reminder of the findings, either today or soon thereafter, a resolution or resolutions will be offered to the Security Council.

Silver Blasts U.S. Reversal

Jewish Agency Chief Calls Stand Shocking — Sees Blow at U. N. and New Violence.

As Jewish circles here and abroad gloomily pondered the United States proposal to substitute temporary trusteeship in Palestine for the partition plan, the reaction of Zionist supporters was crystallized today in a statement by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Dr. Silver's statement, released at Lake Success last night, branded the stand taken by the American delegation a shocking reversal of its position. He said that President Truman, Secretary of State Marshall and the American delegates have maintained repeatedly in recent weeks that the United States stood firmly in support of partition.

"The Jewish Agency has repeatedly been under the necessity of stating that the partition plan represented the maximum sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people beyond which it cannot go," Dr. Silver said. "Any proposals calling for further sacrifices will have to be imposed upon the Jewish community in Palestine by force."

Fears Increased Violence.

He said that the Jewish Agency was at an utter loss to understand the reversal by the United States, and expressed fear that it would lead to increased violence in the Holy Land and incalculably hurt the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

"It is with deep sorrow that we state that the world will not profit by the lesson which is now being read to it by the United States: that a revision of an international judgment, maturely arrived at after prolonged and objective investigation and discussion, can be extorted by threats and armed defiance," he declared. He charged that the latest development represented an attempt to force a solution upon the Jewish people of Palestine which would diminish its sovereignty, territory and immigration.

DR. SILVER SCORES U. S. ON PALESTINE

Says Trusteeship Plan Would Place America in Position of Fighting Jews There

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, asserted yesterday that the American proposal for a United Nations trusteeship over Palestine would place the "American Government in the position of fighting the Jews in Palestine."

In a ninety-minute address before Zionist leaders at a special all-day session of the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America at the Pennsylvania Hotel, Dr. Silver asserted that a trusteeship would mean the presence of American troops in Palestine.

"This is unthinkable," he said, "but I have seen many unthinkable things happen in this crazy world of ours."

Says Jews Must Fight It

He compared the proposed trusteeship to the British White Paper, which permits limited Jewish immigration and no purchase of land in Palestine by the Jews. "The Jews will have no other recourse but to fight it as they fought the White Paper," he added.

"It makes no difference," he continued, "whether the soldiers of the trustee power wear French or Chinese or American uniforms, the opposition will be there. The only question will be who is on the other side of barbed wire."

The top-ranking Zionist leader asserted the proposal for a trusteeship was an old one that "was considered rejected." He said the plan was merely a continuation of the Mandate.

"The United States," he declared, "wants to push it into the United Nations Trusteeship Council because Russia is not there. This plan makes it possible to keep Russia out."

Dr. Silver said the United Nations Charter provides that "the states directly concerned" should fix the terms of a trusteeship. The nations that would be involved in the fixing of the terms would be Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt as well as Great Britain, he added.

"If any trusteeship is established," he maintained, "I prophesy that Great Britain will be there, either alone or with other states."

Dr. Silver, however, asserted that "by the time they think out the terms of this trusteeship, enthusiasm for this plan may cool off considerably." Such a proposal, he said, would require approval of a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly "and it may or may not receive it."

"The logical thing to do today is to proclaim the Jewish State in Palestine," he said. He added that this depended on whether the Palestine Jews were strong enough to back up the proclamation.

"We are now waiting to hear from the Jewish people in Palestine," he said. "Their judgment must be binding on us. We've lost a major battle, but what counts is who wins the last battle."

Oil Companies Accused

Dr. Silver charged that oil interests had been trying to defeat the partition plan.

The plan of the oil companies, he said, "won the enthusiastic support of Secretary of Defense Forrestal, who was identified with oil interests for years." Dr. Silver then listed Secretary Marshall, Robert I. Lovett, Loy Henderson and Norman Armour as the men who also opposed partition.

"This group finally persuaded President Truman to become a convert," Dr. Silver asserted.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America, said:

"It is not yet too late for President Truman to shake himself loose from this conspiracy fostered by oil profiteers. He should be aware that the logic of the position assumed by the State Department may yet lead to the employment of an international force headed by the United States, not against the Hitlerite Mufti and his hired cutthroats, but with these assassins and against the Jews of Palestine, the only bastion of democracy in the Near East. He can go along with this plan of genocide or restore our national policy to the course he had himself charted and supported hitherto."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, said the Austin proposal would only

aggravate the Palestine problem, not solve it.

"It will require more force," Dr. Goldstein said, "to enforce a United Nations trusteeship over Palestine than it would have required to implement partition. Will the United States supply troops against the Jews of Palestine which it was unwilling to supply against the Arabs?"

The Council unanimously went on record expressing "indignation and shock over the reversal by the Administration of our country's traditional policy for the establishment of the will of the American people."

Reports were made by Milton Pollack, chairman of Finance Committee of the Zionist Organization of America; Dr. Robert Gordis, educational chairman; Abe Tuvin, executive director of the American Zionist Emergency Council; Louis Lipsky, chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, and Manuel Posy, national director of the American Palestine Fund.

The U. N. Agenda

Monday, March 22, 1948

Small Powers Ask U. S. Aid to Enforce Palestine Trusteeship as New Security Council Rules Up

PALESTINE — The Palestine problem was complicated further by reports that a group of small powers will seek defeat of any American plan for a Holy Land trusteeship that does not include American assurances on enforcement. The small-power movement, an outgrowth of widely held conviction that the new American trust plan would be as hard to carry out as the U. N. partition program, is expected to break into the open at the American request for a special Palestine Assembly session is approved. Story on page 1.



Five hundred Arabs attacked convoys on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway and prevented five members of the Jewish Agency Executive from attending an emergency session at Tel Aviv where a statement on a Jewish state was expected. The casualty toll in fighting throughout Palestine on Palm Sunday was nineteen Jews, six Arabs and one British officer. Story on page 1.

