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TO

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ARAB FEDERATION SOUGHT BY BRITAIN

Minister in Cairo Is Trying to Lay Foundation for the Idea That Haunted Lawrence

PROBLEMS STILL LEGION

Saudi Arabia Not Included in Project—Economic Union of Syria and Lebanon Is Basis

By PERTINAX

North American Newspaper Alliance.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18—Oliver Lyttleton, recently appointed British Minister of State and sent to Cairo to deal with all political problems in the Near East, is hard at work trying to lay the foundation for the time-honored federation of Arab States that haunted the late Colonel T. E. Lawrence a generation ago.

What is the progress achieved to this day? The matter is kept in secrecy, but broad outlines cannot be concealed.

Mr. Lyttleton does not even intend to bring into his scheme Saudi Arabia, which ranks next to Egypt as the most powerful of the Arab States. Its inclusion would raise insurmountable issues. He wisely attempts to build from humble beginnings and in an experimental spirit.

At the start, an economic union would take shape between Syria and Lebanon and gradually expand into a political connection as soon as a joint board in charge of common interests (foreign and military affairs, etc.) could be set up.

Other Proposed Partners

In another stage, Trans-Jordan would be expected to become a partner and then Palestine, once the Arabs there have been induced to arrive at a settlement with the Jewish national home. Later, the turn of Iraq might come.

Even reduced to those relatively simple proportions, the undertaking bristles with difficulties. Few competent observers will dispute that no Arab federation has a chance to last unless resolutely supported by British power. The Arab federation will at the most lead a sheltered existence under the wings of the British Empire or it will be rent asunder by divergent forces. As a minimum requirement, the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Iraq should be extended to the whole association and even strengthened, since recent developments have proved its weakness.

But the real trouble is that the British negotiator cannot exclusively concentrate his attention on the Arab world. Mr. Lyttleton has to find a solution acceptable not only to the Arabs but also to the Jews in Palestine, to the Lebanese and to the Free French of General Charles de Gaulle, who has received definite commitments from London.

The Zionist position is fairly well known and need not be discussed again. The claims of the Lebanese (some 600,000 Christians out of a total Syrian population of 3,500,000) run parallel to those of the Jews. Both are ready to conclude limited economic pacts but equally determined to see to it that they should not be deprived of their independence. So apprehensive of Arab rule are the Lebanese that they obtained from General de Gaulle at the beginning of June a pledge for the continuation of the French alliance, as they do not quite rely upon Britain to hold the scales even.

Syrian Independence

The administration of Syria was entrusted to the Free French last July, when Vichy's control came to an end. Then they promised to their British allies to grant independence to Syria and do away with the mandate. General Georges Catroux did this a few days ago.

But, simultaneously, the Free French received from Prime Minister Winston Churchill the assurance that, in so far as any European country "will have special influence, France will be pre-eminent."

That phrase may not mean very much. At any rate, taken literally, it rules out a British-Syrian bond. But, meanwhile, has General Catroux reached an understanding with the Syrian nationalist leaders in Damascus, the obvious capital of the contemplated Arab federation? And is it with their approval that Lebanon was not even mentioned in the letter he addressed to the new President of the Syrian Republic? Hitherto, in the nationalist dogma, Syria's unity loomed as large as its independence.

At present the only important consideration is to do whatever is necessary to win the war. France is prostrate and Britain is fighting for her life. To quibble about territorial and political reconstruction sounds out of place.

Reprinted from

THE NEW YORK TIMES. NOVEMBER 2. 1941.

BARKLEY PROPOSES A PALESTINE ARMY

Senator Says Jews Should Be Allowed to Put Strong Force in the Field

BALFOUR PLEDGE IS CITED

Lack of Its Fulfillment Is Deplored on 24th Anniversary of the Declaration

Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, addressing a mass meeting of Zionist organizations in Carnegie Hall last night, urged formation of a Jewish Army in Palestine as "part of the world front that the forces of freedom are maintaining against the aggressor" and called for the full establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine "when the time comes for the building up of a new world."

The meeting marked the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, issued on Nov. 2, 1917, by Lord Balfour, Foreign Secretary in the British wartime Cabinet of Lloyd George. Pointing out that the post-war rebuilding of Palestine under Jewish auspices was based on the Balfour pledge, which was endorsed by the United States Congress and embodied in the Palestine Mandate, Senator Barkley quoted the declaration's text, as follows:

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

Speaks for Senate Group

Mr. Barkley, who is majority leader of the Senate, said he spoke as one of sixty-eight Senators who recently accepted membership on the American Palestine Committee.

Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, chairman of the American Palestine Committee, issued in the committee's behalf a statement declaring that "the Jewish national home in Palestine shall be an important and integral part of the world order that must follow the victory of freedom in this war, if the peace is to be equitable and lasting."

"Certainly," the Wagner statement added, "there should be no whittling down of the Jewish national home at this time, when so many thousands of innocent victims of sadistic persecution are seeking refuge in the only land which had demonstrated its capacity to absorb and regenerate them. Furthermore, as an important bastion of the allied front, the Jews of Palestine should be allowed to place a substantial military force in the field to fight with the other defenders of freedom in the Middle East."

Sir Norman Angell, English author and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933, told the meeting that most Englishmen felt "a deep sense of apology" about the lack of fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration. He traced the difficulties in Palestine to the appeasement policy of previous British Governments.

A Tragedy of Appeasement

"The tragedy of Palestine," said Sir Norman, "is part of the general tragedy of appeasement, of the belief that it is better to come to a bargain with terrorists, with an evil and violent minority, than it is to help defend their victims."

The meeting paid tribute to the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis who was active in Palestinian affairs. A message from Governor Lehman referred to Mr. Brandeis as "a wise and powerful collaborator in the formation of the Balfour Declaration."

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, which convoked the mass meeting, declared that the observance of the Balfour anniversary was intended to call attention "to the urgent need of implementing the full intent and purpose of the declaration as an integral part of a just and lasting peace when the present world conflict is over."

The meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Zionist Organization of America, the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization, the Mizrachi and the Poale Zion.

By acclamation the meeting of 3,500 adopted a resolution demanding "the ultimate reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth" and calling upon the British Government for an opportunity to aid the allied war effort by forming a Jewish army to serve with the British forces in the Middle East.

Reprinted from

NEW YORK HERALD · TRIBUNE, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1941

Palestine Home For Jews Urged At Rally Here

Post-War Reconstruction of Commonwealth, Army to Help British Asked

A resolution urging reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth after the war and calling upon the British government to form a Jewish army for service in the Middle East was adopted by a mass meeting of a capacity house of 2,800 at Carnegie Hall last night. The meeting was in observance of the twenty-fourth anniversary today of the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917, in which Great Britain pledged itself to facilitate establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

The meeting, arranged by Zionist and non-Zionist organizations with the co-operation of the American Palestine Committee, 41 East Forty-second Street, heard Senator Alben W Barkley, Democrat, of Kentucky, majority leader; Sir Norman Angell, British publicist, and other speakers declare that fulfillment of the British pledge should be an integral part of the next peace settlement.

Governor Herbert H. Lehman, who was unable to attend, sent a message in which he paid tribute to the late Supreme Court Justice Louis B. Brandeis as "a wise and powerful collaborator in the formulation of the Balfour Declaration." The Governor also praised those Jewish pioneers who have gone to Palestine "and have demonstrated their ability and their unshakeable determination to assume their full part in the struggle to preserve freedom and democracy in the world."

Message From Wagner

Another message from Senator Robert F. Wagner, Democrat, of New York, who said that the American Palestine Committee, of which he is chairman, declares Palestine to be "an important bulwark on the democratic front" and that if the next peace is to be equitable and lasting, the Jewish national home must be an integral part of the new world order. Senator Wagner said the Jews of Palestine should be allowed to place a substantial armed force in the Middle East, and he regretted that previous offers of such a force have not been accepted.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the mass meeting, said "we solemnly ask" Britain to declare "that there will be no departure from the letter and the spirit of the Balfour Declaration." Other speakers were Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of the exiled government of Czechoslovakia; Count Carlo Sforza, former Foreign Minister of Italy, and Count Jacques de Sieyes, representative in the United States of General Charles de Gaulle's Free French movement.

Senator Barkley, pointing out that 500,000 Jews in Palestine are loyally supporting Great Britain against the Axis, declared the restoration of the Jewish people "is not only a matter of elemental justice to them, but is also one of world-wide importance in the future peace of mankind." Because of their history and character, he said, the Jews are entitled to take their place among the nations of the world.

Cites 1922 Resolution

The joint resolution adopted by the United States House and Senate in 1922 indorsing the Balfour Declaration is still the sentiment, Senator Barkley said, of Congress, the government and the people of the United States.

"It is not necessary or desirable," he said, "that Palestine should have all of the Jewish people, but it is necessary that the Jewish people should have all of Palestine as a homeland."

He urged admission into the British Middle Eastern command of a Jewish army under its own flag, as are the forces of the exiled French, Poles and Czechs.

Sir Norman Angell held that no Englishman could discuss Palestine with a Jewish audience without "a deep sense of apology." He called "the tragedy of Palestine part of the general tragedy of appeasement," saying the British had appeased the Arabs at the cost of the Jews to protect the Middle East.

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JEWS WHO FIGHT ZIONISM

By Maurice Samuel

Among the strange and tragic phenomena of our time few are more bewildering than the spectacle of Jews banded together to prevent other Jews from acquiring a National Homeland in Palestine. Were it not for the urgent practical bearings of the subject, these anti-Zionist Jews might be dismissed as a historical — and psychological — oddity. But the Jewish problem is deeply interwoven with the general problem of world stabilization. Failure to understand its peculiar rôle as an instrument of world reaction was a factor in the rise of Nazism; failure to grapple with it on statesmanlike terms tomorrow will leave uncured a dangerous centre of moral infection. And the Zionist program, the creation of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, is urged as an integral part of the wider solution of the Jewish problem. Hence the seeming division within Jewry must be disturbing to everyone concerned with postwar reconstruction.

The subject has just been brought prominently to the fore again by an article in *Life* (June 28) by Lessing Rosenwald, setting forth the basic objections which he and some other Jews have against the Zionist movement. Mr. Rosenwald, son of the famous mail-order merchant and philanthropist, does not himself bulk large in the American Jewish community. But his article provides a perfect case study, in that it reflects perfectly a certain type of Jewish mind, and for that reason deserves analysis.

Mr. Rosenwald sets out with a claim which calls for careful scrutiny. He writes:

> Great numbers of Americans of the Jewish faith do not consider the establishment of a Jewish National State in Palestine, or elsewhere, to be part of a desirable or constructive solution

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MAURICE SAMUEL *lived in Palestine, on and off, for a period of ten years, and has lectured and written extensively on the Jewish question. Among his several books are* The Great Hatred, *an analysis of anti-Semitism, and* The World of Sholem Aleichem, *which has just been published.*

of the postwar Jewish problems. In America this opinion is held by an organization known as the American Council for Judaism, Inc.

The following objective facts should be noted: of the thousand American-trained rabbis in this country, *i.e.*, rabbis who took their degrees in American seminaries, ninety-odd formed "the American Council for Judaism" about a year ago, and about half of them have since withdrawn. All these dissident rabbis belong to the Reform Rabbinate. But at the last annual convention of this body, held in New York in July, 1943, a resolution was passed by a large majority calling "upon our colleagues of the American Council for Judaism to terminate this organization."

In the Orthodox and Conservative wings of the American Rabbinate, constituting an overwhelming majority of the Jewish clergy, there are no anti-Zionist groups. The leading rabbis of America, like Stephen S. Wise, Louis Finkelstein, Solomon Goldman, Abba Hillel Silver, Israel Goldstein, James G. Heller, are unanimously Zionist. As to the attitude of the Jewish laity, it was expressed clearly in the recent elections to the American Jewish Conference, a democratically elected body; over 80 per cent of the delegates-elect are Zionists and pro-Zionists, less than 5 per cent are openly anti-Zionists.

These are important facts. If the non-Jewish world is misled into believing that "great numbers" of American Jews are opposed to the establishment of a National Jewish State in Palestine, it will not think the project feasible or worthwhile. Despite the fears of a Jewish Homeland by men like Lessing Rosenwald, Jews are less divided on this issue than any other people in the world on any issue of major importance.

Aside from the claims of large Jewish support for the Rosenwald position, what of his arguments? These, of course, are not new. They express an attitude which emerged side by side with the emergence of the Zionist movement. They are, in fact, an almost letter-perfect repetition of the arguments which a group of English Jews used in 1917 in an effort to prevent the British Government from issuing the famous Balfour Declaration.

The parallel is instructive from many points of view. In 1917 the condition of European Jewry, though far better than it is today, was bad enough. The cry for an outlet, and for a chance to rebuild a free Jewish life in Palestine after the war, went up from millions of Jews. It was then that the British

Government, at the prompting of the Zionist movement, issued the celebrated Balfour Declaration:

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

This statement of policy was not made unilaterally. It was the subject of long discussion between the Allies. It had the consent of the American, French and Italian governments. It was ratified unanimously in 1922 by fifty-one members of the League of Nations, and separately by the Congress of the United States. But it was regarded as a calamity by an English group of Jewish anti-Zionists.

There were not many of these Jews. But they were influential, and their opposition was fanatical. One was a member of the British cabinet — the only one in that body to fight the Balfour Declaration. Another was a member of the nobility. A third was a collateral descendant of the famous philanthropist, Sir Moses Montefiore. Significantly, all of them belonged to the upper crust of English Jewry, the tiny, well-to-do, comfortably adapted fourth generation of immigrant forbears, spiritually, intellectually and socially out of touch with the great masses of suffering Jewry in Europe.

They did not want those other Jews to set up a Jewish homeland in Palestine. They were not content with disassociating themselves from the movement. They protested and they organized their opposition. But they were ignored by the British government, the League of Nations, and the vast majority of Jews.

The episode is recalled here for something more than the historic parallel. Since that time, a quarter of a century ago, the Jewish Homeland in Palestine has gone forward, under many handicaps. The Jewish population of the country grew from 58,000 to 600,000. A remarkable centre of civilization has been created in one of the world's derelict areas. Its future depends upon the benevolent assent of the United Nations. We are no longer dealing with what was, in 1917, a theoretical proposition. A great achievement, more than half a million lives within Palestine, millions more outside of Palestine, are dependent on the decision of the coming peace conference or conferences. Yet the

anti-Zionist arguments used by Jews are exactly the same in 1943 as in 1917. Let us examine them as they are set forth in *Life*.

II

Mr. Rosenwald argues that the idea of a National Jewish State is incompatible with the ethical concepts of Judaism. He adds:

> Those of the Jewish faith who oppose a National Jewish State hold that it embraces the very racist theories and nationalistic philosophies that have become so prevalent in recent years, that have caused untold suffering to the world, and particularly to the Jews.

This is just a roundabout way of saying that advocacy of a Jewish Homeland is tinged with Nazism. However, there happens to be a world of difference between "racist theories" and "nationalistic philosophies." The former are pure delusions, the resort of demagoguery; the latter are ideal concepts capable of both good and evil. "The truth of history," says Mr. Rosenwald, "is that for centuries the Jews have considered themselves nationals of those countries in which they have lived." But if being nationals of the lands of their adoption is not a Nazi trait in some Jews, why should it be so in other Jews who want to be nationals in a Jewish homeland?

The second of the classic arguments against a Jewish State is presented thus: "The result must inevitably be that here in America, or for Jews elsewhere, the question of dual allegiance will be raised by men who, in critical times, lack discrimination and understanding."

From this it appears that the Jewish problem must be answered with a view to anticipating the objections of men who lack discrimination and understanding. Apparently when statesmen, past and present, of the calibre of Balfour, Wilson, Milner, Smuts and Roosevelt support the idea of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, the answer of the Jews must be: "Thank you, but *we* must take our cue from the rabble-rousers."

This is the very ecstasy of fear. Who has ever heard that any group, people or faith shall be urged to abdicate its moral judgments *lest immoral people be provoked?* What does it matter whether the provocation exists in "critical times" or in normal times? Like all panicky proposals, this one to abandon the idea of a Jewish Homeland, to which decent people assent, in order that indecent people may be deprived of an argument, is worse than futile. Anti-Semites are not likely to desist from persecution simply because no Jewish

Homeland exists. When these timidities were urged in 1917, the London *Times* wrote:

> Only an imaginative nervousness suggests that the realization of territorial Zionism, in some form, would cause Christendom to turn round on the Jews and say, "Now you have a land of your own, go to it."

It should be noted that this "imaginative nervousness" is confined to a small group of Jews, precisely those who are furthest removed, in memory and experience, from the actual horrors of anti-Semitism.

Mr. Rosenwald goes on to voice the fear that, in supporting the creation of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine, American Jews will become involved in issues of world policy, to the detriment of their own country. The answer is that no loyal Irish-American, or Swedish-American, or even German-American, is estopped from taking a special interest in the welfare of the land of his origin. To retain a sentiment of attachment to the old country, to wish that country well, to work for its freedom and advancement, is evidence of a warm heart and a wholesome disposition. These qualities enhance a man's value as a citizen; they bespeak an attitude wholly compatible with the highest concepts of Americanism. It is enough to recall that the Jewish supporters of Zionism have included, in this country, men of the standing of Louis D. Brandeis and Felix Frankfurter, to place the suspicion of "dual allegiance" in its right perspective.

III

A third classic argument is then raised by Mr. Rosenwald. Should a Jewish State be established, "both Palestine and Jewish residents of those European countries would be caught between the nether and the upper millstones. Migration pressures would militate against both." That is to say, the existence of a Jewish State would inspire anti-Semitic governments to press for the migration of Jews to Palestine in larger numbers than Palestine could absorb. Again one asks: has the absence of a Jewish Homeland ever deterred anti-Semitic governments from exerting pressure on their Jewish subjects? Real population pressures are not created by the knowledge that there exists an outlet. They are created by local conditions. But when the pressure is there, and is applied to Jews among others, it can be sensibly diminished if Palestine is able to siphon off a large number of Jews annually.

Mr. Rosenwald writes: "The problem of the Jew is part of the

total human problem. It must be solved as such, and it must be solved in those places where it exists." Certainly it must. The creation of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine is not a denial of the rights of Jews to be accepted as loyal citizens wherever they are, any more than the creation of the Irish Free State is an invitation to all Irish Americans to return to Eire. Mr. Rosenwald himself adds:

> Many, through necessity or from their own choice, will seek to locate in other lands. It will be imperative to find adequate areas . . . where men can start life anew under conditions where they can carve out their own destinies as free men, with the assurance that their new homelands will provide for them Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

The chance to "carve out their own destinies as free men" is exactly what millions of Jews look for in the creation of a Jewish Homeland. "Palestine is capable of absorbing even more settlers, to the advantage of themselves and their Mohammedan neighbors," Mr. Rosenwald states. He should have added that this absorptive capacity was created by the Jews; that the optimum density of population for Palestine is still a long way off; that two or three million "settlers" can find room there; that, if these opportunities are used to the full, a Jewish majority would be created in Palestine within ten years, and that a Jewish State would automatically follow.

Mr. Rosenwald will not take these logical steps. He merely says:

> Palestine has made a great record. Palestine's achievement should not be wasted. Palestine should be *one* of the countries selected for resettlement. But a National Jewish State not only is not essential to such a purpose; it will be a detriment to such a service. In all probability, little if any difference of opinion exists regarding Palestine as a place of settlement. It is very likely that it is the demand for a National Jewish State in Palestine that engenders the opposition of King Ibn Saud.

This passage touches on the crux of the practical problem. The demand of the Arab politicians of Palestine, and Arabs outside of Palestine playing for their support, is *for the total cessation of Jewish immigration into Palestine*. There is no ground for saying that "in all probability little if any difference of opinion exists regarding Palestine as a place of settlement." In its policy of appeasement to the pro-Axis Arab politicians, England has, in fact, declared that after 1944 there shall be *no* Jewish immigration into Palestine. This policy may, and "in all probability" will, be reversed. But it does not help to pretend that the Arab leaders, as distinguished from Arab masses

who are benefitting by Jewish immigration, would welcome Jews in limited numbers.

"Palestine has made a great record," says Mr. Rosenwald. He means, of course, the Jewish colonization of Palestine, since the progress of the Arab population has been entirely dependent on Jewish achievement, as one sees at a glance by comparing the developing Arab life in Palestine with the static conditions in Syria, Irak and Saudi Arabia, King Ibn Saud's territory. But why has Jewish Palestine made this great record? The answer is extremely simple, though it does not figure in Mr. Rosenwald's statement, and contradicts his entire thesis. *It is because the Jews who went to Palestine were, in the vast majority of cases, moved by a deep and resolute Jewish nationalism, which carried them through one of the most grueling pioneering tasks in history.* They would not have gone there, they would not have endured the conditions they found, if they had not believed that they were the pioneers of a National Jewish Home.

But the nationalism of Zionists must be understood in its right historic context. It was and is a religious and Biblical phenomenon. It is saturated with the social consciousness of the Prophets. It insisted upon the rebirth of the very language of the Bible — classical Hebrew. It imposed upon the *Chalutzim*, or pioneers, the inescapable duty of building a just society. This blend of tradition and hope produced in the Jewish pioneers an incomparable morale, without which they would have given up the struggle.

These pioneers died, by the hundreds, of malaria, of sub-tropical diseases and of malnutrition. The survivors held out until they and the land had been transformed in a parallel process, so that even anti-Zionists can write today: "Palestine has a great record." But they would take away from the movement the springs which made that record possible!

The same lack of understanding operates here as in the theory of the appeasement of anti-Semitism. It is peculiar to a small group of Jews who do not know whence the Zionists drew their strength, just as they do not remember the obstacles they themselves have placed in the way of Zionist achievement.

IV

Mr. Rosenwald says that "between the years 1920 and the rise of Hitlerism, 1933, the Jewish population increase in Palestine (immigra-

tion less migration) was negligible." Hence, he argues, only necessity, and not a national ideal, brought Jews to Palestine. The official figures contradict the basis of the argument. In 1919 the Jewish population of Palestine was 58,000; in 1933 it was 230,000. This is a more than fourfold increase in fourteen years.

Could it have gone faster? Yes, if the rich Jews had not left the providing of funds to the middle classes and working classes. With a few notable exceptions, like Baron Edmond Rothschild of Paris and Felix Warburg of America, the small class of wealthy Jews averted their gaze from Palestine, fearing that their position in the lands of their adoption would be compromised by an interest in a Jewish Palestine. The movement suffered chronically from shortage of funds. Incredible as it must sound there are, as Mr. Rosenwald well knows, rich American Jews who will not even contribute to the general overseas relief fund called the United Jewish Appeal, because part of the money goes to the building of the National Jewish Home. More than this, the anti-Zionist Jews have never ceased to dissuade the British government (itself grown lukewarm on the proposition) from promoting the growth of Jewish Palestine in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration. For such Jews to remark — inaccurately, be it noted — that the growth of Jewish Palestine between 1920 and 1933 was "negligible" is adding insult to injury.

The Jewish colonization of Palestine is a unique achievement of its kind. Not all the money in the world, not all the political support, could have raised the tempo of colonization beyond a certain rate. A Jewish Palestine of 58,000 inhabitants, which has to redeem new land from swamp and desert, and has to train the newcomers from the ghettos, does more than well if it doubles its population in seven years, quadruples it in fourteen. Today Jewish Palestine, with its 600,000 inhabitants, can raise the tempo of growth. It can absorb 150,000 to 200,000 newcomers annually, which is more than the rest of the world combined is likely to absorb from stricken European Jewry in the postwar years.

It is perfectly true that once the initial difficulties were overcome, Palestine attracted numbers of Jews whose Zionist sentiments were less intense than those of the pioneers, and in some cases were entirely absent. The more than 100,000 German Jews who have found refuge in Palestine since 1933 have

had reason to bless the nationalist passion of those who preceded them, even though, like Mr. Rosenwald, many of them could not share it. They have changed a great deal, as I have had occasion to notice during my many visits to the Jewish Homeland.

Something more must be said regarding Arab opposition to Jewish immigration. It flourishes among political leaders who, with every increase in the Jewish population, see their immemorial hold over the country weakening. They see the medieval, semi-feudal economy yielding to modern methods of agriculture and industry, and modern social concepts. The Nazi leanings of the principal Arab anti-Zionists, the open collaboration of the Grand Mufti (who is now in Berlin) with Hitler and Mussolini, indicate that the opposition of Arab politicians to Jewish immigration into Palestine is part of the world-wide struggle between totalitarianism and democracy.

This brings us to one of the most important aspects of the Zionist program, which links it with the world picture. The Zionist movement contemplates something more than the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine. It is also concerned with the general postwar reconstruction, and with the creation of a centre of democracy in the Near East, which is economically, politically and ideologically, a potential centre of reaction.

In his statement of the Zionist case in *Life*, Dr. Wise reproduced the treaty made in 1919 between the Emir Feisal, the greatest Arab leader of modern times, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization. The Emir Feisal dreamed of a united Arabia, and regarded a Jewish Homeland in Palestine as an asset of prime importance in the combination. Feisal was a man of imagination and courage. He foresaw a Pan-Arab Federation within which a Jewish Homeland would be the modernizing factor. His mind went back to the medieval period when Jews and Arabs cooperated in the creation of a great civilization, and he looked forward to a time when the episode would be repeated. Feisal's dream was shattered by the postwar fragmentation of the Near East. It can be revived to the mutual benefit of Jews and Arabs, and of mankind generally.

URGE YOUR CONGRESSMAN TO SUPPORT THE WRIGHT-COMPTON RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE (HR 418-419)

Steel Filings

Palestine Resolution Deserves Support

By JOHANNES STEEL

For a full decade—ever since Hitler singled them out for annihilation—the Jews have been the recipients of innumerable expressions of sympathy and condolence. Unfortunately, however, there have been few real attempts to meet what is perhaps the greatest challenge to the conscience of the civilized world today—the problem of the tortured and uprooted Jews of Europe.

One such attempt—and one deserving the fullest support—is the bi-partisan Wright-Compton resolution on Palestine (HR 418-419), hearings on which are being resumed today by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

This measure resolves "that the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Here at last is a declaration which does more than voice indignation over the brutality practiced upon the Jews by the Nazis. By demanding free entry of Jews into Palestine, it calls for the abrogation of the British White Paper of 1939, which prohibits all new Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 31 of this year.

• • •

By calling for a "free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth," the Wright-Compton resolution offers a positive solution for the rehabilitation of Europe's Jews. While they must be given equality wherever they may live, the immediate problem is to save as many of them as is possible by abrogating the White Paper and opening the doors to Palestine immigration.

The Palestine resolution now under consideration takes into account the real needs of Europe's Jews. The members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee should examine these needs and not allow themselves to be sidetracked into interesting but completely irrelevant theorizing as to whether or not the Jews will set up a Theocratic State in Palestine. It appears that Representative Bolton wasn't sure that "we could recommend to Britain that she set up a state based on a church."

• • •

What nonsense! Jews may have their own religious beliefs, but it does not follow that a democratic Jewish state would be dominated by a church, any more than is the case with other democracies. The fewer theological questions introduced in discussions of the Palestine resolution, the better. A condition, not a theory, must be dealt with in this instance. The very lives of millions of people are at stake.

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URGE YOUR SENATOR TO SUPPORT THE WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE (SR 247)

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Palestine

THERE ARE pending in Congress joint resolutions, supported by the majority and minority leaders in the House and the Senate, which call upon our Government "to use its good offices to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." The pertinence and importance of these resolutions may be judged from a brief review of certain salient facts.

In the first World War, on November 2, 1917, the British Government issued what is known as the Ealfour Declaration, declaring that it "viewed with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" and that it would use its best endeavors "to facilitate the achievement of that object." The United States heartily assented to this purpose. President Wilson said, in 1919, "The Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth." The same policy was reaffirmed in June, 1922, when Congress adopted a joint resolution, which President Harding signed, to the effect that "the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The country was mandated to Great Britain by the League of Nations, and in the ensuing years enjoyed a remarkable growth in agriculture, industry and general welfare as more and more Jewish immigrants came in to work for its development and upbuilding.

But in May, 1939, when the war clouds were gathering and Prime Minister Arthur Neville Chamberlain was trying desperately to appease Hitler, an omnious thing occurred. The British Government issued the so-called Palestine White Paper, restricting future land purchases and providing that after March, 1944, there should be a complete stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine. This act was plainly in contravention of the Balfour pledge, and was denounced in the House of Commons by Winston Churchill as "a breach and a repudiation." Mr. Churchill, who had consistently opposed the appeasement policy, declared, "This pledge of a home, of a refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a national home." The White Paper, like the Munich Pact which preceded it, was an utter failure in deterring the Nazi aggressors; nor did it have its designed effect on the Arabs in Palestine and the Middle East. Certainly, they have shown no enthusiasm for the Allied cause, whereas the Jews of Palestine continue to make vital and heroic contributions to victory for the United Nations. Whatever excuse there may have been for the White-Paper appeasement in 1939, today it is altogether illogical and indefensible.

The object of the joint resolutions now pending in Congress is simply to reaffirm our Government's historic policy on this question and thereby help to restore the Balfour Declaration to its original and authentic purpose. So long as it was given a fair chance to work, it proved abundantly that the idea of a national home in Palestine for the Jewish people is practicable and advantageous to all the interests concerned. Since the end of the first World War more than 500,000 Jews have migrated to their ancient homeland. They have turned waste places into fruitful farms and established thriving industries. They have built roads, schools, hospitals, and one of the world's great universities. Their agricultural achievements are described by Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, assistant chief of the United States Soil Conservation Service, as "the most remarkable devotion to land and reclamation of land that I have seen in any country of the Old or New World;" and he adds, "The Holy Land can be reclaimed from the desolation of long neglect and wastage and can be made to provide farms, industry and security for possibly five million refugees fleeing the persecutions and hatreds of Europe." These developments have been as beneficial to the rank and file of the Arabs in Palestine as to the Jewish settlers themselves; the country's death rate has continually declined, while its economic level has risen.

There ought to be no interruption of so splendid and promising an experiment. All the nations fighting for human freedom and progress should keep faith with the Balfour Declaration, and American influence should be properly exerted to that end."

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THE Nation

Hymn to Free Enterprise

March 18, 1944

Palestine Run-Around

Was General Marshall Duped?

BY I. F. STONE

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Does Europe Need Germany?

BY LOUIS FISCHER

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China in Distress - - - - - - - - *Maxwell S. Stewart*
Crisis of Confidence - - - - - - - - - *Freda Kirchwey*
"Strange Fruit" - - - - - - - - - - - - *Diana Trilling*
The Balkans - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *M. W. Fodor*
Lonigan and Lonergan - - - - - - - - *James T. Farrell*

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Palestine Run-Around

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 10

MR. ROOSEVELT'S statement to the National Conference on Palestine won the gratitude of all friends of a Jewish national home. When the President authorized Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba H. Silver "to say that the American government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939," he was making more than a platonic gesture. It is too often forgotten, notably in Downing Street, (1) that Palestine is not a British colony but a mandate, (2) that France gave up its claim to Palestine and the League granted the mandate on condition that Britain establish a Jewish national home there, and (3) that this condition is also the basis on which the United States, in a separate treaty with Britain in 1925, accorded American recognition to the Palestine mandate. Article 6 of that treaty, like Article 6 of the League mandate, requires the Administration of Palestine to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions" and "encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land." The Anglo-American treaty of 1925 provides that there may be no change in its terms "unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States." The White Paper of 1939, Chamberlain's Middle East Munich pact, provided that Jewish immigration should be shut off entirely after five years "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it." This was "plainly a breach and repudiation" of Britain's obligations under the mandate and therefore invalid without American approval. The President can summon an august witness on the point, for the man who called the White Paper "plainly a breach and repudiation" was Winston Churchill.

In Washington the effect of the President's statement will be further to confuse those who were prepared to accept in good faith General Marshall's request that Congress shelve the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution. The position taken by the Chief of Staff before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was that passage of the resolution would lead to trouble with the Arabs. The opinion of the Chief of Staff in time of war necessarily carries great weight, and the National Conference on Palestine deferred to it. But if appeasement of the Arabs was necessary for military reasons, how explain the President's statement? It is true that the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution would put Congress on record as favoring immigration into Palestine "so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth," while the President only promises "full justice . . . to those who seek a Jewish national home." But I doubt whether the difference will be regarded as appeasement by the Arab rulers, especially when they consider that the President's reference to the White Paper opens the door to American diplomatic intervention, whereas the Congressional resolution is little more than a reaffirmation of a similar expression of opinion by Congress in 1922.

The Chief of Staff tells Congress that we dare not express an opinion on Palestine lest we offend the Arabs. The Commander-in-Chief then proceeds to express just such an opinion. Dr. Silver, after seeing the President, is encouraged to hope that military authorities "will soon find it possible, consistent with the realities of the situation, to withdraw their objections." Under the circumstances, it is not hard to understand why so cautious and conservative a man as Senator Taft publicly questions these alleged military reasons and calls for passage of his resolution in spite of them. This whole affair and its background leave one with the distinct impression that the Marshall statement was another example of a makeshift foreign policy cloaked as military expediency, the fruit of subterranean pressures and petty intrigue. I do not question General Marshall's sincerity or good-will. He has his hands full and can hardly be expected independently to investigate advice which comes to him on political matters from State and War Department Near East experts. But I am inclined to think that the Chief of Staff in this Palestinian matter, like Eisenhower on several occasions in French North African affairs, has been the innocent dupe of wilier men.

If the State Department had wanted to take responsibility for opposing the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution, it could easily and quietly have prevented the bill's introduction. If military reasons made the measure unwise, a hint to the sponsors would have been enough to stop them. The origin of the resolution goes back to conversations last year between Zionist leaders and the highest officials of the State Department, including Mr. Hull and Mr. Welles. These officials were friendly, and the Zionists were given to understand that it would be helpful to the State Department if Congress reasserted American policy in favor of a Jewish national home in Palestine. In the middle of January, two weeks before the bill was introduced, Rabbi Silver went to see Secretary Hull. Had the Secretary ad-

vised him that the resolution was ill-timed, introduction would have been postponed. Mr. Hull said the State Department could take no position on pending legislation but indicated no opposition. This, in the light of the preceding conversations and Mr. Hull's known caginess, was regarded as a hint that the Zionists might go ahead.

There were other ways in which the bill might have been stopped. Senator Wagner, its co-sponsor in the Upper House, is a ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a devoted and responsible Administration supporter. A hint to him of any military risk would have been enough. Senator Taft, who joined with Wagner in offering the bill, had first written to Secretary Hull to ask whether the State Department had any objections. When Senator Taft received no reply, he took the matter up with his brother, Charles P. Taft, an official of the department. Taft, after discussing the question within the department, reported that there were no objections. The bill was introduced in the House on January 27 and in the Senate on February 1 and warmly supported in both houses by both the majority and the minority leaders. Either Senator Barkley or Representative McCormack could have been warned if military considerations made the bill unwise at this time.

In the House, Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, is notoriously subservient to the State Department. Before ordering hearings on the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution, he also got into touch with Secretary Hull. While Hull was noncommittal, he was not hostile. Bloom took this as a hint to go ahead. The hearings in the House lasted from February 8 to February 16, and ended with no expression of opposition from State or War Department. The Senate committee held an executive session on February 17 and heard witnesses for and against the bill, again with no opposition from Administration sources. It was not until six days later, on February 23, that a special session was hurriedly summoned by the committee to hear General Marshall and to consider letters from Secretaries Hull and Stimson asking that no action be taken on the resolution at this time. Oddly enough, neither Senator Wagner nor Senator Taft was present at the executive session which heard Marshall, although they were co-sponsors of the bill. Wagner and Taft say they were not informed of the meeting.

There is no reason to believe that the military situation changed in the few weeks between the introduction of the resolution and Marshall's appearance before the committee. Was a change in attitude brought about by protests from Arab countries against passage of the resolution? These did not begin to arrive until March 1, several days after Marshall testified. They give the appearance of a concerted attempt to ride in on the coat-tails of an arranged victory, and one wonders whether they were made before assurances had been obtained through diplomatic channels that they would be welcome. The sequence of events was such as to hand proponents of a Jewish national home a humiliating defeat after they and their Congressional supporters had been given no reason to believe that their efforts were ill-timed or contrary to national interest. The incident was not made less disturbing by the excuses offered in private to Zionist leaders by high State and War Department officials. The State Department blamed the War Department for the change of front. In the War Department it was said that the State Department was responsible and that the War Department wasn't particularly concerned about the measure.

Were the Zionists led into a trap? Or were they the victim of last-minute pressure from the British government? Though Mr. Churchill remains a friend of the Zionist cause, the Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration are generally anti-Zionist and pro-Arab, and intend to enforce the White Paper. Another influence hostile to a Jewish national home is that of Brigadier General Patrick J. Hurley, who returned from the Near East bursting with suspicion of British imperialism and anxious to outbid it for Arab favor in order to further American exploitation of Near East oil. Hurley is an "oil" general, like Gulf's General Walter Pyron, the chief War Department adviser on oil. Still Harry Sinclair's lawyer and Washington Man Friday, Hurley operates in full military panoply out of his corporation law office in Washington, with his press agent commissioned a major. He is one of those who think Arabian oil too important to be left "at the mercy of local conflict," the implication being that the conflict must be ended by liquidating the effort to build a Jewish home in Palestine.

The Near Eastern Division of the State Department is another important factor behind the scenes. It shares the prejudices and antipathies of the Colonial Office. There is the same natural and instinctive orientation to the Arab potentate and large landowner, the same dislike of the Jew. Its leading Arab expert seems to be a Colonel Harold B. Hoskins, who is closely associated with Adolf Berle, another great friend of the Arabs. In his civilian capacity Colonel Hoskins is a New York cotton-goods merchant. He was born in Beirut, the son of American missionaries, and perhaps might best be described politically as a Syrian nationalist. He spent the winter of 1942-43 in the Near East on a special mission of inquiry, whence he returned with the same preconceptions with which he left. I have the alarmist report on "The Present Situation in the Near East" which he circulated confidentially last year among Congressmen he thought might be won to his views. It is anti-French and anti-Jewish, and its section on "People Seen" indicates that though he spoke with many

Arabs, Frenchmen, and British colonial officials, he spoke with no Jewish leaders on his trip. The report is almost entirely taken up with arguments against Jewish aspirations in Palestine, seasoned with unfriendly remarks about the Jews of North Africa. It is on men like Hurley and Hoskins that Marshall must necessarily have relied, at least in part, when he advised Congress that it would be unwise to pass the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution.

This undercover campaign against a Jewish national home in Palestine is much like the campaign last year to deprive the Jews of French North Africa of their citizenship. All sorts of dire predictions were made of Arab revolt and military difficulties if the Crémieux decree were reinstated. But there was no trouble when the French National Committee put the decree back into effect, restoring French citizenship to the Jews. I wonder to what extent the campaign against the Palestine resolution is due to the same kind of wishful thinking. I note that the March 4 issue of the New York *Times*, which is strongly anti-Zionist, carried a dispatch from Jerusalem saying that "Palestinian Arab politics at this time present a somewhat confused appearance." The "confusion" seems to be in the eye of the beholder. The correspondent reports that Arab political parties seem to be having trouble trying to "drum up a popular following." He credits this to "a public inertia that may be attributed to the general absorption with the prosperity brought to the Arab peasantry as a result of the huge Allied military expenditures." Palestinian Arabs seem much less aroused than the Near Eastern Division of the State Department.

The fact is, as attested over and over again by official investigations, that the Arabs of Palestine have benefited by Jewish immigration, however that may pain Hitler's friend and would-be Quisling, the Grand Mufti, now in Berlin. In 1920, as Colonel Hoskins shows in his private report, there were 600,000 Arabs in Palestine. In 1942, their number had risen to 1,000,000. That doesn't sound as though the Arabs have suffered from the influx of Jews.

"In our history we have colonized all over the world," Josiah Wedgwood told the House of Commons during the debate over the White Paper in 1939, "but this is the first case in which we have colonized without injuring the native population. One has only to go today to the neighboring countries of Syria or Egypt to see the condition of the fellahin, of the Arab workers of those two countries, and compare it with their position in Palestine, to see how enormously the natives of Palestine have benefited by the immigration of the Jews." That this should arouse the fear and enmity of the Arab politicos and landowners is natural, but their protests ought not to be taken for the voice of the Arab masses. Apparently the President does not intend to do so.

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What is the truth behind the "facts" presented in "Report On Palestine" which appeared in the May issue of Reader's Digest?

HERE IS THE ANSWER TO PAINTON'S

REPORT ON PALESTINE

By Robert P. Jacobs

This is an answer in the form of a letter to Mr. DeWitt Wallace, Editor of The Reader's Digest. He sent Frederick C. Painton to Palestine "to try to get the facts." But Mr. Painton appears to have missed some of the most basic facts. His report must, therefore, be answered; and the present writer suggests that the reader compare the following comments paragraph by paragraph, page by page, with the Painton article.

Yes, let us learn the truth, and the truth will set us free.

May 8, 1944

Dear Sir:

Your correspondent may have tried to get the facts. He may actually have felt that what he sent you was "as honest and objective as it is in my power to write."

Yet, 29 times I placed a mark on the margin of the page to denote a misstatement of fact, a misunderstanding of the facts mentioned, a contradiction in fact and in argument, a statement showing lack of background, an unwarranted assumption, a biased "comparison," omissions of salient facts, etc., etc.

A friend of mine, for many years a careful student of Palestine, wrote: "This is not a serious contribution to the discussion but a superficial journalistic piece of shreds and patches." I agree; but when an article appears in your columns, many readers are led to believe that it is the whole truth and nothing but the truth. In the case of "Report on Palestine," 'tain't so; and some of your readers—as many as I can reach—ought to know it.

CONSIDER: the very first sentence in the article is misleading and the very last is a judgment which 50 years of history denies. Let me show you.

Your correspondent begins: "The nub of the Jewish-Arab problem in Palestine is, of course, immigration." Let me correct it, and tell you why I do so.

"The nub of the British-Jewish-

Arab problem in Palestine is primarily immigration" is how the sentence ought to read. Note the word *British*. A truly factual picture of Palestine must contain the story of the administration of the country by the British Colonial Office. Jews came to Palestine—since 1917—because Great Britain solemnly and officially and publicly promised the Jews a national home. British administrators have done the actual job of governing and much of what they have done and are doing has actually created the "problem." British policy has held sway in Palestine and in neighboring lands. You can't talk about Palestine—and be "objective"—unless you mention the strong, perhaps the preponderating role of the British.

How convenient it was for your correspondent to pass over the international relationships! *Palestine is not British-owned.* Fifty-two nations are involved. It was the League of Nations which conferred the mandate upon Britain. The United States is deeply interested. In 1922, our country, by a Joint Resolution of Congress, passed unanimously, confirmed Britain as the mandatory power. And in 1924, in a treaty with Great Britain, we declared in unmistakable terms that Britain must not change her policy in Palestine without the consent of the United States. Mr. Editor, a correspondent whose article is "so informative and so important as to warrant publication" ought not to omit these facts. Without the story of British involvement and a clear statement of Britain's powers and limitations of power, the report is not complete; nor truly informative; nor genuinely important.

The second sentence declares: "The Jews want unrestricted Jewish immigration up to a total of 4,000,000." Nonsense. Jews simply want unrestricted immigration according to the absorptive capacity of the land. No one knows exactly how many people the land will hold, and no official speaks in exact figures. All Jews want NOW is that the gates of Palestine be thrown open wide to all who can escape the hell of Nazi Europe, for Palestine is almost the only place in the world which offers refuge to the masses who clamor for a place in which they can live normally.

SAYS your correspondent: "The Arabs are afraid of the Jews. This for two reasons: first, the Jews are more articulate and have a world press and vast wealth; second, the Jews have been smuggling in arms on a rather astonishing scale . . . The Arab is unorganized, he has no spokesmen, and he has few arms."

Have the Jews in Palestine ever attacked the Arabs? No. Who did the rioting in Palestine through the years? It is plain: bands of Arabs instigated by a few fanatic chieftains who in turn were the tools of certain political leaders who—in 1936-9—were tools in the hands of Germany and Italy. Where is the man who, time after time, spurred on the Arabs to attack? He is the so-called Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Today he is in Berlin, *Hitler's guest,* broadcasting to his henchmen!

What about the recent arms trials? Who were convicted? The answer is plain: *both* the Arabs and the Jews.

Sum up the facts as follows: Arabs

are obtaining arms, as they did in years past when they attacked the Jews. What shall the Jews do—in the face of a hostile administration—but try to defend themselves? Not trusting the British colonial administration, based on their experience during the Arab riots of 1921, 1929 and 1936, the Jewish farm settlers do the next best thing to assure safety for their wives and children and their property: obtain arms. But only for defense. It is nonsense, therefore, to speak of Arabs fearing the Jews.

As to our "world press and vast wealth," where did your correspondent get those ideas? They are simply a mouthing of old, discredited statements. We have neither a world press nor vast wealth, despite Nazi assertions to the contrary—assertions which found a ready ear in many circles. For proof, call on any sociologist or statistician in any university in the land. Or see the expert survey of the editors of *Fortune* magazine in the February, 1936, issue.

"THE BRITISH," says your correspondent, "believe they have lived up to the letter of the Balfour Decoration, which said only that His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment of a home for the Jews in Palestine." Tut, tut! Look at the text, please. The Balfour Declaration says: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a *national home for the Jewish people.*" Note those words: a *national* home. That's not an Old Folk's home. That's not a "home in the country." That's not a ghetto where the Jews are in the minority. That's a *national* home. Do you ask what it means? Let Winston Churchill tell you: "If as will happen, there should be created in our life-time by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which from every point of view would be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British empire."

Continues your correspondent: "There *is* a home, they say, and Britain is absolved." Question, please: when is a home not a home? Answer: when it isn't your own, when you don't own it or rent it; and can't develop it; and can't bring your family into it. So, there isn't a home, and *Britain is not absolved.*

This is the nub of the whole business. Britain definitely promised Palestine to the Jews, not to those Jews who would live in a corner of the land, but to the Jewish people of the whole world. Now she is trying to squirm out of it. What Britain is trying to do in and with and around Palestine is another story, but our point is: Britain has thus far not kept her pledged word.

Who says so? Winston Churchill says so. The League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission said so when it refused to countenance Britain's policy of the White Paper of 1939. President Roosevelt says so. On March 9th he declared: "The American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939 . . . and when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to

those who seek a Jewish National Home."

IN SPEAKING of the remarkable agricultural record of Jewish settlement, your writer dwells at length upon the amazing production of tomatoes on the salty shores of the Dead Sea. After expressing his admiration for the dogged endurance and courage making it possible, he concludes: "But common sense told me that if a normal charge for labor were made, the tomatoes produced would cost perhaps 60 cents each. It shows that the desire to own and farm land in their own homeland is a driving obsession with many Jews." But the picture is not complete unless you know why this is so. Two reasons: first, more land means more room for new settlers and more food for them; second, the Jews have increased their total farm production *in order to help feed Allied soldiers in the Near East theatre of war.* Yanks from Kansas and North Carolina, Tommies from Birmingham and Liverpool, Aussies from Melbourne and Sidney need vast quantities of food, and the Jews of Palestine have gone to extraordinary lengths to raise it for them.

Look at the agricultural situation a bit more. Your correspondent, in presenting the Arabs' case, says: "By the Jews' own figures today, however, only 113,000—23 percent of Palestine's 550,000 Jews—are on the land; the other 77 percent are in the cities." Actually, this is a tremendous achievement. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, veteran correspondent of the Chicago *Sun*, writing from Jerusalem in a column dated May 1st, speaks of the new farming population thus: "Behind this lies the transformation of Jewish man from a hard-working but primarily purely urbanized intellectual being into a person who prizes hard, physical work in the open air above everything. Rabbis' sons toil in fields, load on their back 200-pound sacks of sugar with a smile and a song on their lips."

It is also a successful achievement. The proportion of farmers to cityfolk is fairly satisfactory. If in Palestine the proportion is 23 percent, in the United States it is 22 percent; in Canada, 27; in Holland, 20; in Belgium, 17.

"PALESTINE," says your man, "is still an enormous philanthropic venture." The dignified and forthright answer is that last year the Jews of Palestine gave more—in proportion to their numbers—to Zionist funds than did the Jews in the United States, that the contributions of Jews in the free countries of the world are mainly for the purpose of creating *new* agricultural settlements and not for "subsidizing" or "maintaining" the existing population.

In Mowrer's article in the Chicago *Sun* of May 1st, we find: "Except for funds needed to finance further immigration, Palestine is now a permanently self-supporting society."

So much for contributions. What about the *total capital import?* As of 1942, the total investments in Palestine were about 120 million pounds sterling, and at least five-sixths was private investment capital. Apparently, tens of thousands of individuals and corporations do not consider Pales-

tine "an enormous philanthropic venture," but rather a place with the promise of returns on investment. Let me add that foreign investments are quite the rule in other growing countries. As of 1930, Argentine had 635 million pounds of foreign investments; Canada, 995 million pounds; South Africa, 260 million pounds.

SAYS your correspondent: "To the cry that more Jews should be admitted, the Arabs reply that the country cannot support the 4 million immigrants the Jews ask for. According to authoritative figures, Palestine has only 2,200,000 acres of productive and potentially productive farm land." It is to the point to say that equally authoritative sources declare that the total cultivable area of Palestine is *double* the figure quoted. It all depends on your definition of "cultivable." In 1930, an "expert" said it meant "land that can be brought under cultivation by the labor and financial means of the average Palestinian Fellah (peasant)." That excluded thousands of acres of marshes (some of which are already cultivated by Jews), the coastal sand dunes, the wilderness of Judea and the vast tracts of land in the semi-desert south of Beersheba. It is significant to mention that today Jewish colonization is confined to only 6 per cent of the land, and, by employing modern methods of agriculture and soil conservation, has expanded the absorptive capacity of the land again and again through the years. A half million Jews came in during the past 25 years, and the Arab population increased by 600,000!

Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, quoted in a footnote to your article, says, in his book, *Palestine: Land of Promise*: "It is practically impossible to estimate what the final absorptive capacity of Palestine could be if all its unoccupied or under-populated areas were rejuvenated by the same vigor and understanding love of the land as have characterized Jewish efforts on a tiny fraction of the land."

IT'S TOO BAD your correspondent went to Palestine these days. It's wartime, and Palestine is on a ration-plan. So he was hungry. The best food goes to the soldiers in the Allied armies. It happens, too, in England; in India; in the United States. Mowrer also traveled in Palestine. He speaks of "the happiest, healthiest generation of little children this writer has seen anywhere." The inference is that children and soldiers come first and a correspondent of the *Reader's Digest* comes next. Which isn't at all wrong, is it?

I WONDER why your correspondent picked on the vast under-populated state of Oregon for comparison with Palestine? Palestine has 144.5 population per square mile. What of it? To the north is the little country of Lebanon which has 270 to the square mile. Holland has 650. But comparisons are odious. Dr. Lowdermilk says the country is under-populated and could support 4 million more, without displacing a single Arab. Who can say him nay?

THE CORRESPONDENT quotes Miss Henrietta Szold, founder of Hadassah, and one of the world's greatest women, as saying "many times" that the Zion-

ist movement failed to understand and make friends with the Arabs. He does not know, apparently, that from the moment the modern Zionist movement was founded in 1897, constant efforts have been made. And many have succeeded, are now accomplished (and important) facts of harmony, understanding and friendship.

Today, Arabs live in Tel-Aviv, are represented on the Municipal Council. Arab labor unions fraternize with Jewish labor unions. Jews and Arabs on farm settlements come together for feasts and celebrations. The Hebrew University is open to Arab and Jew alike. The Jews publish newspapers in Arabic. Arab and Jewish delegations make reciprocal visits to their organizations.

As to the competition of Palestinian industries with American and English products, it is quite possible to do it successfully. It was done already *before the war* when hundreds of industries, large and small, were firmly established. And although all industries are today pouring out products to help the war effort, overtures are being made to assure a continued reciprocal relationship with neighboring countries after the war. An understanding has been reached with Egypt. Others will follow. Given a fair chance—and the hostility exists in England rather than in neighboring countries—Palestinian products could make a good showing.

Your correspondent says the "Jewish Agency people fear that the skilled refugees who make many products will return to their native lands when the war is over,"—Czechs, Dutch, even Germans. But Mowrer says: "Contrary to some predictions, there won't be much return from Palestine to Europe after the war." Take your pick. I'll take Mowrer. The fact is that after the war many a year will go by before Europe will be a decent home for anybody. Meanwhile, in Palestine there's a livelihood and a normal environment; and children are born and grow up and sink roots. Yes, few will return.

What about the "fewer than 100" out of the 5500 Americans who gave up their American passports? Does this prove that they have not sunk roots in Palestine? Not at all. Anyone who has traveled abroad knows the power of the American passport. It means security, equal justice and—sometimes—life itself. As long as Palestine is run on a White Paper policy, what can the officials of the British Colonial Office offer? Only insecurity, arbitrary justice and—frequently—insufficient protection. The thousands of Americans in Palestine are wise to retain their American passports.

Yes, many leading Jews may well have told your correspondent that at the war's end, there may be no immigrants. But did he ask why? The answer would have been immediate: the British Colonial Administration will not permit them, if its present policy will continue in force. The fact is that in peacetime thousands upon thousands of Jews clamored for the precious certificates permitting entry into Palestine. A trickle was permitted. At the war's end, hundreds of thousands of Jews will want to leave the

scenes of utter desolation in Europe—for Palestine.

THERE ARE in Palestine—as everywhere—violators of the order of a country. They should be punished. But who will deem it right to overemphasize the "lunatic fringe?" The truly amazing thing is the self-restraint of the Jewish population in the face of endless provocative measures by a despotic administration. They include: closing of newspapers, a 12-hour curfew law, artificially created unemployment in areas where manpower is urgently needed, raiding of colonies, refusal to release certificates of admission at the moment when boatloads of refugees are actually in Haifa harbor, etc., etc. These too are facts which an impartial observer should include to give the true, the complete picture.

THE ARABS have a stake in the land. Most of them are not nomads. True. Nobody questions it. But the total picture shows that the Jewish community, though only a third of the population, is already the predominating factor. "In the industrial field, for example, the Jews have established and operate fully 80% of Palestinian industry. They contribute more than 70% of the country's total revenues. The Jewish stake in Palestine is at least as great as the Arab and is constantly growing at an ever-increasing pace." (E. Neumann, in *The Day*, May 1, 1944).

WHEN your observer states the argument of "the Trans-Jordan people" that "moving the Arabs out of Palestine to let in the Jews is comparable to asking the people in Kansas to pick up and get out so that newcomers could settle on the land"--when he states this and does not immediately counter with the fact that no responsible Zionist has ever proposed that Arabs be dispossessed, and that in the past 22 years, the Arab population has *increased 40%* due to improved health conditions and to the migration of Arabs *into* Palestine, your observer is guilty of partiality.

The primary plan of Jewish immigration is that it be directed to uninhabited areas or to sparsely settled lands. It is important to realize that land-purchase contracts are scrutinized by British officials, that the cultivable areas available to Jews are very limited, and that, for no apparent reason, vast areas of uncultivated and uninhabited land *may not* be purchased by Jews. (That's what the White Paper has done!) So that when your observer writes of the Arab who "picks up the soil in his hands and says it is his and no third power in the world can take it away from him without a fight," he's writing nonsense. Nobody ever made the threat in the first place.

FINALLY, the writer says: "The immediate problem is insoluble. The Arab world will rise if the White Paper clause on immigration is rescinded." Strange observation! Just the other day, a *New York Times* correspondent reported from Palestine that Arab agitators (who are not arrested) are having a difficult time in stirring up even the Palestinian Arabs, because the latter are much too content with wartime prosperity. And when President Roosevelt, on March 9th, declared

that the United States "has never given its approval to the British White Paper" and that "full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home," not one Arab protest was heard. Even Lawrence of Arabia had more than his hands full to work up a revolt of the Arabs under conditions of close proximity to warring armies.

YES, some "Arab states" did send in protests to the State Department when the resolution asking that the United States Government use its offices to open the gates of Palestine was being discussed in committee. But those "Arab States"—Iran, Iraq and others—have no voice of their own. They are under the *military control* of His Majesty's Government. The voice is the voice of the British overseers.

The article ends with the thought that the problem will solve itself at the end of the war because Jews will not "give up their own homeland to plant themselves anew in the sterile hills of Judea." Come, now! Has he heard that all the Jews of Europe have been uprooted, dispersed, persecuted, and—literally millions — annihilated? Does he realize that at the war's end a period of reconstruction will be long and arduous and that a majority of those who remain alive in Europe will have nothing to return to? Where is their home? Where their families? Where their property? Where their livelihood? Does he expect that the millenium-old virus of anti-Semitism will have shot its bolt and expired during the holocaust of war and will not remain alive to poison—for generations to come—the atmosphere of most of the countries of Europe? Palestine, and only Palestine can save them.

Let me end on a positive note: the solution of the British-Jewish-Arab problem is possible. It is to be found in a firm British policy toward the Arab *effendi*, that feudal landlord who fights the flood of democracy and modernity with specious arguments.

Britain has promised to facilitate Jewish settlement on the land. Let her keep her pledged word. There is ample room for the million Arabs, the 600,000 Jews and millions more. There's ample room.

European Jewry needs Palestine. Palestine needs them.

Writes Lowdermilk: "On 14 per cent of the cultivated area and 6 per cent of the total area of Mandated Palestine, a people with faith and devotion born of long tradition has changed desolation into fertile fields, fruitful orchards and reforested slopes. Ancient cities have been rebuilt and the commerce on their streets quickened, long-unknown resources have been brought into the light of day and sent to the distant marts of the world. After the centuries of darkness which crushed the hopes of Palestine's miserable inhabitants, a new force has come into the land and made it live again. The possibility of a new day *for the entire Near East* is hidden in the fertile lands, the flourishing villages and cities, the co-operatives and factories of Jewish Palestine." (*Palestine: Land of Promise*, p. 228).

THE WORLD

Gervasi Debunks 'Reader's Digest' on Palestine

Gives Point-by-Point Answer to Article Attempting to Deny Jews Asylum in Holy Land

Widespread interest has been aroused by Report on Palestine, *an article in the* Reader's Digest *by its Near East Correspondent, Frederick C. Painton. The piece was attacked in Congress last week by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.).*

PM considers the article important not only because of the tremendous circulation and prestige of the Reader's Digest*—which has, significantly in this connection, an Arabic edition—but also we have reason to know that Painton's point of view is shared by some people, at least, in our State Dept.*

At our request Frank Gervasi, noted author (his last book is But Soldiers Wondered Why*) who has been Middle East correspondent for* Collier's *for the last five years, consented to go over Painton's article point by point as a PM reporter took notes. The following comprises extracts from the Painton story, and Gervasi's comment.*—THE EDITORS OF PM.

Painton Writes:

The nub of the Jewish-Arab problem in Palestine is, of course, immigration. The Jews want unrestricted immigration up to a total of 4,000,000.

Gervasi Answers:

Immigration is a problem, but not as Painton paints it. The real problem is whether or not Jews shall have a country, and more particularly whether harassed European Jewry shall have an asylum. Jews do not want unrestricted immigration, but only as much as the land will support.

Painton Writes:

The Arab is unorganized, he has no spokesmen, and he has few arms.

Gervasi Answers:

This is just not true. Arabs have been picking up rifles all over the desert, scavenging the ground after battle. The Arab unorganized? What better organization is there than the Moslem church or Nahas Pasha's political machine? No spokesmen? What about Ibn Saud, master of Saudi Arabia; or Nahas Pasha, premier of Egypt, or the Iraqui Nuri Said?

Painton Writes:

The British believe they have lived up to the letter of the Balfour declaration. . . . There is a [Jewish] home, they say, and Britain is absolved.

Gervasi Answers:

What kind of a home have you got when the door is locked against you? So it's questionable whether the British are living up to the letter of the Balfour declaration, itself a vague document. And in this connection I might add that Churchill believes that "there is room for everyone in the Middle East." But strangely the British Colonial Office doesn't feel this way. Has Britain two foreign policies?

Painton Writes:

The Jews have poured millions of dollars into Palestine.

Gervasi Answers:

Thank you, Mr. Painton; that's quite true. And you might have added how many millions—nearly $500,000,000 in investments alone—not counting real estate and all *immobilia*—by 1943. And I want to add that the increased investment for wartime production in Palestine has been strictly Jewish capital, with no outside help. It makes an interesting addition to

Frank Gervasi

Mr. Painton's sometimes eloquent case for the Jews.

Painton Writes:

Some young Jews . . . piped sweet water onto the land and let it soak down through, so that it carried off salt. They did this 80 *times in eight months . . . and got a yield of tomatoes twice as great per acre as elsewhere. . . . I had only admiration for such dogged endurance . . . but common sense told me that if a normal charge for labor were made, the tomatoes would cost perhaps* 60 *cents each.*

Gervasi Answers:

Because the tomatoes cost (perhaps) 60 cents each for the first harvest, it doesn't mean they are going to cost that much to raise in the future. The first automobile we ever built must have cost many times its market value. And I wonder how much it cost the Pilgrims, figuring on a normal charge for labor, to raise the first ear of corn in their first piece of cleared forest land?

Painton Writes:

The Jews say they will never consent to autonomy for Palestine. With 1,200,000 Arabs against 550,000 *Jews, declares Harry Beilin of the Jewish Agency, "we become again a minority race."*

Gervasi Answers:

Exactly. And I want you to remember those figures.

Painton Writes:

The Jews have raised the standard of living in Palestine. . . . Attracted by [higher] wages, about 500,000 Arabs have come to Palestine in 12 years.

Gervasi Answers:

Mr. Painton makes a very eloquent point—for the Jews. He has already stated, you remember, that of the 1,200,000 Arabs now in Palestine, nearly half came in the last 12 years because of what the Jews have done for the country. And I want to add here that, when left alone, Jews and Arabs get along very well together, and it is only when deliberate trouble-makers mess up relations that difficulties arise.

Painton Writes:

One of the Jews' original arguments for the establishment of the Jewish homeland was that the Jew should go back to the soil. . . . By the Jews' own figures today, however, only 23 *per cent are on the land; the other* 77 *per cent are in the cities.*

Gervasi Answers:

I have the highest respect for Mr. Painton's integrity as a reporter, but he has fallen here into an old trap. He is repeating the ancient canard that Jews prefer to live in teeming city East Sides rather than on land. There is a very good reason why 77 per cent of the Jews in Palestine are living in cities. *They are restricted by law in buying land.* It is as simple as that. Moreover, it might interest Mr. Painton to know that Palestine Jewry's 23 per cent agricultural workers compares very favorably with the 19 per cent of *all* people, Jew and Gentile, who live on farms in the U. S. A., the 20 per cent in Holland and the 6.5 per cent in England.

Painton Writes:

[Palestine] is still an enormous philanthropic venture. The British say it is 40 *per cent self-supporting; the Jews say* 60 *per cent . . .*

Gervasi Answers:

Mr. Painton perhaps doesn't realize that the bulk of the money going into Palestine has been invested not in support of *existing* settlements or industries, but in *new* industries. These are capital investments. And I'll admit that the cost of building up a Jewish homeland is high when you have to pay Arab landloards exorbitant prices in gold for arid slices of desert.

Painton Writes:

You cannot get enough to eat in Palestine. I was hungry all the time I was there, although I had money to buy what I required.

Gervasi Answers:

I was in Palestine, too, and I did *not* go hungry. On the contrary, I got cooking which was nearer to my American tastes than anywhere else in the Near East. And the hardships which Jews must undergo—lack of certain luxuries, sugar, coffee etc.—are only a measure of their sacrifice in wartime, and should not be used as proof of overpopulation. On Mr. Painton's basis, there are too many people in England, the U. S. A. and everywhere in countries where food is rationed.

Painton Writes:

To the cry that more Jews should be admitted, the Arabs reply that the country cannot support the 4,000,000 *immigrants the Jews ask for.*

Gervasi Answers:

I note a footnote in the article here by Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, assistant chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, who has studied the Near East at first hand. He says that Palestine, with irrigation and development of electric power, could support an added 4,000,000 population—this without displacing a single Arab. I think Dr. Lowdermilk knows more about such matters than either I or Mr. Painton.

Painton Writes:

The Jewish Agency people fear that the skilled refugees [in Palestine] . . . will return to their native lands when the war is over.

Gervasi Answers:

This is a familiar argument with those who seek to sabotage the spiritual integrity of the Jews. There is a small fraction of Jewish people who will want to leave Palestine after the war, but to the best of my knowledge—and I discussed this with many people over a period of four years—there will be no large-scale exodus unless it is a forced exodus.

Painton Writes:

. . . Of the 3500 *American Jews in Palestine, fewer than* 100 *have given up their American passports.*

Gervasi Answers:

Why should anyone give up his passport in a land whose future is still obscured by British Colonial Office policy? Why should a man give up citizenship of a country to become a citizen of no country?

Painton Writes:

[Among Palestine' Jews] there are three extremist groups . . . they have fascist manners and fascist uniforms.

Gervasi Answers:

I doubt if Mr. Painton has ever seen members of these organizations, and knows whether they have fascist uniforms or manners. I am certain they haven't got fascist hearts. I detest extremism in any form, and I don't approve of these organizations. But let us realize why they exist. The only answer to extremism is a radical solution of the Palestine problem which would make extremism unnecessary.

Painton Writes:

As the Trans-Jordan people said bitterly, "moving the Arabs out of Palestine to let in the Jews is comparable to asking the people in Kansas to pick up and get out so that newcomers could settle on the land."

Gervasi Answers:

I don't know what Mr. Painton is talking about. A little while earlier he was saying that the influx of Jews into Palestine, and the raising of the living standards of the country, resulted not in moving Arabs *out* but in bringing them *in*. And I see no historical justification for Mr. Painton's parallel.

Painton Writes:

The Arab has been on the land here for hundreds of years, and he will fight to the death to stay on it.

Gervasi Answers:

The Jews have been on the land for hundreds of years, too, and will fight to the death to stay on it.

Painton Writes:

[The Arab says] the Jews have a bottomless purse. We have no outside funds.

Gervasi Answers:

In my long experience, I have worked and lived with many Jews whose purses are far from bottomless. And as for the penniless Arabs, the fact is that one-third of all the known and exploited oil wells of the world are in Arab hands. No Arab funds? How about Ibn Saud's and others' who graft in oil leases?

Painton Writes:

The Arab world will rise if the White Paper clause on immigration is rescinded.

Gervasi Answers:

If the Arab rises, it will not be so much against the Jews, but against centuries of oppression and exploitation and against corrupt leadership. The Arab has been one of the most oppressed people on earth, oppressed both by their own ruling groups from within and by imperialism from without. But I do not believe that the solution for oppressed Arabs lies in oppressing the Jews, or in barring from salvation several millions of European Jews caught in Hitler's net.

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NEW GROUP SETS UP A 'HEBREW NATION'

Committee Opens 'Embassy' in Capital, but Organized Bodies Call Move 'a Hoax'

By FREDERICK R. BARKLEY
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 18—In an unfurnished thirty-room mansion on Massachusetts Avenue's "Embassy Row," a "Hebrew Committee for National Liberation" set up today what it called an "unofficial embassy" for a proposed "really independent Hebrew Nation in Palestine," and announced plans for seeking a "co-belligerent status" with the United Nations in fighting the Axis powers.

The 10-day-old committee of seven members, which they hope to increase to twenty-one members in a few weeks, had the blue-and-white-striped flag of Judah flying on the mansion's flagpole, along with the American flag, and voiced hope that before long the big limestone residence would become recognized as the embassy of a Hebrew Nation with a legal entity.

The action of the group of seven, all professed Palestinian or stateless Jews, was assailed before its press conference ended by three other Jewish organizations—in the words of the American Zionist Emergency Council, as the effort of "a handful of young men to perpetuate a colossal hoax upon the American people."

Says Mansion Cost $63,000

Peter H. Bergson, head of the new liberation committee, conducted a conference for a group of about twenty newspaper and radio correspondents, and said that the mansion had been bought for $63,000 and that he expected the "unofficial embassy" and its activities to be financed by sympathetic Americans, largely through the sale of 10-year bonds of the proposed independent Hebrew Nation. He expected a $1,000,000 fund to result, he said.

The committee did not expect, Mr. Bergson said, that any naturalized Jews in any of the United Nations would seek to declare their affiliations with the proposed Hebrew Nation.

"This is the rebirth of the Hebrew Nation right here in this room," he said. "Practically 100 per cent of the Jews in occupied Europe, if asked by democratic process, would say that they want to be recognized as members of this proposed Hebrew Nation. The Jews now in Palestine are not free to speak as a nation short of a successful revolution."

"We speak," he added, "as Hebrews in exile and not as Americans of Jewish faith. There is a great distinction. The latter are a part of the American nation, made up of people of every descent."

The committee would present formal diplomatic appeals to the United Nations for recognition, Mr. Bergson said, but was not very optimistic of immediate results, depending instead upon "the response of the American people."

Of the new committee, the American Zionist Emergency Council said that it was "made up of half a dozen adventurers from Palestine with no standing, no credentials, no mandate from anyone unless from the Irgun Zevai Leumi in Palestine, an insignificantly small, pistol-packing group of extremists who are claiming credit for the recent terror outrages."

"Every movement has its lunatic fringe and irresponsible splinter factions, and it is natural that they should exist also in our midst," it stated.

"These boys are stuntists," the statement continued. "They have thrived on publicity tricks. They come in one day as a Committee for a Jewish Army; he next as a Committee for the Rescue of European Jews; today as a 'Committee for National Liberation' with an 'Embassy.'"

The comment of the Zionist Organization of America of which Dr. Israel Goldstein is president took the same tone, characterizing creation of the committee as "buffoonery" and "comic opera drollery." It said the same group also had created the "American Friends of a Jewish Palestine," and "The American League for a Free Palestine."

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the American World Zionist Organization in Washington, said that the new committee members had "come from Palestine to this country without any authority, having played no role whatever in Jewish life in Palestine or elsewhere."

Others besides Mr. Bergson listed by the Committee of Liberation as its present members were Arien Ben-Eliezer, Theodore Bennahum, Prof. Pinhas Delougas, Capt. Jeremiah Helpern, Eri Jabotinsky and Samuel Merlin.

Hadassah Assails the Move

Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, issued a statement yesterday to its 125,000 members criticizing the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation for its declaration that its purpose was to establish itself as "temporary trustee of the Hebrew Nation's interest," and "to take the first step to re-establish Hebrew self-determination in 1,809 years."

Hadassah stated that "the Committee must be recognized for what it is, a vicious attempt to undermine the position of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and a malicious attempt to destroy its legally recognized status."

The American Jewish Conference also issued a statement last night attacking the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. The Conference said:

"The Committee has no mandate from the Jewish National Assembly, which is the authorized and democratically elected spokesman of the Jews in Palestine. On the contrary, the leaders of this committee are linked with an extremist clique in Palestine, which amounts to less than one per cent of the Jews of that country, and which has been outlawed by the Jews of that country."

New Palestine Group Formed --Zionist Chiefs Oppose It

Washington Bureau Special to The Post

By CHARLES VAN DEVANDER
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, May 19 — Announcement by a group of seven Palestinian Jews that they have organized as the "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation" and intend to seek recognition of the United Nations today was met by a storm of protests from Zionist leaders.

Chairman of the new committee is Peter H. Bergson, a 34-year-old Palestine national who previously has been active in organizing the American Friends of a Jewish Palestine, the Committee for a Jewish Army, and the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe.

Bergson disclosed the formation of the "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation" at a press conference in a newly acquired building on Washington's "Embassy Row" which Bergson referred to as the committee's "embassy." A Jewish and an American flag flew over the entrance of the building, which is as yet unfurnished.

Seek Place at Peace Table

Bergson said his committee would seek recognition from the Allied governments as spokesman for the "Hebrew Nation" and that it would request membership on the War Crimes Commission, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and other United Nations' bodies as well as a seat, eventually at the peace table.

Dr. Leon Feuer, Washington director of the American Zionist Emergency Council, which is jointly headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland and speaks for all major Zionist groups in the U. S., promptly denounced the new Bergson venture as "a brazen fraud," and said the committee consisted of "half a dozen adventurers from Palestine with no standing, no credentials, no mandate from anyone."

Sponsors of the committee, he declared, have "thrived on publicity tricks" in their earlier organizations, which he asserted have had "one common feature—

PETER H. BERGSON
Heads "Liberation Group"

a persistent request for contributions."

Dr. Nahum Godmann, Washington representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and of the World Zionist Organization, said:

"The attempt of a few persons, who have come from Palestine without any authority, without having been delegated by any group in Palestine, having played no role whatever in Jewish life in Palestine or elsewhere, to proclaim themselves as the 'trustees of the Hebrew Nation's interests' is an act which, I am sure, will be rejected by all sections of the Jewish people as a fraud."

Fear Harmful Result

His statement included a warning to "well-meaning friends" among non-Jewish groups not to be "fooled" by the claims of the new committee. Any aid extended to it, Dr. Goldmann said, would weaken the prestige and influence of the Jewish organizations "charged with the complex and responsible task of building the Jewish homeland," and would result in doing harm, instead of good, to the Jewish people.

The new organization was similarly denounced by the administrative committee of the American Jewish Conference, which said that the leaders of the "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation" were linked with an "extremist clique" which had been outlawed in Palestine because of its "anti-democratic and terroristic tactics."

The new organization's program, the statement said, was intended to divide and disrupt the Jewish people and to destroy existing agencies for establishment of a national home in Palestine. Co-chairmen of the AJC Interim Committee are Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Wise and Henry Monsky of Omaha.

Seek Seat at Peace Table

Undisturbed by the furore he was causing among virtually all established Jewish organizations, Bergson told 25 reporters at his "embassy" press conference that they were witnessing the "rebirth" of the Hebrew Nation after 18 centuries with his committee as the temporary custodian of its interests.

Bergson claimed no specific mandate, but said his committee represents the interests of "members of the Hebrew Nation," whom he defined as the Palestine Jews and those living in the Axis and occupied countries.

"I consider the Palestine Jews, who are dominated by the British, as absolutely not free to speak for themselves and absolutely not free to act for themselves," he said in reply to a question.

Plans to Sell Bonds

The committee hopes to finance its activities by selling interest-bearing "Free Palestine" bonds as an obligation of the Hebrew Nation, he said, mentioning $1,000,000 as the desired amount for the first issue. Asked whether the Treasury Dept. had given permission for sale of such bonds, he replied: "Not yet." Bergson added that the committee had paid $65,000 for its "embassy," which was formerly occupied by the Iranian government. The money was contributed by "friends."

Members of the National Liberation Committee, in addition to Bergson, are Arieh Ben Elizer, Theodore Bennahum, Pinhas Delougaz, Jeremiah Helpern, Eri Jabotinsky and Samuel Merlin. Jabotinsky is the son of Vladimir Jabotinsky, one of the early pioneers of Zionist.

Seek Nation Status for Jews

Washington, D. C., May 18 (AP).—Organization of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation with the aim of winning recognition of the Hebrew nation as a member of the United Nations was announced today, and the seven-member group immediately came under fire from some long-established Jewish organizations.

Peter Bergson, head of the committee, announced its organization at a press conference in a building, formerly the Iranian Embassy.

He had hardly completed the conference before statements of comment were issued by local offices of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. They said:

Dr. Leon Feuer, director of the Washington bureau of the American Zionist Emergency Council,—"It is all fantastic and would be comic if it were not so tragic. A handful of young men are attempting to perpetrate a colossal hoax."

Dr. Nahum Goldman, Washington representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the World Zionist Organization—"The attempt of a few persons who have come from Palestine to this country without any authority to proclaim themselves as the 'trustees of the Hebrew nation's interests' is an act which, I am sure, will be rejected by all sections of the Jewish people."

JEWS DENOUNCE EMBASSY PLAN

Hebrew Committee Draws Zionist's Fire.

Washington, May 19 (A. P.).—Organization of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation with the aim of winning recognition of the Hebrew nation as a member of the United Nations was announced today and the seven-member group immediately came under fire from some long-established Jewish organizations.

Peter Bergson, head of the committee, announced its organization at a press conference in a building, formerly the Iranian embassy, which he said the committee had purchased for $63,000 and hoped would eventually become the duly accredited legation or embassy of the Hebrew nation.

He had hardly completed the conference before statements of comment were issued by local offices of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. These statements:

Dr. Leon Feuer, director of the Washington Bureau of the American Zionist Council,—"it is all fantastic and would be comic if it were not so tragic. A handful of young men are attempting to perpetrate a colossal hoax. . . ."

Dr. Nohum Goldman, Washington representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the World Zionist organization—"The attempt of a few persons who have come from Palestine to this country without any authority. . . to proclaim themselves as the 'trustees of the Hebrew nation's interests' is an act which, I am sure, will be rejected by all sections of the Jewish people."

Expected Opposition.

Mr. Bergson said he was not optimistic about any encouragement from the United States Government and that he expected bitter opposition from Zionists in this country, but that a favorable response was looked for from the American people generally.

Three organizations in New York, the American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Congress, and the Hadassah, which is the Women's Zionist Organization of America, have all issued statements attacking the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, which has declared its aims as being to establish itself as temporary trustee of the interests of the Hebrew Nation.

The American Jewish Conference said in its statement that the committee had no mandate from the Jewish National Assembly, and that the leaders of the committee are linked with the extremist clique in Palestine. The Hadassah in its statement said that the committee is an attempt to undermine the position of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and an attempt to destroy its legally recognized status.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, in his statement said that this "willful little company of irresponsibles makes confusion worse confounded and appears to be ready by its devices and unscroupulous tactics to render the greatest possible disservice to the Jews." He said that the committee was without the slightest vestige of authority to speak for any important Jewish body in Europe or in Palestine.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1944

Zionists Assail Committee for Hebrew Nation

Liberation GroupOpens Up 'Embassy' in Washington to Press for Recognition

By Ann Cottrell

WASHINGTON, May 17.—The establishment of a Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, the $63,000 purchase and opening of an "embassy" and the proclamation of the existence of a Hebrew nation by seven young men from Palestine was met with hostility by leaders of the Zionist movement.

Members of the ten-day-old committee admitted at a press conference held in the spacious and empty former Iranian Legation in Massachusetts Avenue that they did not represent any parent organization in Palestine. Peter Bergson, chairman of this committee — as he has been of many similar committees formed by the same group — claimed that his "revolutionary" group represented the voiceless Jews of Europe and the Jews of Palestine but not any American Jews. He said these Jews "constitute the Hebrew nation," whose existence he proclaimed right then and there. He also proclaimed that Palestine is the territory of this Hebrew nation.

Mr. Bergson repudiated the assertion presented by reporters of Jewish-language papers that the people of Palestine are already represented by the National Council in Palestine—an elective body which is part of the Jewish agency for Palestine. The latter is officially recognized in the Palestine mandate to represent Jews and their interests in Palestine.

The claims made by the new liberation committee, which has already hung the Jewish flag with its Star of David from the flag pole, were challenged immediately in statements issued by Dr. Leon Freuer, director of the Washington bureau of the American Zionist Emergency Council, headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, of New York, and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, and by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the World Zionist Organization in Washington. Dr. Goldmann said the group had no authority and will not be recognized by the Allied governments.

After the house-party atmosphere of cocktails and exhibition of the twenty-odd-room mansion subsided, Mr. Bergson told the press: "You are now on what—after 1,800 years—we are going to claim as Hebrew territory, and technically this building is nearest to Hebrew sovereign territory of any place in the world." No details were given as to how the purchase of the $63,000 structure was being financed except that it is through unnamed friends of the group. The movement will be financed, however, by the issuance of $1,000,000 worth of Free Palestine bonds, redeemable in ten years, Mr. Bergson said, but he admitted that permission of the Treasury Department has not yet been sought. The committee, he said, will seek diplomatic recognition from the United Nations, and intends to become one of them.

Mr. Bergson, who was born in Lithuania and is the son of Rabbi Dov Kook, who became a leading Palestinian rabbi, emphasized that the committee did not speak for the United States Jews, holding they are not Jews but "Americans of Hebrew descent." He did not make exactly clear how the essential aim of his new committee differed from the purpose of the Zionist movement, many of whose members reside in the United States. Both desire to establish a national homeland for Jews in Palestine. Mr. Bergson said his committee will postpone until the end of the war any controversy over the British white paper and "will co-operate and assist Great Britain as the mandatory power." Its present aim will be rescuing Jews from unoccupied Europe, he said.