The Arab League's Political Committee of Foreign Ministers, meeting at Beirut, decided to oppose any attempt to force partition of Palestine and expressed pleasure over American abandonment of partition. Story on page 12.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American section of the Jewish Agency, told the Zionist Organization of America in New York that American plans for U. N. trusteeship over the Holy Land means that American troops will have to fight the Jews of Palestine.

United Nations Events Scheduled for Today

At Lake Success, L. I.

10:30 a. m.—Subcommittee 3 of the Interim Committee (Little Assembly) of the General Assembly (open).

11 a. m.—Subcommission on Employment and Economic Stability (open).

11 a. m. and 3 p. m.—A meeting to consider co-ordination of the international fellowship program (closed).

2:30 p. m.—Security Council takes up Czechoslovak case (open).

All reservations for public seating at open meetings should be obtained a day in advance by telephoning Fieldstone 7-1100, Extension 2126 or 2156, after 8:30 a. m.

WNYC Broadcasts

Radio station WNYC will begin at 3 p. m. to broadcast today's Security Council session on 83 kilocycles.

Dr. Silver Fears U.S. Troops and Jews May Fight

Sees 'Unthinkable' War if Palestine Goes Under U. N. Trusteeship Plan

American plans for a United Nations trusteeship over the Holy Land mean that United States troops will have to fight the Jews of Palestine, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American section of the Jewish Agency, declared yesterday.

"It is unthinkable, but I have seen many unthinkable things happen in this crazy world of ours," Dr. Silver told an emergency meeting of the national administrative council of the Zionist Organization of America at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

Dr. Silver said that the trusteeship plan, being a victory for Great Britain and the Arabs, would entail continued restrictions on Jewish immigration into the Holy Land and that the Jews would have no recourse but to fight it.

Uniform 'No Difference'

"Whether the soldiers under the new regime wear French, Chinese or American uniforms," he said, "won't make a particle of difference. The opposition will still be there. The only question will be

who is on the other side of the barbed wire."

Dr. Silver said that the trusteeship plan could only be carried out by force, and that the United States would have to assume the "major responsibility" for carrying it out.

In a far stronger denunciation of the United States than he made before the U. N. Security Council on Friday after the United States reversed its stand on Palestine partition, Dr. Silver said that "the American government is trying to push this thing into the U. N. Trusteeship Council because Russia is not there." (Russia has boycotted the U. N. trusteeship group.)

"If a U. N. force is sent to Palestine, and it will have to be sent if the trusteeship plan is adopted," Dr. Silver said, "the United States will be on it, and Russia will be kept out."

'Undermining the U. N.'

Charging the United States with being "the principal factor in undermining the U. N.," Dr. Silver also attacked the defense of American Palestine policy made by Secretary of State George C. Marshall Saturday. In Los Angeles, Calif., Mr. Marshall said that the American action was the "wisest" under existing circumstances. He also said that the United States has sought to have the U. N. Security Council accept the partition plan as the basis for its own action, and that the Council refused to do so on March 5.

Dr. Silver charged that Mr. Marshall's statement "leaves much to be desired as to fact and accuracy." He said that Mr. Mar-

shall was "obscuring" the role of the United States in the Security Council.

"That role was to scuttle the partition plan," he said. "The question of implementing partition was never discussed by the Big Four (the United States, Russia, China and France, who held informal conversations on the Palestine problem at the request of the Security Council). It was never the intention of the United States seriously to have it discussed."

Dr. Silver said that trusteeship over the Holy Land under the U. N. charter would inevitably mean re-adoption of the principles of the British White Paper of 1939, which limited Jewish immigration and forbade land acquisition by Jews.

He read Article 79 of the Chapter, which says: "The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a member of the U. N." ...

The "states directly concerned," Dr. Silver said, would include Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. These countries, with the help of Great Britain as the former mandatory power, would perpetuate the White Paper policies, he added.

Other speakers included Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Z. O. A., and Dr. Israel Goldstein, national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal.

Dr. Neumann said that abandonment of the partition plan was

"one of the vilest intrigues in international history—a plot hatched in the bosom of the British Foreign Office, to which our government now proposed to end itself."

Dr. Goldstein said that "it will require more force to enforce a U. N. trusteeship over Palestine than it would have required to implement partition."

Bringing cheers from the Z. O. A. council, Dr. Silver said that "we are now waiting to hear from the Jewish people in Palestine—their earnest, considered judgment in this regard will be binding upon us."

"We have lost a major battle, there is no doubt about it," he concluded. "But what counts is who wins the last battle. . . We are going to fight on with all the stiff-neckedness which is the divine gift of our people . . . until the Jewish state is established."

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1948

לוח פאר היינט
יום ב' י"א אדר ב' ה'תש"ח
מאנטיאג, מערץ 22, 1948
6:56 — 111 אומיטאנט
6:10 — 111 אומיטאנט
דער יומי פאר היינט: יבמות ע'
וועט ער:
היינט רעפערט.

דער מארגן זשורנאל

יום
שבת
גמ נאך
יידישערונג
פאר'ן
מעשה היינט
סאמען!

PRICE 5 CENTS NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1948. MAIL 8 PAGES VOL. XLVII, NO. 14,125. 8 זייטן 5 סענט

אמעריקאנער ציוניסמן רופן אידען זיד צו האלפן מוטיג און זייטער קעמפער פאר אידישער יזובה

RABBI J. J. MODEL
THE TEMPLE MODEL
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וואשינגטאן האט געגען ווילען פון אמעריקאנער פארק אריינגעשטעקט אידען א מעסער אין רוקען, זאגט סילווער