Mr. Bergson, who is thirty-four years old, has been devoting himself to the task of rescuing the Jews for many months as one of the chairmen of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, which is still in existence and will occupy space in the new "embassy" headquarters. The personnel of the two committees is approximately the same. Mr. Bergson has also been affiliated with the American Friends of Jewish Palestine and the Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews.

Five of the other members of the committee are also Palestinians. They are Arieh Ben Eliezer, born in Poland; Theodor Bennahaum, born in Russia; Professor Pinhas Delougaz, born in Poland; Captain Jeremiah Helpern, born in Palestine; Eri Jabotsky, born in Russia, and Samuel Merlin, who was born in Russia but is "stateless."

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1944.

New 'Hebrew Embassy' Denounced by Zionists

By the United Press.

WASHINGTON, May 19.—The Zionist organizations of the United States today denounced as a "fraud," buffoonery" and "comic opera drollery if it were not so tragic" the bid of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation for Recognition as temporary trustee of "the Hebrew nation's interests."

The criticism by the established Jewish organizations had been predicted earlier when Peter H. Bergson, head of the new committee, formally announced its formation at its new headquarters —a $63,000 mansion in the midst of embassy row on Massachusetts Ave.

Four Major Aims.

Mr. Bergson proclaimed the "rebirtn of the Hebrew nation" after 1809 years of Hebrew dispersion over the face of the world, and announced that his committee would seek:

1. Recognition as one of the United Nations.
2. Representation on the Inter-Allied Commission on War Crimes.
3. A seat on the board of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
4. The right for tens of thousands of Hebrew men to fight the Nazis in their own name—as the Hebrew army.

Mr. Bergson also announced that the committee would attempt at once to sell $1,000,000 worth of Free Palestine bonds to the American public.

$63,000 Building.

He said the committee had been financed so far by interested persons who also had advanced the $63,000 purchase price for the former Iranian embassy building.

Mr. Bergson and seven other members of the committee emphasized that they did not claim to speak for the Hebrews in the United States but only for those in Palestine and in the occupied areas of Europe.

Even so, the American Zionist organizations immediately ridiculed the committee's proposals. Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist organization of America, said that the committee was composed of "a self-appointed group of four of five irresponsible young men" who have equipped themselves with "a Hebrew embassy" and a toga of "trusteeship of the Hebrew nation."

Despite the opposition, the flag of the new "Hebrew nation"—a six-pointed blue star on white background with a blue edging—was flown over 2315 Massachusetts Ave.

Reprinted from
THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MAY 21, 1944.

WATERPOWER PLAN TO AID PALESTINE

$150,000,000 Irrigation and Hydro-Electric Project Is Being Outlined Here

DAMS ON RIVER JORDAN

Loot Seized by Nazis From Jews of Europe Seen as Means of Financing

Engineering plans for a $150,000,000 irrigation and hydro-electric development in Palestine, to be known as the Jordan Valley Authority, are being prepared here, with preliminary surveys already completed, it was announced yesterday.

The move, for which leaders of the Zionist movement are sponsors, contemplates the damming of the River Jordan and diversion of its waters for irrigation, while a canal ninety-five miles long would carry waters from the Mediterranean Sea to the Dead Sea, which now is fed by the Jordan. Hydro-electric power would be developed by the natural fall of the Mediterra an waters on their way to the Dead Sea, 1,300 feet below sea level, as well as by other dams built on the Jordan and its tributaries.

The project would be a post-war one, tied in with the development of Palestine as a homeland for the Jews.

Nazi Loot to Aid Financing

Emanuel Neumann, spokesman for the group here which announced the roject, suggested that the financing of the project be done through the cooperation of the Government of Palestine, Jewish organizations, private capital, and credits based on looted Jewish property in Europe, "loot for which Germany must make some restitution."

Mr. Neumann made the announcement for the Commission on Palestine Surveys, 521 Fifth Avenue, a privately financed group which he said was organized quietly in March, 1943, at the request of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Zionist leader and President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, after the submission of proposals by Walter C. Lowdermilk, reclamation expert.

Since that time, Mr. Neumann said, experts working in Palestine have been cooperating with engineers here familiar with the country in the working out of the preliminary plans and surveys. He estimated that the development could be done in five years, or spread over a 30-year period.

Noting that Palestine, with 95,000 irrigated acres, produces the third largest orange crop in the world, he declared that the new project, involving the irrigation of an additional 600,000 acres would provide wide opportunities for the raising of crops of high trade values.

Questioned about the political implications of the move, Mr. Neumann said the development contemplated the lifting of immigration restrictions against Jews into Palestine. He contended also that the plans for the damming of the Jordan would benefit Trans-Jordania, under Arab control, as they contemplate irrigation ditches leading from the Jordan along its eastern bank.

Capacity of Plants

Comparing the proposed project with Grand Coulee or Boulder Dam, he said the power plants would have an installed capacity of 250,000 kilowatts, and the development of cheap power, and transition from dry farming to irrigation farming would make it possible to double or treble the total Palestine population of 1,500,000.

In an outline of the proposed project, the Neumann group said:

"The guiding principle is that no drop of water should be allowed to run to waste and the plans, therefore, call for the building of many dams and reservoirs of varying sizes, tentative sites for which have been selected, and a network of concrete lined irrigation canals covering the country.

"The main feeder canals, excluding laterals, would have an aggregate length of 450 miles. Three of the larger dams would be from 80 to 300 feet in height and from 1,200 feet to 8,500 feet in length. The quantity of water carried through the irrigation canals apart from well water, would come to about 750,000 acre feet a year. The major impounding reservoirs, natural and artificial, would have an aggregate capacity of 900,000 acre feet.

"A major feature of the over-all plan takes into account the unusual topography of the country and the great difference in levels between the surface of the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, which is the lowest body of water in the world, about 1,300 feet below sea level.

"In addition to the Mediterranean Diversion Plan, the power projects under study include further possibilities such as the continuous and rapid drop of the Jordan River from the headwaters of the Jordan clear down to the south.

"The elevation at the northernmost dam site is 1,900 feet above sea level. At Lake Hulch it is 230 feet. By the time the Jordan reaches the Sea of Galilee, it is 610 feet below sea level, while at the Dead Sea it is 1,290 feet below sea level—a total drop of nearly 3,300 feet. These and other supplementary possibilities point to a power potential which would call for an installed capacity of approximately 250,000 kilowatts, generating in excess of 1,000,000,000 kilowatts of electric current a year. This is approximately ten times the amount of electric current generated and sold in Palestine at the present time."

The lay members of the Commission on Palestine surveys, as announced yesterday, are Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Abraham Goodman, Andre Meier, Mr. Neumann, Morris Rothenberg, Alexander Sachs and Robert Szold, all of New York, and Israel Sieff of London.

CANAL PROJECTS FOR PALESTINE

Map showing how the River Jordan's waters would be diverted for irrigation and a ninety-five-mile canal would carry water from the Mediterranean to the Jordan Valley to produce power in a $150,000,000 post-war development.

Reprinted from...

The Washington Post

'For Liberation of Jews'

Bergson Admits $1,000,000 Fund Raised, Vague on Its Use

OCT 3 1944

By Gloria Lubar and
Edward F. van der Veen

From his $63,000 residence at 2315 Massachusetts ave. nw., formerly the Iranian Embassy, Peter Bergson, self-styled "nuisance diplomat," boasts his Hebrew Committee of National Liberation with its numerous affiliates has collected one million dollars "from a generous American people." He became vague, however, when a Post reporter insisted he tell what use has been made of the million dollars.

"Relief work has been a small part of our work," Bergson said. "Our major activity is to mobilize the understanding and help of American people for an integral and positive solution of the problems of the Jewish people in Europe."

Bergson (his real name is Hillel Kook) is a slight man with pale-blue eyes, darkish blond hair and a mustache. His voice cracks or squeaks when he gets excited.

He was emphatic when declaring he possessed a "dynamic personality." He added that "we have been responsible for 40,000 Jewish refugees having entered Palestine illegally from Europe during the last seven years."

"I and my workers managed to accomplish this feat through underground methods," he added.

The American Jewish Conference, headed by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, formed under a mandate of 64 reputable Jewish national organizations, agrees with Bergson that his groups have undoubtedly collected a million or more dollars in (tax-exempt) contributions from "persons who have mistaken propaganda for performance and advertisement for achievement," but join with British officials in deriding his assertion he has been the means of smuggling 40,000 Jews into Palestine."

"The public might be interested in knowing just how much has been collected and what disposition was made of the money," the Interim Committee of the Jewish Conference commented. "To date Bergson has made no such accounting."

British Disapprove

"If Bergson has been responsible in any way for aiding Jewish refugees in their attempts at illegal entry into Palestine, this is certainly looked upon with disfavor by the British government," a high British authority here said. "It leaves wide open an opportunity for 'flotsam and jetsam" and Nazis posings as refugees to enter mandated territory without first being investigated."

This official made plain that in matters pertaining to legal entry of Hebrews into Palestine, the British government deals only and directly with the World Zionist Organization, not in any way connected with Bergson's committees.

He emphasized that the British government considers Bergson "persona non grata," and made plain that Britain's only official dealings with him had been of a "military nature."

Bergson, who entered this country in 1941 as a citizen of Palestine, is 34, single, and has been declared physically fit in both British and American Army medical examinations. Shortly after his arrival, he informed the British he wanted to join their army. As Palestine is mandated territory, there can be no British conscription, fighters must volunteer. The British accepted his offer, put him through the physicals, and told him to appear for service. Instead, it is said, Bergson sent a letter saying he had decided he should do his fighting in a Hebrew army.

Classified 1-A

Upon receiving this letter, the British turned the matter over to the American Selective Service, where he was immediately classified 1-A. This classification was affirmed on appeal by the New York City Board of Appeal and is now under advisement by the National Selective Service Board. Bergson's appeal, it is understood, was based on "indispensibility."

"It is odd," the British official stated, "that a Jewish brigade has now been formed, but Mr. Bergson has not yet enlisted."

A case concerning Bergson's stay in this country is now before U. S Immigration authorities.

At the time Bergson first attempted to buy the Iranian Embassy, he declared he wanted it for a Hebrew Embassy. This appeal was turned down by the District Zoning Board on the grounds the proposed "embassy" had not been recognized by the U. S. State Department. District officials state Bergson later received permission to buy the property when he stated he wanted it as a private residence. Berkson's salary, by his own admission, is $75 a week. Formerly, he said, it was $45.

No Business Permit

Investigation by The Post discloses that Bergson neither holds a permit to conduct any sort of business from this highly restricted residential address nor, under the law, can he get one.

The "embassy," castigated by the American Jewish Conference as a "fraud, a buffoonery, and a comic opera drollery, if it were not so tragic," has a telephone switchboard and business office on the first floor. Bergson's private office, and the offices of his private secretary and clerical force, are on the third floor.

Zoning officials, informed the residence was being used for business offices, asserted the license and police departments would be interested to know Bergson has been operating a business without an occupancy premit.

Bergson, who formerly had declared the $63,000 "embassy" was purchased for him by friends, admitted to The Post it was paid for out of funds received for by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. The second floor, which makes up the living quarters, are beautifully furnished.

Purchased by Fund

Despite Bergson's assertion to the zoning board that the residence was to be a private dwelling, the deed filed September 22, 1944 shows it was purchased by the Hebrew National Liberation Fund, Inc.

Organized Jewry points to the continuous change of sponsors as published in the many full-page advertisements asking for funds. The American Jewish Conference charges names are used without permission, and that other so-called sponsors have repudiated the use of their names on grounds they do not agree with the committees' alleged political affiliations with the Irgun, a terrorist party in Palestine which Bergson has publicly praised.

Senators Scott Lucas (D., Ill.), Harry Truman (D., Mo.), vice presidential candidate, and Senator Albert Chandler (D., Ky.) have announced that advertisements had committed some members of the Senate to a point of view of which they had no advance knowledge, and that their names were used without specific permission.

Mrs. Louis D Brandeis, wife of the late Supreme Court justice, has declared use of her name as sponsor of the American League for a Free Palestine, and the Liberation Committee, was "completely unauthorized." Forty-six American rabbis also protested against use of their names in literature distributed by the American League.

Senator Robert F. Wagner (D., N. Y.) in an open letter, denounced the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation as "an organization which serves no useful purpose and can only confuse and mislead American public opinion."

Dean Alfange, leader of the Liberal Party in New York, announced his resignation as co-chairman of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, because he did "not approve of its political affiliations."

Pierre van Passan, author, once an active worker with Bergson, has gone on record with a scathing denouncement calling the Emergency Committee a "cruel hoax perpetrated on the American public." Passen accused two of Bergson's organizations of being sponsored by the Fascist party in Palestine, the Irgun.

15 Officers Resign

Dr. Francis E. McMahon of the University of Chicago, and 14 other officers also announced their resignation from the Emergency Committee because of "increasing confusion between objectives of the various committees."

Rabbi Herzog, Chief Rabbi of Palestine, has denied any ties with the Emergency Committee.

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; R. J. Thomas, president of the U.A.W., CIO; and Max Zaritsky, president of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers of America, also have denounced the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation.

October 4, 1944

Attacks Zionists

Bergson Admits His Committee Has No Right to Collect Funds

By Gloria Lubar and
Edward F. van der Veen

Peter H. Bergson held a press conference late yesterday.

Bergson wanted to discuss and denounce yesterday's Washington Post's story about his activities in this country.

Bergson presented a prepared statement in which he charged the tone of The Post story was one of deliberate misrepresentation and insinuation to present him in the worst possible light.

Bergson admitted when questioned, however, that the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, of which he is chairman, is not American; has no right to collect funds; is taking no action toward direct relief to "Hebrews;" and does not, to their knowledge, represent either European or Palestinian "Hebrews."

(The use of word "Hebrew" as a noun is Bergson's stock in trade. He contends that a Jew may be a citizen of any country, but that a "Hebrew" is a "stateless Jew.")

In a telegram calling the press conference, Samuel Merlin, a compatriot of Bergson, charged The Post was the tool of "British imperialists and defeatist Zionist leaders."

Earlier in the day, Third Precinct police said they plan to call Bergson into court to explain why he has operated a business from 2315 Massachusetts ave. nw., a highly restricted residential area, without an occupancy permit.

Police said they told Bergson when he moved into the quarters that if he wished to conduct a business he must go to the District Commissioners and have them change the zoning restrictions. Bergson did that, police said, and reported that he had been refused.

Police said they then told Bergson he must obtain an occupancy permit from the zoning commission. According to the Zoning Commission, this request also was refused on the ground the only business that could be operated in that restricted area would have to have been established there prior to 1920, or be a recognized embassy or legation.

At the press conference persistent questioning by The Post as to whom he (Bergson) represents, repeatedly brought this answer:

"I represent myself."

Demand for a more explicit explanation as to what he meant by "myself" caused Bergson to add:

"I embrace all stateless 'Hebrews.'"

Bergson insisted that part of the capital of the Hebrew National Liberation Fund, Inc., was provided for by Billy Rose, night club impresario.

Reached in New York last night by The Post, Rose denied any connection with Bergson, his committees, or the fund.

"Let him show one single check I ever signed," Rose said. "It is true that I did stage the pageant, 'We Will Never Die,' both in New York and at Constitution Hall in Washington for Ben Hecht, who wrote it. I did it because it was a good show. That was my only connection with the pageant."

Representative Sol Bloom (D., N. Y.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, questioned as to Bergson's accomplishments during his stay in this country, declared: "No authorized Jewish agency approves of the methods adopted by Bergson and his groups."

Charging that Bergson's methods were purely lobbying and high pressuring, Bloom exhibited a telegram from the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe last year, asking those who receive the telegram to give a generous contribution so that the committee could "force passage of a resolution" then pending in Congress "to force Washington, London, Palestine, England, Turkey to continue work on larger scale."

"If that isn't high pressuring and lobbying, I would like to know what is," declared Bloom.

Bloom recalled Bergson's appearance before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last fall:

"I asked him if he had come into this country legally," the Congressman said.

"'I don't know,' Bergson told me.

"'What the hell do you mean you don't know?' I thundered."

Chuckling, the Congressman added, "It's the first time I ever remember swearing at a committee hearing."

October 5, 1944

Use of Names Unauthorized

New Repudiations Registered Against Bergson's Committee

By Gloria Lubar and
Edward F. van der Veen

Nationwide repudiations of Peter H. Bergson and his numerous committees continued to flow into The Post last night.

Mrs. Raymond Clapper, widow of the late famous war correspondent, once a member of the Washington Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, declared:

"In the future, I will not serve on Peter Bergson's committees. When I consented to become a sponsor I was under the impression that the purpose of that committee was to use the money collected to give actual aid to get Jewish refugees into Palestine. I was amazed to find out that the money was used to propagandize the American public."

Dr. Albert Joseph McCartney, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, 18th and N sts. nw., who said he was among the original sponsors of the Washington Emergency Committee, declared that after attending several meetings at private homes he became suspicious.

Senator James M. Tunnell (D., Del.), said he became outraged because the American League for a Free Palestine, one of Bergson's several organizations, also engaged in the business of raising funds, used his name in a handout printed in the New York Times to the effect that he had agreed to become one of their sponsors. He wrote constituents that "while he is anxious to do all he can to help relieve the great tragedy which has befallen the Jews of Europe, he was "suspicious" of this organization and had been "warned about them."

"It appears that they published a statement that I had become identified with their organization," Sneator Tunnell stated. "I don't think that an entirely legitimate organization would do this without my consent."

At the same time, Senator Tunnell wrote directly to the American League on May 28, 1944:

"I was yesterday informed that the New York Times stated that I had agreed to become one of the sponsors of the American League for a Free Palestine. I do not have any recollection of ever having authorized such a statement. I find that there seems to be a good deal of dissatisfaction among Jewish people with reference to your organization. I, at the request of a Miss Keane, did place in the appendix of the Congressional Record an article which she desired to have placed there. I don't think this authorizes any assumption that I am in any way connected with the organization."

Bitter Telegram Sent Post

Of 105 names signed to a bitter telegram sent to The Post from the National Jewish Council, New York City, from the same address, 25 West 45th st., where at least one of Bergson's committees, etcetera, have offices, 20 persons were contacted. Of these 20, called and reached by The Post, only two endorsed the work of the council. One of these said he had not been informed of the telegram, and the other admitted he did not see The Post stories, which were attacked in the telegram.

"We trust . . . you will give space in your daily in answer to your biased description of Mr. Peter H. Bergson," the start of the council telegram read.

Rabbi Chaim Williamowsky, 4402 15th st. nw.—The Post was not biased. I am not now a member of the Council, and asked sometime ago that my name be removed. I know absolutely nothing about the telegram, and am angry that my name was used.

Rabbi Williamowsky was the only "signer" of the telegram who said he had read The Post article, despite the fact that Samuel Rosen, vice chairman of the Council, first told The Post that the signatures on the telegram had been received after each one had been sent copies of the telegram and the first Post article.

Later last night, in another telephone conversation, Rosen corrected his statement by saying that he was getting ready to send the copies to the "signers."

Undaunted in Loyalty

"We who follow the leadership of Mr. Bergson are undaunted in our spirit of loyalty to the cause of the afflicted and oppressed of the Hebrew nation," another portion of the telegram read.

Rabbi Gedaliah Kaprow, Buffalo, N. Y.—I do not approve of Bergson, and did not authorize the use of my name.

Rabbi Israel Porath, Cleveland, Ohio—I do not know Bergson personally, or anything about him. I know nothing about the telegram. It may be that sometime or other I joined the council.

Rabbi Jacob M. Lesin, Dorchester, Mass.—I know nothing about the telegram, Bergson, or his committee. I have a vague impression that many months ago an organization calling itself the National Jewish Council held a meeting in Boston, and that I attended. So far as I know, I am not a member.

"The British-Zionist unholy alliance is an attempt to undermine public confidence in Mr. Bergson . . ." the telegram continued.

Chaplain Meyer J. Goldman, Boca Raton Field, Fla.—I had not been informed of the telegram, and deeply object to the use of my name.

Rabbi Herman Bick, Lynn, Mass.—I withdrew by name from the Emergency Committee two months ago. The use of my name was absolutely unauthorized and improper.

Rabbis Harold Baumrind, Milwaukee, and S. A. Pardes, Chicago, both declared they never were members of the council and knew nothing about the telegram.

Withdrew Membership

Rabbi Israel Lev, Gloucester, Mass., explained to The Post that he withdrew membership in the council when the "embassy Hebrew government" was organized in Washington. He did not authorize the use of his name, he said.

Two other rabbis explained that they were members of the council, but knew nothing about the telegram or Bergson.

Rabbi Herman Kahan, Newark—I am a member of the council, but should have been made aware of the use of my name on the telegram.

Rabbi S. H. Klibansky, St. Louis—Yes, I am a member of the council, but I know nothing about the telegram or Bergson.

Other telephone responses, from so-called signers of the council telegram, continued along the same line.

Reprinted from New York Herald-Tribune, November 2, 1944

Still Unfulfilled

Today marks the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Balfour Declaration by which the British government went on record as "favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" and pledged that it would use its "best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object" without prejudicing "the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities." That declaration was embodied in the Palestine Mandate granted by the League of Nations to the British. It was indorsed by the principal Allied powers. It was given specific American indorsement in a resolution passed by Congress in 1922.

Yet there must still be rallies, such as that held in Carnegie Hall last night, to keep its goal before the Jewish people and to remind those other nations of a pledge dating from World War I, but still, in the midst of World War II, unfulfilled. Worse the British White Paper of 1939, a Chamberlain government appeasement measure protested by Winston Churchill and other great British leaders, hedged on the pledge of a Jewish state and provided that Palestine be closed at the end of five years to all further immigration, except that approved by the Arabs. It was, technically, so closed last spring.

The American people have never accepted this appeasement document as prejudicing a settlement of Palestine's future—nor, we believe, have the British people. President Roosevelt stated last March that "when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish national home." Eleven state governors have taken steps to commemorate today's anniversary, among them Governor Dewey, who said in part: "The splendid accomplishments of the intelligent and indefatigable pioneers who wrought such marvels in establishing the Jewish Home in the Holy Land have earned for all the Jewish people of the world the right to an open door in Palestine."

Such statements leave little doubt as to where this nation stands on the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration.

Issued by

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

The New York Times

December 30, 1944

'Arab Menace' Held Fallacy

But What Is Now Called Bogy May One Day Become Real

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The so-called "Arab menace," so often put forward to justify a policy of appeasing the Arabs in Palestine and elsewhere, has never been so fallacious as it is now, when the Arabs are more in need than ever before of the sympathy, money and political support of the Allies, especially after the "neutral" role their leaders and rulers have played in Great Britain's direst need.

Those who have open eyes to see and alert ears to hear know very well that the whole power of the Arabs is not drawn from their own strength but is borrowed from the support given to them from outside, more particularly from British circles at the Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration, who have learned nothing from all the blunders committed during the last twenty-five years. And it was again a blunder of the late Lord Moyne to think that by uniting all Arabs in a confederation of states he would give the Arab cause, which he so much had at heart, a great push forward and at the same time blend all their forces into one formidable ally of Great Britain.

It is known that one of his principal aims in forging such a union was the liquidation of the Balfour Declaration and the settlement of the Palestine problem in accordance with the wishes of his Arab friends. But his efforts have utterly failed, and the continuous talk about a political or economic confederation of Arab states is no more than a lot of hot air blown about by oratorical gasbags and will under present conditions never materialize.

Failure Predicted

In this connection a speech recently delivered by a prominent lawyer of Beyrouth, Yusuf Alsauda, at a lawyers' convention in Damascus is very illuminating. He said that all the efforts to form a confederation of Arab states are doomed to failure and will remain an empty dream as long as the advocates of such a confederation consistently emphasize at the same time the irrevocable condition that the complete independence of each of their countries in everything affecting the inner and foreign policy should be maintained. He also asserted that an Arab union cannot be reached before all the irreconcilable contrasts in systems of government, in religion and in culture prevailing in the different Arab lands are eliminated, an undertaking, of course, which will take generations to achieve

In view of all these failures, the Arab leaders had to recognize the difficulties and obstacles on the way to an Arab unity. But the most active among them have soon realized that to achieve at least the one aim—namely, to get rid of the Jewish question—there is only one front on which all Arabs could be united, and that is an anti-Jewish front. As a matter of fact, all their efforts are now striving toward this goal, using all the tactics and threats in the best Nazi style.

It must, however, be pointed out that these leaders are by no means representing the views of the majority of the Arab populations who lived on the best and most friendly terms with the Jews for generations, and that they would never have dared to adopt and propagate such a hostile scheme against the Jews if they were not encouraged by Lord Moyne's policy and by another "united front"—namely, that of all European "pro-Arabs," especially in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, among whom, unfortunately, there are also some American sympathizers and advisers.

Dangers Foreseen

It is hardly necessary to stress the dangers involved in such a "united front" not only for the Jews but also for the Western peoples and the interests of this country. Indeed, the "Arab menace," which is being used as a deterrent bogy to deprive the Jews of their rights to Palestine, may one day turn into a real menace to democracy itself if the present reactionary elements be allowed to carry on their campaign.

It may happen that when they feel strong enough they will use the same "united front" against the very same people who are now feeding their ambitions, just as the Nazis have done with the appeasing democracies, and as it was the case with the Mufti, who began, under the protection of the Palestine Administration, with his anti-Jewish campaigns and finished by engineering a rebellion against the British, in Palestine first and later in Iraq, and is still now disseminating from Berlin his poison among the Arabs and the Indian Muslims against Great Britain, and more particularly against this country.

It would be, of course, utterly unfair and unjust to put the blame of the misguided and harmful policy of the Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration on the whole English people. That policy has been and is still being severely criticized by all right-minded Englishmen, by Members of Parliament and of the House of Lords, by prominent political leaders and clergymen, because they all realize the regrettable consequences of that policy. Now it falls to the Americans to join hands with them in order to undo the evil done, and to initiate a new, fair and loyal policy of peace and justice for all concerned.

But to achieve this purpose, both Americans and British must be on the alert to avoid the mistakes made by the Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration in that they have allied themselves with the most reactionary Arab elements. Henceforth, the democratic and liberal Arabs, who were willing to cooperate with the Jews in Palestine, but have deliberately been pushed aside and alienated, should be brought to the forefront to take the lead in the destiny of Palestine.

Only by pursuing such a policy can the real menace which is lurking from behind the widely propagated "united front" be averted in time, so that it shall not become a platform for spreading religious and racial hatred in the whole of the Near and Middle East, and sowing political mischief under the mask of defending the Palestine Arabs. The American and British peoples have not only political and economic interests in the Arab world, but have also a moral and cultural mission to fulfill; they have still all the political and material means to exert a wholesome influence on the East, and there can be no doubt that they will have, by doing so, the wholehearted support of the peace-loving Jews and Arabs in the Holy Land, and far beyond it, as well as the applause of right-minded peoples of all classes, all races, and all creeds throughout the whole world.

A. S. Yahuda,
Professor, New School for Social Research.

New York, Dec. 27, 1944.

Reader's Scope

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ANOTHER REPORT ON PALESTINE

Perhaps no important issue of our time has been so beclouded and oftentimes distorted as that of the Mandate of Palestine. Untruths and half-truths have been freely used, sometimes in an effort to blanket it as a problem, sometimes to dismiss it.

Yet, today more than ever before, it is important to the entire world, to every nation and community, because Palestine now stands as a symbol of what the world can do to assure people whose lives have been uprooted by fascism that they, too, can look with hope toward a free and democratic future.

To throw some clear light on Palestine, Reader's Scope requested four prominent Americans, non- of them Jews, to present a short, factual report on the whole question.

The White Paper

Johannes Steel

THE Palestine White Paper of 1939 contains three vital "don'ts": (1) Don't permit the Jews of Palestine self-government; (2) Don't permit them to buy land freely; (3) Don't permit Jews outside of Palestine to enter Palestine.

The last provision is of immediate concern. This ban on immigration extends to all Jews, everywhere. Under it Palestine becomes the one country, outside of Nazi-occupied Europe, where Jews are excluded because they are Jews. Yet Palestine is the Jewish National Home, so named 22 years ago by the League of Nations. Following Britain's famous Balfour Declaration of 1917 the League conferred the Palestine Mandate upon Britain in these words: "The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home."

Another clause in the Mandate, under which the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League declared the White Paper illegal, says: "No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious beliefs."

But the League is defunct and the White Paper remains in force.

Taking the Mandate at its word, in two decades Palestine Jewry has produced one of the most provocative, exciting societies in the world. Through the application of devo-

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Johannes Steel is a noted radio analyst and foreign correspondent. He is the author of the forthcoming book, The Future of Europe.

tion and elbow grease a barren wilderness was conquered.

This passion for work and self-help has stood the United Nations in good stead. The Jews of Palestine have sent over 30,000 volunteers, or six percent of the population, into the British forces. There were Palestinian Jewish suicide units in Eritrea; there are Palestinian Jewish engineers manning the fortification and transportation systems of General Montgomery's famous Eighth Army, first in Egypt and now in Italy.

On the home front, Palestine war production has skyrocketed by 274 percent. $42,000,000 worth of vital war materials was produced by Jewish factories in 1942 alone.

In the words of labor leader David Ben Gurion, Palestine "is fighting the war as if there was no White Paper, and fighting the White Paper as if there were no war."

The Colonial Office defends the White Paper on the grounds that the Palestinian Arabs are afraid of Jewish domination. Yet the Arab population has almost doubled since 1919. Compare the figure with the static rates for Arab Transjordan, or the 13 percent increase for modern Egypt. And the Arab population has increased specifically in areas of Jewish settlement and development. In Jaffa, near Jewish Tel-Aviv, there has been a 60 percent increase—in isolated Nablus, the increase has been 8 percent.

Admittedly the British are having difficulty controlling the Fascist-Arab world. And when neighboring Arab notables use Palestine as a bargaining point, it is understandable that the British should listen.

But Palestine is not a part of the British Empire. British rule in Palestine was established through a League of Nation's Mandate. The protection of the Jews in Palestine is, therefore, the joint responsibility of the democratic United Nations.

The United States and Palestine

Dr. Daniel L. Marsh

THE Christian people of the United States have always had a keen interest in Palestine, and a large proportion of them have always had a lively interest in the possible return of the Jews to Palestine. One reason for this interest is that Palestine holds the shrines most sacred to the Christian's heart: Bethlehem of Judea, Nazareth, the Sea of Galilee and its environs, the Jordan River, the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, Jerusalem and the hill outside the city's walls.

Certain American Christians of the fundamentalist type used to favor the return of the Jews to Palestine because their faith, born

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of a literal acceptance of Biblical phrases, held that the return of the Jews to Palestine would be a prelude to what they called "the second coming of Christ." It must be said that this group was never very large, but it has been vocal in the proclamation of its faith.

Across all the years also, many persons have favored the return of the Jews to Palestine as a matter of good common sense, both psychological and social sense. The second President of the United States, John Adams, is recorded as having said to the American Jewish statesman, Major Noah: "I really wish to see the Jews again in Judea, an independent nation." The idea expressed by John Adams has remained alive in America until the present hour. Thus in 1891, following anti-Semitic pogroms in Eastern Europe, a memorial was presented to President Benjamin Harrison, urging him to use his good offices with governments of Europe "to secure the holding of an international conference to consider the condition of the Israelites and their claims to Palestine as their ancient home and to promote the alleviation of their suffering conditions." This memorial had been presented by Rev. Mr. Blackstone, a Christian minister, and it antedated the first Zionist Congress by six years. The memorial bore the signatures of such important leaders as the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, members of Congress, religious and industrial leaders such as J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Cyrus W. Field, Russell Sage, and many others.

President Woodrow Wilson, than whom America has never had a greater President (except possibly Abraham Lincoln and George Washington), endorsed Great Britain's Balfour Declaration which favored "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." This policy was unanimously approved, in 1922, by our government in terms of a joint resolution of Congress, signed by the President of the United States.

Following the Balfour Declaration, the Palestine Mandate was approved at the Versailles Peace Conference and ratified by the League of Nations. President Wilson took with him to the Versailles Conference a document prepared by a committee of American experts which recommended "that the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there," and that the League should "recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact."

I have been in a position to learn something of current American opinion on this subject. I know that it is by no means unanimous, and yet I honestly believe that a large majority of Christian Americans would today, if they could, make Palestine available to the Jewish people as a national home for the sake of providing an asylum for oppressed Jews in Europe, as well as providing a "home land" to which Americans of Jewish inheritance can point back with an increasing sense of self-respect.

Rescuing Hitler's Victims

Senator Robert F. Wagner

THE events of the past year have brought increased tragedy to the Jewish people. The total number of Jews dead at the hands of Hitler's henchmen is now estimated at more than 4,000,000.

Americans have been aroused by this wholesale slaughter and have been pressing for concrete action to speed the rescue and rehabilitation of the remnants of European Jewry.

Part of that pressure has resulted in the creation of the War Refugee Board and the establishment of a "free port" for approximately 1,000 refugees at Ft. Ontario in Oswego, New York. Many more of these free ports should be set up as quickly as possible to provide havens of refuge for those who can still be saved.

Americans have also been pressing for unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine. In view of the unprecedented crime against the Jews of Europe, the efforts of decent men must be redoubled to insure justice.

Because the need was so urgent, Senator Taft and I introduced a bipartisan Palestine resolution in the Senate on February 1st of this year. The resolution called on the United States to "take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

Robert F. Wagner is the senior U. S. Senator from New York.

A resolution identical with ours was introduced a few days earlier in the House. In both houses of Congress the resolutions received immediate support from the Majority and Minority leaders.

It seemed that the Palestine resolutions would pass overwhelmingly until news came that the Army insisted on postponing action. Congress had to defer action, but the executive made a telling move. On March 9th, President Roosevelt announced that "the American government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939," and that "when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home."

This statement paved the way for the strongest statements of principle yet to come from Americans on the issue of Palestine, its people and its function — the recent Palestine planks favoring a Jewish Commonwealth in the platforms of both major American parties at their conventions in Chicago.

The official voice of America has spoken through its parties and its President. This war must result in an order in which the rights of peoples and communities will be guaranteed.

For European Jews this must

mean the abolition of all anti-Semitic laws, the recognition of their full civil rights. No country should be considered a democratic nation that does not guarantee the same democratic standards for its Jews as for all other citizens.

The Jewish people have long been denied these rights. They ask of us that they be counted in the ranks of tomorrow's society of free nations—that all the non-repatriable Jews or those who seek a Jewish homeland be allowed to build freely and democratically a Jewish Commonwealth in the land which the world has designated as the Jewish National Home.

The Land and the People

Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk

IN THE course of a conservation study for a Congressional Subcommittee in 1938-39 I traveled 18,000 miles in the lands occupied primarily by the Arab peoples of the Near East.

I found that land which had once supported millions, as evidenced by ruins of great cities, was now poverty-stricken and eroded. The Arab farmer who was never given a square deal by his rulers did not give a square deal to his land.

In the midst of this general decline I found three hundred Jewish agricultural villages that were scientifically restoring the land of Palestine to a high degree of productivity. In these villages, and wherever Jews had settled, there was a love of the land that we in this country need if we are to save our own soil from destruction.

In swamps they have dug drainage ditches to remove the dangers of malaria. On slopes apparently washed bare of soil they have stubbornly planted shade and fruit trees. The withered fields have been resown. Covering only 6% of the total area of Palestine and 14% of the cultivated area, these Jewish villages are great experimental plots that show what can be done not only in Palestine but in the entire Near East.

The Jewish cooperative settlements of Palestine are organized in an elastic fashion which enables them to absorb great numbers of refugees quickly. It trains them, former doctors and lawyers and businessmen, to establish new villages or to work in industries.

This feature of the agricultural settlements must interest all students of the European Jewish refugee problem. How much room is there for those European Jews who may want to go to Palestine?

Among the factors which determine the upper limits of a country's absorptive capacity are the genius and skills of the people themselves. And these skills the

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Jews have in abundance. They have concentrated the abilities of their most highly skilled engineers and technicians upon the problem of providing food and labor for a maximum population. If all the unoccupied or underpopulated areas of Palestine were rejuvenated as but 6% of the land has been, it is almost impossible to estimate what the carrying capacity of Palestine would be.

As for the fertility of Palestinian soil, the geologic structure, geographic setting and climate have combined to make it unusually productive. Palestine is very like California, except for Palestine's added advantages of great limestone springs and better soils. The Holy Land was beautifully terraced and farmed in Biblical times.

Full utilization of the land base depends upon power—and the site of the Jordan Valley offers an opportunity for the construction of one of the most striking and unique power and irrigation projects in the world. The idea is simply this:

The Dead Sea lies in a trough 1300 feet below sea level. It occurred to me that the waters of the Mediterranean could be drawn to produce a great power project, using the Dead Sea as a huge evaporation pan. The Jordan River flows into the Dead Sea. Thus, Palestine has three bodies of water which, by proper juxtaposition, could provide power and irrigation on an immense scale. By diverting the waters of the Jordan and its tributaries away from the Dead Sea two purposes would be accomplished: 1) the waters of the Jordan would be tapped for irrigation; 2) the evaporation in the Dead Sea would be replaced by Mediterranean waters which, conducted through a canal and tunnel from the coast, would maintain the Dead Sea at its present level. The water thus conducted would have to be dropped 1200 feet into the Jordan Valley and the fall would be converted into electric power in hydro - electric plants.

Adoption of such a plan will make possible the absorption not of thousands but of *all* those European Jews who may want to go to Palestine in addition to the 1,500,000 Arabs and Jews already there. The Jordan Valley plan has been proved practicable by expert investigation.

The absorptive capacity of a country changes with the ability of the population to make the maximum use of its land and to put its economy on a scientific and productive basis. The Jews *have* done this in Palestine.

The New York Times

SATURDAY, JANUARY 6, 1945.

Abroad

American Boys Find Tel-Aviv Like a Home Town

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TEL-AVIV, Jan. 5—Forty per cent of the Jewish population of Palestine lives in Tel-Aviv. One of the world's youngest cities, better planned, more modernistic than the Florida boom towns it resembles, it is suffering today from a housing shortage as acute as that of the oldest cities in ravaged Europe. This is because a large proportion of the refugees of war years have found shelter here.

These Zionists created by Hitler are easily distinguishable from Zionists by conviction. The original settlers built their dream of new Zion with such fervor into schools, boulevards and cooperative houses that their joy and triumph pervade the town like the bright atmosphere here of these crystalline winter days.

Certainly, the first impression produced on the visitor from the sad lands on the other side of the Mediterranean is that here at last are people who want to be where they are and are following a way of life that satisfies them.

Tel-Aviv boasts that it is the first all-Jewish city in the world. It is so completely Jewish, indeed, and within its expanding limits so independent, that it does not reflect fairly the problem of Palestine as a whole. Largely self-administered and self-taxed, it does not feel, as mixed populations ordinarily do, the close pressure either of the Arab majority or the mandatory power.

Almost in spite of itself Tel-Aviv is cosmopolitan and international. In a lively little restaurant attached to the garden of the hotel, American and British officers on leave enjoy the best meals procurable this side of New York. In the evening they dance with Wacs, Red Cross or local girls, to the music of a first-class three-piece orchestra. The genius of the place is a plump, soft-voiced, warm-hearted Russian whom everybody calls "Mama Weis."

She is a personality as well as an expert restaurateur. She ran three restaurants in Berlin until 1933, when she saw the handwriting on the wall, left the Nazis to "liquidate" her establishments—which they did—and came to Tel-Aviv with £5,000 to start over again.

Mama Weis treated us to a kummel —"Palestinian and very good," she explained—and talked at length of Zionism, the world and the future. She, as a Zionist, is thrilled by Tel-Aviv and its proofs of what urban Jews can make grow on barren ground, but as a successful business woman before she came to Palestine she is less lyrical than the Zionists who escaped from the dark ghettos of eastern Europe She described herself as Russian.

The eyes of Mama Weis were not the only eyes wet with tears as a violin sang songs of old Vienna. In that room in Palestine, where the Zionist dream comes true, one felt a wave of homesickness for a lost world. Maybe only the older generation or recent immigrants are pulled by instinct and emotion to the countries they have left.

"You don't look back," they say, and it would be strange if a generation brought up here or rescued from the horror of Hitler's Europe should elect under any circumstances to return.

Certainly, these half-articulate nostalgias, of a section of the old for the countries they still feel they belong to, of a section of the young for another land of promise, are elements in a situation that becomes more complex the nearer you approach it. Even in this 100 per cent Jewish community it is evident at first glance the problem is not a simple antithesis between Zionist and Anti-Zionist or between Arab and Jew. It has as many tentacles as an octopus, each as sore as an exposed nerve.

There is one new element, for instance, in the reaction of American soldiers to a personal view of this problem country. Palestine in general, Tel-Aviv in particular, is a leave center for thousands of officers and GI's from all parts of the Middle East, Africa and Italy. The main leave camp is within a few miles of Tel-Aviv. Boys on furlough flock to this town, where they see American movies in clean American model theatres, meet girls who speak English, and stroll on streets that look like Main Street.

In the peculiarly warm and affectionate atmosphere of a Jewish household they are entertained by scores of motherly women like Mama Weis. "Don't ask me to discuss politics," she says. "My only policy is to serve good food, good drink and make the doughboys happy." The doughboys like it. They like Tel-Aviv. The so-called "Arab world" isn't their world. They feel alien and uncomfortable in its strange sights, sounds and smells. Here they feel at home. "It sure feels good to see something like an American town," said the inevitable boy from Texas, mailing postcards in the Tel-Aviv postoffice this morning. "This is the best place I've seen since I waved good-by to Old Lady Liberty."

The result of this experience is likely to make these soldiers strongly Zionist when they get home. It may be argued that these passing personal emotions are unimportant beside hard realities and irreconcilable interests interwoven in the Palestine problem. So they are, but the problem would not be nearly so hard to solve if it were not also a conflict of emotions. While feelings are violently engaged on all sides, anything that swings the balance of sentiment in the United States cannot be ignored.

The first thing one discovers here is that the attitude of America will have a powerful influence in deciding the future of Palestine and, by extension, the wish for this is the keypiece in the puzzle—the future of this restless and troubled part of the world.

The Issue of Palestine

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE WEEKLY BOOK REVIEW, JANUARY 28, 1945

JUSTICE FOR MY PEOPLE.
By Ernst Frankenstein. . . .
208 pp. . . . New York: Dial Press. . . . $2.50.

Reviewed by
EDWARD C. LINDEMAN
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THERE are three possible solutions for the Jewish problem: the Jewish population may be eliminated through extermination or suicide, the Jews may be completely assimilated into other cultures, as for example the early Roman invaders of France were colonized and finally amalgamated, or the Jews may become builders of a state in which they are no longer doomed to a perpetual minority position but will be obliged to assume the full responsibilities of statehood.

During a long period of my concern for the Jewish question, I was an advocate of the second of the above alternatives. I have at last come to an acceptance of the third solution, but in doing so, I have not by any means abandoned the assimilationist position. In fact, these two solutions now seem to be complementary and I doubt whether genuine assimilation will ever take place until the Jews of the world have eliminated their one striking distinction from other culture groups, namely their homelessness, their lack of statehood.

These preliminary statements are relevant to Mr. Frankenstein's essay. Mr. Frankenstein is a lawyer of international reputation as well as a specialist in international law. His chapter on the legal position of Palestine is, I believe, unassailable as logic but it is more than that: it is a brilliant piece of reasoning which was needed by all sincere pro-Zionists. It gives his succeeding chapters on the moral and political phases of Palestine a fresh and a solid meaning. For it is true that the basic approach to Palestine begins on the plane of emotions. Mr. Frankenstein does not deny this. What people is free from an emotional element in its practice of nationalism? The real question is this: Where there are strong feelings, as in the case of Jews for the land of Palestine, are there equally strong reasons which may validate the emotions? It is the answer to this question which one finds in Mr. Frankenstein's book. I am speaking from the viewpoint of a non-Jew who appreciates the significance of Palestine for the future of the world, but it is my opinion that the Frankenstein argument is even more pertinent for Jews who are opposed to the Jewish state of Palestine and, those who seem incapable of coming to a decision.

The most complicated ingredient in the Palestine issue is neither the wavering British attitude nor the apparent unwillingness of the United States government to adhere to its commitments; the baffling factor is the Arab population. Whether or not the Palestinian mandate has been fulfilled is a legal question and would be determined as such in a world of international laws and courts. But the Arab question, as Mr. Frankenstein demonstrates, has become a political problem and may, consequently, be introduced by any party (nation) which holds a stake in the Near East. It is not basically a question of feelings and attitudes or claims made by Arabs. On the contrary, it is, as is so often true when issues take on a political coloration, a situation in which other nations may utilize Arabs and easily concocted Arabian claims as instruments of devious diplomacy Mr. Frankenstein deals with this aspect of the problem with extreme candor and, happily, with a new set of facts which I have not before seen. I cite one of his statistical claims which seems to be amply fortified: "In other words, 75 per cent of the Arab population of Palestine are either immigrants themselves or descendants of persons who immigrated into Palestine during the last hundred years, for the most part after 1882." He then proceeds to show how the Arab question has been transposed into a political issue when, as a matter of fact, it is at bottom one of educational and social dimensions. Small groups of landowners, the "effendies," are permitted to exploit the masses of the people, and thus to keep them in a state of misery and degradation, and thus the modern situation arises: a new and dynamic Jewish civilization is in process on the very margins of a static and decadent society. Would it not be in the interest of the world generally to free the masses of Arabs from their bondage? Would not such a policy be in harmony with the more comprehensive and new awakening of the whole of Asia?

These are samples of the issues which Mr. Frankenstein brings to the fore with extraordinary clarity and force. He completes his argument with a program for future action which includes the following proposals: a bona-fide central authority in Palestine under the aegis of a Jewish state; the creation of a Jewish army for full participation in the war against tyranny, the establishment of a central register of all existing Jewish families and the final reunion of dispersed families. These proposals are all based upon his conception of the Jewish people as constituting a spiritual community which might, if freed from persecution, make again a great contribution to the thought and progress of mankind.

THE CREED OF AN AMERICAN ZIONIST

by **RABBI MILTON STEINBERG**

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February, 1945

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL ON PALESTINE
70 Fifth Avenue • New York 11, N. Y.

1

A GENERATION ago the native-born, homebred American Zionist was a *rara avis* indeed. Some few of the species were about, men of insight and courage — Louis D. Brandeis, for example. But most American Jews were altogether indifferent to the Zionist program. And as for the rabbinate, only the Reform branch was articulate at the time, and that was anti-Zionist almost to the last man.

Now, three decades later, there are still many Jewish anti-Zionists, among them men and women of intelligence and sincerity. That they have a case can be seen from Rabbi Morris Lazaron's thoughtful article in the November *Atlantic*. Yet American Jewry as a whole no longer accepts that case. It has turned overwhelmingly Zionist.

When ninety rabbis recently issued an anti-Zionist pronouncement, almost nine hundred rabbis joined in repudiating it. Witness the fact that the Central Conference of American Rabbis — representative of the Reform ministry and once the fountainhead of anti-Zionism — has of late consistently voted pro-Zionist by approximately two to one. Let the American Jewish Conference speak — an assembly of five hundred delegates, appointed one-quarter by all important national Jewish organizations, and elected three-quarters by popular vote. That body went on record, with only *four* dissenting ballots, in favor of a Jewish homeland and commonwealth in Palestine. And whereas a generation ago anti-Zionists were anti-Zionists without qualification, they tend these days to be anti-Zionist but "pro-Palestinian."

MILTON STEINBERG, rabbi of the Park Avenue Synagogue, New York City, has taught classical languages in the College of the City of New York and Jewish theology and homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. His first appearance in print was in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June and July, 1933. He has since published two books, *The Making of the Modern Jew* and *As a Driven Leaf;* a third, *The Game and the Candle — A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem*, is on the Bobbs-Merrill list for the coming spring.

What has happened to the Jews of America in all their varieties and conditions? Have they, as has been suggested, yielded to counsels of desperation? Have they succumbed to the wild chauvinism now sweeping mankind? It would be a most unusual madness that could unhinge so many Jews of deep religious convictions and broad human perspectives. Besides, Jewish chauvinism could scarcely fire non-Jews into incandescence — non-Jews like Jan Smuts, Reinhold Niebuhr, Wendell Willkie, Dorothy Thompson, Henry Wallace, and Walter Clay Lowdermilk.

No, the great transformation in the attitude toward Zionism is neither aberration nor despair. It reflects simply the cogency and practicality of the Zionist idea. What is that idea? Put tersely and in the idiom of official documents, it is that a politically secured, legally recognized Jewish homeland be established in Palestine, in which Jews who so elect may settle as of right; and that this homeland become ultimately a Jewish commonwealth. As for the practicality and cogency of the idea, let me present it as it appears to a typical American Zionist — myself.

Perhaps I ought begin by clearing the ground of a stubborn misconception. It is not true that I am a Zionist because I am not content to be an American, or because I doubt America's future. This land, I am deeply convinced, is on its way to new horizons of freedom and justice. In other words, it is not the fact that, pessimistic about the Jewish prospect in America, I have one eye cocked on Palestine — just in case. And I am no less sanguine about the future of democracy elsewhere. I make this point so explicitly because it has been bruited about by some Jews that to be a Zionist is to be compromised in Americanism and deficient in democratic faith. On behalf of hundreds of thousands of American Jews who, like myself, are Zionists, I wish to affirm that these grave allegations represent, at the best, ignorance and, at the worst, slander.

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In part I am a Zionist because of the record of Zionist accomplishment. Inspired by the Zionist ideal, supported by Zionist funds, operating under conditions made possible by Zionist political effort, thousands of Jews migrated from Europe to Palestine and there set about incarnating an ancient dream. It was from many points of view a grotesque enterprise to which they committed their lives. They were told that the whole business was superfluous — Jews in the West being already free and in Eastern Europe on their way to emancipation; that an emigrant from the Old World had the whole globe open to him; that Palestine was an arid, backward country where Jews could not survive, let alone be creative; and that in any case it could absorb no more than a handful of settlers. Discouraged from all sides, grappling with heartbreaking difficulties, these Jews accomplished the impossible.

What an achievement is theirs! In one generation they built a community of almost 600,000 persons, free and self-reliant. Out of ghetto alleys they took Jews who had lost all rapport with soil and workshop, and made them into farmers, mechanics, sailors, and fishermen. They caused the desert to blossom and sand dunes to hum with the myriad sounds of cities. They evoked a great flowering of Hebraic culture — the greatest perhaps in two millennia. They experimented boldly and idealistically in new forms of social living, in coöperatives, collectives, and communes. They introduced modernity and democracy into the Near East, awakening it from its immemorial medievalism.

When liberty stood with its back to the wall, they rallied to its defense. About 35,000 of them enlisted in the British military forces — the equivalent proportionately of an American volunteer army of seven millions. From their farms they helped to feed Allied armies; in their upstart factories they forged or repaired military matériel. And meantime they gave refuge in ten years to 280,000 of their brethren, who otherwise would now be dead to the last soul.

This is a superb record, achieved, be it remembered, by Zionists, not by anti-Zionists, not by non-Zionists, not even by pussyfooting "pro-Palestinians." Of and by itself it constitutes a compelling Zionist case. And yet I cannot claim it as the ground of my conviction. For, truth to tell, I was of my present persuasion before that record was achieved. Which brings me to the core of my case.

I am a Zionist in the first place because I am a religious Jew. From my Judaism I have derived a God faith, an ethical code, personal and social, a pattern of observances, but also, interwoven with these, a love for Palestine and the yearning that at least a part of the House of Israel be restored to its soil. That aspiration is written deep in the Bible. It is inscribed boldly in the whole rabbinic tradition, ancient and medieval. And it pervades Jewish ritual. My religious heritage, then, makes me a Zionist.

Does this sound unrealistic? We shall soon see that it is not without common sense. But since at the moment I am in peril of being hanged as a sheep, let me be bold enough to perish as a wolf. Let me confess to an even wilder vision, to the historic confidence of the Jewish religion that something is destined to come out of the reassociation of Israel with Palestine. Twice this people struck foot on its ancestral soil and wonderful events occurred. The first time, prophetism came into being; the second, Rabbinic Judaism, Christianity, and the foreshadowing of Islam. I should be less than candid if I did not admit to a high expectation concerning the third encounter — an expectation of new instruction coming out of Zion, of some fresh word of God sounding in Jerusalem.

But my thinking on Zionism is not altogether so high-flown. I advocate Zionism as the most immediate and practicable answer to a vast, terrible, and very tangible need. Long ago, in the halcyon days of the nineteenth century, Herzl and his associates already perceived the incipient pressures of political reaction, economic constriction, and psychic mass embitterment. They foretold that brute powers might bring down in ruins the centuries-old edifices of European Jewry. They pleaded that, against the evil hour, the Jews should prepare a homeland of their own.

And has not the Old World House of Israel been trampled into blood-drenched splinters? And in all the grim devastation, does not Jewish Palestine shine as a joy-bringing, hope-dispensing beacon? What is more, the need of a haven of refuge will in the future be more, not less, acute.

No Jew, no Zionist, no person of good will and democratic persuasion, can tolerate the thought of any Jew's being denied residence and equality of status in the land of his birth or citizenship. For this objective, among others, the present great war is being waged. The continued abuse of Jews in Europe would mock our professions and sacrifices alike. As I have already intimated, I have warm hopes for the future peace and security of Jews who elect to remain in the Old World. For a time, until mankind returns to sanity and the democratic

spirit reroots itself, the United Nations may have to guarantee the rights of all minorities. But in the not too distant future, I expect, every European, regardless of creed or origin, will sit under his own vine and fig tree, and none shall make him afraid.

And yet there will be thousands of Jewish survivors for whom a return to former scenes will be impossible. First, anti-Semitism will not immediately vanish from Central and Eastern Europe. Again, there are those whose last roots have been severed. No person, synagogue, household, or occupation will remain to draw them back. And for still others the very word *home* will be surcharged with unbearably painful recollections. Those who want to go elsewhere must have the full right.

And where, one asks, are they to turn? In the earliest days of Hitlerism, the Evian Conference demonstrated that no government wanted homeless Jews. Now, what with World War II, with demobilization, reconversion, and the dread of mass unemployment, immigration barriers almost certainly will go up, not down. As for undeveloped areas, the earth has been combed for possible havens for Jews. The result — next to nothing. Each suggested territory, it turned out, was either already overpopulated, or unsuited for colonization by Europeans, or closed by political considerations. And all suffered from a common disadvantage — years would be required to prepare them for mass colonization. Meantime, what are the homeless Jews of the world to do with themselves?

I would not be misunderstood. In proposing Palestine as the focus of Jewish migration I do not debar other sites. The position of European Jews is so tragic that they can no doubt use many centers of resettlement. I do mean that we must not lose the bird in the hand for any in the bush. Palestine is assigned by international covenant to large-scale Jewish settlement. It is ready now, without the spadework necessary elsewhere. Jews *want* to go there — no trivial consideration. Witness how before the war they clamored for visas; witness further the preferences expressed by refugees in Italy.

The country, small though it is, is large enough. It now has a population of about a million and three quarters. How many more can it accommodate? In the first century of our era, according to historians like Baron and Schürer, it contained anywhere from 2,500,000 to 4,000,000 human beings, and that without modern agriculture and industry. In our one generation it has absorbed a half-million Jews, and the saturation point is not even remotely in sight.

What is the maximum? Estimates vary. A group of Jewish authorities hold: "Palestine should be capable of absorbing another three million inhabitants." But these are Jews speaking; their pleading may be *ex parte*. Consider then the conclusions of Walter Clay Lowdermilk, Chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. After a long study, he has decided that the country is capable of receiving *four million* immigrants beyond its present population (*Palestine, Land of Promise*, page 227). Let us cut his estimate in half. Six years ago, what remains might not have been equal to the needs of European Jews. Today, alas, it will suffice.

3

But I am impelled to Zionism by a more personal consideration, by the needs of my own spirit. No tradition can coast along merely on past momentum. Every religion and culture must for its health be constantly regenerated with new elements fashioned after its genius but stamped in the mold of the day. Now, though Judaism is extraordinarily rich in accumulated resources, it too requires infusions of the fresh, novel, and contemporaneous. Yet it is everywhere a minority religion and culture; even its most devoted adherents expend themselves mainly in the larger civilization. To Judaism they come with the remainder of their time and energy. But people are not normally creative under such circumstances, as the state of Judaism demonstrates. Hence there must be a place where Hebraism will be a first culture, where it can flourish without hindrance, and whence transfusions of new values may emanate.

Nor is this abstruse verbiage. The brilliant renaissance in Palestine, the revival there of Jewish music, art, letters, folkways, the theater, and the Hebrew tongue have invigorated, stimulated, and enriched every Jewry in the world. That too is why I am a Zionist; because, while I would remain a Jew without Jewish Palestine, my Judaism, by virtue of it, is more meaningful to me and my Jewish fellows.

There are other reasons for my Zionism, over which I cannot pause: the contribution it has made to Jewish self-respect at a time when so many forces conspire to break it down; the promise inherent in the social experiments afoot in the Jewish homeland. But tempting as such themes are, I must forgo them to deal with another matter closer to our line of inquiry: How, if all I have said is true, can any Jew be anti-Zionist?

In posing this question I do not have in mind dejudaized Jews, indifferentists, escapists, or psychic rebels against being Jewish. Such negative Jews

will all be anti-Zionist. I mean, how can informed professing Jews resist Zionism?

Differing conceptions of the nature of Judaism and the Jewish identity — here is the continental divide where Zionists and non-Zionists part. To the non-Zionists, Judaism is purely a religion, the Jews members of a church. Hence notions of a homeland and commonwealth are altogether inappropriate.

But is this definition valid? Obviously not. For, if it were, no Jew could be irreligious and remain a Jew. And yet there are atheists, agnostics, and skeptics who consider themselves, and are universally considered, Jews. Even some of the leading American anti-Zionists, who are most insistent that Judaism is a communion only, neither profess nor pray, feast not on festivals and fast not on days of penance. A pretty paradox! For how can they be Jews by virtue of a faith they do not possess?

Incontrovertibly, religion is a motif in Jewish living — the major motif, I should say. But other elements are involved also. Race, anthropologically speaking, is certainly not one of these. A culture is. Present in the Jewish patrimony are a large literature, secular as well as sacred, music, folklore, art, mores, and institutions. But many a modern Jew acknowledges the culture no more than the faith, and is yet subjectively and objectively a Jew. Something more remains. That plus is a social identity. It consists in the fact that Jews are a historic entity, an organic group sharing memories, interests, and hopes; that they are in sum a *people*.

The first error of the anti-Zionist is that he misconstrues Judaism. He blunders again for lack of imagination. It escapes him that other Jews live in scenes different from his, and that circumstances alter cases. America is a uni-national and, except for secondary cultures, a uni-cultural land. Judaism here naturally takes the form of a religio-cultural entity. But Poland, Rumania, and the Soviet Union are composed of many peoples, cultures, and nationalities. There Jews also constitute in law and public opinion a *nationality* body.

As for Palestine, there the Jews are a nation in maturation. Being a people as well as a communion, why should Israel not take on various forms with various settings? With these actualities the American anti-Zionist refuses to make peace. He will not allow other Jewries any status but his own. Having misinterpreted Judaism, he compounds his fallacy by generalizing it. Willy-nilly, all other Jews must be what he is, exclusively a member of a sect.

But would not Jewish "nationality" status in Eastern Europe, and especially a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, affect the political obligations of American Jews? Would Jews not owe allegiance to the Jewish homeland? Did the establishment of Norway or Eire as a self-governing state modify by a hair's breadth the relation of Irish or Norse Americans to America? The American Jew has only one political duty: to America. To Palestine he will be bound by ties of religion, sentiment, and culture, as other Americans are so often related to their lands of origin. But whatever Palestine is or may become, the American Jew remains an American citizen, knowing no political sovereignty save the American.

The anti-Zionist is troubled further lest Zionism contravene the great universalistic motif of Judaism, its glorious doctrine of the primacy of mankind over individual, clan, and nation, its historic ministry as a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Is not all this ado about culture, commonwealth, and peoplehood a retreat from the advanced position so long and so nobly maintained? Does not Zionism constrict the wide horizons of the Jewish spirit?

To which my response is that over objectives there is no dispute among us. Where we differ is on method. Anti-Zionists seem to feel that Jewry does best by mankind when it suppresses all distinctiveness except in religion. Zionists hold that Jews can give more to the world by developing their peculiar heritage to the full, provided always that the heart is firmly set on the service of all humanity. This position I accept, first because it is sanctioned by the very prophets who conceived universalism. As Scripture testifies, they loved mankind and the world, but Israel and Zion also, loving them for themselves, and as witnesses to God's Kingdom. Besides, I cannot see how either an individual or a group, possessed of talents, benefits anyone by being less itself. To me the indicated course would appear self-cultivation dedicated to the overarching ideal.

But Judaism, religion and culture alike, needs Jewish Palestine for its fulfillment. Wherefore considerations of universalism, far from negating Zionism, endorse it. For only when enriched and stimulated by a Jewish homeland will Jewry be equal to its destiny.

4

Anti-Zionists, last of all, exhibit a distaste for certain words. It was Thomas Hobbes who, anticipating semantics, pointed out that words are counters, not coins; that the wise man looks through them to reality. This counsel many anti-Zionists seem to have neglected. They are especially disturbed by the two nouns *nationalism* and *commonwealth*, and by the adjective *political*. And yet these terms on examination are not at all upsetting.

Jewish nationalism means no more than recogni-

tion of the peoplehood of Israel, and of the propriety of that people's being a religio-cultural group in America, a nationality in Eastern Europe, and in Palestine an actualized nation.

Nor is the word *political* more horrendous, even when it precedes *Zionism*. For what does it signify? It refers either to methods for realizing the Zionist objective or to the objective itself. If to the former, it denotes the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and their transactions with the Mandatory Power and others on immigration into Palestine and related problems. If this be *political* Zionism, what can be wrong with it? Anyone wishing Jews to be free to enter Palestine knows that governments must be dealt with and understandings negotiated. Or are there some so naïve as to approve of results but not of the only means for attaining them?

Or is the *politics* in Zionism against which anti-Zionists protest a matter of ends? Is their objection leveled against the ultimate establishment of a Jewish *commonwealth* in Palestine?

If so, let it be noted first that when organized Zionism supplanted its traditional slogan, a "Jewish State," with the formula, a "Jewish Commonwealth," it made its program pliable, adaptable to future circumstance. *State* is a very precise concept with clear connotations of unrestricted political sovereignty. A *commonwealth*, on the other hand, can be a state or a dominion or a locally autonomous unit within a federation. The Zionist proposal then is that Jews, when conditions are ripe, be accorded some as yet unspecified type of self-determination. And can any request be more reasonable? If Jewish immigration into Palestine continues, as it must, the Jews some day will constitute the preponderant element in the population. Shall they, just because they are Jews, be forever denied the fact or hope of autonomy?

But why do Zionists press their political goals? Why not simply allow immigration to continue? Because without the commonwealth formula there will be no further immigration! On May 17, 1939, Britain issued the notorious White Paper that first repudiated its obligation to establish a Jewish commonwealth, and then, once that was out of the way, limited all future Jewish immigration to 75,000. That policy, the misbegotten child of Chamberlain appeasement, was denounced in Parliament by persons as diverse as Josiah Wedgwood, Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Herbert Morrison. Winston Churchill called it bluntly "a breach of faith." It was castigated by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. It has contributed to the death of thousands of Jews. So it has engendered the bitterness that recently breached with acts of terrorism the splendid, long-sustained self-discipline of Palestine Jewry. Still it stands. And if it continues to stand, an intolerable paradox will come into being: Palestine, the land assigned by international agreement for Jewish settlement, will be open to all immigrants except Jews.

On what ground is the White Paper assailed? As inhumane? Only in part. After all, Palestine has done its philanthropic share for the Jews. The real bases for protest are public covenants, notably the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. And these as interpreted by Balfour, Wilson, Lloyd George, and Churchill boil down to a commitment for a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. This pledge is the writ by virtue of which the abrogation of the White Paper may rightfully be demanded, the lease whereby homeless Jews claim entrance to the land. It is Jewry's *locus standi* in its crucial cause now hanging in the balance. At all times it must be presented in evidence before the bar of humanity's conscience.

5

One question remains: Where does this leave the Arabs of Palestine? Does it not entail the gravest injustice, moral and physical, to them? Arab-Jewish relationships in Palestine are complex, far too tangled for proper presentation here. But let me at least indicate the chapter headings of the Zionist view on the matter.

First, I think we ought look at the record. What has been the effect of Jewish immigration and achievement on Palestinian Arabs? Whereas in near-by Moslem lands populations have remained static, in Palestine Arab numbers have soared from 664,000 in 1918 to over a million at present. This increase has been due in part to the better living conditions, to the modern hygiene, and to the advanced agriculture Jews have introduced. But in addition Arabs by the thousands have been immigrating into Palestine from all Near Eastern countries. Jewish enterprise has made the land one of promise for them as well as for Jews. Further, the value of Arab industry in Palestine quadrupled between 1922 and 1937, the area of land under cultivation increased by over 50 per cent. Even Arab culture has benefited. Thanks to the taxes paid by Jews, the country has been able to maintain educational facilities such as would otherwise have been impossible.

Nor is there any reality to the notion that Arabs have been driven from the soil. That charge, once

noised about widely, is heard no more — at least not in responsible circles. For when the British government went looking for Arabs made "landless" by Jews, it sought everywhere but found only a corporal's guard. And of these, many had been tenant farmers who had been compensated but had preferred not to invest their reimbursement in farms. But how is this possible? Much of the ground occupied by Jews was not only uncultivated hitherto: it was classed as uncultivable. No one lived where now Tel Aviv stands, and almost no one in the recently drained Huleh Swamps, or in the once malaria-infested valley of Esdraelon. Again, where land under cultivation has been purchased, a portion of it has been given to its former tenants, who, freed from the sharecropper's lot, now get along better than ever.

But if the Arab has not only not been hurt but even helped, why his fierce resistance? In the first place, that opposition is less universal than is supposed. Of what there is, some is the class interest of rich landowners and urban employers of Arab labor whose feudal grandeur is being threatened. Some reflects the natural resentment of any populace over the entrance into its midst of new elements. Some echoes Axis agitation, propaganda, and bribery. Some reflects the weakness of the Mandatory administration. But much of it — perhaps most — is straightforward, unexceptionable nationalism. The Palestinian Arabs know that but for the Jews they would some day enjoy autonomy. Now at the best they will have to share political authority with another group; and should Jewish migration continue, they will in the end occupy a minority position. This is a real, in fact *the* real, grievance.

In sum, two legitimate ideals have come into conflict in Palestine. Two peoples are attached to the land. Both have deep aspirations concerning it.

Quite clearly, as Reinhold Niebuhr once put it, neither perfect satisfaction nor perfect justice can be rendered to both sides. The best to be hoped for is the greater justice, the minimal wrong.

What are the alternatives? One is the freezing of Jewish Palestine in its present dimensions and, if the former Grand Mufti and King ibn-Saud have their way, even the expulsion of the Jews now in the land. The other is the continuance of Jewish immigration, the achieving of a Jewish majority, the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth. In this commonwealth all Arab rights, religious, cultural, economic, civic and political, whether individual or group, would be guaranteed. Arabs would of course vote and hold office, conduct their own school system, follow their own culture and faith.

Now, how do these prospects stack up against each other?

As to urgency: On one side the Palestinian Arabs, injured not a whit, are denied only a political aspiration. On the other side are Jews by the millions to whom entrance to Palestine is truly a matter of survival.

In terms of *Realpolitik:* Which is the safer solution, a Jewish minority in an Arab majority, or an Arab minority in Palestine protected by guarantees and backed up by a deep Arab hinterland?

In the broader view: Has not the Arab world as a whole vast territories on which to realize political autonomy? Is not Palestine a mere 5 per cent of that world? Are not the 95 per cent, often without effort on their part, achieving independence? As for Israel, where else can it incarnate fully its peoplehood and culture?

With still wider vision: Jewish Palestine is the outpost in the Near East of modernity and democracy. Will not the prospect of the entire area be brighter if the Jewish settlement continues to grow?

And for the advantage of universal humanity: The most that mankind can expect from the Arab prospectus is the establishment of another Arab state. The Zionist program means the salvaging of lives, the rebirth of Hebraic culture, the promise of a progressive Jewish Palestine for the Levant and the world, and, let it not be forgotten for a moment, the solution of the centuries-old and otherwise insoluble problem of Jewish homelessness.

There is, I repeat, an Arab case. But not in anguish, urgency, or import does it begin to equal the Jewish.

How, in conclusion, do I as an American Jew and Zionist envisage the future of Jews and of Judaism in the emerging world? I see a society in which all men are free, politically, economically, culturally, spiritually. I see Jewries at ease and secure in the various lands of their residence, devoted citizens of these lands, and at the same time the bearers and the transmitters of a living Hebraism, significant to them and to the world. And I see in Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth where the homeless Jews of the world shall have found rest; where the Jewish spirit shall have been reborn; whence shall flow to the Jewries of the Dispersion inspiration and the stuffs on which it feeds.

This dream has been spoken to me in almost every syllable of the religious tradition I cherish. It represents a desperate need, physical and spiritual, for world Jewry. It is fraught with infinite promise for Israel and mankind.

Dr. Magnes' Plan Disputed

His Proposed Solution of the Palestine Problem Called Impracticable

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Dr. Judah L. Magnes' proposal for a solution of the Palestine problem contained in his letter published in The New York Times Feb. 17 boils down to his oft-reiterated plan of establishing a regime for Palestine on the basis of parity, in the double sense of the term—political parity of representation as between Jews and Arabs in the central branches of government, and numerical parity which would limit the Jewish population to the number of Arabs.

He presents his proposal as a "reasonable and practicable compromise," and he lauds the principle of compromise as if this were itself a sesame that would automatically open the doors of peace. The truth is that Dr. Magnes' plan has no relation to the facts. It evades the essential issues and is wanting in the very elements which Dr. Magnes claims for it. It lacks both the merit of political expediency, which might lead to an immediate release of tension, and the virtue of justice, on which alone a lasting solution could be founded. That part of the binationalist conception which is valid—the regard for cultural and religious differences of the non-Jewish communities—is fully provided for in the Commonwealth proposal advocated by the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Magnes' proposal is primarily designed to allay the apprehensions of the Arab section of the community, but the indubitable fact is that it has no support whatsoever among any part of the Arab population. On this point the recognized leaders of the Arab community have repeatedly made their position clear.

Arabs Rejected Offer

In 1923 the British made a formal offer to the Arab representatives in Palestine of an Arab agency analogous to the Jewish Agency. The Arab reply was: "The Arab owners of the country cannot see their way to accept a proposal which tends to place them on an equal footing with the alien Jews." In 1936, before the Royal Commission, the Arab representatives took the position that "We do not accept the formula laid down by the Jews that there should be no domination by Jews over Arabs or by Arabs over Jews." Their view was uncompromising: Palestine was an Arab country and must remain Arab no less than Syria or Iraq. They took the same position at the 1939 conference in London, which eventuated in the White Paper.

We wish that Dr. Magnes had seen fit to reveal his own experience in dealing with the Palestine Arab leaders. In 1937-38 he made an effort to bring about a face-to-face discussion between representatives of the Arabs and of the Jews, but the Palestine Arabs were prepared to engage in discussions only on the basis of a statement which precluded any further Jewish immigration or land sales. At the same time it became clear that Dr. Magnes was negotiating, not with "moderate" Arabs, but with the representatives of the intransigent Mufti, who fled Palestine and was then directing the suppressed Palestine Arab Higher Committee from Beirut.

When confronted with this, Dr. Magnes replied (his letter is on record): "It may be that an agreement can be arrived at with the Palestine Arabs other than those represented by the former Arab Higher Committee. I, for one, do not know who such Arabs are. If we are to make peace, it must be with those of our opponents who have influence and power." This was at a time when the British, who had shielded the Mufti heretofore, had already deposed him from his position as President of the Supreme Moslem Council. The Mufti was later to reappear as a full partner in the work of Hitler.

Identities Not Revealed

Since that time Dr. Magnes, though still intimating that there are moderate Arabs and that he has their support, has never once given any indication of their identity. However, there is no record of any Arab political leader, business man, intellectual, or student who has ever voiced agreement with Dr. Magnes' parity proposals. On the other hand, there have been frequent expressions of Arab opinion rejecting the idea of parity, both in its political aspects and in its immigration provisions. Dr. Magnes now believes that his "reasonable and practicable compromise" should be imposed by an international authority, and that both the Jews and the Arabs may be trusted to accept the compromise. Dr. Magnes' present conception of consent by compulsion is a contradiction in terms and a confusion of thought.

Dr. Magnes has also been less than fair in representing the Jewish leaders as uncompromising as the Arab leaders. The fact is that Zionist public declarations and the activities of Jewish bodies have fully attested to the readiness on the part of the Jews to meet the Arabs in the direction of cooperation and rapprochement in the upbuilding of the land in the interests of both peoples. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who has been the Zionist leader since the time of the Balfour Declaration, has been acclaimed throughout the world for his political wisdom and moderation.

Dr. Magnes appears to hold the view that if the idea of parity is agreed to from above, it will be easy to work out the necessary governmental structure with the "aid of experts and men with government experience." However, the fact is that while cultural binationalism is to be found in one form or another in a number of countries, there is no political experience anywhere to justify a constitutional formula such as that suggested by Dr. Magnes, and in the circumstances it is bound to result in chronic crisis and deadlock.

But quite apart from the unworkability of the proposal, there is involved here the basic moral issue of Jewish immigration in order to prevent them from ever becoming a majority in their own homeland. The Jewish Agency has recognized that immigration to Palestine will in the last analysis depend on the economic absorptive capacity of the country. But the Jewish Agency, representing the Jews of the world and the Jewish community of Palestine, can never agree to the limitation of immigration on political grounds; they are unalterably opposed to any restriction which would make Jewish immigration into Palestine dependent on Arab consent. To this the Jews are opposed both on practical and moral grounds.

Dr. Magnes realizes that there will be a great number of Jews in the areas occupied by the Nazis and in other parts of the world who will need a haven of refuge in the post-war period of reconstruction. He is well aware of the fact that all attempts at mass settlement of Jews outside of Palestine have proved abortive. Who can say from the purely practical point of view whether it will be necessary to provide for a half million, a million, or for two million Jews? How is it possible in the name of justice for Dr. Magnes to limit the number of Jews to be allowed to go to Palestine by the number of Arabs in Palestine at any particular time?

Essentials Not Met

The greatest weakness of Dr. Magnes' plan, however, is not in its practical defects but in its failure to meet the essential that there should be one place in the world where Jews who need to, or wish to, will be free to go as of right and not on sufferance; where they will no longer be subject to the will of others, even to their "good-will"; where they will be liberated from the disabilities and suppressions attendant upon the status of a minority, even a "tolerated" minority; where they will be able to defend themselves against attack and live in psychological and spiritual security.

Such is the right granted to every people in the world, great and small. The Arabs of Palestine are part of a people who constitute the majority in nearly every other country they inhabit and who enjoy self-government in six major states. At the present time fifteen million Arabs enjoy independence in a territory embracing 1,200,000 square miles. In no country are their lives or livelihood endangered; in no country have they been exterminated, or stripped of their possessions, or robbed of the equal chance, once the war is over, to earn their bread. What possible morality, then, could equate their need for Palestine with that of the Jews, for hundreds of thousands of whom this little land, 10,000 square miles in all, remains the sole hope for a future? What sort of internationalism is it that would grant all peoples the right of self-determination and deny it to the Jews?

The Jewish Commonwealth conception, as advocated by the Zionist Organizations of the world, makes full provision for the rights and interests of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine. To quote an official statement of the Jewish Agency for Palestine: "The Jewish Commonwealth will not rest content with establishing merely formal equality of status, but would endeavor to bring about a greater measure of real equality in education and standards of life by social legislation and economic development." The Jewish Commonwealth proposal aims to secure equality for all citizens, non-Jewish and Jewish alike; it makes special provisions for the cultural, religious and communal autonomy of the non-Jewish communities. It proposes to recognize Arabic as an official language and an Arabic educational system parallel to the Jewish.

Appeasement, Not Justice, Seen

No one doubts Dr. Magnes' sincerity of intention, but the soundness of his judgment may well be questioned. Nor can it be denied that his views are overwhelmingly rejected not only by the Jews of Palestine but by Jews throughout the world. His parity suggestion solves neither the physical nor the moral aspects of the Jewish problem. It is characterized by the mark of appeasement and not by the quality of justice.

Bitter experience has taught the world that appeasement is not the way to peace. The problem of Palestine must have a clear and unequivocal solution, and that solution must be an honorable fulfillment of the original British pledge of the Balfour Declaration and of the international promise incorporated in the mandate: without prejudice to the rights of the existing non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, and with full regard to the cultural interests of the non-Jewish communities of Palestine, an opportunity must be given to the Jews to develop in Palestine a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Stephen S. Wise,
Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council.

Judith G. Epstein,
President, Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America.

Rabbi Leon Gellman,
Chairman, Mizrachi Organization of America.

David Wertheim,
Secretary, Poale-Zion Organization.

Israel Goldstein,
President, Zionist Organization of America.

New York, Feb. 23, 1945.

Edgar Mowrer On World Affairs

Ghosts at San Francisco

By Edgar Ansel Mowrer

No discussion of Palestine is expected at the San Francisco Conference. Yet it will be hard to keep Palestine from being mentioned, for the ghosts of four million murdered Jews will be in attendance, silent but eloquent.

Many of these four million might be living today had the self-styled Christian countries been willing to make a major policy of saving them. But the Christian statesmen had other matters on their minds.

As a result, out of five and a half million Jews of non-Russian Europe, only about a million and a half remained alive when the massacre was interrupted. The living remnant will not be officially represented at San Francisco (or indeed, anywhere else). But the ghosts will be pleading for the remnant's right to get out of accursed Europe and find shelter in the land of Israel.

You might suppose that Christian nations would now be eager to provide for the survivors of a group they so egregiously failed to protect. Unhappily, they are not. For San Francisco will be full of other "influences," united by their determination that little Palestine shall never become a Jewish commonwealth.

For instance: Exotic representatives of Arab despots, who recently consented to declare war upon an Axis already defeated; hard-faced representatives of the British colonial office, frantic in their back-to-the-wall effort to build up the British empire in its delicate Middle Eastern section; miscellaneous lobbyists identified by their insistence that although Jewish blood is doubtless thicker than water, it cannot possibly be as thick as rich black petroleum, fresh from Arab wells, also many dollars a barrel.

The Ghosts Will Plead

The Jewish ghosts will plead that (a) Jews will never again be happy unless they either assimilate into some other recognized people or get a state of their own; (b) most of the remaining European Jews want to go to Palestine; (c) they cannot constitute a Jewish commonwealth anywhere else; (d) no other country wants them; (e) the injustice, if any, is far less an injustice than depriving the surviving European Jewry of a sanctuary and a home.

They will say that Syria, with 57,900 square miles of territory, Iraq with 140,000 square miles, Saudi Arabia with 800,000 square miles; Yemen with 75,000 miles and Oman with 82,000 square miles—all sparsely populated and miserably cultivated—cannot possibly suffer from the loss to the Jews of the ten thousand square miles of tiny Palestine.

The Arab delegates will dissent, and threaten. Deeply they sympathize—they will say—with the Jewish plight. But how can the murder of any number of Jews justify unrestricted immigration into a country that has been Arab for 1,000 years? They will explain it is the "Jewish threat" that has largely brought them together into the "Arab League." They will hiss that if the powers should be so misguided as to insist on a Jewish Palestine—then they will take no responsibility for the sad fate of the said Jews.

Just Don't Like Them

British Colonial officials will agree that the fate of the Jews is indeed hard. Unhappily, Palestine is inhabited by Arabs who just do not like Jews. These Arabs (with the exception of an Iraqi scoundrel) refrained from attacking Britain during Britain's hour of trial. The whole region contains vital British communications and the Suez Canal, both of which hostile Arabs could endanger.

Therefore, while sympathetic with Jewish refugees, Britain declines to force a Jewish Palestine down Arabs throats. Anyway, most European Jews do not wish to go to Palestine.

The unidentified "influences" will speak briefly and to the point: the Arabs have oil. "We" want the oil. The Arabs do not want Jews in Palestine. If we offend the Arabs we lose the oil. Which is more important "for you and me, buddy," a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine or plenty of oil reserves?