דער סילווער האט אבער מיט קעגן
פארשטען פאמאס אונטערשטראכען
אז קיין שום סטראטעגיקע אדער
באבוליס וועלען נישט איבערשטעקן
דאס אמעריקאנער אידענטום. די אידן
זינען אנגעטון און די אמעריקאנער
ציוניסטן האלטן זיך ביי דעם גע-
זעליכען ידען באשלוס און זיי וועלען
ווייטער קעמפער פאר דער נענעמער
כער און גערעכטער אידישער מלכות.
דער סעקורטי קאמיסיון האט נישט
קיין שום רעכט אפצווארפן דעם
באשלוס פון דער דויערנער אסעמ-
בלי פון די יוניטער ניוטאנס, און
אסטין האט נישט געהאט קיין שום
געזעצליכע רעכט צו פארדערן, אז די
ארץ ישראל קאמיסיע זאל אפטייעלען
די ארכיט פון דורכפירן דעם חלוקה.
האט דר. סילווער אנגעוויזען,
דער פיהרער פון דעם אמעריקאנער
טויל פון דער אידישער אנגעטון האט
אויך געלאזט וויסען, אז דער ישוב
וועט אויך ווייטער אננעמען מיט דורכ-
פירן דעם איינציגן געזעצליכען
ידען באשלוס.
די סאמע ערנסטסטע ווארונגן מיט
וועלכער דר. סילווער איז ארויסגעק-
מען איז געווען, אז אויסטייל פאר
שלאג פאר טראסטטישן מיינונג, אז
אראבער און ענגלאנד וועלען באשטי-
מען דעם גורל פון ארץ ישראל.
דער ציוניסטישער פיהרער האט גע-
בראכט א פאראנדרא פון "טראסטטי-
ש" קאמיסיע" סטארטער, וואו
ס'זייטן כפירט געשריבען, אז ווען
עס האנדעלט זיך וועגען א טעריטא-
ריע וואס דארף איבערגען צו א
טראסטטישן, דארפן די לענדער וואס
זיינען אין דעם דורכפירן פאראנדרע-
רעסורט באשטימען דעם בא-
שלוס. דר. סילווער האט אנגעוויזען,
עס מיינען, אז די אראבישע לענדער
און ענגלאנד וועלען דארפן באשטי-
מען דעם גורל פון ארץ ישראל.
טראסטטישן וועט זיין דאס איינ-
ציג וואס ווי דאס "וויסע פאפיר", האט

שווערונג צו פארווארפן די עטאלי-
רונג פון א אידישער מלכות אין צו-
גרייט און דורכפירט געווארען.
ער האט דערזעהלט ווי די אראבער
האבען ארונטערגעשיקט קיין וואשינג-
טאן זייערע בעסטע פראפאגאנדיסטען,
ווי די לאזונע אראבער האבען זיך
צום אלעם ערשטען געווענדעט צו די
אויסלאנדאטען, ווי די אינטערנע-
האט זיך אנגעהויבען צו פארשפריי-
טען און דערנאכט דעם סטייט דע-
פארטמענט, ווי אלע שונאי ציון הא-
בען זיך אנגעכאפט אין דער אינטר-
נע און ווי פרעווערענט טרומאן איז
ענדליך איבערגעקערט געווארען.
דר. סילווער האט אויך אנאליזירט
די פראפאגאנדע וואס איז ארויסגע-
וואקסען פון דער פארשווערונג.
לויט דער דאזיקער פראפאגאנדע
איז אויסגעקומען, אז די אמעריקאנער
רעגירונג זוכט נאר שלום און פריידען
אין ארץ ישראל, און איז גרייט צו טאן
אויסנעם איבערצובעטן די אידען
מיט די אראבער.
נאך דעם האט געפאלגט דער בלבל-
אז אידען וואס פארהערן קיין ארץ
ישראל זינען קאמוניסטען. עס האט
זיך נאך אנגעהויבען מיט באריכטען
וועלען דעם אין די צייטונגען, און
שפעטער זינען די אראבישע פיהרער
ארויסגעקומען מיט אפענע באשול-
דיגונגען, זיי די אראבישע פיהרער,
האבען געווען פרעסעקאנפערענצען
און וועגען דעם געזעס פון טריבור
נעם.
דאס אלץ, האט דר. סילווער גע-
זאגט, איז נישט געטאן געווארען צו
פעליג, נאר איז ארגאניזירט געווארען
ווי א טייל פון דער נאנצער אינטערנע-
בעת די פארשווערונג איז אנגע-
נאנצען האט דער סטייט דעפארטמענט
געקאנטען די אידישע אנגעטון און
די הונד ציוניסטישע פיהרער איז דער
ניינטער נישט, נאר מעהר, פאראשאל
און טרומאן האבען ביז דער לעצטער
מינוט געמאכט דעם איינדרוק, אז זיי
זינען מויל גאנצען הארצען פאר א
אידישער מלכות.
דאן איז געקומען די ביטערע אר-
בערשאונג — אויסטייל פארשלאג

נליד נאך סילווער'ס רעדע איז
אפגעהאלטען געווארען א געטלאסע-
נע וועגן פון דעם אדמיניסטראטיווען
קאמיטעט, וואו — ווי דער רעפאר-
טער פון "כארגען ווערנאל" האט זיך
דערוואקסט — זיינען אויסגעארבייט
געווארען פלענער צו קאראפערירען
מיט'ן ישוב אין דער פראקלאמירונג
פון א אידישער מלכות.
סילווער'ס רעדע האט געשטורעמט
מיט פראטעסט און ענטריסטונג גע-
גען דער טרומאן-טראסטטישער אסעמ-
בלי פון פארשווערונג. ער האט בא-
טאנט, אז די אמעריקאנער פרעסע, די
אמעריקאנער עפענטליכע מיינונג
דער סעקורטאריאט פון די יוניטער
נייטאנס, האבען וואגערליך פאר-
אפערירט מיט דער אידישער אנגע-
טון אין איהר פארזוך צו ראטעווען
די לאנע, אבער נישט געקוקט אויף
דעם, האט די טרומאן אדמיניסטרא-
ציע, דורך אפגארעיי און אויסשטייט
דורכלאסטישע דרידלעך פאראטען
דאס אידישע פאלק און דערלאנגט די
יוניטער ניוטאנס א מיטיקלאס.
דר. סילווער האט אפגען באשולדיגט
אז דער סעקורטי קאמיסיע, וואו דעם
דושייטס פארעסטאל, אהן אן אויך
כאן, האט געארבייט פאר די אי-
נטערנע פון די עכטיגע אוילסאג-
נאטען און עס פארברענען מיט די
נאציאנאלע אינטערעסן פון אסערי-
קא.
די נאנצע פראפאגאנדע פון דער
פארשווערונג, האט דר. סילווער גע-
זאגט, איז געווען צו שפען דעם איי-
נציגן, אז די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען
רעכענען זיך נישט מיט אסעריקא-
נאציאנאלער זיכערקייט, ווען זיי פאר-
דערען צו עטאבלירונג פון א אידישער
מלכות, און דר. סילווער האט געזאג-
ט, אז פון היינט אן און ווייטער
וועלען די שונאי ציון אונז ווארפען
אין פנים אריין דעם בלבל, אז מיר
זיינען נישט קיין אמעריקאנער פאטרי-
אטען.
דער אמעריקאנער דעגירונג האט
אויך א קאנספיראטיווען אופן, און
געגען דעם ווילען פון אמעריקאנער
פאלק, אריינגעשטעקט א מעסער אין
רוקען פון אידענטום. האט געזעט
דערקלערט דר. אבא הלל סילווער און
געווארענט, אז אויסטייל פארשלאג
פאר טראסטטישן מיינונג, אז אראבער
און ענגלאנד זאלען באשטימען דעם
שיקסאל פון ארץ ישראל.
אין א רעדע, וואס ער האט געהאל-
טען ביי א מיטינג פון אדמיניסטרא-