Can't Wash It Off

Appalled by such complications, many Americans may want to wash their hands of the Palestinian mess. Unhappily, that is just what they cannot do. For the legal authority for Palestine remains with those "Allied and associated powers" of the last war, who took it from Turkey. In this group the U. S. has a weighty voice—and will have to use it.

Moreover, the electoral platforms of both American political parties in the last campaign contained the promise of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. Political parties cannot afford to deceive too powerful a voting bloc.

Finally, haunting the San Francisco Conference, along with all those dead Jews there will be one more ghost. Used to be called Roosevelt. Last profession: President of the United States. While on earth, not very long ago, this spirit promised to work for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. Though dead, his influence will not be negligible.

PM Daily

TUESDAY, MAY 15, 1945

Zionists Act to Combat Threat of Arab League

Program Drafted for Submission To UNCIO

By ALEXANDER H. UHL
PM's Foreign Editor

SAN FRANCISCO, May 15.—There is very real alarm among Zionists here that the new Arab League formed last March contains a grave threat against the development of Palestine as a Jewish homeland. So much so that a dual struggle has been going on—not only to "hold the line" for Palestine and seek a way of ensuring its development but also to prevent the Arab League from becoming basically a combination against the Jews.

To take them up in order:

¶ To get away from the old divisions, a joint program has been worked out which has received the approval of the great majority of Jewish organizations. It is a program favoring an international Bill of Rights and calling for support of the existing rights of the Jewish people in Palestine under the Balfour declaration, which would lead to the reconstitution of a Palestine "as a free and democratic commonwealth."

Program Outlined

Dr. Nahum Goldman, on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and Henry Monsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference held a joint press conference yesterday to outline the program. Those supporting it include the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the American Jewish Conference, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the World Jewish Congress and three of its affiliates, the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Central Jewish Committees of Argentina and Mexico.

The program has been presented at San Francisco, making these points:

¶ Inclusion of a clause in the charter "designed to preserve existing rights acquired under the mandate system of the League of Nations."

¶ Placing transfer of the mandates in the hands of the permanent members of the Security Council.

Rights of Jews

¶ So to define the beneficiaries of the trusteeship system as to take into account the rights of the Jewish people as a whole to Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine.

¶ To make the open-door policy in trustee areas reciprocal instead of a one-way street.

¶ To make sure of supervision by the new world organization over trustee areas and to create a trustee council which would have the power of developing a comprehensive and consistent system of trustee law.

By and large, these proposals fit into the trustee proposals submitted by the U. S. A. and for that matter, the Soviet Union. They will not get support from Great Britain.

An explanatory note by Mr. Monsky says:

"The overwhelming majority of our delegates and organizations support this program."

It is when you get to studying the "pact of the League of Arab States" signed in March by Syria, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt, and Yemen that you can see why the Zionists are concerned over its implications.

This pact, in one way or another, may become integrated into the new world organization and, consequently, may obtain an authority that will bode no good for a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. For that matter, that pact avows a racial doctrine that bodes no good for the rest of us either.

Racism Basis

For the pact, if you read it carefully, constantly stresses Arab states and indicates that only new Arab states may join it. It thus becomes a regional pact—regional not on the basis of geographical juxtaposition as is Chapultepec, for instance, but regional on the basis of religion and race. So far as I know this is the only league with such a basis.

The second thing about this pact that makes you wonder if it is a true security and peace charter, is the stress that is placed on the "sacredness" of the regime" in each of the Arab states. There is nothing about "self-determination" by the Arab people, nor anything about the fundamental freedoms and justices that have become so much a part of the new world organization.

In fact, the more you read the pact, the more you must come to the inevitable conclusion that it was designed by an Arab ruling class, which is determined to protect its primitive and reactionary interests against any possible undermining. I don't think it should be called a League of Arab States, so much as it should be called a League of Arab Bosses.

But No Freedom

At any rate, you can find such words as "sovereignty," "independence," "regime" all, through it, but the word "freedom" for anything or anybody doesn't appear at all.

Where the Arab league hits the Zionists nardest is in an annex which takes up Palestine's position with respect to future membership in it. Here Palestine is referred to as among "other Arab states." It goes on:

"The state signatories of the present pact, estimate that under these conditions and owing to these special circumstances affecting Palestine, and until this country is able to exercise all the effective attributes of her independence, it will be incumbent on the Council of the League (the Arab one) to designate an Arab representative for Palestine who will participate in its work."

New York Post

JUNE 2, 1945

Plain Speaking

By Francis E. McMahon

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievements of this object." So ran the Balfour Declaration of 1917. It was a promise made to the Jewish people of the world. It is a promise that has not been kept.

Since 1917 the great and near-great almost everywhere have gone on record as supporting the cause of a Jewish homeland. Statesmen have issued impressive pronouncements; political parties have written solemn indorsements in their platforms; Congress has passed resolutions. If words could accomplish anything, the aspirations of the Jewish people would have been fulfilled long ago.

The democratic world apparently thought words were enough. When it came to deeds, the story was different. In 1944 Great Britain clamped down upon further immigration of Jews into Palestine. The barrier was put up, tragically, just at the very moment the agony of the Jews was reaching its climax. Palestine was the logical refuge for the oppressed of Europe. When the gates of Palestine were closed, the hopes of countless thousands were extinguished.

• • •

Britain is not alone to blame. It is a blame we must all share. If the Christian conscience all these years had been sufficiently aroused to its responsibilities, if it had seen that lip service alone to fulfillment of promises was not enough, if it had demanded action through persistent pressure, leaders would not have succumbed to "realistic" politics and to the amoral dictates of imperialism. But instead of demanding that justice prevail, we have tolerated indecency.

Every historic people has an anchor in the earth somewhere. Let the Frenchman, the Irishman, the Italian, or the Spaniard migrate where he will, he can never quite forget the ancestral land which moulded his kind. It is natural and legitimate to take pride in "the old country." Every people has such a symbolic homeland, the center of its age-old culture. Every people, save the Jews.

But the memory of what Palestine once meant for this people has never been effaced. It is a memory that has given cheer and courage to the downtrodden and persecuted among them. During the past generation many have succeeded in returning to the land of their fathers. What they have done in transforming an impoverished country has astounded the world. Cities have sprung up from barren wastes; industries thrive; abundant crops grow in former desert land. Both Jew and Arab have benefited from a high standard of living hardly thinkable in that region a few decades ago.

• • •

But nationalistic-minded Arabs are not satisfied. Their opposition to further immigration of Jews into Palestine has served as an excuse for putting up the bars. The one thing the Arab states seem to agree upon is hostility to a Jewish national home. And because this is an age when power alone commands respect the voice of Arabia is listened to, while the voice of a weak minority is disregarded.

The great power has never been used. What has been lacking is the will to give force to the solemn commitments Great Britain and ourselves have made. While no sensible person would advocate that we act the bully towards Arabia, there is a need for firmness and resolution. The legitimate demands of the Arabs can be satisfied without inflicting a grave injustice upon another people. Admittedly the problem is not easy, but it can be solved if we really want to solve it.

Though the question of Palestine is not in the headlines today it is of paramount importance. Peace of a kind has come over Europe, but there is no peace for the displaced Jewish populations who have survived the holocaust. Where shall they go?

There is no weightier question today for the conscience of mankind.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1945.

Open Palestine's Doors

The problem of the millions of displaced persons in Europe, many of them Jews, cannot be separated from that of Palestine and the British White Paper which bars refugees from Palestine. Now nearly two months after the European war's end no solution of the Palestinian phase has been proposed. Conscientious Americans, like conscientious Britons, have never ceased to protest the injustice of the 1939 White Paper, unworthy relic of the Chamberlain government's efforts at appeasement. This nation has gone on record several times backing the Balfour Declaration's pledge of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Last year Congress was restrained from passing a resolution calling for the re-opening of Palestine to immigration only by direct requests from the highest diplomatic and military authorities. And although Congress, almost perforce, bowed to these requests, individual leaders have not hesitated to speak out against the White Paper and to urge the use of this country's influence to end it.

The subject is one which the Big Three in their coming meeting can hardly avoid. For the fate of Palestine is inextricably tied up with all the complicated Middle East relationships. An equitable solution is important to the peace of the world. President Truman is committed by his party's platform and also, without doubt, by his own convictions to support of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. He is, of course, aware of the strong public opinion here which condemns the White Paper as an abrogation of the Balfour Declaration, which will consider its continuance for any long period after the war as a breach of faith, and which feels that it is against human kindness and mercy to bar the helpless, homeless and desperate victims of Nazi persecution from a ready and welcoming haven. Mr. Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, recently arrived from Palestine and London, tells us that plans are ready for receiving a million refugees immediately.

The Arabs have lately shown some disposition to consider compromise. We know that strong public sentiment in Great Britain, shared, one has every reason to believe, by Prime Minister Churchill, favors the opening of Palestine's doors and the fulfillment of the pledge made by the great Allied nations and accepted by Arab leaders after the last war. The time would seem to be right to exert full United States influence in behalf of a new settlement to supersede the 1939 White Paper.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1945

Edgar Mowrer On World Affairs

Saving Jews Or Appeasing Arabs

By Edgar Ansel Mowrer

The time is near when we Americans shall have to make up our minds about Palestine. Either we intend to insist that Palestine become a predominantly Jewish Commonwealth or we intend to follow the pro-Arab clique of the British Colonial Office and wash our hands of the Jews.

If Palestine had been open to unrestricted Jewish immigration between 1938 and 1939, about one million more European Jews would be alive today. By the time the Nazi murder factories were finally closed down by Zhukov and Eisenhower only about one and a half of Europe's former five and a half million Jews were left alive.

Of these, at least one million do not wish to remain where they were, the raw material for anybody's new homicidal industry. They want to get out.

They have no place to go except Palestine.

Unhappily, the British masters of Palestine will not let in any large number of Jews. Ever since the last war the British have been appeasing the Arabs of the Middle East in an effort to make them the docile instruments of British imperial policy.

A Reasonable Demand

Picturesque Arab potentates and cunning feudal landlords are afraid of the modernizing influence of a Jewish Palestine. Therefore the British Colonial Office lends a deaf ear to American pleas to let in the Jews—unless, of course, the American administration is willing to share the Palestinian trusteeship.

In other words, the British are saying:

"We consider it dangerous to affront the Arabs by imposing a Jewish Palestine upon them. But if you insist, then you must share responsibility for that country's peace and protection."

This is—in my judgment a very reasonable demand.

British eagerness for American support ought not, however, to be complicated by misleading propaganda. Today British and Arab propagandists are trying to warp American judgment by passing out fairy tales calculated—they hope—to dismay American pro-Zionists.

The first of these Arabian 'Nights' entertainments runs: We Americans should be grateful to the Arabs for the help in the war. This is a glorious whopper.

Ninety per cent of the Palestinian Arabs followed the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hadji Amin el-Husseini, who fomented the Iraqui pro-Axis revolt in 1941, and finally (July 4, 1942) revealed his views in a letter to Adolf Hitler, of which here are the key sentences:

"Permit me, Fuehrer, to transmit to you the sincere joy of the Arabian people and my own best congratulations for the victory of the Axis alliance in North Africa . . . The Arabian people will continue to fight on your side to the final victory against the common enemy."

The Egyptian government refused to fulfill the Anglo-Egyptian treaty and declare war on the Axis.

The government of the Yemen permitted Italians to remain and conspire long after the war started. The Iraqui leaders fought on the side of our enemies. The Syrians and Lebanese first gave us little or no help, then helped Vichy. Transjordania and Saudi Arabia were coolly neutral.

On the other hand, the Palestinian Jews have as fine a war record as any United Nation.

The second fairy tale depicts a monolithic bloc of Arab peoples animated by a common political will. Students of the Middle East label this a bad joke. In reality, the modern Arabs are a group of undemocratic peoples united by a common desire to get rid of all non-Arab influences.

Arab Unity a Myth

On every other count they are not united at all. Between Bedouins and city dwellers yawns an abyss. The two Moslem sects, Shia and Sunni, do not collaborate. The Chrisitan Arabs live in fear of elimination.

"Arab" Iraq is one-third inhabited by continually rebellious Kurds. One sturdy rebel, Ali Mustafa, is in revolt now. The Egyptians consider themselves Arabs when it suits them.

For sheer imagination, the third tale outdoes even Sinbad the Sailor. Arab hatred of the Jews—the propagandists whisper—is so relentless that to protect Palestine against the Arab League not less than a half million American troops would have to be permanently stationed in that country. Wow!

In sober truth, the modern Arabs represent no military strength whatsoever. Either they won't stand, or they cannot. The present 600,000 Jews could hold hold their own against three to five times the number of Arabs.

Once the U. S. made up its mind that Palestine was to be Jewish, one American motorized division and a few bombers would permit filling Palestine with Jews with none of that civil disorder President Truman has been misled into fearing.

Unquestionably, Zionism does involve some injustice to the Arabs of Palestine. It involves no injustice to—it is indeed no business of—the other Moslem peoples, who do not begin to populate the broad lands they possess. On the other hand failure to provide a home in Palestine for the remaining European Jews involves an injustice a hundred times as great to a civilized people whom we Occidentals calmly allowed Hitler to massacre.

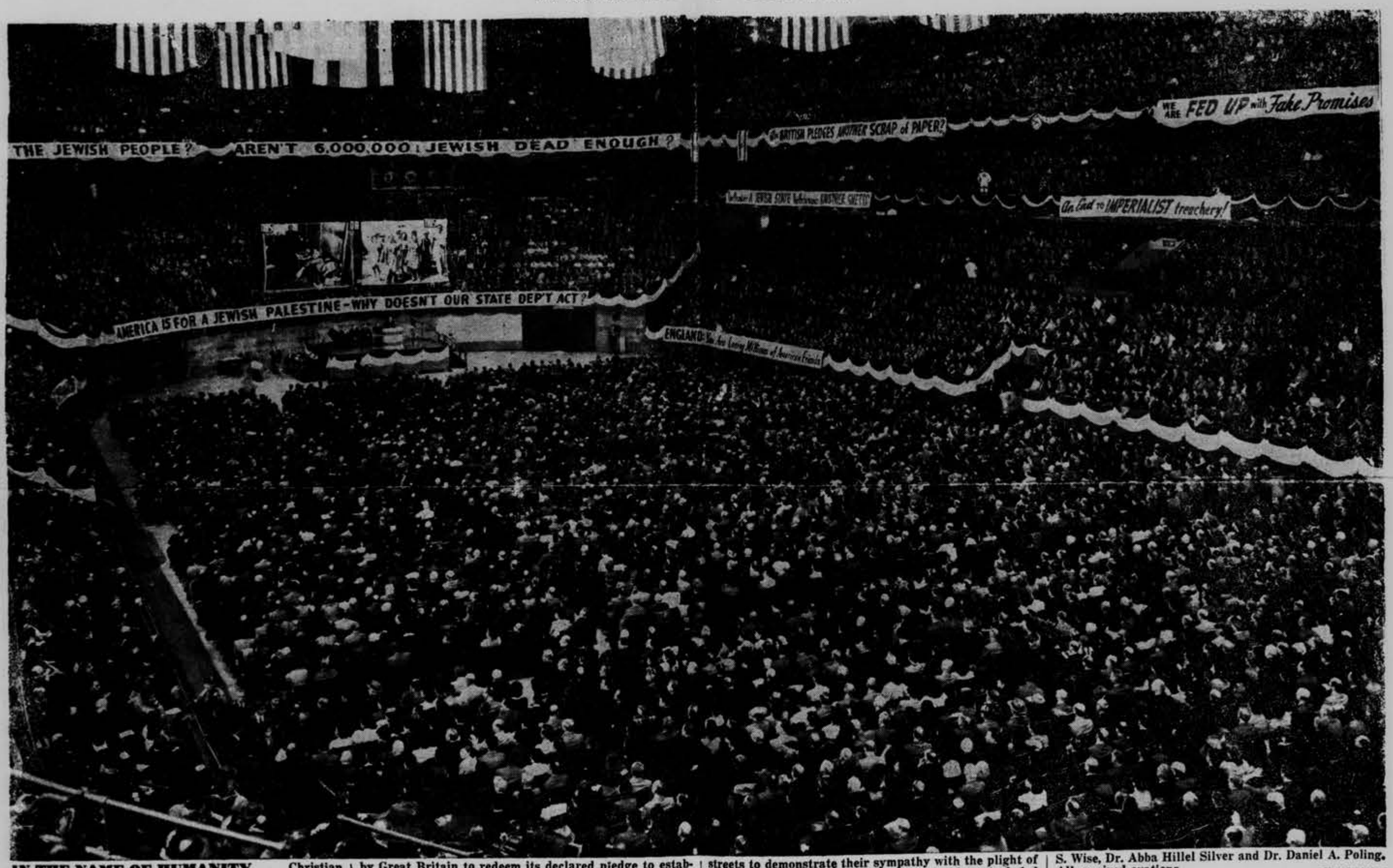
(Press Alliance, Inc.)

MASS DEMONSTRATION FOR A JEWISH PALESTINE, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY

AS REPORTED BY THE NEW YORK PRESS

OCTOBER 1, 1945

New York Journal-American - October 1, 1945



IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY . . . Christian leaders joined members of the Jewish faith in a gigantic rally at Madison Square Garden to demand action now by Great Britain to redeem its declared pledge to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. More than 25,000 jammed the huge arena while another 45,000 stood in the streets to demonstrate their sympathy with the plight of the Jews in Europe. Distinguished speakers included Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Mayor LaGuardia, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Daniel A. Poling. All received ovations. Photo by Acme.

New York Journal-American ★ Mon. Oct. 1, 1945—11

New York Times - October 1, 1945

DEWEY BACKS PLEA FOR JEWISH STATE AT BIG RALLY HERE

Old Pledges Should Be Kept, Free Immigration Allowed at Once, He Tells Throng

BRITISH STAND IS ASSAILED

Message to Attlee Demands He 'Open the Gates'—Mayor Wants U. S. to Act

Unrestricted immigration into Palestine and the immediate establishment of a Jewish commonwealth were urged by Governor Dewey and other speakers last night before a capacity audience in Madison Square Garden, and an overflow crowd that jammed West Forty-ninth Street and listened to the addresses broadcast through several large amplifiers.

The Governor declared the Jews were entitled to the fundamental rights of free men, a home of their own, in a land where they could live as free and equal men and women. "That place is Palestine, their homeland," he added.

Mayor La Guardia, in an unexpected appearance, brought long rounds of applause when he declared that President Truman and the State Department should insist that Great Britain keep her pledges regarding Palestine, and that immediate action was necessary to solve the problem of the Jews in Europe.

Wants 100,000 Admitted to U. S.

He suggested that Great Britain act at once to let at least 100,000 enter Palestine and that at least as many should be admitted to the United States.

"The time for talk has passed," he said. "Now is the time to act."

The demonstration, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council, of which Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise are joint chairmen, was a protest against the report that the British White Paper policy would be continued in Palestine.

Doors to the Garden were opened at 4:30 P. M., although the meeting was not scheduled to begin until 8 o'clock, and within two hours every seat had been taken. Those who came later were directed into West Forty-ninth Street. By the time the meeting started, the crowd jammed the street and sidewalks almost to Ninth Avenue. The thirty policemen and five mounted officers had difficulty in keeping Fiftieth Street clear, but there was no disorder.

Dewey Stresses Urgency

Governor Dewey, emphasizing that this and other countries were beset with internal and external difficulties calling for the best in leadership, said:

"But none of them is an excuse for leaving unrelieved the greatest human tragedy of this war, the plight of the first victims of Nazi terror, who still, five months after the fall of Germany, remain victims. There is no other problem which calls in such clarion tones for the sympathetic and effective action of an aroused community.

"These people ask simply for the right to have a home of their own. That home was promised them a quarter of a century ago by the nations of the world. I can understand no legitimate reason for its continued denial. I cannot believe that the British people or the American people or the other peoples of good-will in the world will remain deaf to the cries of these suffering hundreds of thousands. Since their voices cannot be heard, it is our privilege and our duty to make sure that at this mighty meeting we voice their pleas in clear and unmistakable terms.

"Whatever the arguments which might properly have been advanced during the war to justify the continuation of the exclusion policy from Palestine, those arguments no longer apply. As I have said repeatedly, the homeless and persecuted Jews of Europe are entitled to life and dignity and the right of self-determination. They are entitled to live free of the fetters of persecution. They are entitled to live away from scenes haunted by memories of loot, torture and murder. They are entitled to the fundamental rights of free men, a home of their own, in a land where they can live as free, equal men and women.

"There is one place they can call their own—their very own—and to which they should be entitled to go as their right, to live in peace and security, to develop their genius—to be free forever from all the horrors of the dreadful past. That place is Palestine, the homeland."

After recalling the work already done in Palestine to make it a homeland, the Governor said:

"The rights of the Jewish people in Palestine are not a local problem. These rights have wide historic human and political implications, as we have learned at such bitter cost. The attitude of nations to the problem of minorities is a touchstone to their approach to other and wider problems. Unless a society bases itself on a sincere acknowledgment of its responsibilities to the weak as well as to the strong, it will, in the inexorable process of the passage of time, perish.

"What is needed today is not mere sympathy. What is needed today is action. We have a right to ask—we have a right to insist, as we do here tonight—that these victims of Nazi oppression be given not pity, not words, but justice by action. They are entitled to insist and we insist on their behalf that solemn international covenants shall be respected and carried out.

"Our own Government and people are deeply involved. It was the common victory of ourselves and our allies in World War I which made possible the British Mandate of Palestine—which made possible that mandate expressly granted for the purpose of promoting the development of a Jewish homeland. It was to that victory, incidentally, that the independent Arab states were also obligated for their creation. The text of the Palestine Mandate is incorporated in the convention between our country and Great Britain. It has been confirmed by every President since 1920, and both our great political parties are publicly committed to bring it to fruition."

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, president of the World Christian Endeavor Union, said that pledges made by Great Britain to the Jews should be kept; that the British Labor Government invited a major tragedy by failing to redeem its campaign promise of last May.

"The administration of Palestine as a Jewish state would insure to Arab, Christian and Jew alike religious freedom and all other freedoms of a truly democratic government," he declared.

Rabbi Silver called on Prime Minister Attlee to open the doors of Palestine to Jews and urged President Truman to continue his efforts for unrestricted immigration and Jewish colonization in Palestine.

Commenting on the activities of those Jews who oppose establishment of Palestine as a Jewish state, Rabbi Silver said: "They speak for an insignificant number of our people, those who are afraid lest the establishment of a Jewish state will endanger their own comfortable existence here."

He added that the American people had given evidence in many ways that it approved the reconstitution of the Jewish commonwealth. He said the Jewish people were striving to achieve only that which every other people on the face of the earth possess—a country and a homeland.

Each time Rabbi Silver mentioned that there was opposition to the proposal to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, the audience hissed and booed. "THE NEW YORK TIMES is opposed to the establishment of a Jewish state," Rabbi Silver said, and the audience manifested disapproval with catcalls and hisses.

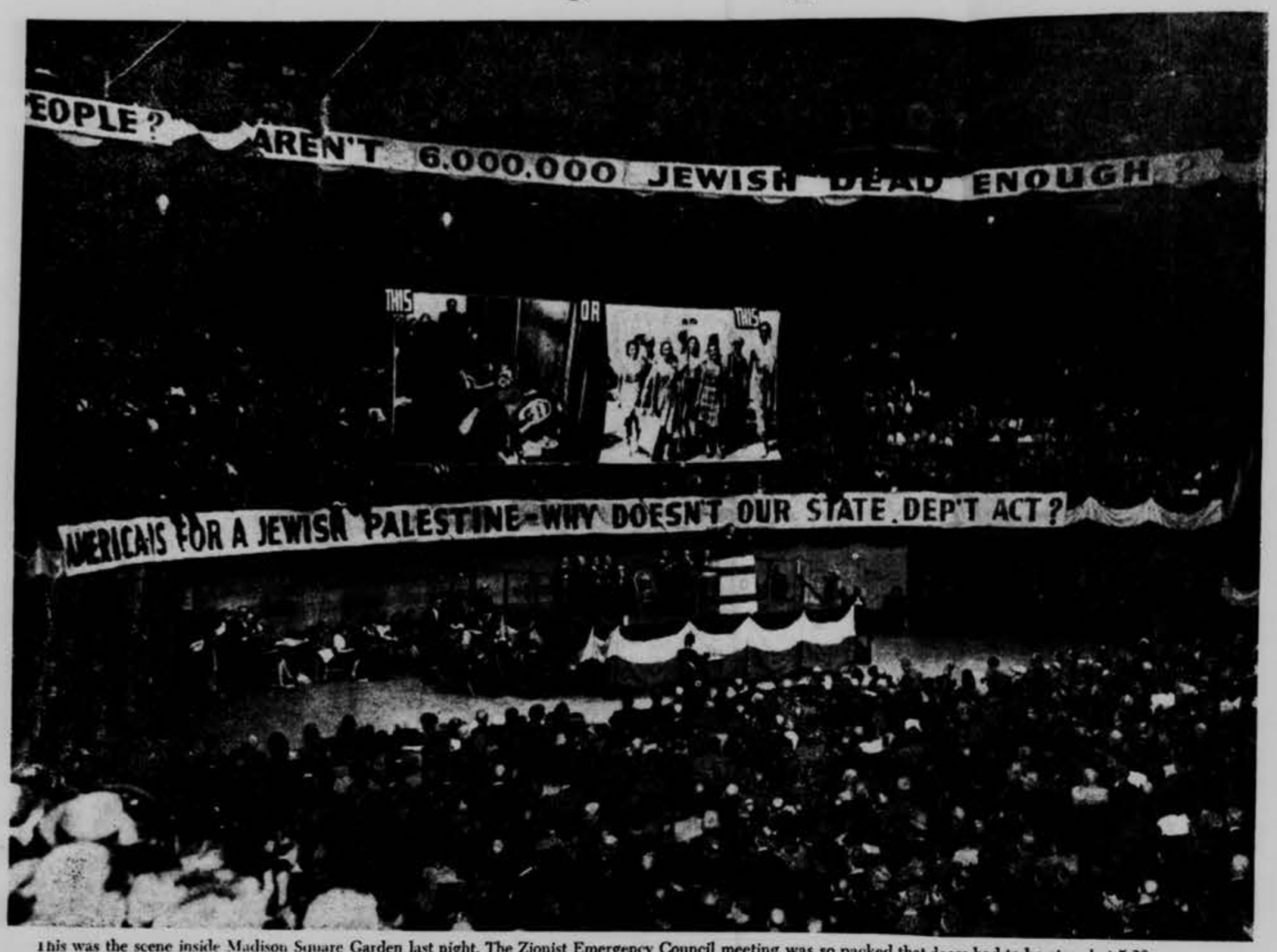
Rabbi Wise said there could be no justice to the Jew from Britain unless it reached the decision that there be established the Jewish state of Palestine. He urged also the admission of Palestine to the United Nations Organization as a Jewish state.

Henry Monsky, co-chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, presided.

Great Britain's policy of temporary extension of limited Jewish immigration of 1,500 a month was assailed by most of the speakers as an unsatisfactory stopgap. A cablegram to Prime Minister Clement Attlee demanding that Great Britain "fulfill the letter and the spirit of the solemn pledges given to the Jewish people, that it open the gates to free, unrestricted Jewish immigration and that it announce an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth" was authorized in a resolution adopted by the meeting.

Also authorized was a telegram to President Truman expressing appreciation for his efforts in behalf of the Jews in Germany and Austria and apprising him of the sentiment expressed for the immediate establishment of Palestine as a Jewish state.

As 50,000 Rallied to Urge Redemption of Zion Pledge



This was the scene inside Madison Square Garden last night. The Zionist Emergency Council meeting was so packed that doors had to be closed at 5:30 p.m. . . .

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (left) conferred with Mayor La Guardia a rally began. Both were speakers.

Gov. Dewey told the meeting: *"We have a right to insist . . . that these victims of Nazi oppression be given justice.*

. . . These people waited on 49th St. all evening to hear the program over loud speakers. An estimated 30,000 were outside.

Dr. Abbe Hillel Silver declared: *"From here on, every lo becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish Liberation."*

At the conclusion of Dr. Silver's dramatic plea for a "mobilization of secure British fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, the audience ar plauded at length—including people in the press row.

Photos by Wilbert H. Blanche and Arthur Leipzig, PM

Jews Told to 'Mobilize' to Win Homeland in Palestine

50,000 Overflow Garden At Zionist Rally

By Barnett Bilderskee

"From here on every loyal Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish Liberation."

This was the call of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, at a Madison Square Garden mass rally last night which became the opening of what Dr. Silver called a "mobilization of Jews" to win fulfillment from Britain of its 28-year-old Balfour Declaration to create a Jewish Commonwealth in the Holy Land.

Fifty thousand supporters of Zionism—Jews and non-Jews—heard the summons which Dr. Silver declared must reach every community in the U. S. A. and be maintained with vigor until the Balfour Declaration is r e d e e m e d. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the other joint chairman of the council, gave unqualified indorsement to the call.

Your Excellency:

For years we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great Britain's pledges to the Jewish people. We waited in vain. In the meantime, six million Jews were killed in Europe, while you and your colleagues gave us promises and meaningless words of sympathy. The British Government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe!

Our patience is at an end! We shall not continue to suffer British injustices silently. As Jews and as American citizens, we will fight back relentlessly until the legitimate rights of the Jewish people are recognized—until Palestine is opened wide to free Jewish immigration and a Jewish State is re-established.

Signature _____

Address _____

This was the card signed by 25,000 supporters of Zionism at a rally last night at Madison Square Garden. The address on the front says: "His Excellency, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, The Right Honorable Lord Halifax, The British Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Huge Overflow

A stamping, cheering, hissing crowd, estimated by police at about 25,000, thundered approval from within the huge Garden and loudspeakers carried the message to an overflow of about 25,000 more who stood in the streets facing the Garden on 49th and 50th Sts., and Eighth Ave.

Spokesmen described the mass demonstration as the most militant note Zionism yet has struck in this country. The theme of speaker after speaker—including Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia—was impatience for action to fulfill the World War I pledge to Jewry.

The climactic moment came when, at the close of the session, the whole crowd rose and read in unison the text of postal cards of protest to British Ambassador Halifax (*see reproduction*) which they signed and dropped into collection boxes at the exits.

But while the demonstrators were hopefully exclaiming their aspirations, there was evidence overseas that another crisis was developing over Palestine's 10,000 square miles and the Arabs were at least as forceful in their claims.

'Holy War' Threat

In Damascus, Moslem leaders met and threatened a "holy war" against any attempt to let more Jews into the country. In Jerusalem Arab leaders issued a declaration that they would resist Jewish immigration, warning "it would be a grave error to believe that this implies only passive resistance."

On the other hand, Bernard Joseph, political head of the Jewish Agency, declared the "Zionist fist is beginning to contract with bitterness."

The British already have put British troops in the place of regular Arab and Jewish constables in Jerusalem and are reported completing plans to absorb all Palestine police into the British Army if violance breaks out.

Both Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise had come to the Garden rally from a meeting the day before with President Truman at which they had stated the Zionist position that revocation of the 1939 British White Paper, which restricts Jewish immigration to Palestine, was of life-and-death importance to the oppressed remnants of European Jewry, but that it was only a temporary remedy and that a permanent solution—the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth—was necessary.

Dr. Silver called the interview "pleasant and cordial" and Dr. Wise said he came away with hope that he would live to see a Jewish State in the Holy Land.

Boos of the crowd greeted every mention of British leaders—past and present—who were held responsible for blocking full immigration or fulfillment of the Balfour pledge. These included Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, and Lord Halifax.

Again the crowd booed at mention of American Jews who oppose the Zionist program. They were described by Dr. Silver as "a few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews . . . who attempt to confuse this basic problem . . . who speak for an insignificant section of American Jewry, those who are afraid lest the establishment of a Jewish State will endanger their own comfortable existence here."

Cheers for La Guardia

The audience was speckled with the blue and khaki of the armed forces, among them a U. S. Army captain with the silver cross designating a Christian chaplain. Non-Jewish sympathizers also shared the platform, including Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald*, who declared himself a Zionist, "not because Jews are Zionists, but because I am a Christian."

Twice, La Guardia had to pause for long ovations. Once when he exclaimed: "I say to the State Dept. we demand some display of statesmanship and not of *schmooz* (talk)," again when he applauded the President's recommendation to the British of 100,000 certificates of admittance to Palestine and added that the President's hand would be strengthened "if Congress would authorize him to say 'and we, too, are ready to take 100,000.'"

Gov. Dewey declared:

"What is needed today is not mere sympathy. What is needed today is action. We have a right to ask—we have a right to insist as we do here tonight—that these victims of Nazi oppression be given not pity, not words, but justice by action."

Sharp focus was given to Gov. Dewey's assertion by the reading of two telegrams reflecting the anguish of Jews still surviving in Europe who are losing hope of escaping. One, from Erich Nelhans, president of the Jewish *gemeinde* (community) in Berlin, ended with the plea: "Please rescue us."

The other came to Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairmen of the Zionist Emergency Council, from Maj. Judah Nadich, Jewish chaplain serving as adviser to Gen. Eisenhower on the problem of Jewish displaced persons. Maj. Nadich cabled:

Peril to Friendship

"After survey visits all Jewish displaced persons camps American zone Germany, find overwhelming majority desire immigration Eretz Yisroel (Palestine). [illegible] estimate eighty percent [illegible] nants European Jewry [illegible] day Palestine doors op[illegible]

Besides the mass p[illegible] Halifax, telegrams wer[illegible] the rally to President [illegible] to British Prime Mini[illegible] Attlee.

The message to t[illegible] concluded:

"[illegible] . . . If the present [illegible] icy regarding Palestin[illegible] to continue, it will not [illegible] ate the Jewish tragedy [illegible] but it will also dama[illegible] of Anglo-American [illegible] essential to the ma[illegible] peace in the world . . . [illegible] unreserved support [illegible] diate opening of Pal[illegible] stricted Jewish immig[illegible] announcement of [illegible] decision to establish [illegible] Jewish Commonwea[illegible]

To Attlee:

. . . As in the pas[illegible] be friends of Britain [illegible] want our youth in Pal[illegible] to regard you as [illegible] you act quickly and [illegible] ble damage will be d[illegible] name and prestige a[illegible] this, we speak the [illegible] number of Americans [illegible] and all walks of life.

New York Herald Tribune - October 1, 1945

Dewey Exhorts Britain to Open Palestine 'Now'

Bids Labor Party Redeem Pledge to Jews; 50,000 Flock to Garden Rally

Governor Thomas E. Dewey, addressing a cheering crowd of more than 21,000 persons at a Zionist rally in Madison Square Garden, called last night for the free right of Jewish immigration into Palestine and for its establishment "now." An estimated 25,000 more outside the Garden heard the Governor, by means of loud-speakers.

Urging the British Labor party to redeem a pledge made before it came into power, the Governor declared that hundreds of thousands of Jews are still living in want and desperation in Europe and that war-time arguments for excluding them from their national homeland no longer exist.

"The conscience of civilization must find expression," he said. "It can wait no longer."

The Governor was the featured speaker at a demonstration sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and called as a protest against reports that the British White Paper policy would continue to bar Jews from Palestine. Of the 21,000 in the Garden, 2,000 were standing. Police, who barred the doors an hour before it started, estimated the crowd on Eighth Avenue and Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Streets at 25,000 to 40,000.

Mayor Gets Ovation

Mayor F. H. La Guardia made an uncheduled appearance after the Governor and received almost as great an ovation. He told the demonstrators it would be "very easy" for the Big Four to settle the Palestine situation.

The demonstration followed by a day President Truman's disclosure that he had appealed to the British government to open Palestine to such of Europe's displaced persons as wish to go there.

Governor Dewey did not mention by name the Balfour Declaration of 1917, indorsed by the United States and other nations, on which Zionists base their claim for British support of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. But he reminded Prime Minister Clement Attlee that the Labor party last May had urged the reopening of the country to Jews, and called for "the redemption of this and all the similar pledges."

We call for action in accordance with our own traditions of justice and humanity," he added. "We speak on behalf of the survivors of Nazi terror who still live in misery. We call out in their name that they must not be left to die in camps. We say that those outside the camps must not be forced to remain in an atmosphere poisoned by the memory of unbelievable horrors and the all-pervasive aftermath of years on anti-Semitic propaganda."

Recalls Own Prophecy

The Governor recalled that seven years ago, before the outbreak of war, he had risked the role of prophet in saying that the outrages against Jews in Germany and Austria bore "the unmistakable earmarks of an organized plot to wipe out the Jewish people."

"Today, as we look back," he said, "it is clear that in all history there has never been a more skillfully designed and cold-blooded effort to slaughter an entire people. More than 6,000,000 Jews lived on the Continent of Europe outside of Russia before the war. Today less than 2,000,000 survive. It is the most tragic chapter of sheer brutality in history. . . .

"Civilized humanity has scarcely yet grasped the horror of the murder of 4,000,000 helpless people. Nor has the conscience of mankind yet been fully aroused to the meaning of that frightful crime.

"If there had been full realization, it is possible that the doors of Palestine would not have been closed to the hunted Jewish people of Europe in the hour of their bitterest need. It is possible that millions now dead might still be living. That unbelievable tragedy will stand out as a mark against our civilization of the twentieth century for years to come."

Commenting that Palestine's recent economic development actually has benefited its Arab population and that our own government is deeply obligated in promises for development of a Jewish homeland, he declared that the rights of the Jewish people "have wide historic and human implications."

"The attitude of nations to the problem of minorities is a touchstone to their approach to other and wider problems," he said. "Unless a society bases itself on a sincere acknowledgment of its responsibilities to the weak, as well as to the strong, it will, in the inexorable process of the passage of time, perish."

Mayor La Guardia, calling attention to President Truman's request that Britain grant certificates for 100,000 European Jews to enter Palestine, suggested that the United States offer to receive another 100,000.

"We must make it very clear to the President," the Mayor added, "that we expect the fulfillment of pledges. We can't address the British people directly, but we can direct our pleas to the President, and we will hold him responsible."

Says Delay Doomed 6,000,000

Dr. Abba H. Silver, joint chairman with Dr. Stephen S. Wise of the American Zionist Emergency Council, told the meeting that "because a political decision was delayed in the days before the war, 6,000,000 of our people perished during the war." He urged former Prime Minister Winston Churchill to go to the support of the Zionist movement, and, while praising President Truman's action as "the first forthright act by a Chief Executive of our country in many years," added that the Jewish problem is not a refugee problem but a problem of "national homelessness."

Dr. Wise declared that "justice to the Jew does not mean a Jewish ghetto in an arid empire—the only status for a free and great people is the status of statehood." And the Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of "The Christian Herald" and minister of the Baptist Temple, Philadelphia, said that administration of Palestine as a Jewish state "would insure to Arab, Christian and Jew alike religious freedom and all the other freedoms of a truly democratic government."

Henry Monsky, of Omaha, Neb., co-chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, presided and read a cable to Prime Minister Attlee and telegrams to President Truman and Lord Halifax, British Ambassador, setting forth the Zionist position and asking immediate action.

New York Post - October 1, 1945

Giant Zionist Rally Blames Britain for Jewish Deaths

By ALVIN ROSENFELD

The campaign for a free Jewish state in Palestine stepped up today, inspired by a giant rally at which Britain's policy of drastic restrictions on immigration to the Holy Land was condemned as imperialistic and inhumane.

The mass meeting, announced six days ago when Britain revealed her decision not to open Palestine's doors to homeless, destitute Jews, brought throngs to Madison Square Garden last night.

While an overflow crowd of 45,000 listened through amplifiers in blocked-off streets, 22,000 people in the packed Garden solemnly chanted in unison a demand that Palestine be "opened wide to free Jewish immigration."

While "we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great Britain's pledges to the Jewish people," they said, "six million Jews were killed in Europe. The British government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe."

"Our patience is at an end," the huge audience said in one voice. "We shall not continue to suffer British injustice silently." They read from printed postcards which were then signed and mailed to Ambassador Halifax.

A Mobilization Call

Their pledge was an answer to the call issued at the rally by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, for "total mobilization" of world Jewry in the fight for Palestine.

"From here on," he said, "every loyal Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish liberation."