cont. on next page

NEWS - AND - VIEWS

The Haganah-Irgun
Agreement.
Biggest Development on
Palestine Front.
The Opposition of the
Perfectionists.
The Role of the ZOA.

By DR. S. MARGOSHES

As far as I can see, the news of the signing of an agreement between Haganah and Irgun is about the most important piece of information to come out of Palestine in a long while. All of us have our eyes centered on the Security Council and its deliberations, hoping against hope that some action will be forthcoming from the United Nations to bolster up its decision with respect to Palestine. But as time passes the realization is gradually being forced upon us that the United Nations decision will ultimately have to be enforced by Jewish arms. Looked at from this viewpoint, the strength of the Jewish armed forces in Palestine becomes of paramount importance. It may spell the difference between success and failure of the partition plan. And there is no denying that the strength of the Jewish armed forces in Palestine depends to a decided degree on the relations between Haganah and Irgun.

To begin with, the agreement now concluded between Haganah and Irgun removes the threat of civil war within the Jewish community of Palestine, a threat which, if materialized, could spell the ruin of the Yishuv. But the agreement does more; it solidifies the Jewish front at a moment when Jewish unity is the first and the most indispensable requirement for the defense of the Yishuv against Arab aggression as well as the triumph of the Jewish State over almost insurmountable difficulties. With all Jewish fighting forces standing together against the enemy, victory, so long delayed, may be within sight.

It is true, the Haganah-Irgun agreement is not an ideal one. The two groups, instead of being merged, have remained separate, just agreeing to coordinate their efforts and to cooperate in military campaigns under the orders of a joint High Command. It may easily be, as has been pointed out, that from the point of view of military efficiency this arrangement leaves a great deal to be desired. However, half a loaf, or as it might be said in this case, three quarters of a loaf, is infinitely to be preferred to no loaf at all.

Even so, it has not been easy to bring about this development on the Palestine front, as in both camps there have been diehards opposed to any kind of concession. Thus we are informed that David Ben-Gurion and Eliezer Kaplan voted against the agreement when the matter came up for a decision before the Jewish Agency membership in Jerusalem, while a poll made among Jewish Agency members in the United States brought negative replies from Golda Meyerson, political representative of the Jewish Agency, and Rose Halpern, president of Hadassah. The perfectionists will have either all or nothing.

Perhaps most of the credit for the Haganah-Irgun agreement should go to the Zionist Organization of America, under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Per-

sistently and consistently, the ZOA has maintained the position that while violence in Palestine was to be condemned on general and Jewish grounds, and the acceptance of national discipline was to be insisted on as the duty of all groups in the Yishuv, efforts should be made to bring about the consolidation of the Jewish front through negotiation

rather than by force. It was this position which Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann defended throughout the World Zionist Congress and the Zionist Actions Committee,

and it was this viewpoint that found full expression in the resolution overwhelmingly adopted by the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America in July of last year, due largely to Dr. Emanuel Neumann's brilliant defense. And it is no longer a secret that most of Dr. Silver's time

during his visit to Palestine in December and January of this year was devoted to carrying on delicate negotiations between the leaders of Irgun and the Haganah, resulting finally in the peace agreement now ratified. The ZOA, for its pains to bring about peace in the Yishuv, has received many a brickbat from many directions. There were those who, out of ignorance or sheer malice, charged the ZOA with favoring Irgun. This, of course, was ill piffle. What the ZOA has favored and strove for was unity in the ranks of the Jewish fighters in Palestine, based on a wider discipline in this hour of national peril. This objective has now been attained, and both Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann deserve the congratulations and the thanks of the Jewish people upon this great attainment.

cont. from
p. 32

התורה, על דארה וויסע, האט ניר
האט געזאגט, אז די לאנדס פון דער
די שטעלונג פון דער פירער דער
אז מען זאל שיקען אן אינטערנאציאנאלער
נאכער ארמיי געפירט פון אמעריקאנער,
ניט גענוג היטלערס, שווער דעם כוונת
טו און ווייניג גענוג רוצחים, נאר
גענוג די אידען פון ארץ ישראל, דער
איינציגער פעסטונג פון דעמאקראטיע
אין נאכגעטן מדינה.

"ער קען געהן אויסן וועל פון אט
דעם פלאן פון אויסראטען א פאלק,
אדער ווי אויסקערען צו דער נאציאנאלער
לער פאלקס פון לאנד, וועלכע ער
ארטן האט ביז אהער געשטיצט, האט
נוכחן געזאגט.
דער ציון פרעזידענט געפינט
טרייסט אין דעם, וואס דאס אמעריקאנער
נער פאלק האט ווי אוי פאנאטאן
און אוי שווער ארויסגעזאגט גענוג
דער נייער שטעלונג פון דער רעגירונג,
פאראנווארטליכע מענטשען און צויר
טונגען איבערן נאנצען לאנד האבען
אויסגעדרייט געטריסטונג און שטויט

נאנט איבער דער וואפעלדיקייט און
געדרונגען אין דער פאליטיק פון
כמיט דעפארטמענט, ער צווייטעלעט
אבער, צי דאס אמעריקאנער פאלק
האט באוועגט די געזאגטע פארברע
כערי וואס עס ווערט דא באנאנען,
הינטער דעם אויסגעדרייטן (ווארט
"טראסטשיש" שטעט א ביוולאנדער
פאראנט פון דער טראדיציאנעלער
אמעריקאנער שטעלונג, פרעזידענט
טרוכאט און ווייניג דאסנעכער קליקען
זיך ארויסער צו א שותפות מיט דעם
כופטי אין חבר'שטאט מיט די ערנ
סטע עלעמענטן פון ריקוויסטאציע
ענגלישען אימפעריאליזם.

"מיר וועלן צו די פאראנערדיק
לונג פון דער שטענדיקסטער אינטערנאציאנאלער
נע אין דער אינטערנאציאנאלער נע
שיכטע, א פארשטענדונג אויסגעקלער
געלט אין ענגלישען אויסער דער
פארשטענדונג וועלכען איבער דער
ווייל איז שטיינען, עס איז שוין גיט
קוק סוף, אז אנגענום פון דער ביר
מיטער רעגירונג האבען געמאכט די
אחת מיט דער אהאלישער קיג צו אהר
לירע דורך כאטש דעם יודען באשילום,
אפילו וועל דאס זאל מיינען צו פאר
ניכטונג פון נאנצען ישוב, אז חסכס
מיט דעם נהיטען אפמאך ווערען די
גרעניצען געלאזט אפען פאר דער
אריינדרונג פון באוועגטע באן
דעם, מיט פארשטענדונג, אז נאך
דעם מופענעטען מאי זאל געמאכט ווע
רען אן אלגעמינע אהאפע אויף די
אידען.

"דער גוט פון צוויידייטע ווערטער,
אויסגעדרייטע און אויסגעדרייטע
שפיעלאך וויסענען דער אמעריקאנער
דעלעגאציע און לעיק סוקסעס, ווייניג
ניט מער ווי אן אינטערנאציאנאלער
דעמאקראטיע פאר דער אהאלישער
בירה און צווייטער אויסווארפונג פון
בוהערען פארשטענדונג, מיר באד
שווערונג ניט אפטיילען, האט ווי
טעל ניוכחן געזאגט, ער איז "ער אויס"
לויקעכער פירשטער פון יונגע
פינסטערע כחות אין וואשינגטאן,
וועלכע האבען געבראכט די ראוונע
שטאנע אויף אונזער לאנד און גענע
בען און מיט קלאם דעם סאכע עק
ויסטענץ פון דער ווייטער נייטאגס."

ניכחן האט באקאנט געמאכט, אז
ער האט אפגעשיקט א קייכעל צו בן
גוריון, וואס פארזוכט דעם פאר
ווער פון דער אנגען, אז דאס אפ
ריקאנער אידענטום און דאס הארץ
פון אמעריקא וועלן מיטן ישוב און
וועלען זי ווייטער שטייען צו זי
קערען דעם קיום און די נאווה פון עס
ישראל.

עס האבען אויך גערעדט דר. י.
גאלדשטיין און ראביי אורווינג מיר
לער, דניאל מיר, דוואדע נאכער
בערג, שטענדיק פון מעכערשיף קאר
מיט, דויער פארשטיינער, שטענדיק
פון שלל קאטיטע און דר. ראבערט
נאדרי, דרויקווישנאל שטענדיק פון
דער ציון, ארגאניזאציע, אלע האבען
זי און די שטאטעט ווערטער פאר
דאכט די נייטען און צווייטען כוחות
פון דער נייטען טרוכאטאריאל
שטעלונג בנגע ארץ ישראל און אויס
געדריקט ווייטע אנטיסלאפעקייט ווי
טער צו ארבייטען פאר דער באפאר
אונג פון אידישען פאלק און אידישע
לאנד.

cont. from p. 31

עס זאל באנוצט ווערען די אינטערנאציאנאלע קראפט, מיט אמעריקאנער
בראש, ניט קענען דעם היטלעריסטן
מופטי און ווייניג גענוג גארעל
"שניידער, נאר צוואנצן מיט די ראוונע
מערדער קענען די אידען אין א"י, די
איינציגע פעסטונג פון דעמאקראטיע
אין נאכגעטן מדינה, דער פרעזידענט
פון אויסגעדרייטע אונז פון די ביינען,
אדער אנגיין מיט וויי פלאן פון פער
טעריטאריע, אדער צוויי אויספריכטען
איבער נאציאנאלע פאליטיק ווי זי איז
געלאנגען ביז איצט און איז דורך אים
אויסגעדרייטע געווארען.

מיליאנען אמעריקאנער בירגער ווע
לען פארערען פון דער ארמיניסטראציע
אן אויסגעדרייטע פאלק, באנאנענע
אן נייטאגס, נאנצען פאלק.

אין דער וועלכער צייט האט דער
פרעזידענט פון דער צווייטער פאר
טו דערקלערט, אז פנים אל פנים מיט
דעם אמעריקאנער קלאס, וואס די אמע
ריקאנער דעלעגאציע אין לעיק סוקסעס
האט אונז פרייטאג דערלאנגט, ווייניג
מיר דערמיטונג געווארען דורכ'ן פאל
דונג פאנאטאנען אפאר פון דעם אמע
ריקאנער פאלק, ווי עס האט קלאר בא
ווייזט די פרעסע איבער'ן נאנצען לאנד.