At the rally, sponsored by the Emergency Council, speaker after speaker demanded State Dept. intervention and recalled Britain's unredeemed promises to the Jew.

Mayor LaGuardia declared that Britain first promised to establish a Jewish Commonwealth 28 years ago, while Gov. Dewey and several other speakers pointed out the British Labor Party, shortly before it won power, adopted a resolution saying:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe."

Dewey and Poling Speak

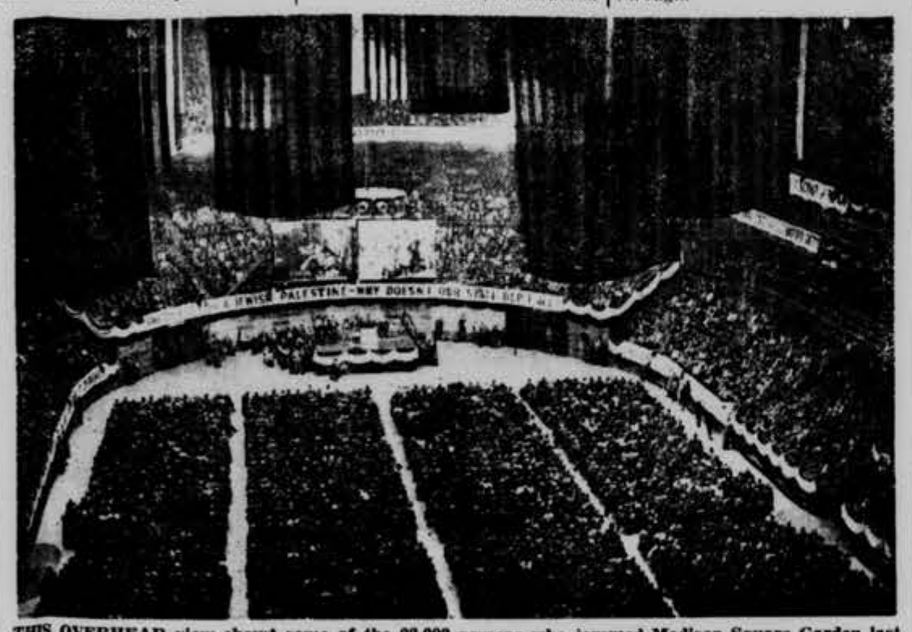
"We call tonight for the redemption of this and all the similar pledges," Dewey said. "The conscience of civilization must find expression. It can wait no longer."

Mayor LaGuardia demanded that the State Dept. make "some display of statesmanship and not of schmooz (talk)" on the Zionist problem and also warned that "we will hold the President of the U. S. responsible" if the gates of Palestine are not opened.

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the Christian Herald and New York Post columnist, warned that the failure to keep the pledge made in the Balfour Declaration, "which failure has already cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews, now threatens the lives of yet other tens of thousands."

Although the rally was scheduled to start at 8 p. m., the audience began arriving before 5, the auditorium was filled by 6:30 and the meeting was under way at 7:30, while thousands of people tried vainly to gain entrance.

Both 49th and 50th Sts. were so crowded it was impossible to get through.



THIS OVERHEAD view shows some of the 22,000 persons who jammed Madison Square Garden last night to demand that England make good her pledges for unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine. The rally was sponsored by American Zionist Emergency Council. Story on Page 15.

"Attlee a Chamberlain?"

Inside, the Garden was decorated with militant slogans, such as: "Is Attlee Another Chamberlain?" "Is Britain Planning Another Munich?" "No American Aid for British Betrayal," "When Will the War Be Over for the Jewish People? Aren't 6,000,000 Jewish Dead Enough?"

Two huge photographs hung from the rafters. One showed a group of Jews in a concentration camp, their faces gaunt, their eyes haunting. The other showed a group of smiling, healthy Jewish pioneers in Palestine.

The audience was, for the most part, solemn and stern. But it hissed and booed when mention was made of the "few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews" who oppose Zionism. And it cheered mention of President Truman and of Jewish hopes in Palestine.

Wise Praises Truman

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman with Rabbi Silver, praised Mr. Truman's request that the British grant the Jews 100,000 entry certificates into Palestine, but stressed that this was just a "first step."

He said that, after a meeting with Mr. Truman Saturday, he was "not without hope." And Wise, at 70 the grand old man of American Zionism, brought the audience to its feet when he said: "I shall live to see the establishment of a Jewish National Home."

Messages were sent to President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee and British Ambassador Halifax after the need for swift action was emphasized by a cablegram from the Jewish community of Berlin saying: "Life seems futile. Eretz Yisrael (Palestine) our only hope. Please rescue us."

New York Daily Mirror - October 1, 1945

22,000 at Garden Rally Hear Dewey Ask Open Palestine

Wartime arguments for exclusion of Jews from Palestine no longer hold good, Gov. Dewey declared last night in calling on the British Labor Government to redeem its pre-election pledge and remove White Paper restrictions barring Jewish immigration to the Holy Land.

Addressing a solemn and purposeful crowd of 20,000 who thronged Madison Square Garden to protest the British limitation, Dewey charged that the independent

Mayor LaGuardia raps Lord Halifax on "keeping word" in Garden speech. (Mirror Photo)

Admit Jewish Palestine to United Nations Organization, Rabbi Wise urges at big rally. (Mirror Photo)

Arab states which oppose "this sacred right" of the Jewish people were denying the principles on which these Arab states were founded at the expiration of World War I.

In addition to the 20,000 in the Garden, an additional 2,000 outside on 49th St. heard the addresses over a loudspeaker system. The crowd was orderly and quiet. Those unable to gain admission to the Garden accepted the situation philosophically, and remained to hear the last word of the last speaker.

Warning to Halifax

The meeting dispatched messages to President Truman and Lord Halifax, British Ambassador, complimenting the former for his "recent acts in behalf of the suffering Jews of Europe" and warning the latter that the Jews "will not continue to suffer British injustices silently." The meeting informed Halifax "the British Government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe."

A cable was sent to British Prime Minister Attlee from the Garden, reminding him that the Jews of the world had contributed materially to the victory which saved Britain from Nazi domination and expressing the meeting's "deepest protest and indignation at the continuing policy of cruelty and betrayal displayed by your Government towards the Jewish national home." The message called on Attlee to "open the gates of Palestine to free and unrestricted Jewish immigration" and "establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

Dewey told the Garden audience that, contrary to British and Arab propaganda, Palestine's economic development has not been at the expense of the Arabs.

"On the contrary," he said, "the Arabs have increased in numbers while their standards of living, education and health have greatly improved in these last 25 years.

"We call for the free right of immigration into Palestine and for its establishment now. The conscience of civilization must find expresion."

The Governor declared "our own government and people" are deeply involved.

Another speaker at the meeting, which was under auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council, was Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the "Christian Herald." He said failure to implement the Balfour pledge threatens the lives of tens of thousands of Jews.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, appealed to former Prime Minister Churchill to "speak up" as a "member of the opposition" and make good his declaration of 1939 when he decried the White Paper as "a plain breach of trust."

Mayor LaGuardia, who arrived at the meeting toward the end, said:

"I would like to remind my good friend Lord Halifax, who made a speech to the American people indicating he wanted to borrow some money for his government, that the best way to establish credit is to convince people that the borrower knows how to keep his word."

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the Free Synagogue, who is joint chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, said that "justice" to the Jews means not only "certificates of admission to Palestine," but the admission of Palestine to the United Nations Organization as a Jewish State.

New York World-Telegram - October 1, 1945

Dewey Demands Jews Be Admitted To Palestine Now

La Guardia and Others Assail British Policy At Mass Meeting

Citing the desperate plight of hundreds of thousands of Jews still in Europe, Gov. Dewey last night urged unrestricted immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth immediately.

The Governor stated before 21,000 in Madison Square Garden and an overflow crowd estimated at more than 25,000 which heard him through loudspeakers that Jews were entitled to a homeland of their own where they could live as free and equal men and women. That place was Palestine, he said.

Mayor La Guardia said Great Britain should let at least 100,000 Jews enter Palestine immediately, and that the same number should also be allowed to enter this country.

Protest Over White Paper.

The meeting was sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council as a protest against the report that the British White Paper policy as regards Palestine would continue.

Gov. Dewey said that the United States was deeply involved in promises for development of a Jewish homeland, and called for "not pity, not words, but justice by action."

The Mayor called on President Truman and the State Department to insist that Great Britain keep her pledges regarding Palestine, and insisted that immediate action was necessary to solve the problem of the Jews in Europe.

Prewar Delay Condemned.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, addressing the British Prime Minister, asserted that "British bayonets will not bar the way of our survivors."

He said that "because a political decision was delayed in the days before the war 6,000,000 of our people perished during the war."

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the Christian Herald, also spoke.

Reprinted from The Nation, October 20, 1945

Have the Arabs a Case?

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

(For sixteen years a newspaper editor in Palestine; author of "The Middle East, Crossroads of History")

FROM the headquarters of the Arab League in Cairo resolutions, protests, proclamations, and demands are issuing in an almost endless stream. The League is pugnacious, the League is indignant, the League is eloquent; it has something to say about every problem of the Middle East, whether it be Palestine and the Jews, Lebanon and the French, or Tripolitania and the Russians. From farther east, like a distant and invariable echo, sounds the seconding voice of King Ibn Saud, who does not hesitate to threaten the Jews of Palestine, and if need be the entire Western world, with violence should the Palestinian issue be resolved in favor of the Jewish people.

From the new Labor Cabinet in London comes still another echo—the voice of British statesmen and of the British press citing Arab opposition to a Jewish Palestine as the one insurmountable obstacle preventing them from doing the right thing by the Jews. This "Arab argument" has been so thoroughly propagated that even President Truman, speaking of Palestine, finds it necessary to say that he would be unwilling to dispatch an army of 500,000 Americans to the Near East to fight the Arab revolt which might break out if the pledges to the Jewish people are fulfilled.

The idea of a herculean pan-Arabic force in the Middle East ready to rise in a *jihad* is about the most ludicrous politico-military chimera heard of in many years. Two battalions of British troops suppressed the pro-Axis military putsch of the Rashid Ali Bag Gailani government in Iraq in 1941, though it had the backing of the then all-powerful Axis. The ill-armed and ill-trained armies of Egypt and Iraq, the camel riders of Saudi Arabia, and the horsemen of Transjordania, picturesque as they are, would be an ineffective force in these days of mechanized warfare.

Before we drift too far in this misrepresentation of the military strength and unity of purpose of the Arab peoples, it seems pertinent to look closely at Middle Eastern realities and to discover precisely what call these Arab chieftains have on the democracies. Indeed, do the Arabs have a case, and what is it?

As long as the war continued, we knew clearly who was with us and who against us, who fought for civilization and who staked their future on Hitler's victory. Where the Arabs stood was no secret. When the Nazi Wehrmacht rolled across Europe, Arab soldiers in German uniforms with the inscription "Free Arabia" on their sleeves were among the conquering heroes of the Third Reich. Remnants of this Arab Legion now cool their heels in Camp Opelika, Alabama. Special Moslem divisions of the Waffen-S. S. fought the Yugoslav partisans. A red fez decorated with the insignia of a scimitar grasped in a fist flanked by swastikas was worn with their gray-green uniforms.

Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and other Arab leaders appealed in the name of Allah to the Arab Middle East to join hands with Hitler, who was described by them as "the direct descendant of the Prophet." If the risk was too great for an overt alliance they prayed for an Axis victory. Paeans of thanksgiving rose from the mosques of Syria and Palestine when Rommel took North Africa. Not only was there a pro-Axis revolt in Iraq, but Egypt refused to lift a finger in its own defense, even when Rommel's legions invaded Egyptian territory. An Egyptian statesman carrying the plans of the British High Command in his pocket was seized by the British on the very eve of his escape to Rommel's headquarters. Ibn Saud and King Yahya of Yemen sat comfortably on the fence all through the war, waiting to see which way to jump. In Syria and Lebanon the Arabs were so delighted by Axis victories that they chanted happily, "No more mister, no more monsieur, only Allah in heaven, only Hitler on earth."

Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz
Viceroy of the Hejaz and Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia

If all this is forgotten, the Arabs are still providing us with abundant evidence of their political and moral orientation. There was no need to prompt the French, the Norwegians, the Italians, the Yugoslavs to bring their traitors to trial and punishment. But the Arabs are not only unwilling to try the pro-Axis collaborationists in their midst; they are actually demanding that Amin el Husseini himself, who is now held in France as a war criminal—on the demand of the Yugoslav government—be absolved of all blame and released. These demands by the Arab League and other Arab political associations are understandable. In their eyes the Mufti is simply not a traitor. Pétain, Laval, Quisling, Degrelle, Joyce may be branded traitors by their own people, but according to the political and moral standards of Pan-Arabia, Amin el Husseini, once Hitler's official adviser on Arab affairs, is a national hero, whose only mistake was that he backed the losing horse.

Arab social philosophy and the existing forms of Arab society are in harmony with the Nazi-Fascist system rather than with our democratic ideas. For hundreds of years Arabia withstood the civilizing influence of the West. Even when Ataturk performed his miracle of a revolution in Turkey, westernizing that backward land of Islam, his modern ideas never penetrated into the Arab domains. There the reactionary clergy, the polygamist effendi, and the feudal kings, emirs, and sheiks continued to rule supreme over an impov-

erished, illiterate, and disease-ridden populace.

The fabulous oil riches of the Middle East attracted Western capital. Hundreds of millions of dollars were invested in the development of oil fields, in the construction of refineries and pipe lines, and in royalties to the various Arab governments. Did this flow of capital into Arabia benefit the masses of the people—raise living standards or improve social conditions?

Iraq provides the answer. Unlike the concessions in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which are still in their infancy, the Iraq concession, granted twenty years ago to British-American-French-Dutch interests, has been in operation for many years. About $85,000,000 was paid to the Iraqi government in oil royalties, gratuities, educational grants, and non-interest-bearing loans. This may not impress Americans as a large sum, but for a country of Iraq's size and population (3,500,000 inhabitants), and of Iraq's poverty, it is tremendous. Where did this money go? It disappeared into the pockets of the ruling clique, leaving no beneficial effects on either state expenditure or the living conditions of the masses. Here is how an Arab newspaper in Bagdad, the *Saut-el-ahali* (the *Voice of the People*), described life in Iraq in 1944:

> It is clear that 90 per cent of the entire population of Iraq live on a subhuman level. They are condemned to a life of starvation and exposed to the ravages of epidemics without benefit of any medical assistance. And these intolerable, primitive conditions exist in the twentieth century among our own Iraqi people, who sweat and toil to make the soil yield riches which are then entirely consumed by others. . . . The government has done nothing either to mitigate the distress or to combat its causes.

Elaborating the subject, the paper divided the population of Iraq into four groups: (1) 2 per cent of the population, who control the entire wealth of the nation and its means of production; (2) 8 per cent, who form a poor middle class and hardly earn a living; (3) 75 per cent, who are chronically undernourished, live in appalling conditions, and are easy prey to every kind of sickness; (4) 15 per cent, who are completely destitute. The death rate in Iraq is high and the birth rate is low, resulting in a natural increase of no more than five per thousand. At least two million persons —more than 50 per cent of the population—are infected with malaria, and there is a high incidence of tuberculosis Ninety per cent of the people are still illiterate.

The Iraqi government could have achieved much for its people at home, but instead it fought the Jews in Palestine and the French in Syria, promoted Pan-Arabism in Cairo, and made grandstand plays in San Francisco and Washington. And Iraq is not unique: its description applies to every Arab land in the Middle East. The last remnants of a feudal society in the world fight bitterly against any democratic or civilizing innovation. Yet in our desire to woo the Arab kings we have showered on them every kind of favor, political and material. They were admitted on the bandwagon of the United Nations when the war was virtually over. Lend-lease was supplied to them, together with military missions to train their desert armies in modern warfare. Today pan-Arabic aspirations are bolstered by both the British and the American government. President Truman even went so far—on whose advice, one wonders—as to present Prince Abdul Ilah, the Regent of Iraq, with the medal of the Legion of Merit for his services during the war.

History sadly repeats itself. After the last war it was principally Great Britain which encouraged the pan-Arabic aspirations of King Hussein of Hejaz. Not that Britain believed in the possibility of any comprehensive unity in Arabia; on the contrary, every British expert on Arab affairs said that unity in Arabia was a phantom. Lawrence of Arabia wrote, "When people talk of Arab confederations or empires, they talk fantastically." Gertrude Bell denied the very existence of an Arab nation. As recently as September 26, 1945, a special correspondent of the London *Times* in the Middle East reported: "The difference in political, religious, and economic structure between, say, the Lebanon and Saudi Arabia is much more pronounced than between, say, Germany and France. Tribal, religious, and dynastic antagonisms are more embittered and fanatical in the Oriental than in the European world, and so far the Arab League has been more occupied with traditional eloquence than with the elaboration of constructive programs." And, "Just now the main, if not the only unifying force in the League is an ingrained and traditional xenophobia, directed, according to circumstances, against the French, the British, or the Jews."

The British encouraged King Hussein in his dreams of grandeur because they wanted above all to assure their complete domination over the Middle East, so vitally important to the maintenance of the Empire. Since then, dynastic changes have occurred in the Arab domains. King Hussein lost his kingdom to Ibn Saud and died in exile, a broken and disillusioned man. New chieftains have risen to power. But no social or economic changes of consequence have taken place. Indeed, the Arab-Jewish conflict is no less social than nationalistic in its nature. Numerous signs of an Arab-Jewish rapprochement were noted in the past. This, however, is what the reactionary effendis fear most, for they are bent on preserving their vested interests. The Mufti's clique killed numerous Arabs whose only sin was that they regarded sympathetically the social-economic progress brought to Palestine by Jewish-Zionist enterprise. Arabia remains as closed as ever to the march of civilization.

All this makes it clear that the Arabs have no case. Neither their attitude during the war nor the form of society they represent can possibly appeal to Labor Britain or democratic America. Yet the improbable and illogical seems to be happening. The rulers of Both Britain and the United States seem to be so determined on a pro-Arab orientation in the Middle East that they would rather bear the odium of betraying the Jewish people and of backing reactionary Moslem potentates at this decisive stage in shaping the future world than risk the displeasure of the Arab cliques. What is behind it all?

The usual answer is oil. By now everyone is aware of its unparalleled abundance in the Middle East. But if oil is an important factor in the "Arab case," there is much more to it than that. The Jewish-Arab controversy in Palestine cuts across the most vital issues of world strategy. The major political, economic, and strategic plans of the British-American alliance on the one hand and of Soviet Russia on the other are part and parcel of it. Once again the Middle East, which has figured so prominently in every world conflagration, becomes the bone of contention in the great powers' jockeying for positions and influence.

Reprinted from The Nation, October 27, 1945

Palestine and Grand Strategy

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

THE real reason for Great Britain's illogical and unjust Palestine policy is not the threat of pan-Arabic resistance to the development of a Zionist state but considerations of grand strategy. Soviet Russia's expansionist tendencies in the Middle East are the major factor in the shaping of both British and American Middle Eastern policy. The foreign offices of the Western democracies have no fear of Pan-Arabia, but they do fear a Soviet-Arabian rapprochement. Is the threat of an alliance between the Soviets and the Arabian effendi real, or is it just another bogy?

One of the most damaging mistakes of Jewish leaders has been their tendency to present the Palestine problem solely as a quarrel between Jews and Arabs. Nothing could be farther from the mark. There is scarcely an issue of major importance to the great powers in which Palestine does not figure, whether it be the future of world communications, trade expansion, sea power versus land power, the balance of power between East and West, or the destiny of the British Empire. The present British Cabinet, like its predecessors, measures the situation with one question in mind: in the world of today, with its swiftly changing conditions and its completely altered balance of power, what policy will best assure British control of the Middle East? Only a Cabinet prepared to liquidate the Empire and transform Britain into a third-rate power could approach Middle Eastern problems with any other yardstick.

The crucial strategic-geographic importance of the Middle East to a maritime and trading empire like Great Britain is of course axiomatic. What seems to escape notice is Palestine's special position in the picture. More than any other land little Palestine constitutes a link between the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. It has a long coastline on the eastern Mediterranean. It lies on the northern bank of the Suez Canal. It is the natural outlet for the oil of Arabia. Loss of Palestine would be a deadly blow to Britain.

Washington, as well as London, is acutely aware of these geo-political realities. This country has only lately acquired a world outlook, but it has already come to realize that it cannot afford to neglect the Middle East. It has a very lively interest in Middle Eastern oil, and this interest means that it needs air and naval bases in the region. In the event of war formal ownership of Arabian oil would be of little avail; the important thing would be its accessibility. To operate concessions in peace and to maintain their accessibility in war, the United States must have outposts of military power on the scene. They are the prize America hopes to obtain through its close alliance with Britain.

The American University in Beirut, the colleges in Cairo and Istanbul, the American missions, numerous archaeological expeditions, and various trading and mining enterprises bear witness to America's long-standing interest in the Middle East. However, through the years, America has been a guest there, and not always a welcome one. Now, for the first time, Great Britain regards the United States as a desirable partner. It would be naive to think that American oil companies acquired concessions in Arabia against the will of Great Britain, which is, after all, supreme there. Nor was Britain's compliance an act of altruism. At a time when Soviet Russia's ambitions in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf have become unmistakably clear, Britain wants the United States to share the political and military responsibility for one of the most troublesome spots on the earth. If John Bull must sooner or later encounter the Russian bear in the Arabian desert, he prefers not to have it a tête-à-tête.

Every effort made by Great Britain and the United States to form a counterbalance in Europe against the excessive might of Russia has failed. Both Western countries have been forced to acknowledge Soviet supremacy on the Continent. A desperate Britain has therefore fallen back on the old formula of sea power versus land power, with air power viewed as an appendix of sea power. This is the true basis of the British-American alliance—to keep the Russian colossus within the boundaries of a land-locked empire. In this strategy the Middle East assumes new importance, for the future balance of power will be determined at the Straits, in the eastern Mediterranean, and in the Persian Gulf.

The Jewish-Arab Palestine controversy must be examined in this perspective. British love for the Arabs or dislike of the Jews does not enter into the question. The British know precisely where they stand so far as the Arabs are concerned. They can permit the Arabs their delusions of grandeur. No harm is done. The British know that no such thing as a united Arabia exists or is likely to arise, and that the petty kings and sheiks can be managed or bought in the future as they have been in the past.

But the United States, new at this game of colonial imperialism, apparently takes what it sees and hears at face value. Emissaries of American oil companies, naive young men from the War Department and the OWI, even State Department officials have been bluffed by the shrewd Moslem potentates. They have returned from their missions to the Middle East with alarming reports of a probable Soviet-Arab alliance through which Russia would emerge dominant in the entire area. The only way to ward off this catastrophe, they report, is to forget the pledges to the Jewish people and the demands of justice and to placate the Arabs.

King Ibn Saud and other Arab politicians must have smiled in their beards when they sold this bill of goods to the Americans. If the Arab rulers have any say in the matter, the Soviets will not penetrate far into the Middle East. They may not be learned gentlemen, but they do know that where Soviet Russia enters, political reaction and social-economic backwardness go out. There is nothing the Arab barons dread more than Soviet influence in their domains.

At the same time they dislike Great Britain, with its insistence on military and political control behind the façade of native independence, and they are also eager to get rid of French domination. The United States thus emerges as a

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NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1945

Welles Says British Should Give Palestine Mandate to U. N. O.

Trusteeship Council Would Then Bring Arab and Jewish Leaders Together to Agree on Solution Worked Out, and To Be Enforced, by the U. N. O.

By Sumner Welles
Former Under Secretary of State

The government of the United States is officially committed to the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Both major parties have in their most recent platforms indorsed this policy.

An independent Jewish commonwealth of Palestine represents to many millions of people throughout the world the symbol of their passionate conviction. The failure to provide assurance that this ideal is going to be realized will result in dangerously increased tension in an already gravely troubled world.

Unfortunately, this government is as yet giving no sign that it is pursuing any clear and consistent policy whch will facilitate the achievement of the objective to which it is pledged.

The President is urging the British government to permit the immediate immigration into Palestine of 100,000 of the homeless and destitute Jews in Europe who are unwilling or unable to return to their former homes.

The rescue and resettlement of these pitiful survivors is a moral obligation which rests upon all free peoples. The President's humanitarian desire is altogether praiseworthy.

U. S. Responsibility

But so long as this government continues to refuse to assume any responsibility for the security of the people of Palestine can his suggestion be regarded as constructive? For the British government strongly maintains that an Arab uprising will take place if any large-scale immigration into Palestine is now permitted. British military and material resources have reached a low ebb. Vital British interests are involved.

Is Great Britain to be expected alone to, keep the peace in the Near East if hostilities break out as the result of a step against which she has repeatedly warned?

Are the true interests of the Jewish people going to be advanced by an insistence upon measures which threaten discord between the Anglo-Saxon powers?

President Roosevelt never believed that the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine was in any sense "hostile" to the Arab peoples. On the contrary, he believed that such a solution would prove beneficial to both Jews and Arabs. Moreover, he was confident that the surest way of finding a just and permanent solution of the problem of Palestine was through negotiations in which both Jews and Arabs would be fully heard. Some of the ablest leaders of Zionism have also held that the best hope of success lay in negotiations in which Jewish and Arab leaders would take part.

Antagonisms Growing

If the present floundering continues, the hope of a peaceful solution will become increasingly remote. The antagonism of the Arab leaders is daily becoming more envenomed. As the Arab states become increasingly aroused the position of some Jewish groups is becoming correspondingly extreme.

Certain facts seem by now to be plain.

The commonwealth of Palestine is not going to be established through any unilateral armed imposition on the part of the British government.

It will not be created as a result of mere protestations of sympathy on the part of the United States.

The commonwealth will only come into being when the United Nations Organization decides, as it must, that the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine is essential to world peace and to world stability. Unless the International Trusteeship Council to be set up by the United Nations Organization is charged with the obligation of carrying out such a decision, the commonwealth of Palestine will continue to be an ideal and not a reality. Only the United Nations Organization itself, representing the concerted determination of the free peoples of the world, will possess the necessary authority to achieve a final solution of the Palestine problem.

The British government should, under Article 77 of the United Nations Charter, transfer its mandate over Palestine to the International Trusteeship Council as soon as the Council is established. Until then, if large-scale immigration into Palestine is to be permitted, the United States should share in the task of keeping the peace in that area.

From the moment the Council assumes jurisdiction the United Nations Organization should make available whatever armed force may be required to give assurance of security to all inhabitants of Palestine.

The Council should thereupon summon representative Jewish and Arab leaders for consultation as to the most desirable solution.

Should it prove impossible for the International Trusteeship Council, after full consultation with both Jewish and Arab leaders, to obtain their agreement to whatever solution it considers most equitable and desirable, the United Nations Organization should nevertheless decree that its decision be carried out.

Once this step has been taken the International Trusteeship Council should set up a broadly representative provisional government in Palestine and intrust it with all necessary authority until such time as free elections can be held and an independent and democratic government can commence to function.

Danger of Near East Outbreak

As soon as the Council is intrusted with a trusteeship over Palestine, unrestricted immigration should be permitted. Immigration should thereafter be interrupted only if the International Trusteeship Council, or the future government of Palestine, decides that such restriction is temporarily required for economic reasons. Such authoritative surveys as Dr. Lowdermilk's admirable report prove that immigration can be greatly increased over the year if an intensive program of irrigation and of power development is undertaken.

Unless the United Nations Organization immediately assumes the responsibility for finding a solution, the danger of an outbreak in the Near East is very real. Unless all of the major powers share in the responsibility for the settlement to be reached, the whole of the Near East will become a fertile field for power politics.

No people in the history of mankind have suffered more grievously than the Jewish people. If a free and peaceful world is within our grasp, they must receive something better than illusory promises—something more tangible than hollow assurances of sympathy.

The declaration issued by the World Zionist Conference at London in August of this year is poignantly true: "Any delay in the solution of the problem, any attempt at half measures, any decision which, however favorable, remains on paper and is not faithfully and speedily implemented, will not meet the tragedy of the hour and will only increase suffering among Jews and tension in Palestine."

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NEW YORK POST, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1945

Mowrer On World Affairs

Oil for 2 Companies —And Death for Jews

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Oil, imperialism and Arabs have just won a new victory over justice and Jews—with President Truman's consent.

Arab feudalists will gloat, European Jews will die, other Jews will protest.

Who cares? Not the British rulers who engineered the Jewish defeat. Jews have next-to-no political influence in Britain.

Perhaps the American President? Before next November he will have plenty of time to shed a tear and express his "deep concern" over the unfortunate demise of those European Jews whom it is, alas, too late to save. Not the American politicos who for twenty-five years have uninterruptedly duped the American Jews with their double-talk. Meanwhile the American State Dept. can (possibly) save King Ibn Saud's tottering throne by further "subsidies" (your money and mine!) And the faces of decent men and women can grow deeper red with shame.

The "Irresistible" Case

Less than six months ago, the British Labor Party (leaders: Attlee, Bevin and Morrison) passed a resolution:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority . . . There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe."

Irresistible case, what? So irresistible that now, when winter is upon them and the remnant of European Jews are dying, Britain and America are going to set up a useless Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to "make recommendations" that will "be of immense help in arriving at a solution of the Palestine problem some months from now—maybe.

Led Into Betrayal

Who says this? Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, one of the British Labor Party leaders who less than six months ago found the Jewish case "irresistible." The same great humanitarian who recently harangued the House of Commons over the plight of the "poor Germans." Well, a famous Englishman once boasted that Britain has "no permanent enemies, merely permanent interests." Obviously it has no permanent principles. Yet I must confess, I thought Ernie Bevin was different.

President Truman has been led into a betrayal. In January, 1919, the American Delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference recommended:

"1. That there be established a separate state of Palestine; . . . 3. that the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there . . . being assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact."

Less than two months later President Wilson declared:

"I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

This was the American policy. Since then, every American President up to Truman and both political parties have regularly voiced their belief that Palestine should be given to the Jews.

Does President Truman know this? Can he ignore that in accepting the Bevin plan for an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, while Jews are dying, he is embracing the infamous British White Paper of 1931? Does he not realize that this is another British stall to gain time and perhaps to foment more Arab "riots" (at so much a "rioter"?) designed to convince Americans that a Jewish Palestine would mean wholesale bloodshed?

Is the President willing to be the dupe of two oil companies?

Mr. Truman dislikes diplomats in striped pants. There are no more fatuous "striped pants" in the American foreign service than George Wadsworth and S. Pinckney Tuck, our diplomatic representatives in Beirut and Cairo.

Are these men—is the State Dept.—telling the President the full story? Does President Truman know that, according to Abd-el Rahman Azzam, Egyptian Minister of Arabian Affairs, British anti-Semitism in Palestine hides an attempt to eliminate American and Soviet influence from the Middle East? Or that British intelligence chief in Cairo, Brigadier General Clayton, urged London (Oct. 15, 1945) to secure the return to Jerusalem of the arch-traitor, the Grand Mufti? Has the President read the Mufti's letter to Adolf Hitler (July 4, 1942) promising his "Fuehrer" that the Arab peoples would "continue to fight" on his side?

Now, if ever, is the time for the American people to speak up and tell their President that we refuse to be involved in this shameful betrayal.

(Press Alliance, Inc.)

Reprinted from The Nation, November 24, 1945

British Policy Breaks Down

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS inevitable that Zionists, commenting on Mr. Bevin's Palestine statement, should make what capital they can out of the broken pledges of the British Government throughout the past twenty-five years and of the Labor Party within the past five months. For both are sensational and provide effective moral ammunition. But in the end the Zionist case will stand or fall on more realistic grounds. As long as British foreign policy is based on a determination to preserve the Empire, Palestine will continue to be treated, not as a moral issue, but as a piece in the whole imperial design.

The hope that animated most of us when British Labor took power was quickly extinguished. We did not suppose that the Attlee government would abandon the Empire. But we dreamed briefly of a new policy which would seek for security not through the old by-ways of intrigue and appeasement but along the high road of international cooperation. The San Francisco conference, under British pressure, had made a farce of the trusteeship idea. But the idea was sound and Labor, taking office two months later and faced with urgent post-war problems of colonial readjustment, had a chance to tackle the issue freshly. It could have called a conference of the leading colonial powers, together with Russia and the United States, and undertaken a realistic appraisal of the situation in those parts of the globe where imperial interests clash with one another and with the rights of the people who live there. The chance was lost. The Labor Government chose to continue the old methods, and today we see the results in Palestine—and in Surabaya.

Let no one be confused by the apparent contradiction involved in shooting down Javanese nationalists and supporting Arab nationalists. There is no contradiction; both are expressions of a single strategy: to suppress those elements which threaten the dominance of the ruling groups to whom the Colonial Office looks for cooperation in maintaining British control. The Arab League was not created as an instrument of Arab nationalism; it was invented—and subvented—by Britain to serve British purposes in the Middle East during the war. If the League and Arab political leaders generally are developing ideas of grandeur it is because they have learned that blackmail pays, especially when it is dressed up in high-sounding sentiments. Britain is hedging on its promises to the Jews not because it has been converted to Arab views on Arab rights in Palestine, but because Arab leaders have promised to make trouble if those promises are kept; and Britain wants to avoid new trouble in an area as important and unstable as the Middle East. It is true that the Jews are also beginning to show signs of anger; riots have been suppressed in Tel Aviv and tension is growing. Faced with growing disillusionment, responsible Jewish leaders may be unable to check violence, and the power of the extremist minority is likely to increase. But by and large the Jews are not a major menace: their loyalty, their patience their civilized procedures, and their basic dependence on British power all tend to weaken their strategic position.

The British are afraid of the Arabs, and with reason. The League is no longer a source of security. It is openly planning the expulsion of British influence and control from the whole Middle East, as it has successfully expelled French influence and control (with the aid of British arms!) from the Levant states. Faced with this threat, what can the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office do but continue to stall and betray their promises and try more and bigger appeasement? The alternative would be a new approach to the whole problem of Empire defense.

Mr. Bevin's Palestine proposal is proof that the Labor Government is not ready for that. The Committee of Inquiry is little more than a new wrinkle in an old policy. This is not the first time necessary action has been delayed by the launching of an investigation; the device is as old as governments. The new feature introduced by Mr. Bevin is the participation of the United States—and it is an important innovation. For it insures powerful support for conclusions which, ironically, were largely anticipated by the Foreign Secretary in his statement announcing the committee. By accepting the plan on British terms, Mr. Truman has, we fear, walked into a trap, as the Zionists charge.

He can only retrieve the situation and live up to his own and his country's pledges by altering as completely as possible the frame of reference in which the Committee of Inquiry is to operate. He should insist upon his original proposal that 100,000 homeless European Jews be transferred to Palestine. The British turned down the request, but that was before the committee had been agreed upon. They would find it difficult to refuse if Mr. Truman backed his proposal with firm guaranties of American help in handling the transfer and insuring the safety of the refugees. In any case, it is cruel nonsense to leave the Jews in German camps while new investigations are undertaken. We already have the careful reports of Dean Harrison and Judge Rivkind to verify the known fact that most of these persons look to Palestine as the only hope of survival for themselves and their children.

The President should also make sure that the inquiry into the problem of Palestine is unhampered by Mr. Bevin's ready-made prejudgments. If the United States is to accept responsibility for helping to solve that problem it must not go in with its hands tied. The only obligation it can afford to assume is the obligation to see to it that the terms of the Balfour Declaration, as elaborated in the British Mandate, and officially recognized by acts of Congress in 1922 and 1925, is duly carried out. In other words, the establishment of a Jewish National Home and the encouragement of Jewish immigration should be assumed, as a starting point. From there on, the inquiry should take the form of a brand-new examination of the place of Palestine in the intricate design of Middle Eastern relationships. It should consider, without prejudice, what kind of control can best be applied in a region where the interests of great powers, strategic and material, make external control of some sort inevitable. In view of America's own growing interests in the Middle East and its new international obligations, such an inquiry should be pursued without too much regard for existing colonial practices. We have an opportunity to do what Britain, tied to its burdensome past, has failed to do; we can make a new start.

Obviously British policy has broken down, whether the Labor Government will admit it or not. The old tactic of buying protection from greedy ruling cliques has sensationally failed. Perhaps the Middle East as a whole should be put under international control; perhaps the Levant states and Palestine might be joined in a federation under United Nations trusteeship. Perhaps a different solution altogether would emerge from a fresh study of the problem. But it is certain that the results of imperialist intrigue—now bloodily visible in Palestine—can be eliminated only if the powers are able to cooperate in new methods of regulation which will provide security for their legitimate interests and at the same time encourage the frail beginning of social progress, popular enlightenment, and self-government.

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1945

A Word of Caution from PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN

"I am very happy indeed to hear that the platform for which the American Council for Judaism stands is meeting with militant opposition. This organization appears to me to be nothing more than a pitiable attempt to obtain favor and toleration from our enemies by betraying true Jewish ideals and mimicking those who claim to stand for 100% Americanism. I believe this method to be both undignified and ineffective. Our opponents are bound to view it with disdain and even with contempt, and in my opinion they will be justified. He who is untrue to his own cause cannot command the respect of others. Apart from these considerations, the movement in question is a fairly exact copy of the Zentralverein Deutscher Staatsburger Juedischen Glaubens (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith) of unhappy memory, which in the days of our crucial need showed itself utterly impotent and corroded the Jewish group by undermining that inner certitude by which our Jewish people could have overcome the trials of this difficult age."

DO NOT BE FOOLED by the statements of the few aloof, high-placed Jews who comprise the "American Council for Judaism."

Lessing J. Rosenwald, that organization's founder and President, was the only Jewish member of the national committee of the American First Committee.

He stands for isolationism in Jewish life as he stood for isolationism in American life generally.

The ELMO ROPER ORGANIZATION *has just completed an impartial survey revealing that "OUT OF EVERY TEN AMERICAN JEWS EIGHT ARE IN FAVOR OF A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE,* ONE IN TEN IS OPPOSED AND ONE IN TEN IS UNDECIDED."

WE ARE PROUDLY AMERICAN. WE ARE ALSO PROUDLY JEWISH. THERE IS NO INCOMPATIBILITY.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

ZIONISTS SEE DOUBLE CROSS ON PALESTINE

Angry at Truman for His Reversal of Stand on Free Immigration.

THREATEN VOTE REPRISALS

Jewish Leaders Cite Long List of Broken Promises Topped by City Election Here.

By PHELPS ADAMS.

Special to THE NEW YORK SUN.
The New York Sun Bureau,
Washington, Nov. 30.

Threats of political reprisal against Democratic nominees in the forthcoming congressional elections were voiced here today by Zionist leaders who charged that both President Roosevelt and President Truman had "double-crossed" the Jews at every turn and had left behind them a long succession of unfulfilled political promises extended as election bait.

These angry outbursts followed closely on the heels of President Truman's declaration at his press conference yesterday that he no longer favored the pending Wagner-Taft-Walsh resolution committing the American Government to the support of Zionist demands for unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine and the ultimate establishment there of a Jewish Commonwealth.

In response to questions asked at the press conference, President Truman declared that as Vice-President he had supported the Palestine resolution, but added that he now opposed it, explaining that the United States and Great Britain had agreed to the appointment of a Joint Committee of Investigation to inquire into the whole question, and that there would be no use in holding such an investigation if the United States were to commit itself, through passage of the resolution now pending in a Senate committee, to a policy of unlimited Jewish immigration in Palestine with a view to the eventual establishment there of a Jewish state.

Zionists here were quick to charge that they had been double-crossed once again and to cite a long chain of broken Democratic pledges, beginning with the plank in the Democratic platform of 1944 and the campaign letter written by Roosevelt to Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York.

Cite Election Tables.

They cited, moreover, statistical tables, which they had prepared, showing that the Jewish vote had importantly influenced the outcome of the last presidential election in eleven states having a total electoral vote of 207, and that without these states, Roosevelt would not have won a fourth term.

They declared that in that election the Jews, as a community, had followed the Democratic leadership like sheep—as one of York Sun today—and warned that if this same body of electors now switched its position, Senator James M. Mead of New York and Senator Joseph Guffey of Pennsylvania would unquestionably be defeated next year.

Indications of an organized attempt at political reprisal were available here today in the form of a confidential memorandum which has been prepared by two outstanding Zionists in Washington for the information of and at the request of leaders of the World Zionist movement in New York.