דער רעזולט האט אויסגעזאגט ווי
נע ספקות, צי דאס לאנד האט אין פיר
לען וין באנרישען וועלען דער גרויס
פונ'ס פארברעכען וואס איז דא דורכ
געפירט געווארן, אנטשטאט חלוקה ניט
מען אונז געבען נאר א טראסטי
שיפ, וואס איז כמעט שוין און דאס
דאס, וואס איז כמעט שוין און דאס
זעלבע, הינטער דעם דאנען אויסגעד
דינאלינגענער ווארט, "טראסטישיש",
לויטעט ארויס דער ריכטעטראכטער
פאראנט פון דער טראדיציאנעלער
אמעריקאנער פאליטיק, וואס איז כסדר,
אין משך פון יארען, אוי פויערליך בא
שטענדיג געווארען, אן איצט גייט
פאלק אין די הענט פון "יינע שונאים",
פרעזידענט טרוכאט און ווייניג ראט

געבער גייען פאראויס מיט וויי פלאן
צי שליסען אן אלאנץ מיט דעם טרויער
דינאלינגענער מופטי אן מיט ווייניג
תלנים, אין פארבונדען מיט די ערנ
סטע עלעמענטן פון אמעריקאנער
נען ברויטשען אימפעריאליזם.

און ניוכחן וועט פאר מיט די ווער
טער:

"מיר שטייען פעסט הינטער דער
פאליציע, וואס עס האט אנגענומען אונז
ווער פירער דר. אבא הלל סילווער אויף
דעם מיטונג פון דעם סעקורטי קאונס
סיל לעצטען פרייטאג, ער האט הער
קלערט, אז פאר'ן אידישען פאלק איז
נאך אלץ גילטיג דער באשילום פון דער
ווען דעם 29טען נאוועמבער, און אז
די אידען אין א"י וועלען ווייטער פאר
ווערען ווער קאכט אן דעם וין פון דער
ווען רעוואלוציע.

"מיר וויינען ער, ווי עס ווערען
דורכגעפירט די מיליאנען אינטענזעס
אין דער אינטערנאציאנאלער געשיכט
טע, א פארשטענדונג, וואס איז אויסגע
ברייט געווארען און בלונדע פון ברויטשען
אויסער'ן מיניסטעריום, און איצט לונג
פאר איבער רעגירונג צו פאראייניגע
וין מיט דער פארשטענדונג."

דר. ישראל גאלדשטיין, געוועזענער
פרעזידענט פון דער צווייטער פאר
נאציאנאלע אין אמעריקע און נאציאנאל
לער טשערמאן פון "ווייטער פאלעס"
סיין אפיל, האט אין וויי דערע דער
קלערט, אז "אמעריקע'ס פארשלאג און
ווייט פון לויזען דעם א"י פראבלעם,
פארקערט, ער וועט אים נאך מער פאר
פלאנענערען, עס וועט נייטונג וויי מער
קראפט ארויסצוצווינגען דעם טראסטי
שיפ אויף א"י, ווי עס וואלט נייטונג
געווען ארויסצוצווינגען חלוקה, וועט
אמעריקע ווילן וויי צו שיקען טרור
פען קענען אידען, בעת זי האט ניט
געוואלט שיקען קענען די אראבער."

דר. גאלדשטיין קריטיקירט שווער
פרעזידענט טרוכאט, באהיפטענדיג, אז
"פרעזידענט טרוכאט האט אלערמירט
דאס לאנד וועלען א קריגסגעפאר אין
גלייכצייטיג האט ער מיט שטארקע
ווערטער געוויינט די יודען, פארוואס
זשע דערלויבט ער, אז די אויסגעדרייטע
פון דער יודען זאל אפגעשוואכט ווערען
דורך דעם צווייטער פון איר רעווא
לוציע בלונדע דעם א"י פראבלעם."

אונזער רעגירונג איז שווער אין אריינ
שלאגען דעם ערשטען נאנצען אין דער
טרויער פאר דער יודען.
און דר. גאלדשטיין פארענדיגט מיט
די ווערטער:

"אין זאנפאר, אז דעם 15טען מאי
וועט די אידען מלכות ויין א"י, וועט
טעריטאריע, אדער צוויי אויספריכטען
איבער נאציאנאלע פאליטיק ווי זי איז
געלאנגען ביז איצט און איז דורך אים
אויסגעדרייטע געווארען.

מיליאנען אמעריקאנער בירגער ווע
לען פארערען פון דער ארמיניסטראציע
אן אויסגעדרייטע פאלק, באנאנענע
אן נייטאגס, נאנצען פאלק.

אין דער וועלכער צייט האט דער
פרעזידענט פון דער צווייטער פאר
טו דערקלערט, אז פנים אל פנים מיט
דעם אמעריקאנער קלאס, וואס די אמע
ריקאנער דעלעגאציע אין לעיק סוקסעס
האט אונז פרייטאג דערלאנגט, ווייניג
מיר דערמיטונג געווארען דורכ'ן פאל
דונג פאנאטאנען אפאר פון דעם אמע
ריקאנער פאלק, ווי עס האט קלאר בא
ווייזט די פרעסע איבער'ן נאנצען לאנד.

דער רעזולט האט אויסגעזאגט ווי
נע ספקות, צי דאס לאנד האט אין פיר
לען וין באנרישען וועלען דער גרויס
פונ'ס פארברעכען וואס איז דא דורכ
געפירט געווארן, אנטשטאט חלוקה ניט
מען אונז געבען נאר א טראסטי
שיפ, וואס איז כמעט שוין און דאס
דאס, וואס איז כמעט שוין און דאס
זעלבע, הינטער דעם דאנען אויסגעד
דינאלינגענער ווארט, "טראסטישיש",
לויטעט ארויס דער ריכטעטראכטער
פאראנט פון דער טראדיציאנעלער
אמעריקאנער פאליטיק, וואס איז כסדר,
אין משך פון יארען, אוי פויערליך בא
שטענדיג געווארען, אן איצט גייט
פאלק אין די הענט פון "יינע שונאים",
פרעזידענט טרוכאט און ווייניג ראט

געבער גייען פאראויס מיט וויי פלאן
צי שליסען אן אלאנץ מיט דעם טרויער
דינאלינגענער מופטי אן מיט ווייניג
תלנים, אין פארבונדען מיט די ערנ
סטע עלעמענטן פון אמעריקאנער
נען ברויטשען אימפעריאליזם.

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(Clarke Photo by Leon Hoffman)

PALESTINE PLAN WITHHELD

Seated at Lake Success Security Council table, Russia's dark-goggled Gromyko, Chairman

Lisicky (center), of U.N. Palestine Commission, and Jewish Agency's Dr. Silver (right) are shown at session when U. S. surprised by not presenting supposed trusteeship plan.

(Story and other photo on Page 2)

NY Mirror 3-23

U. S. Postpone Special Pales

Opposition to Our Trustee Plan for Holy Land Will Be Studied

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 24—Confronted with unexpected opposition to its plan to establish a United Nations trusteeship for Palestine, the United States allowed the Security Council to adjourn today without submitting its promised resolution to call a special session of the General Assembly.

[Twenty-six Jews were killed and forty wounded Wednesday when Arabs ambushed two convoys in Palestine. Total casualties for the day reached 119, including fourteen Arab dead.]

Canada and France both insisted this morning that it would be unwise or even dangerous to call a special session without knowing whether the great powers would carry out a new decision, and it appeared that the United States would lack the required seven votes unless it explained exactly what it now planned to do.

The Council did not hold the expected afternoon session, and, because of the Holy Week recess, it will not take up the Palestine question again until next Tuesday. The unexplained delay in submitting the United States resolution means that the special session cannot be convened at the earliest until around April 15, just one month before the British are scheduled to surrender the League mandate over Palestine.

Only yesterday a spokesman for the United States delegation said that Warren R. Austin, who had announced last Friday that the United States wanted an "immediate" decision to call a special session, would submit a resolution this morning.

Mr. Austin remained silent throughout the brief Council meeting, however, and this led to excited rumors here that the United States had abandoned its proposal for a Palestine trusteeship or for

a special session or both. Last Thursday a spokesman for the United States delegation insisted strongly that the United States continue to support partition, and tonight he advanced the following reasons for Mr. Austin's silence:

- (1) Secretary of State Marshall was not available to approve the text of the proposed resolution.
- (2) The United States wants to find out the reaction to the proposals before Mr. Austin introduces them.

It was conceded that the possibility of an adverse vote in the Council might have had something to do with the delay. Usually reliable sources, however, said that the principal reason was that the United States was now making one last effort to persuade Great Britain to stay in Palestine as the United Nations trustee or at least to postpone the termination of the mandate until the special session reached a decision on the proposed trusteeship.

In view of the uncompromising statement in London yesterday by Foreign Secretary Bevin, most authorities here believed that it is now too late to persuade the British to stay on, unless the United States is willing to provide troops as well as money. However, competent sources believe that this is the intention of Secretary Marshall, particularly in view of the difficult situation created by the decision of the Jewish Agency to create a provisional independent Jewish state on May 16.

Arabs Won't "Swallow" It

This decision was officially communicated to the Council this morning by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American section of the agency. Mahmoud Bey Fawzi,

Egyptian representative, replied that "the Arabs will not swallow partition no matter how great the sugar coating" and that "it will make no difference whether partition is administered in one big pill or in two smaller ones."

Earlier, Camille Chamoun, Lebanese representative, who proposed a federal Palestine last week before the United States withdrew its support of partition, told the Council that "we insist upon the total independence of a Palestine which will be undivided and democratic."

The Arab Higher Committee for Palestine had insisted throughout that it would accept only an independent Palestine, but Lebanon and one or two of the other more moderate Arab states from time to time had indicated that they would agree to a federal regime. Today, however, M. Chamoun said that, although Lebanon would be prepared to discuss a trusteeship "in a spirit of good-will," it would do so only "in the measure in which it did not imply a delay or prevention of the achievement of the aim of independence."

Two Problems Facing U. S.

In the light of these developments, the United States is confronted with a two-fold difficulty:

- (1) The military force required to enforce trusteeship will have to be as large as that which would have been necessary for partition. Last Friday, at the final great power conference before the United States decision to abandon partition was announced, Mr. Austin said the United States "of course" would "back up a United Nations decision." In view of the unwillingness of the United States to help carry out partition, however, more specific assurances are generally desired.
- (2) Without these assurances, in fact, it is generally believed that

the special session would not agree to substitute a trusteeship for partition, which will require a two-thirds majority. If the General Assembly ran into a deadlock the existing partition resolution would remain in force, and the decision to set up a separate Jewish state on May 16 would be legally valid. This would leave the Jews and Arabs to fight it out in Palestine, but the civil war in Spain demonstrated that such a conflict is likely to encourage international complications. The Arabs have already charged that the Soviet Union is trying to infiltrate into Palestine, and some sources believe that, in the absence of support from the Western powers, the Zionists might turn to the Soviet Union for help.

It is now generally agreed, however, that the reversal in the United States position killed any prospect that partition can be carried out peacefully as a United Nations decision. However, the statement today by Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, which gave the Canadian view of the developments, has

a special interest because of the prominent part played by Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Under-Secretary of External Affairs, in drafting the partition resolution.

Answering the question, "What, then, are we to do?" he said he favored a "cooling-off period" if it would provide an opportunity for moderate Arab and Jewish leaders to work out a settlement "in a less unfavorable atmosphere."

However, he emphasized "there is an obvious danger" that "if the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, is to turn from one course of action to another without some assurance that the greatest possible amount of agreement and cooperation will be forthcoming from the countries most directly concerned, we shall again encounter serious difficulties of implementation."

The same demand for information on how trusteeship should be carried out came from Alexandre Parodi, French representative, who recalled that just before partition was adopted he proposed a twenty-four-hour recess to determine whether there was any chance of reaching a solution acceptable to Jews and Arabs.