The memorandum traces the record of duplicity of the Roosevelt administration and of the Democratic party from the time the Palestine resolution was first brought up for action in committees of the House of Representatives last year.

Summary of the Record.

That record may be summarized as follows:

In July of last year after the Republican National Convention had adopted a platform containing a strongly pro-Zionist declaration, the Democratic National Convention included in its own platform a plank reading:

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

On October 15 in a letter to Wagner at the annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Roosevelt personally indorsed this plank unqualifiedly and added:

"I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim, and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

On November 30 the House Foreign Affairs Committee favorably reported the Palestine resolution which then went to the Rules Committee for clearance to the floor for action.

Early in December the Rules Committee met to act on the measure which was strongly favored by an overwhelming majority of the committee membership. The committee, however, failed to report it out, and Chairman Adolph Sabath—an unfailing administration supporter—later confessed that the measure had been sidetracked at the request of Edward R. Stettinius Jr., speaking for the State Department.

Pledged No Decision.

Immediately following his fourth-term inauguration Roosevelt left for the Yalta conference and in the course of his journey he conferred at length with King Ibn Saud. It is now known that in this conference he secretly pledged that no decision would be taken "with respect to the basic condition in Palestine" without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews, and that he would take no action "which might prove hostile to the Arab people." This commitment, if faithfully observed, would prevent the United States Government from encouraging the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine at any time.

Last month—just before the New York mayoralty election, in which the national Democratic administration had a profound and direct interest—the text of Roosevelt's letter to Ibn Saud, confirming the pledges he had made, was made public and Zionists everywhere were outraged. At the same time Senators Wagner, Taft and Walsh desired to reintroduce their Palestine resolution in Congress.

The memorandum avers that on October 28—one month ago—the three Senators introduced their resolution after winning the consent and approval both of President Truman and of Secretary of State Byrnes.

Despite the fact that arrangements were then being made for the appointment of the Joint Committee of Investigation on the Palestine question, both the President and the Secretary of State assured the authors of the resolution that they would not oppose either its introduction or its passage.

Told Wagner to Go Ahead.

On October 26 Wagner made a final check with Byrnes on the resolution, telling him he wanted to introduce it immediately. Byrnes, according to the memorandum, replied:

"I see no objection. It is O. K. Go ahead. It might help."

The resolution was thereupon introduced and referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where its progress was immediately hampered by Chairman Tom Connally, Texas Democrat, who defends and champions administration policy at all times.

Indicative of the bitterness now prevailing in Zionist circles toward the Truman administration is the concluding paragraph of the memorandum, which reads:

"Politicians point out that the moral of the story is quite different: the mayoralty election in New York city is over and there is no need for the moment to pay attention to the claims of the Jews. It is true that another election is coming in November, 1946, but—the politicians say with a smile—there will be plenty of time before then to make another promise to the Jews."

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Address of Senator Owen Brewster of Maine

BRITISH MILITARY POLICY IN PALESTINE

(During the delivery of Mr. DONNELL's speech:)

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for the purpose of introducing something into the RECORD and making a brief statement with relation thereto?

Mr. DONNELL. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I ask permission to make certain insertions in the RECORD, and in connection therewith to make a statement dealing with the subject of Palestine, which is now a matter of large concern. I visited Palestine 2 years ago as a member of the senatorial committee, and also discussed the matter in London. During the past summer I saw the conditions in Europe which are bringing about such earnest consideration of Palestinian problems.

If in this brief statement there seems to be something which indicates that I am indulging in the American pastime of twisting the British Lion's tail, let me say only that my comments upon British policy can be supported by citations of such eminent authority as Winston Churchill and Hon. Herbert Morrison, the present leader of the House of Commons under the Labor government, who have used very much more caustic phraseology than I do in characterizing the obtuseness of the British Colonial and Foreign Office in dealing with the situation in Palestine, an obtuseness which seems to be somewhat contagious so far as our own State Department is concerned. I trust that a clarification of public thinking on this matter by more complete reports may conduce to a solution which will not only solve the very pressing problem of Palestine, but, as I conceive it, serve the long-range interests of American foreign policy as well.

It is well known that about 50,000 British troops have been concentrated recently in Palestine. The impression which British official circles are trying to create is that the only reason for the presence of these troops is the fear of Arab or Jewish disorders in the country. It is proper, therefore, to point out that the British Government has been concerned about a place which could be used

as a British military base in the Middle East. The Egyptians have come to resent bitterly the continued presence of British garrisons, and the British Government has realized for some time that in all probability it will be obliged to remove its troops from Egypt. An attempt was made to develop Syria as an alternative British military base, and British Government circles hoped that with the elimination of France from Syria, the local government would enter into a special treaty with Great Britain permitting the use of that country as a British military base. The British hopes in this respect seem to have been not justified. After getting rid of the French with British assistance, the Syrians and Lebanese turned around—with possibly some discreet diplomatic assistance from the United States—and made it plain that they did not wish to give Britain any privileged status in their countries.

In the circumstances, the British Government has apparently decided that Palestine is the only country on the east coast of the Mediterranean where they would be able to maintain in permanence large military forces. This they perhaps consider essential to their military interests, as was indicated by Hon. Herbert Morrison in the British House of Commons some years ago in discussing the very problem of Palestine, and as was indicated by Winston Churchill when he, too, was a critic of that government—perhaps as essential as we consider bases in the Pacific, if not more so. As a result, about 50,000 troops have been concentrated in Palestine, largely from Syria and Egypt.

It may be a matter of relative indifference to the Jews whether Britain wishes to use its special position in Palestine in order to station there a large number of British troops for imperial reasons. But what is most unfortunate is the apparent attempt of the British to mislead public opinion, both in Great Britain and in this country, as to their reasons for having those troops in Palestine, and to put on the Jews the blame for a purely, or primarily, imperial policy. By now, the families of British soldiers stationed in Palestine have been led to believe that the Zionist issue is what prevents their sons and brothers from being demobilized and returned to their homes. They have been led to believe that the presence of British troops in Palestine is necessary either in order to defend the Jews from Arab onslaughts, or in order to prevent illegal activities and violence on the part of the Jews, and that therefore it is the Jews who stand in the way of the reunion of English soldiers with their families. The situation has led to a great deal of resentment on the part of the English public, and is bound to lead to greater resentment and to an increase of anti-Semitism.

Herbert Morrison in the House of Commons, before he was its leader, stated that negligible numbers of troops would be required in order to preserve order in Palestine, at a time when there was as much ground for concern as exists at the present time. In private conversations with many, there has been an intimation by British officials that the main reason why the British cannot agree to the opening of Palestine to the Jews, or even to the admission of the 100,000 refugees requested by President Truman, is that such a policy would lead to large-scale Arab attacks against Jews, which would have to be repelled by British troops, at the cost of lives. This argument is especially used by British propagandists in this country, who add that if the United States urges Great Britain to embark on this course the United States must share the risk by sending large numbers of American troops to Palestine.

As I have already indicated, both Winston Churchill and Herbert Morrison have indicated that the fear of widespread Arab violence over Palestine is absolutely imaginary; but assuming for a moment that such a danger exists, it is proper to point out that a logical solution might be the stationing of neither British nor American troops in Palestine, but the recall to Palestine of more than 30,000 Palestinian Jews who are now serving in various formations of the British Army outside their country. If any soldiers should risk their lives because of a policy of which Jews would be the direct beneficiaries, it is grossly unfair that British or American soldiers should be asked to bear these risks. It is only fair that the Jewish soldiers from Palestine should do so. Such a solution was, in fact, suggested by Herbert Morrison himself in discussion in the British House of Commons. The British Government, however, has refused to return to Palestine these Jewish formations. It seems evident that the argument of widespread Arab violence is not believed by the British Government, but is merely being used as an excuse for not undertaking a course which they do not wish to undertake as a matter of policy.

Another interesting point may be made. While British representatives in London and in Washington spread the impression, through newspaper articles and otherwise, that they are anxious to have American soldiers participate in the occupation of Palestine, and even create the impression that the American Government has been asked to participate but has refused, there is what is apparently reliable information to the effect that no such request, either formal or informal, has been made by an official British representative of any official American representative. On the contrary, fully aware that sharing the responsibility for a territory means sharing control and authority over the territory, the British Government has carefully refrained from making any such suggestion to the Government of the United States, rumors and newspaper reports emanating from British sources to the contrary notwithstanding. Thus the British are able to saddle the American Government with the seeming responsibility for failing to cooperate with the British Government, whereas in fact the British Government has no desire whatsoever to seek or welcome such cooperation.

The joint Anglo-American Commission is intended apparently, to saddle the United States with a share in the moral responsibility for a British policy in Palestine, but there is no desire to allow the United States an effective voice in deciding Palestine's future. It is understood that there is a desire or aim on the part of Great Britain to obtain from the United Nations Organization a trusteeship over Palestine and to have it declare Palestine a British security zone under the United Nations Charter. If such an arrangement were to come about, Great Britain would be as free, if not more free, to pursue its own policies in Palestine as it was in its capacity as a Mandatory of the League of Nations. The power which Great Britain exercises in Palestine at the present time derives in no way from the Balfour declaration, but simply and solely from the mandate given to it by the League of Nations and by the treaty made with the United States Government, under which Britain obligated herself to carry out the specific provisions of the Balfour declaration. Certainly the trusteeship or the mandatory or the treaty of the United States can not be modified by any authority less than that which bestowed the obligation or authority. The obligations of Great Britain and the United States to carry out the terms of the agreement can not be modified by the President of the United States or by any other authority less than that which created the obligations, which was the action of the United States Government, through its constitutional authorities, the President, the Senate, and, as a matter of fact, in that instance the whole Congress of the United States.

Meanwhile there are serious reports which it seems to me should be most informative to the American people and to the Congress of the United States at this time as it is considering the resolution regarding Palestine. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, three or four press reports which, so far as I know, have not been widely brought to the attention of the American people. They emanate from apparently reliable sources, and they refer to conditions prevailing in both Palestine and Tripoli, where recent Jewish riots have created increasing concern.

There being no objection, the press reports were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT FROM TRIPOLI

Seemingly reliable information from Tripoli, by way of Egypt, indicates that the British commanding officer in Tripoli, Brigadier General Temple, and his deputy, Colonel Merter, played the strangest possible part during the recent Tripoli disorders, a part which makes it impossible to absolve the British authorities from serious responsibility in connection with these disorders.

Until recently, Arabs in Tripoli did not dare do harm to Jews. Even under some of the worst days of Axis domination in north Africa, when German forces were in control of the situation, the Arab population was aware of the serious view which the authorities would have taken of any mob violence against the non-Moslem parts of the population. Accordingly, Jews and various European groups were left unmolested.

Any desire that may have existed among certain elements of the Arabs as an aftermath of the Nazi occupation to molest the Jews was rapidly dispelled by the arrival of British forces, among whom Jewish formations from Palestine were very noticeable. The Arabs gained the impression that the Jews were respected allies of the British, and this was sufficient to nip in the bud any temptation to engage in anti-Jewish activities.

Apparently recently, however, various Arab elements in Tripoli gained the impression, through their frequent contacts with General Temple, Colonel Merter, and other British officers in Tripoli, that, with the cessation of hostilities in Europe, the alliance between the British and the Jews was over; that the British no longer needed the cooperation of Jewish manpower from Palestine; and that, therefore, the British were no longer interested in the treatment of Jews in Tripoli.

As a result of this impression, coupled with agitation by emissaries of the Pan-Arab League, whose identity and presence in Tripoli were well-known to British authorities, a pogrom was organized in the Jewish quarters in Tripoli on Sunday, November 4. The organizers of the pogrom spread the word that the British authorities would not interfere. Indeed, the Jewish quarter in Tripoli was attacked and 40 Jews were murdered on that day. And the military authorities did not interfere. No curfew was declared in the city, and no exceptional measures were taken either to arrest the known ring leaders or to prevent the recurrence of disturbances.

This attitude of the British authorities was considered a clear encouragement by the organizers of the disorders. On Monday, November 5, they once more broke into the Jewish quarter of the city and several dozen Jews were again slaughtered. And again no effective measures were taken by the British authorities to prevent the recurrence or further spread of the disorders.

On the third day, when word of the peculiar attitude of the British authorities spread throughout the country, similar disorders took place in various villages, and looting of Jewish property extended throughout western Tripolitania. In those places where there were no Jews, and to some extent in Tripoli as well, the mob attacked Italians and other Europeans. It was only on that day that Brigadier Temple ordered a curfew in certain parts of the town. Significantly enough, he curfewed only the center of the city, sending patrols to the Christian and European quarters. Native and Jewish quarters remained unpatrolled, thereby making it possible for mobs from the native quarter to continue assaulting the Jewish quarter. The slaughter and looting of Jews continued unabated.

It is understood that Brigadier Temple is trying to justify his attitude on the grounds that he did not have sufficient police forces to patrol effectively the entire city. It should be stated, therefore, that he had full authority to use troops as well as police for the purpose of ensuring public order, and that, had he done so, he would have had all the manpower he needed. It should also be noted that in the disposal of the police forces he and his subordinate officers chose to leave undefended that section of the city and of its population which were threatened most.

On the same day the commanding general performed another act which throws a clear light on his attitude toward the disorders. He demanded that the heads of the Arab community express their regret for the disorders in writing. This they promptly did, and the pogroms continued. No other steps were taken by the British authorities to deal with the ringleaders of the disorders.

On the other hand, the Jewish rabbis were gathered by the British commanding general and severely chided for the anti-Jewish disorders. The British authorities demanded that they, the leaders of the attacked community, repudiate the disorders, thereby giving to outside observers the impression that the disorders were not a one-sided, unprovoked attack upon the Jews, but a two-sided conflict for which the Jews bore an important part of the responsibility.

It appears from the attitude of the British authorities in Tripoli that their conduct at the time of the disorders is connected with a threefold objective of British policy in that community:

(a) The British try to impress the local Arab population with the fact that they take the Arab side as much as possible in every controversy. This is done in order to get the local Arab population to favor British trusteeship over Tripolitania.

(b) The British authorities in Tripoli seemingly proceeded on the theory that a show of anti-Jewish violence would not be unwelcome to the British Government, as evidence that the Arab-speaking world is very bitter about Jewish claims to Palestine. In order that this impression should percolate to the outside world, it was essential that the anti-Jewish disorders should not be stopped on the first day, but should be permitted to last for some time. As long as the Jews alone were the victims of the Arab mob the British, therefore, adopted a policy of noninterference. But when the mob started getting out of hand and looting the property of various European groups, the British stepped in and prevented further spread of the disorders.

(c) By calling upon the heads of both the Moslem and the Jewish communities to repudiate the disorders, the British authorities managed to maneuver themselves into their favorite position of trying to be the fair and impartial judge between two opposing groups, an impression which they thought to convey, through newspapers correspondents and otherwise, to the outside world.

[From the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin of November 26, 1945]

BRITISH TROOPS ARREST JEWISH LEADERS IN BELSEN CAMP FOR PROTEST ON PALESTINE POLICY

PARIS, November 25.—Leaders of the Central Jewish Committee in Bergen-Belsen, in the British zone in Germany, have been arrested for protesting against the new British policy on Palestine, it was revealed in a report received here today from the committee.

The blue-white Zionist flag was mishandled by British military policemen and thrown onto a heap of garbage, the report said, and a crowd of Jews, including many women, which gathered when a police car arrived to take away those arrested, were beaten by British military police with rubber truncheons.

The arrests were made on November 16, when the protest against the Bevin statement was to have been submitted to the British authorities in Belsen during the distribution of Red Cross parcels scheduled to take place on that day. However, the German administrator of the camp, G. Grande, notified the military police of the plan and later appeared with British M. P.'s who he asked to arrest Marian Lipke, the president of the Jewish committee.

As soon as they arrived the military police immediately removed banners bearing inscriptions in English reading: "Open the Gates of Palestine," which had been erected by the displaced Jews. Then, acting on the advice of the German administrator, they arrested not only the president of the Jewish committee, but a number of other leaders of the committee and several of its personnel. They then took the blue-white flag from the office of the committee and threw it into a pile of garbage 60 feet from the office.

JEWISH CAMP OFFICE RAIDED—TYPEWRITERS AND CORRESPONDENCE SEIZED

Meanwhile, many of the thousands of Jews who are still in the Belsen camp gathered together and voiced their protest against the German administrator. The military police then let loose with their rubber truncheons, striking at random at men and women.

Several hours later British troops, led by Grande, returned to the camp and arrested another member of the Jewish committee, two young chalutzim and three Jewish girls, without explanation. They later returned, for a third time, and searched the office of the committee, seizing several typewriters, correspondence files, and accounting ledgers.

No information concerning those arrested can be obtained, except it is known that during their interrogation at the headquarters of the military police one was struck twice by a German policeman in the presence of a British officer.

[From the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin of November 11, 1945]

PALESTINE GOVERNMENT CHARGED WITH ARMING ARABS AND INCITING THEM TO ATTACK JEWS

JERUSALEM, November 9.—The serious accusation that the Palestine Government has been arming Arabs and inciting them to attack Jews, made by the secret radio of the Jewish resistance movement, has finally been brought into the open.

In the last few months there have been many reliable reports of such activity on the part of the Palestine Government, but those who were aware of them, and had investigated, were reluctant to aggravate the situation by writing an expose. Actually the story has not appeared in the Palestine newspapers, and the Government therefore sees no reason to deny the charges. And, of course, the people who have the evidence cannot risk coming out into the open.

One authenticated instance of the administration's efforts to create trouble between the Arabs and the Jews involves Abdulla Khalil el Shoikh, commander of a Hebron gang which played a prominent role in the disturbances of 1936. Abdulla Khalil had been hiding since 1936, but last year the Palestine authorities let it be known that they had no objection to his returning to Hebron, which he did.

At the same time, he received magnanimous assistance from the authorities in the way of agricultural machinery and livestock. Two months ago he was approached by a Palestine Government agent and reminded of his obligations. At this time, the former Hebron gang leader was asked to organize the Arabs in that area into an armed force for the purpose of "resistance to Jewish aggression." Assurances were also given him that all the financial aid and the firearms and other equipment necessary would be forthcoming.

ARAB VILLAGERS RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE IN RIOTS: FEAR CONSEQUENCES

It is reported reliably that Abdulla Khalil el Sheikh at first was not too anxious to assume that task. But finally he was convinced, and he is now organizing and training Arabs with modern weapons. Five weeks ago a deputy inspector of the Palestine police visited Kilonia, which is near Hotza, a Jewish community not far from Jerusalem, and gathering all the Arab villagers together he told them that, according to trustworthy information, the Jews were preparing to attack the Arabs. He advised the Arabs to arm and not to await an attack but to go after the Jews themselves. The deputy inspector indicated that all the necessary arms were available. The villagers, however, did not stir, refusing to take the inspector seriously.

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FACT AND LEGEND ABOUT PALESTINE

by

GEROLD FRANK

THE AMERICAN MERCURY

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FACT AND LEGEND ABOUT PALESTINE

By Gerold Frank

Palestine today probably suffers from more misconceptions than any other country in the world. And not without reason. Here in an area slightly larger than Massachusetts is a microcosm of world history; a perfectly bewildering land, rich in diverse traditions, confusing in its complexity of races and religions, and strategically important as a sea, land and air crossroads. As the discussions on Palestine have grown more fevered, these misconceptions have increased and today the oddly assorted misinformation floating about is monumental.

I am reminded of the air corps lieutenant who buttonholed me at a Cairo bar. "So you've just come back from Palestine," he said, and grinned. "Brother, I bet they sure tear a wicked herring up there!" And the British officer in Alexandria who warned me solemnly, "Those Jews are sitting on a volcano. One of these days they'll be massacred by the Arabs." And the German refugee in New York who said with annoyance, "Oh, Palestine! Those people are fanatics. If you speak anything but Hebrew they won't reply to you."

Such examples can be multiplied indefinitely. And this is an attempt, necessarily limited in scope, to clear the air — to segregate fact from legend about Palestine.

Legend: Palestine is a backward agricultural country whose Jewish population consists predominantly of farmers — men and women who have returned to the land.

Fact: Palestine *was* essentially an agricultural country. But today it is a growing industrial country. Of its estimated 600,000 Jews, one-fifth or about 120,000 are settled on the land. Agriculture continues to flourish at an amazing pace: in the last six years 79 new agricultural villages have been founded, and Palestine's collective farms now have as many tractors per cultivated acre as farms in this country. But since 1943 industry has outstripped agriculture as the leading source of national income. Palestine's 1943 industrial production was valued

GEROLD FRANK, *a New York newspaper man and free-lance writer for the past fifteen years, has just returned from the Middle East, where he served as a war correspondent for Overseas Press and other news agencies. He has had feature articles published in most of the leading magazines, is co-author of* Out in the Boondocks *and* U.S.S. Seawolf, *and is now working on a book about the Middle East.*

at $80,000,000; its agricultural production at $75,000,000. Last year industrial production leaped to an estimated $160,000,000, of which $30,000,000 was for the army and the government. I have heard economists talk of the country developing into a Belgium of the Middle East in which skilled labor will turn out quality products for world markets.

What must be remembered is that within the last decade the best of Europe's Jewish industrial workers and craftsmen have come to Palestine. The roll call is impressive: dressmakers, fashion designers, perfumers, auto mechanics from Paris and Vienna; diamond cutters, glass blowers, shipbuilders from Amsterdam; leather craftsmen, glove workers, interior decorators from Budapest; scientists, engineers, chemists, optical and steel workers from Berlin; pharmacists, shoemakers, laboratory technicians from Prague; geologists, oil drillers, petroleum specialists from Bucharest; garment and textile workers from Warsaw and Lodz; goldsmiths and canners from Belgrade; and stevedores and shipwrights from Athens and Salonica. As Hitlerism grew, into Palestine poured not only highly skilled workers to join those trained farmers who had come before as *Chalutzim*, or pioneers, but industrialists and entrepreneurs with capital and plans for its investment.

Almost overnight Palestine underwent an industrial revolution. Industries undreamed of by the most fervid Zionist sprang up. Electrical consumption soared 2,000 per cent in a decade. The first cotton spinning mill began operations a few years ago, and diamond cutting was first introduced in 1941. Last year Palestine's booming textile industry manufactured $10,000,000 worth of fabrics, and Tel-Aviv now is the fashion center of the Middle East. Palestine today is one of the largest diamond cutting centers in the world. Last year it was able to export $9,000,000 worth of industrial cut diamonds to the United States alone.

Palestine's shipbuilders turn out fishing trawlers equipped with Diesel engines — *manufactured in Palestine*. Pharmaceuticals produced in Palestine — patent medicines, serums, vaccines, cosmetics, vitamins, salves and even penicillin — are found on druggists' shelves from Casablanca to Cairo, and soft drinks made from Palestine fruit concentrates are popular throughout the Middle East.

Haifa steel, though limited in quantity, is said to equal Swedish steel in quality, and along the shores of the Dead Sea, whose bitter brine is an inexhaustible source of minerals, chemical plants produce industrial acids, potashes, phosphates, bromides, chlorides, bleaching powders and fertilizers. Tel-Aviv, once a small suburban excrescence on the sand dunes north of Jaffa, is now a city of nearly 200,000. Haifa, terminus of a great oil line, is now the third largest port on the Mediterranean, with a population exceeding 160,000. And though Jerusalem's Old City within the Walls still

preserves its medieval character untouched, modern Jerusalem surrounding it boasts an industrial production of $8,000,000 in food, drugs, ceramics and precision tools.

In Palestine — agricultural Palestine — where the pioneer Polish and Russian Jewish settlers once thought only in terms of orange groves and dairy products, the largest trade union is the Metal Workers Union.

Legend: Palestine is a ghetto.
Fact: This notion that Palestine is a sort of lower New York East Side, *circa 1900*, with improvements, should now have been pretty well debunked by those thousands of GIs who have spent furloughs in Palestine and have seen for themselves. Camp Tel-Litwinsky, twenty minutes from Tel-Aviv, was the largest American rest-camp in the Middle East, and continued in operation until October 1945.

The GIs were invariably taken aback to discover that all-Jewish Tel-Aviv was not unlike Paris or Vienna in continental atmosphere, nor — with its modern white buildings — unlike a thriving California community; that Haifa and Jerusalem, with wide avenues and glittering shop windows, parked automobiles and corner newsstands, neon-lighted night-clubs and crowded movies featuring American films, were reminiscent of their home cities in the States.

There is, of course, the Old City in Jerusalem — less than one square mile in area, a walled rectangle of Biblical history — and there are, of course, bearded patriarchs in Palestine. At the Wailing Wall in the Old City you may meet a throwback to the medieval, mystic Kabbalist, forever absorbed in the meaning of the Redemption: men who have never permitted a razor to touch their faces, who dress in caftan and skullcap, who do not allow themselves to be photographed and who follow religious observance to the last fine edge of ritual. But ten minutes' walk away, in bustling King George Avenue, an urbane merchant who once welcomed patrons into his elegant shop on Vienna's Kärtnerstrasse now presides over an equally fashionable establishment. A stone's throw beyond is the King David Hotel, a smaller Waldorf-Astoria, with three bars, a distinctive restaurant, a chamber-music trio every afternoon at four and regular Sunday tea-dansants.

Tennis and sailing are popular sports at Tel-Aviv; water polo draws crowds at the Bat-Galim pool in Haifa; in Jerusalem the Palestine Football Competition is an annual event. My air corps lieutenant would be amazed to learn that Palestine even has a sand-grouse shooting season (opening officially every August 12 in the Beersheba section) and that revenue from guns and game licenses exceeds $32,000 a year. The season for partridge, quail, hare and gazelle lasts from September 1 to February 1. The heights of Mt. Carmel are dotted with picturesque summer resorts while a golf course is laid out on the floor of the world, on the shores of the Dead Sea.

Legend: Palestine has a tropical, uncomfortable climate unsuited to Western man.

Fact: Palestinians who visit New York complain bitterly of the heat and humidity here. They can't take it. For the record, the nearest general parallel to Palestine's climate is that of southern California, save when the *khamsin* — the dry, hot wind from the desert — blows, carrying with it an almost physical sense of oppression. Jerusalem, with an altitude of 2,500 feet, has an average temperature of 85° in August, the hottest month, and 47° in January, the coldest. It compares with Charleston, South Carolina. Tel-Aviv, at sea-level, with corresponding readings of 90° and 58°, is similar to Brownsville, Texas; Haifa, with a range of 82° to 55°, may be compared with Wilmington, North Carolina. Palestine's annual rainfall is twenty-one inches, with precipitation varying from a low of seven inches in the South (as in Phoenix, Arizona) to a high of thirty-eight inches in the North (as in the hills near Los Angeles). Of Palestine's 10,400 square miles, nearly 300 square miles are water — lakes, rivers and the Dead Sea. All in all, there is a wide range of climate, for the terrain varies from the perennially snow-tipped heights of Mt. Hermon, which looks down on the northernmost border, to the valley of the Jordan, 1,200 feet below sea-level. Jerusalem has seen snow in January, but that is the month for swimming and hot baths at fashionable Kallia Hotel twenty miles away.

Legend: The Jews of Palestine are fanatically religious.

Fact: Life generally is more religious than in the United States — but with qualifications. Saturday, for example, is more publicly observed as the traditional Sabbath than Sunday here. Some Tel-Aviv hotels may serve bacon and eggs for breakfast, but Tel-Aviv buses do not run on Saturday, and even the telegraph and cable offices are closed. While in some orthodox villages a man smoking on Saturday may be reprimanded by a passer-by, you may find men and women in Palestine who pay little attention to formal religious observance. Some of the younger generation, particularly those who belong to certain labor groups seeking to build a Socialist commonwealth in Palestine, are impatient with the traditional forms. Their elders, they explain, needed to participate in religious observances as the sole means of maintaining spiritual touch with Judaism. They, however, feel themselves in the mainstream of living Judaism when they work the soil of Palestine with their hands.

In Jerusalem, while having cocktails and discussing Koestler's essays of a late Friday afternoon, you may glance out the window and see the past come alive: an eighteen-year-old boy dressed in a wide-rimmed black hat and long black gabardine, earlocks dangling at his temples, walking slowly down the center of the street and blowing the *shofar*, the ram's horn. He is heralding the Sabbath as it was heralded in the days of Solomon.

Legend: The Jews of Palestine are fanatically nationalistic and their culture correspondingly narrow.
Fact: Rather than a consuming nationalism, what strike the visitor are evidences of interest in the world outside. During the war the remotest collective settlements, whose only direct communication with their neighbors was by signal light, displayed maps on the walls of their assembly halls showing the war's progress on all fronts up to the latest communiqué. The fact is that Palestine has become a melting pot of Jewry, a small United States of Jewry, with Jews from every country in the world. The community has developed a cosmopolitan culture.

Because of modern Palestine's comparative youth, some national groups are still being slowly assimilated. Hebrew is a universal tongue among the Jews — children chatter in it, newsboys shout their wares in it, school is conducted in it — but there are cafés where German or Rumanian, for instance, is more often heard. Ancient prayer boxes may be displayed in a shop window, but in an adjacent window are the latest copies of the *Nation*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, the Manchester *Guardian* and the Sunday New York *Times*. *Carmen* and *Cavalleria Rusticana* were sung in Hebrew last winter by the Palestine Folk Opera Company; French, Russian, German and American choreography show their influence in the Palestine Ballet; and the Palestine Orchestra, which has been led by such conductors as Toscanini and Sargent, exhibits a wide and catholic taste in its programs. Tel-Aviv boasts a permanent modern art exposition and its new Habima Theatre is air-conditioned, has three revolving stages, and seats more than 1,500 persons. The Palestine *Post*, an alert English daily edited by a former Philadelphia newspaper man, reviews the latest books published throughout the world and reprints pieces from the *New Yorker* and *Harper's* in its Friday literary supplement. Equally significant, the Palestine Broadcasting System recently put on a script written by an eighteen-year-old student at the Haifa Technological Institute. It dealt with the life and career of Frank Sinatra.

Legend: There will be an exodus from Palestine of Jewish refugees returning to their former homes in Europe.
Fact: There seems small likelihood of this. Those who may have intended to return realize now, reading the tragic reports of postwar anti-Semitism and the miserable condition of the Jews in most parts of Europe, how little there is to return to. These include some German, Austrian and Rumanian Jews who fled to Palestine for temporary haven. They had no agricultural training and no particular desire to be pioneers. Many put off learning Hebrew when they first arrived. Later they mastered it because every profession or industry requires the language of street and marketplace. Now, having brought something of their own to the complex of cultures which is Jewish Palestine, they begin to

realize their own successful adjustment. They are eager to remain and participate in what is and what is to be. "I would be a fool," a German Jew who came as a non-Zionist to Palestine in 1936 told me, "to leave what I have built up here and return to Germany now, after nearly ten years. What would I find there? Anti-Semitism, unrest and bitter memories. It would be absolute cruelty to my family. They are happy here. My eleven-year-old son knows no other life. Can you imagine, too, how we feel seeing our children grow up in Palestine without anti-Semitic complexes? My son isn't even conscious that he is a Jew as Jews in other countries are made aware of it. This is his world — and ours, now, too."

Legend: Palestine is an artificial economic creation built by philanthropy and it will collapse if this ceases.

Fact: Of an estimated $650,000,000 invested by the Jewish people in Palestine in the last quarter-century, less than 20 per cent — or about $125,000,000 — was contributed by the three great funds: the Palestine Foundation Fund, the Jewish National Fund and Hadassah. The remaining $525,000,000 was brought into Palestine by the immigrants themselves; their capital financed and developed nearly all of Palestine's industry. Without the Funds, much of the agricultural and urban development would have been impossible. But swamps drained or lands improved represent new and productive assets. The National Fund purchases land and leases it to settlers at a low rental not exceeding 2 per cent of its value. The Foundation Fund lends money to purchase equipment and to develop the land. These loans are being steadily amortized. Small collective farms founded on such land show net annual earnings of $10,000 and up, most of which goes to pay off their debts. Today overseas markets are being opened and peace industries are rapidly absorbing workers from the heavier industries. There is inflation in Palestine and the cost of living is high. But an index to economic conditions may be gleaned from the fact that in the last three years the Jews of Palestine contributed $9,200,000 to a War Needs and Rescue Fund, of which nearly $3,000,000 went for rescue and relief of European Jews.

Legend: Jews and Arabs are at each other's throats in Palestine.

Fact: It would be absurd to dismiss the political factor in current Arab-Jewish relations, but certain things should be set straight. First, there is no racial or psychological antagonism between the two peoples, and political tensions have little effect on day-to-day relationships. Secondly, basic in the problem is the conflict between a modern, twentieth-century civilization and a semi-feudal fifteenth-century way of life. The situation is deliberately aggravated by those who, because of vested interests, have most to lose: particularly the Arab effendis (landowning class) who live on the rents of

their lands worked by Arab sharecroppers and who suspect any enterprise which may lead to raising of wages and living standards. The Histradruth, the Jewish Federation of Labor, has given impetus to a trade union movement among the Arabs — a fact highly unpalatable to the ruling class. Arab and Jewish workers have paraded the streets together carrying banners reading, "Long live Arab-Jewish labor."

Nationalistic feelings are aflame today; there is no question that the flames are being fanned from within and from abroad. But the Arab masses themselves — the vast majority of whom have been exploited for centuries, first by the Turks, then by their own upper class, who are largely illiterate, whose life mainly conforms to tribal patterns and to whom statehood as a concept has little meaning — are not primarily concerned with political hegemony or political power. Under the Turks they did not have it; under their own ruling class they do not have it. With the Jews they are beginning slowly to understand that serfdom and burdening debt are not inevitable ways of life.

This does not mean there are no minor frictions. But continued education and democratic development in the Middle East, in the opinion of observers, would serve to eradicate many of them. An Arab *fellah*, or peasant, whose son, seeing Jewish boys and girls in each other's company, wants to know why he can't date Arab girls — a practice not followed by the Arabs — is irritated. A peasant whose wife, long accustomed to drudgery, to carrying baskets on her head while her husband rides ahead on a donkey, becomes dissatisfied at the sight of Jewish women playing with their children in the park or accompanying their husbands of an evening — another practice not followed by the Arabs.

Legend: The Jews are dispossessing the Arabs.

Fact: The Jews now own less than 613 square miles of Palestine's 10,400 square miles — or about 6 per cent. Under the British White Paper of 1939, they have been prohibited, save in a tiny section, from buying more. Contrary to general belief, the Arabs, instead of being driven out of Palestine, have been deserting their homes in neighboring Arab lands and flocking into Palestine to live. From 1922 to 1944, the Arab population of Palestine increased from 670,000 to nearly 1,200,000: of this increase more than 85,000 were immigrants. There are reasons for this. In Palestine, Arab labor receives more than in any other Middle Eastern country. Arab workers at the Dead Sea chemical plants earn $3.50 a day in contrast to the 45 cents a day earned by Arab laborers in chemical plants in Egypt, and the cost of living is about the same in both countries. After all, you cannot pour $650,000,000 into a country as small as Palestine; reclaiming land, drying up swamps, eradicating malaria, trachoma, amoebic dysentery and many

of the diseases stemming from ignorance, filth and malnutrition, without benefit to all. While the Arab population has doubled in Palestine in the last quarter-century, it has risen at most only 20 per cent in other Arab countries. In Trans-Jordan, also under British mandate, it has remained stationary. Today Palestine has the lowest Arab death rate, the lowest Arab infant mortality rate and the highest Arab birth rate of any country in the Middle East.

Legend: The Jews of Palestine are in danger of being massacred by the Arabs. Fact: Even were the Arabs to be so unified, and then incited to a point at which they would attempt wholesale attack — both, I believe, highly unlikely — two factors must be considered. One is the military might of the Arabs in Palestine and the second is the defensive strength of the Jews in Palestine. There is no Palestine Arab army. The country's security is in the hands of the British. It is no secret that there are illicit arms in Palestine. But the Jews possess these as well as the Arabs, and the Jews are better trained in the use of modern arms. Some 35,000 Jews fought in the war under British command, as against less than 8,000 Arabs. The Haganah, the self-defense organization of Palestine Jewry, has in its ranks a large number of members who have also been trained in modern firearms.

The probability of any effective participation by Arabs from neighboring lands in any uprising in Palestine is considered strategically absurd. Even with this eventuality in mind, the Jews of Palestine appear unperturbed. They point to the meagerness of Arab military strength in the Middle East. They point to Egypt's sorry army of about 20,000, minus heavy armor; to Iraq, where British troops had to be called in to suppress a tribal revolt this year; to Saudi Arabia's picturesque desert horsemen who would make a poor showing as an invading army. They cite the fact that Syria has no army; that Trans-Jordan's tiny frontier force is commanded by a British officer; that the Arab countries possess no munitions industries and that replacement parts for weapons would have to be imported from Western countries. Military commentators also emphasize the vast desert distances which would have to be covered before there could be any meeting of such Graustarkian forces, and the fact that these states, each jealous of its own sovereignty, are competitive rather than co-operative, and forever plagued by internal and domestic tensions.

Such are some of the legends and facts about Palestine. There are many more. A picturesque legend customarily is far more attractive than the sober reality. In the case of Palestine, it seems to me, the contrary is true. The legends spell futility and insurmountable difficulties; the facts tell us of a land rejuvenated, an ancient and once glorious area of the world slowly but surely climbing back to its rightful place in the sun.

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'AMERICANS ALL'

By DANIEL A. POLING

One of the great Christian missionary agencies has placed itself in an unfortunate light by committing itself against Zionism. This body presented resolutions at the public hearing of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine against Palestine as the Jewish homeland.

DR. POLING

I believe that for the vast majority of all Christians, the Old Testament prophecies are still accepted. Here "line upon line and precept upon precept" the Jew and his "return" are placed at the heart of God's plan for the ages. But quite apart from any scriptural interpretations are basic facts of life—human relationships in our time that should be given first place when we regard Palestine. Promises should be kept. Democratic nations stand in a bad light when they disregard solemn engagements.

Winston Churchill, when recently he landed in New York, said, "I have always been a Zionist!" And much earlier he denounced the white paper with its repudiation of the Balfour agreement, as a "breach."

Frank Gervasi, in a recent Collier's article, called attention to the fact that less than two per cent of the Arab people own all their country's agricultural and industrial wealth; that there are only two kinds of Arabs—the very rich and the intolerably poor.

A recent statement by Mrs. Gershon Argonsky, wife of a Jerusalem newspaper man, affirms that for 21 years in Palestine she has watched Jewish and Arab farmers living together in harmony and helping each other in critical times as good neighbors.

One hundred thousand Jewish refugees face extermination this winter. Certainly they and their brothers should face open frontiers in all free lands. Freedom cannot be divided and survive. But the world knows that right now Palestine is their only hope. The world's greatest engineers have proved that Palestine can absorb them all and many more, to the advantage of Arab and Jew alike.

I have seen these people starved and dying. May no word of mine, or from my faith, make their burden heavier or tear the vision of deliverance from their eyes.

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THE SECOND ARAB AWAKENING

By Jon Kimche

(Reprint from TRIBUNE, London, January 26, 1946)

The Middle East has grown Whiskers - long, white ones. That is one of the outstanding impressions it made on me. I felt that had T. E. Lawrence come around with me, he would have remembered these statesmen and politicians from twenty-five years ago; with only one difference - a big one. Then, after the first World War, they were revolutionaries, rebels against Turks and outmoded traditionalism; they were progressives who opened up the Middle East, men who led the Arab awakening. Today, they hold positions of power and influence; but they are no longer the stormy petrels, the innovators, the leaders of the young and of new ideas; they are nearly all now plain conservatives who defend their gains of the past quarter of a century and the positions they have attained.

This is true of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Transjordan, of Iraq and also of Saudi Arabia. Not a single new name of outstanding merit has come to the fore in these twenty-five years - with the possible exceptions of Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, the Secretary of the Arab League, and Ben Gurion and Shertok, the political leaders of the Jewish Agency. Among the rulers there are, of course, also King Farouk of Egypt and the Emir Abdul Illah of Iraq. For the rest, the old men carry on.

This is not only true of the politicians of the Middle East, but also of the British officials who serve them or shape present-day British policy. Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, now responsible for the new Middle Eastern Bureau set up by Ernest Bevin, was Director of the Arab Bureau in Cairo during Lawrence's day; Sir Walter Smart, recently promoted to the rank of Oriental Minister in Cairo, one of the makers - and brains - of British policy in the Middle East, has been on the spot there for the past twenty years. Kirkbride, Resident in Amman and

one of the ablest British officials in the Middle East, was in Transjordan already in 1921; and there are numerous others. Nowhere else in personnel and policy has the British hangover from the first World War lasted longer than in the Middle East; and the hangover is making itself felt.