He pointed out that the General Assembly was the only United Nations agency that had retained its "authority," and he said that "to convene the General Assembly now, without having first arrived at a clear view as to what the General Assembly should do, would be to incur the risk of placing the General Assembly in a very difficult position, a position which might result in the authority of the sole organ of the United Nations which has still retained its authority being diminished."

After he proposed the establishment of a cantonal system, as an interim measure, M. Parodi said that "we are not able, at the present time, to pronounce ourselves either for or against the United States proposal."

Dr. Alfonso Lopez of Colombia then proposed that the great powers renew their discussions. Told by Dr. T. F. Tsiang, Chinese representative, that "At the present stage nothing will be gained by a renewal of these consultations," Dr. Lopez said he was glad to have the statement because "the problem was in the hands of the permanent members of the Security Council and we did not get any solution from them."

ליק סוקסס. 26 (סס"א).
החלטתה של ממשלת ברי-
טיה להגיש את קנין א"י לארמ-
תבוא, כפי שמצפים, תוך שבוע
זה — הודעה זו פורסמה רש-
מית הלילה בשם המשלחת
הבריטית בארגון האומות
המאוחדות.
בהודעה נאמר עוד שהחלטת
בריטניה תכלול דרישה למו-
שב יוצא מן הכלל של ארמ.

ליק סוקסס. 26 (סס"א). — חוגים יודעי-
דבר מצפים שבפתחות המושב היום של מר-
עצת משטרהאמנות ימסור המזכיר הכללי
של ארמ, מר טרבוטלי הודעה ברורה יותר
על מועד הגשת בעיית א"י לארמ לשם
קביעת עתיד ומעמדה החוקי של א"י.
תחת הדגור של ארגון הארמ מודי-
עה כי מיד לאחר ישימת מועצת הנאמנות
היום יכנס טריקוה לי מסיבת עתונאים שבה
ימסור הודעה על בעיית א"י.
נירירוק (פאלקור). — מפי מקור אמרי-
קאי רשמי נמסר היום, כי לא תוקם כל ועדה
לחקירת בעיית ארץ ישראל מטעם הארמ
לפני שתתכנס האספה הכללית של ארגון
האומות המאוחדות. ההנחיה להקמת הוועדה
וכשלה בגלל התנגדותה של ממשלת ארצות-
הברית מטעמים משפטיים.

NEWS

- AND -

VIEWS

American Reversal on Palestine.

The Military Aftermath.

GI's Against Yishuv.

Truman in Berlin's Shoes.

—By DR. S. MARGOSHES—

I think the nub of the problem facing America today with respect to Palestine has been thoroughly illuminated by three addresses delivered at the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, reviewing the situation as it has shaped up as a result of America's shift on Palestine and the abandonment of the partition plan in favor of a trusteeship scheme. In a nutshell, whatever chance for peace there may have existed in Palestine is now gone, since the trusteeship scheme will require a great deal more use of force to make it work than the partitioning of Palestine and establishment of a Jewish State. The only difference that the trusteeship might introduce which will distinguish it from the British Mandate is the shape of the bayonet and the man behind it, for instead of being wielded by a British Tommy it will be used by an American GI.

Said Dr. Silver: "American plans for a United Nations trusteeship over Palestine mean that United States troops will have to fight the Jews of Palestine. It is unthinkable, but I have seen many unthinkable things happen in this crazy world of ours. Whether the soldiers under the new trusteeship regime wear French, Chinese or American uniforms won't make a particle of difference. The Jews will have to fight the trusteeship as they fought the White Paper. The opposition will still be there; the only question will be who is on the other side of the barbed wire." Dr. Silver pointed out that trusteeship over the Holy Land under the UN Charter would inevitably mean re-adoption of the principles of the British White Paper of 1939, with all its limitations of Jewish immigration and land sale to Jews. According to Article 79 of the Charter of the United Nations, the terms of trusteeship for territory to be placed under the trusteeship system must be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power. This means that the terms of the Palestine trusteeship would be framed largely by Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, with Great Britain and United States, assuming the major responsibility for carrying them out. What it would mean in effect is that Truman would step into Berlin's shoes.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, stated very plainly: "It will require more force to enforce a United Nations' Trusteeship over Palestine than it would have required to implement partition. Will the United States supply troops against the Jews of Palestine which it was unwilling to supply against the Arabs?"

It was Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America, who hit the nail directly on the head: "It is not yet too late for President Truman," he said, "to shake himself loose from this conspiracy fostered by oil profiteers. He should be aware that the logic of

RABBIS ORGANIZE PROTEST

U. S. Stand on Palestine Will Be Discussed at Service Here

A service of "prayer and protest" to express "profound shock and deep grief" at the decision of the United States Government to reconsider its stand on the partition of Palestine will be held tomorrow at 11 A. M. in Temple Anshe Chesed, West Avenue and 100th Street. It was announced yesterday by the New York Board of Rabbis, Inc. The service will be the forerunner of a "nation-wide protest mobilization of American Jewry" on April 8.

Participants in tomorrow's service will include Rabbi Abbe Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and of the American Zionist Emergency Council, Rabbi David de Sola Pool of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue and Rabbi Simon G. Kramer, vice president of the New York Board of Rabbis.

the position assumed by the State Department may yet lead to the employment of an international force headed by the United States, not against the Hitlerite Mufti and his hired cut-throats, but with these assassins and against the Jews of Palestine, the only bastion of democracy in the Near East. He can go along with this plan of genocide or restore our national policy to the cause he had himself chartered and supported hitherto."

It is clear that just as America led in the adoption of the partition plan and would have had to lead in its implementation, so the United States will have to lead in the carrying out of the trusteeship scheme at Lake Success and its enforcement in Palestine. This will mean, to be perfectly blunt, the use of American troops as well as the use of the American Navy. For American GI's will have to keep peace and order in Palestine just as American sailors will have to keep Jewish refugees away from the shores of Palestine.

This is the prospect we face now, if and when America's new trusteeship plan goes through and is put to work. It is an appalling prospect for everybody concerned, Jews and non-Jews alike. But as Dr. Neumann put it, it is not yet too late for President Truman to reverse himself. He reversed himself once; he can do it again."