The British are no longer popular in the Middle East. The presence of British troops in Iraq, in Syria and the Lebanon, in Palestine and in Egypt is deeply resented; how deeply is hard to realise by anyone who has not mixed with the younger generation in these countries. And the old men who, during the past twenty-five years, have derived positions of power and influence from their connections with the British, are no longer viewed with undimmed favour by their own people. Outwardly, the old associations and friendships remain between the British and ruling groups in the Middle East; but they have now taken the shape of a dangerously deceptive facade across the reality of the modern Middle East scene.

A new generation of Arabs, Christians and Jews has grown up in the Middle East; they know not of Lawrence, Cornwallis, Smart, Nuri and Weizmann - nor do they care. They live no longer in the romantic past of the Arab revolt and Britain über alles; they see the hard reality of Middle East politics, diplomacy and social conditions of today.

Here is an area between the Suez and the Persian border, as large as Continental Europe without Soviet Russia and which contains a population barely larger than that of Greater London. Yet the standard of life, of health and of literacy for the greater part of this population compares with that of the Middle Ages in Europe - with the exception of the special case of Palestine.

This is the unsolved problem left over from the Arab liberation after the first World War. The British, French and their Arab friends succeeded in establishing what appeared to be a stable political framework in the Middle East, but the deeper social and economic issues which clamoured for recognition

received scant attention. Democracy meant jockeying for power between rival factions of a restricted ruling clique.

Iraq, for example, has had forty-seven Governments, drawn from a narrow range of individual politicians, during the past twenty-five years. No Government was in office long enough to cope with deep social and economic problems. About two million fellaheen and coolies (two-thirds of the population) have been estimated officially to live on less than a penny a day, and, in the greater part, to be suffering from venereal disease and eye infections. Infant mortality is the highest in the Middle East, outside Persia; in the three larger towns of Iraq it averaged 227 per 1,000 children born between 1938-1941.

At the same time the 650,000 Kurds in Iraq - one-fifth of the total Iraqi population - are becoming increasingly disaffected and are looking with growing and evident interest across the border to North-West Persia, where a Kurdish Liberation Committee has been formed among the 200,000 Kurds in Persia. The movement is not yet important, but it is developing in one of the strategically key positions - just where the Russian lever is being applied to the Middle East. For the moment, the Iraq Government has overcome the recent Kurd rebellion by the application of substantial monetary inducements to the recalcitrant tribes after the Iraqi Army had failed to subdue them and R.A.F. had refused to intervene.

All this is not new. It has been happening for years. But now a new dynamic factor has been introduced. Iraq, as it were, has become the glacis upon which the next Russian step is most likely to fall, because Iraq - like Persia - is inhibited by social and minority weakness, and, therefore, far less able to resist an "Azerbaijan" than, for example, Turkey at the present moment. This sudden realisation has dawned in recent weeks both upon Arab statesmen and many British officials in the Middle East. The picture of British Middle East strategy has been re-valued and rechecked with some curious consequences.

Arab leaders have told me that they regard present-day British strategy as defence against Russian penetration into the Middle East. They see a line of British military bases extending from Southern Persia through Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt to Greece to protect the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, the Eastern Mediterranean and to back Turkey in her stand. The Russians clearly see the situation also in this way; and it is hard for anyone who travels through the area not to conclude that this is the British strategic set-up.

It appears as the iron frame-work designed to protect the Middle East settlement of the 1914 war; but within this frame there is yet another military arrangement which has helped hitherto to maintain a finely balanced stability. This is based on the Empire of Ibn Saud and the order established by his powerful and forceful personality among the nomad tribes within his territory; it was based on an Iraqi army of 35,000, which kept the raiding tribes more or less at bay and protected the capital during the sporadic Kurdish risings. Theoretically, this army is strong enough to march into the Hejaz and make an end to Ibn Saud's rule, but British policy in the Middle East had accepted Ibn Saud's kingdom and the rival Hashemite dynastic hopes and ambitions had to bow to this.

This Iraq army was contemplated by that of the other Hashemite-ruled kingdom, the mandated territory of Transjordan. This had perhaps the best local army in the Middle East, the "Arab Legion," partly mechanised, officered and commanded by British officers, numbering about 16,000 men all told, and, incidentally, paid for by Britain. A British authority told me that even this army alone could account for the military forces at the disposal of Ibn Saud. These two Hashemite armies on Ibn Saud's frontier therefore clearly marked the limit of his expansion - and British influence, for the present, determined their defensive and passive attitude vis-a-vis their rival and usurper of their kingdom.

All this has suddenly been powerfully affected by events in Persia. Few Arab leaders with whom I talked thought Iraq would be able to stand up any more than did Persia, and British officials who should know local conditions shared this view. General Nuri es Said, ex-Premier, President of the Senate, and still Iraq's leading statesman, tried to mobilise the Arab League first in support of Persia, and then, more specifically, on behalf of Iraq and Turkey as the two most exposed countries. He pleaded his cause at the Arab League meeting in November, but met only non-committal response from the other Arab States. He wanted to form a great Middle Eastern defensive bloc extending from Afghanistan and Turkey to Egypt. Now he has gone to Turkey to start what are thought to be direct Turkish-Iraqi staff talks.

While Iraq has been preoccupied with possible menaces from across the Persian border, King Ibn Saud has shown concern with more domestic developments. I have not been to Saudi Arabia and therefore cannot speak from first-hand knowledge, but British officials and others who should know avow that Ibn Saud is very uneasy about what will come after him. He sees the rise once more of Hashemite ambitions, particularly in the efforts to create a Greater Syrian State ruled by a Hashemite prince; he sees the armies of Iraq and Transjordan waiting only for the opportunity to settle accounts with his sons for their usurpation of the kingdom of Hejaz. King Ibn Saud, therefore, has been preparing for the day when the British would be no longer able or willing to restrain his dynastic rivals. A close alliance with Egypt has been his answer to this looming peril. King Farouk and Egypt have, as it were, guaranteed the Saudi succession. What advantage Ibn Saud has offered the young King of Egypt in return for this great service is not yet known - but it is undoubtedly substantial.

But, with this great guarantee of Saudi succession, both Eygpt and Ibn Saud are committed to an active policy to counter Hashemite intentions. These

take two forms at the moment: Firstly, the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan told me last month that when he comes to London to discuss the offer of independence made by Ernest Bevin, he will sound the British Government on the possibility of a Federation of the two Hashemite States, Iraq and Transjordan. He is interested in particular in a solution which would give Transjordan control of the 16,000 strong "Arab Legion," without having to pay for its upkeep. The Emir Abdullah would like therefore an arrangement whereby the Arab Legion would be federated to the Iraq army and paid for by Iraq, which would give the two Hashemite States easily the most formidable army in the Middle East.

The second Hashemite project which Ibn Saud and Farouk need to frustrate if the Saudi succession is to be guaranteed is that of a Greater Syrian State. Both Egypt and Saudi Arabia are said to be encouraging all those forces known to be opposed to this conception - in particular, the Lebanon. Ibn Saud does not harbour dynastic intentions for his house; he just does not want to see his rivals established in a position of decisive vantage. But already Russian pressure threatens to outdate this complicated game of dynastic re-insurance.

Russian influence in the Middle East is not advancing by means of traditional military moves; the Russians are taking a leaf out of Lawrence's book; doing what the British did so successfully against the Turks.

They are supporting the half-million Armenians in Persia, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. This is directed against Turkey. Then, the Russians can at any moment opt for the Kurds and the socially discontented in Iraq; the preparations are well advanced and there are few defence lines against this form of approach. The Russians are also openly and secretly supporting Syrian and Lebanese protests against the Anglo-French occupation and agreement. They are giving every encouragement to Syrian and Lebanese demands that the British shall evacuate the Levant.

In this connection, I must report the view of one of the best-informed

British officials in the Middle East. He feels sure that the moment British troops leave Syria the country will face its greatest crisis. Already, he says, the writ of the central government has no authority in the Druse territories and in the Alouite districts of Syria. There is still no real police force even in Damascus, and there is continued support and encouragement for all disintegrating forces by the French on the spot. Under such conditions, he holds that it is questionable whether a Syrian State in its present form could long survive the departure of British troops.

Such is the mixed and confused reaction of the Arab States to what they realise is, in one form or another, a challenge to their very existence and to the stability of the Middle East. Although it is not at all evident that Russia has aggressive intentions, she clearly intends, if possible, to reduce British influence to a minimum in the Middle East, as in the Balkans. Russian policy is still feeling its way, but the whiskered policies of the first World War are no match even for these first tentative steps.

On old-fashioned lines of policy, the Russians are bound to win in the same way as Lawrence and his colleagues won against the Turks and the Germans, and that will open up another era of disturbed relations, instability and possible international conflict in the Middle East. For the Soviet Union will not be able to provide for many years to come those material aids which the Middle East requires for its development.

The crisis is now on; it takes many forms. Only one form is exempted: it is not another 1918. The outer forms and inner realities of the situation are not exactly the same. The Arab League, Zionism, Palestine, occupy the public stage. They are real enough issues, but they cannot be seen in the right perspective unless the deeper developments here outlined are first clarified. These, not the Arab-Zionist conflict, play the main parts in the second act of the Middle East crisis.

* * *

THIS ADVERTISEMENT APPEARED IN A NUMBER OF
LEADING NEWSPAPERS MARCH 21, 1946

WILL WAR CRIMINALS DETERMINE PALESTINE'S DESTINY?

The man giving the Nazi salute in this picture is Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem. The troops are those of the Moslem SS Divisions, organized by the ex-Mufti along with the Arab Legion to serve with the German Army. This close collaborator with Adolf Hitler, who engineered the pro-Axis revolt of 1941 in Iraq, is still not listed among the war criminals. He lives comfortably in a villa in France, while his friends and lieutenants clamor for his return to Palestine.

"Germany Was Not Our Enemy"

Another war criminal, Jamal el Husseini, the ex-Mufti's cousin and chief of staff, was released recently by the British and allowed to return to Palestine. The British not only re-admitted this active pro-facist, but gave him complete freedom of action. And last week he was invited to present the Arab case before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine.

Encouraged by this singular forgetfulness of the British as to his pro-Axis record, Jamal el Husseini spoke cockily before the Anglo-American Committee. *"Germany was not our enemy, and, therefore, we had not interest in the war,"* he said.

The ex-Mufti's second-in-command stated only a half-truth. He declared that the Third Reich was not the enemy of the Arabs, but he forgot to mention that both he and his notorious cousin, along with most of the political leaders of the Arab lands, took a very active interest in the war—*on the side of the Nazis.*

The Arab Rulers Are Neutral on Fascism!

When one of the Committee members reminded Jamal of the hostile role played by Arab leaders in the war, Mr. Husseini replied: *"I have read somewhere that it was a Jewish war anyway."*

Now we know. The rape of Poland and Czechoslovakia, the brutal subjugation of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, the horrors inflicted on the Balkans and Russia, the *blitz* over England—all this was "a Jewish war anyway," in which the Arabs had no interest.

But Jamal el Husseini went one step further. He told the Committee that *the Arabs are spiritually neutral on the question of fascism.*

One cannot be neutral on fascism! One is either for it or against it. The Arab kings and chieftains are for it. Fascism suits perfectly the type of society which they are ruling and trying to preserve.

Why Aren't They In The Dock?

Justice and decency demand that Jamal el Husseini and the ex-Mufti stand trial together with the other war criminals. But instead, British colonial imperialism allows Jamal to make a grandstand play before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Jerusalem. And slowly but surely the way is being cleared for the ex-Mufti to return to Palestine, where he is certain to resume his program of anti-Jewish terror.

It is deplorable that members of the Anglo-American Committee did not bother to interrogate Jamal as to his *own* shameful deeds before and during the war. He was treated with such consideration that when he was asked "whether in view of the Mufti's record, the Palestine Arab Higher Committee still felt that he enjoyed the confidence of the Arabs," Jamal felt encouraged to answer: "Yes."

Falsifying The Record To Shield The Ex-Mufti

Significantly enough, this portion of Jamal el Husseini's testimony, as well as the statement of another Arab representative, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, admitting that the ex-Mufti had been actively associated with the Axis, were omitted from the stenographic report of the Committee's proceedings. Clifton Daniels in the *New York Times* (March 16, 1946) and other press correspondents reported that this caused a heated discussion among members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, with certain British members seemingly determined to keep this damning evidence off the record, as, in their opinion, the ex-Mufti's wartime activities were irrelevant to the inquiry.

There is as yet no indication that this all-important testimony has been re-incorporated into the text of the official record.

Enemies Supported, Allies Persecuted

Thus we see one of the most brazen imperialistic intrigues develop before our eyes. Hitler's adviser on Arab affairs is tenderly protected. His cousin, who was caught red-handed taking a leading part in the pro-Nazi uprising in Iraq, is now recognized as the chief spokesman of Palestine's Arabs.

But Jews, who gave over one million soldiers to the United Nations and six million victims to Hitler's extermination camps, are barred from Palestine by every device known to Britain's Colonial Office.

The Streichers, Lavals, Quislings and Joyces of every nation had to pay the price for their acts of treason. Even Petain, France's foremost hero of World War I, did not escape punishment. But Amin el Husseini and Jamal el Husseini are being treated as "high contracting parties" in the negotiations for the settlement of the Palestine problem.

Why are these war criminals being shielded?

Why are the records of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry being "doctored" to protect Nazi collaborationists?

Americans who fought the War for Freedom and Democracy want to know!

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

How Britain Recruited Pro-Nazis And Spent $20,000,000 on Jails

By RUTH GRUBER
New York Post Foreign Correspondent

Palestine is a police state. Officially, there is no mail censorship, but nobody dares write honestly in a letter. Officially, there is no wire-tapping, but nobody dares talk freely on the telephone.

Officially, the war is over, but Palestine still has a curfew; no automobile can enter the city gates of Jerusalem after 6 p. m. Each night the jail in Jerusalem fills up with people caught entering the city at three minutes past six or later. If your car gets one flat tire on the road, you are likely to spend the night in jail until your friends learn that you are missing and come to bail you out.

Palestine is a police state. There are 124 huge police stations in this tiny country. The British have spent five million English pounds (20 million dollars) building police stations. They have spent about half a million pounds for education.

One of the problems discussed almost daily before the Anglo-American Committee was Palestine's absorptive capacity. The absorptive capacity for jails never came up.

Jails Everywhere

As you drive through the country, past collective farms and villages, where only a few years ago there was nothing but parched land and biblical stones, you see at steady intervals huge concrete buildings dominating the hills. Once you might have thought, as I did, that these buildings were giant hospitals to care for the disease-ridden Arab fellahin, or agricultural centers, or universities spreading the culture of Shakespeare and Einstein to the Jewish and Arab population.

But you learn very soon that money is not spent by the British for culture and education and health; the mandatory government spends its money for police stations and jails. Palestine's most costly architecture, typically enough, is prison architecture.

The most striking parallel between the Ireland of the last war and the Palestine of this one is in the police. The Royal Irish Constabulary, the infamous "Black and Tans," who inflamed the whole world for their outrages against the citizenry, were recruited and sent to Palestine.

Their technique in the Holy Land was the technique they had learned in Eire. Members of the force broke into citizens' homes, raided for arms, confiscated correspondence and generally substituted a "Hate the Jews" policy for their old "Hate the Irish."

Horst Wessel Heard Again

At the outbreak of the war with Nazi Germany, the British recruited fascists from the Mosley gang. These men, who loathed the idea of fighting their friends, the Nazis, embraced with passion the idea of fighting Jews.

They walked around the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, the city built by Jews, singing the Horst Wessel song. They marched into crowded market places giving the "Heil Hitler" salute. They drove in British police trucks with swastikas chalked on the side. Underneath the swastikas was the familiar slogan—"Kill the Jews."

To be sure, the job of being a policeman in a police state is not easy. The police know they are hated; they never know when they may get a bullet in the back.

It is as impossible for the British to keep morale high among the police force in Palestine as it was to keep morale in Ireland when the Black and Tans looted, drank, wrecked whole towns and shot prominent Sinn Feiners who were often the most respected men in their communities. While the police were alienating the friendship of the world, the Irish patriots and now the Palestine patriots were winning new friends each day.

Some Are Decent

Palestine is a police state—but even some of its policemen are decent human beings. There are some among them who so loathe the tasks the British gave them that they have quit the forces in disgust. I met a former British policeman who told me that the tactics of the forces had made him pro-Zionist and he was now fighting for the Jews.

During the war the Palestine police were conscripted and not permitted to leave to enlist in the Army or the Air Forces to shoot Nazis instead of Jews. Some of them actually committed felonies in order to be locked up and dishonorably fired from the Palestine police force so they could get into an honest war.

Palestine is a police state—and the long arm of the police stretched even to Switzerland, where the Anglo-American Committee was writing its report. A Capt. Ayers came to Lausanne from Jerusalem to "guard" the committee members. When the committee recommended that 100,000 Jews be allowed to enter Palestine, Ayers told several committee members, "You don't know how much easier you've made the job for the Palestine police."

Cops Behind the Wire

The force is as terrified now of the young men and women in the Haganah, the citizens' army, as the Black and Tans were of the young men and women in the Sinn Fein. The joke in Palestine is that the ones who are really behind barbed wires are the policemen, who lock themselves up in terror at night.

Most of the attacks by the three Resistance organizations, the Haganah, an army of Minute Men to which almost every able-bodied Jew belongs, and by the smaller movements, the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang, are directed against the police.

Why? I asked that question every time I spoke to a member of one of the underground armies. The answers were clear—the police are the arm of the British Foreign Office. The police are the special organ, the eyes and ears of the White Paper regime.

The police are the vanguard of the move to suppress Jewish immigration. The police treat, and have treated, the people brutally, using concentration camp methods to get information from political suspects. The police use agents provocateurs. Some of the police are anti-Semitic and almost all of them are anti-colonial. The police are hated because Palestine is a police state.

Jews and Arabs Get Along Well— Until Britain Raises False Issues

By RUTH GRUBER New York Post Foreign Correspondent

Since my return to America, almost everyone I meet asks me, "What is the chance of an Arab holy war breaking out if the 100,000 Jews are allowed into Palestine? Can the Arabs and Jews really get along?" Most of my friends in America seem to picture the Arabs and Jews constantly at each other's throats.

Actually, tne most extraordinary sight in Palestine is the way the ordinary Arabs and Jews get along.

They sit in buses together; they eat in the same cafes; they drink cocktails at the same tables in the cocktail bar of the King David Hotel; young Arab intellectuals take Jewish girls to dinner.

The majority of the Arabs are no more anti-Semitic than the majority of the Jews are anti-Gentile. Almost every Arab spokesman I met in Egypt, Palestine or Iraq made a point of telling me that the Arabs are cousins of the Jews, they belong to the "Sems" and have a common history and a common heritage.

The bitter truth about Palestine is that it is to the British Foreign Office's interest to sow the seeds of Arab-Jewish hatred. Britain wants to make the world believe that only an army of occupation can keep peace in the Holy Land.

Divide and Rule

These are familiar tactics with the British. They used the same tactics of "divide and rule" in Ireland. There were grave and historic differences between the Catholic South and the Protestant North, but without British intervention, the Irish might have worked out their domestic differences. To this day, almost every Irishman blames the British for aggravating the differences between the North and South, and for causing the partition of Ireland.

In Palestine, the British role is even crasser than it was in Ireland. History did not keep the Jews and Arabs irrevocably apart; but the British are trying their utmost to speed up history and exploit whatever differences there are between the two peoples.

The most flagrant official act of the Foreign Office in fomenting hostility between the Arabs and Jews was in bringing back to Palestine that leading Nazi fellow-traveler, Jamal Husseini, the cousin of the Grand Mufti and his chief henchman. Jamal's presence in Palestine, his leadership of the Arabs in their testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, were a clear index of the Foreign Office's determination to give oomph and a semblance of unity to the Arab case.

Arabs Are Suspicious, Too

Yet the Arabs lose no love for the British, despite the help they have got from them. The Arabs are as suspicious of the Foreign Office as are the Jews. The British rule the Middle East, and everyone in the Middle East hates them. In Egypt I was told it would be safer not to wear a war correspondent's uniform, for fear the Egyptians would mistake me for an English soldier and make life unpleasant if not actually dangerous.

Friends of the English people —and I count myself among them —are appalled at the betrayal of English principles by the Foreign Office. They were suspicious when the British appointed a commission to act upon President Truman's request that 100,000 refugees be permitted to enter Palestine Now, when the commission, after four months of study and investigation, recommends unanimously that the 100,000 be admitted, the British Foreign Office seems determined to scuttle the report.

Such tactics are not helping the British make friends and influence people. Not only is the Foreign Office doing almost nothing to end what it calls "Arab-Jewish hostility" but its officials are guilty of deliberate acts of incitement.

One of the neatest jobs of fomenting trouble that I have heard about concerned American GIs. During the war, some of our soldiers were beaten up by Palestinian Jews for "chasing around" with Jewish girls. The men who did the beating up also dropped some leaflets saying they were members of an organization called "The Sons of Phineas," B'nai Pinchas, and that they were avenging the sins against Jewish womanhood.

A British Hoax

Investigation showed that there was no such organization; the small group was made up of paid agents of the British. Apparently, some Colonial Office servant had been reading the Bible, found the Phineas story in Numbers, and decided to introduce a De Maupassant touch to the problems of the Holy Land. In the Bible, Phineas, the grandson of Aaron the priest, extirpates an Israelite who had sinned with a woman from foreign lands. Taking a javelin, Phineas "went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through."

An example of how the British fight any effort at co-operation between the Arabs and Jews occurred in 1940, when a group of professors of the Hebrew University, some Arab intellectuals and the Anglican Bishop discussed establishing a society of British, Arabs and Jews to promote better understanding. The Anglican Bishop, after giving the group his blessings, invited some of his Arab friends to join the society. One of them was Dr. Ahmad Samih el-Khalidi, director of the Arab Teachers Training School in Jerusalem and Arab assistant to the Director of Education (an Englishman, of course) in Palestine

Dr. Khalidi, enthusiastic about such a society, went to the Palestine government to get permission, as a government official, to participate. He was rebuked by the British Director of Education, who told him not to interfere in "politics" and that British-Arab-Jewish relations would be settled without societies.

Meet Mr. Chattley

In labor relations, the mandatory government helped establish Arab trade unions in co-operation with Arab employers who were delighted to limit the possibility of Jewish influence upon Arab laborers. Jewish influence might have resulted in demands by the Arab workers for higher wages, better living and better working conditions.

It is significant that one of the government people responsible for this kind of opposition to Arab-Jewish co-operation was a Mr. Chattley, member of the British Labor Party, and formerly an official of one of the trade unions in England.

Despite the efforts of the Palestine government, the Arab workers and the Jewish workers still go out on strike together.

There is a simple solution to the problem of the Arab versus the Jew. It is not to bring in more British or American troops now demanded by Attlee, but to get the British out of Palestine. The Arabs and Jews will solve their problems, and reach an understanding much sooner alone than they will with hostile troops and police around them.

Each committee sent by the British to "solve" the problem of Palestine creates new friction between the two groups. The Anglo-American Committee helped sharpen that friction by forcing the two protagonists to develop their case like the two Biblical women carrying the baby to Solomon.

Civil War Looms

Certainly today, with the testimony still burning in the minds of the people of Palestine, there is tension, and on the part of the leaders like Jamal Husseini, there is a determination to create some trouble.

But this trouble will be nothing compared to the civil war which may break out this summer if the British succeed in their obvious program to scuttle the report, make the members of the commission look like a group of monkeys, and leave President Truman, having asked Attlee for the 100,000 which the commission gave him, now holding the well known British bag.

Reprinted from
THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1946.

THERE IS A LIMIT TO WHAT EVEN JEWS CAN ENDURE

An Appeal to the Conscience of Civilized Mankind

We make this statement because we are outraged by the continued insensitiveness of that portion of the world which we call civilized to the greatest human tragedy of all time.

6,000,000 Jews have met horrible death in Hitler's extermination camps and ghettos.

1,500,000 or less are left alive in Europe today—most of them homeless, unwanted and destitute, kept alive by one aim: to quit the scene of their degradation and emigrate to Palestine.

100,000—at least a fraction of those for whom continued existence in Europe has become impossible — *could be saved immediately.* But at the very moment when action is most sorely needed, there are new delays and further equivocation.

We submit that there can be *no* valid reason for failure to act now! The European war ended a year ago. Dean Earl Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania, was sent by the President of the United States to investigate the condition of the Jewish survivors in Europe. He submitted a report to the President which made it clear that any delay in the transfer of these unfortunate people to Palestine would result in misery and death. President Truman thereupon sent a letter to Prime Minister Attlee on August 31, 1945 requesting that 100,000 of these displaced European Jews be permitted to emigrate to Palestine at once.

The request was rejected by the British Government. Instead, an investigation of the situation—another investigation! — was proposed by Great Britain. The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was set up.

After four months of investigation this committee unanimously recommended what President Truman proposed in the first place— the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. During all these months of investigation Jews who could be leading useful, happy lives in Palestine, suffered and died.

One would think that not a moment would now be lost in carrying out this act of elemental humanity. But no! "Conditions" which had been considered and rejected by the Committee are now being demanded by Prime Minister Attlee. And our own State Department continues in practice a procedure of "consultations" which may delay indefinitely the attainment of the noble objective to which our Government is fully committed.

Are we to condemn these pitiful Jewish survivors to an indefinite hopeless existence in the internment camps where they now languish? Are they to be left at the mercy of the hostile populations that surround them? Every observer who has recently returned from Europe has warned that there may be mass-suicide among these terribly harassed people who have for so long lived under tension and strain unless they are permitted to leave for Palestine without delay.

America refuses to be an accomplice in such an outrageous act of inhumanity!

These displaced Jews can be moved to Palestine in a matter of weeks. The American people want them saved! We look to President Truman to stand firm on this matter and to direct the State Department to implement what is now the accepted policy of the United States.

We look to the British Government to carry out the unanimous recommendation of its own representatives on the Joint Committee, calling for the immediate transfer of these 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

We demand justice for a tragic people now.

Louis Adamic
Maxwell Anderson
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Roger N. Baldwin
Tallulah Bankhead
Manchester Boddy
Van Wyck Brooks
Henry Seidel Canby
Eddie Cantor
James B. Carey
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Dr. Emmanuel Chapman
Marquis Childs
Dr. George L. Cross
Ely Culbertson
Walter Damrosch
Jonathan Daniels

Prof. John Dewey
Major-General William Donovan
Melvyn Douglas
Dr. Stephen Duggan
Bishop Angus Dun
Prof. Albert Einstein
Major George Fielding Eliot
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Gene Fowler
Frank Gannett
Lewis S. Gannett
James W. Gerard
Frank Gervasi
Dorothy Gish
Samuel Goldwyn
Morton Gould
William Green

Bishop Francis J. Haas
Moss Hart
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. B. J. Hovde
Quincy Howe
Fannie Hurst
Dr. Alvin S. Johnson
Dr. Robert L. Johnson
Rockwell Kent
Serge Koussevitzky
Albert Lasker
Herbert H. Lehman
Dr. Emil Lengyel
Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman
Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk
Isador Lubin

Henry Luce
Thomas Mann
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather
Prof. Francis E. McMahon
George Meany
Edgar Ansel Mowrer
Paul Muni
Philip Murray
Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr
Louis Nizer
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
Dr. Raymond R. Paty
Rev. Norman Vincent Peale
Ferdinand Pecora
Brock Pemberton
Dr. Daniel A. Poling
Walter P. Reuther

Quentin Reynolds
Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde
Arthur M. Schlesinger
Dr. Harlow Shapley
Dr. Guy Emery Shipler
Spyros Skouras
Rev. Ralph W. Sockman
Estelle M. Sternberger
Rex Stout
Nathan Straus
Herbert Bayard Swope
Mark Van Doren
Walter Wanger
Thornton Wilder
Ira Wolfert
Dr. Mary E. Woolley
Darryl Zanuck

MASS DEMONSTRATION

SPONSORED BY AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY

JUNE 12, 1946

New York Journal American - June 13, 1946

As Garden Rally Assailed Bevin on Closed Palestine

JEWS ASK JUSTICE . . . Thousands jam Madison Square Garden in a mass demonstration demanding that Britain give up its mandate of Palestine and open the country to Europe's displaced Jews. The rally, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Committee and the American Jewish Conference, came on the heels of British Foreign Secretary Bevin's rejection of such a proposal. Banners lining the auditorium attack Britain in such terms as "Are the Four Freedoms for all but the Jews?" and "Escape for the Nazi Mufti, but no rescue for the Nazi victims." Speakers included Abba Silver, Cleveland rabbi, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise. by Alexander Archer, Journal-American Photo

New York Herald-Tribune - June 13, 1946

Bevin Assailed at Garden Rally, His Speech Is Called Anti-Jewish

Zionist Leaders Blast Foreign Minister's Talk as 'Reminiscent of Nazis at Their Worst'; 'Cheap Slur' Against Americans Also Charged

Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, was accused of anti-Jewish bias and his arguments yesterday for postponing migration of European Jews to Palestine were bitterly denounced last night at a rally of 12,000 persons at Madison Square Garden.

The rally, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, was called to protest the delay in admitting to Palestine 100,000 Jews from displaced-persons camps in Germany and Austria, as requested last year by President Truman and recommended unanimously in April by an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

Protests against the return to the Middle East of the pro-Axis Mufti of Jerusalem were overshadowed by the denunciations of the British Foreign Minister and the Labor government.

By coincidence, the rally came a few hours after Mr. Bevin, addressing a Labor party conference in England, rejected the plan for a mass migration to Palestine this year and ascribed the agitation for it in the United States, "and particularly in New York," to a desire to keep most of the 100,000 out of New York.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland rabbi and president of the Zionist Organization of America, called the latter remark a "cheap slur on the American people and a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst."

Asserting that Mr. Bevin had given his word to the Anglo-American committee that its recommendations, if unanimous, would be carried out, Dr. Silver said that "American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in Congress, who are discussing a loan to Britain," and inquire whether the United States can afford to make a loan to a government whose pledged word seems worthless."

He charged that the British Foreign Minister "has repeatedly given evidence of virulent anti-Jewish bias" and questioned whether Mr. Bevin's attitude is that of the British people.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman with Dr. Silver of the Zionist Emergency Council, branded Mr. Bevin's remark as "gratuitously and vulgarly insulting" and, addressing himself to President Truman, added: "Mr. President, it is you who are being flouted are being insulted by the British government."

He spoke bitterly, too, of Mr. Bevin's statement that additional British troops would be needed in Palestine if the Jewish population was increased. He called the statement "utterly misleading," and declared:

"The British troops are there in order to resist the insistence of the Government of Egypt that British troops get out of Egypt."

There now appears little hope that the recommendations of the Anglo-American committee will be carried out unless Mr. Truman "speaks sharply and acts decisively," Dr. Wise said.

Bartley C. Crum, one of the American representatives on the twelve-man committee of inquiry, asserted that the committee received conclusive evidence from British experts in Palestine that the 100,000 could be moved in without trouble from the Arabs and said that the movement could be accomplished in two months if the British would issue passports.

This was in answer to Mr. Bevin's statement that he would have to move another British army division to Palestine, which he was not prepared to do. Mr. Bevin's contention that secret armies of Jews and Arabs ought to be disarmed beforehand was dismissed as impossible by Mr. Crum.

"Palestinian Jewry is well able to take care of itself," Mr. Crum said. He is a youthful looking San Francisco attorney of Irish ancestry. "Let the British remove their 100,000 troops from Palestine and there will be room for the 100,000 refugees."

In a secret balloting conducted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration he continued, the homeless Jews overwhelmingly chose Palestine for haven. "They did not want to come to New York or to go to England," he asserted, "because they had heard ominous reports of growing anti-Semitism in these two countries. They did not want to go through it again."

That Haj Amin el-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, should be returned to power in the Middle East, Mr. Crum said, would be "one of the most shameless affronts ever given to public decency."

"I charge," he continued, "that the Mufti is now using funds given him by Hitler to carry on Hitler's work. He is the Fuehrer's spiritual successor and as such is a menace not only to the Jews, but to all of us. In my opinion this country should demand the immediate arrest of the Mufti and his trial as a war criminal."

Senator Edwin C. Johnson Democrat, of Colorado, another speaker, accused Britain of unwillingness and inability to "carry out her responsibility with respect to the Palestine mandate" and called for the giving of that mandate to the United States. "She is pressing us to assume all of the responsibilities," he said. "We should assume also the decisions."

He said that the issue of the need for American troops in Palestine "is being trumped up for the sole purpose of scaring off this country so that they (the British) may be left to continue in Palestine their nefarious and shameful policies of playing one group against another for selfish purposes." Prime Minister Attlee, he asserted, "desired still more time for the Arab chiefs to organize their political resistance."

"I wonder," Senator Johnson speculated, "what the President will think of Mr. Bevin's speech. I can't believe he will take it lying down. Why, when I read it I thought I could hear the voice of Herr Goebbels." At the end of his speech he received an ovation."

Other speakers included Henry Monsky, chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, who presided; Magistrate Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, president of Hadassah; Moshe Shapiro and Berl Frymer.

PM - June 13, 1946

Sen. Johnston Tells Britain: Yield Palestine Rule to U. S.

Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D., Col.), in a Palestine rally speech at Madison Square Garden last night, called for Britain to turn over her Palestine mandate to the U. S. A., and Zionist leadership demanded that the U. S. A. withhold the British loan unless she lives up to her pledges to Jewry.

"Britain has proved she is unwilling and unable to carry out her responsibility with respect to the Palestine mandate," Johnson said at the meeting sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Committee.

Johnson referred to a British query as to what the U. S. A. would be willing to contribute to keep order if Palestine were to be opened to increased Jewish immigration.

The demand for holding the loan was made by the co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the ZOA (Zionist Organization of America), and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Johnson declared "this entire issue of the need for American troops is being trumped up for the sole purpose of scaring off this nation so they (the British) may be left to continue in Palestine their nefarious and shameful policies of playing one group against another for selfish purposes."

He expressed belief that British Prime Minister Attlee "desired still more time for the Arab chiefs to organize their political resistance."

Johnson accused the State Dept. of playing a game of delay, and hit at President Truman's appointment of a cabinet committee of three to formulate Palestine decisions.

"To say this is disconcerting," he said of the President's action, "is the gross in understatements."

The name of British Foreign Minister Bevin was repeatedly and heartily booed by the 9000 persons who attended the mass demonstration to support Jewish immigration to Palestine. (See story on Page 7.)

The boos sounded repeatedly during an address by Dr. Wise. Referring to the statement of Bevin about the propaganda for Jewish immigration to Palestine being fomented in New York, Dr. Wise termed the Minister's speech before the Labor Party in England "one of the most pitiable speeches in English history."

Dr. Wise said he had been assured by the French ambassador that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem would not be permitted to leave France. (See story, p. 7.)

Dr. Wise said that Americans have the right to say to the President of the U. S. A. that he is being "flouted" by the British Government's attitude in denying the immediate admission of 100,000 displaced Jewish persons to Palestine.

"I say to you that unless the British Government now grants the 100,000 certificates of admission to Palestine, no promise of England is worthy of trust. We have no reason to believe that any pledge of a British Government will be kept."

After reviewing the pledges of both the Churchill and Attlee Governments, Dr. Silver declared:

"We, as American citizens, have the right to inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a Government whose pledged word seems to be worthless."

The assertion was met by tremendous cheers and boos and shouts of "Boycott England!" Dr. Silver also said the British people should "repudiate" this "maligner and cheap vulgarian," who yesterday in a speech before the British Labor Party in England rejected the proposal that 100,000 Jews be immediately admitted to Palestine.

Bartley C. Crum, U. S. member of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee repeated that Bevin "made it clear to us in London that the British Government would put our recommendations into effect if they were unanimous."

Bartley C. Crum (left), U. S. member of Anglo-American Inquiry Commission on Palestine, and Berl Frymer, spokesman for Labor Zionist Movement. *PM Photo by Leo Lieb*

These intent listeners heard speakers assail Britain for broken pledges last night at Madison Square Zionist rally. *PM Photo by Bernie Aumuller*

Zionists, at a rally in Madison Square Garden last night, booed and hissed the name of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin who yesterday bolted Palestine's door against the 100,000 European Jews for whom President Truman asks haven there. *Photo by Alexander Archer*

New York Daily News - June 13, 1946

Bevin Blasted At Garden for Jewish 'Slur'

British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin was denounced as a "cheap vulgarian" at a Madison Square Garden rally last night for telling a British Labor Party conference in London earlier yesterday that the U. S. wants to send 100,000 Jews to Palestine because it doesn't want too many of them in New York.

The Garden blast, heard by 9,000 persons who booed Bevin's name whenever it was mentioned, was loosed by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America. He termed Bevin's remarks "a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst" and asked the British people to repudiate "this maligner."

Secretary Bevin

Hints at Loan Reprisal.

"It very well might be that the British loan will be held in abeyance" until the slur is clarified, Dr. Silver added. He urged Jews to exercise their political influence and force the U. S. government to protest Britain's delay in admitting Jews to Palestine.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, said American Jews — all Americans — had the right to resent and fling back "the vulgarly insulting remark of Mr. Bevin." He characterized the Bevin address as "one of the most pitiable speeches in English history." Bevin's statement that additional British troops would be needed in Palestine if the Jewish population was increased was "utterly misleading," Wise said.

He declared that "the British troops are there in order to resist the insistence of the Government of Egypt that British troops get out of Egypt."

Protest Palestine Delay.

The rally, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, was called to protest delay in admitting to Palestine 100,000 Jews from displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria as requested last year by President Truman and unanimously recommended in April by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

There were protests, too, against the return to the Middle East of the Mufti of Jerusalem. But these were overshadowed by denunciations of Bevin and the Labor Government.

Senator Edwin C. Johnson (D-Col.), another speaker said he wondered what President Truman thought after hearing the Bevin speech. "It was a gratuitous insult to the President and the people of the United States," he said. "I don't think the President will take it lying down." He and Bartley C. Crum, U. S. member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, urged that the British Government relinquish its Palestine mandate.

New York Daily Mirror - June 13, 1946

Boo Bevin at Zionist Rally

Zionist supporters, urged to use their political influence to compel a U.S. protest against Britain's most recent stall on admitting homeless Jews to Palestine, last night booed each mention of the name of British Foreign Minister Bevin at a Madison Square Garden rally to support the recommendation of a joint Anglo-U.S. board that 100,000 be admitted in the next year.

Beseeching American Jews to demand that President Truman "stand firm this time," was Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the Zionist Organization of America, one of the speakers who addressed 9,000 at a joint demonstration of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference. The boos that arose at each mention of Bevin's name were provoked by his fresh declaration that he would reject the joint board's immigration recommendation.

Dr. Silver termed Bevin's remarks "a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity" and questioned the prudence of a U. S. loan to a nation "whose pledged word seemed to be worthless."

Sen. Edwin Johnson London acting "nefariously" on Palestine problem, he declares.

"It very well might be that the British loan will be held in abeyance until the slur is withdrawn," he said.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the chairman declared "that unless the British Government now grants the 100,000 certificates of admission to Palestine, no promise of England is worthy of trust."

He termed Bevin's address yesterday to the Labor Party "one of the most pitiable speeches in English history."

To a British proposal that the U. S. share in Palestine's responsibilities, U. S. Sen. Johnson (D. Col.) suggested the U. S. relieve Britain completely of the Palestine mandate because "Britain has proved she is unwilling and unable to carry out her responsibility." And since "she is pressing us to assume all the responsibilities, we should assume also the decisions," he added.

He charged the British demand for U. S. troops in Palestine "is being trumped up for the sole purpose of scaring off this country, so that they (British) may be left to continue in Palestine their nefarious policies of playing one group against another for selfish purposes."

New York Times - June 13, 1946

RALLY ASKS SHIFT OF MANDATE TO U.N.

Britain Should Be Forced to Give Up Palestine Control, Speakers Here Declare

BEVIN STAND DENOUNCED

Senator Johnson and B. C. Crum Also Propose That U. S. Assume Charge

Demands that the entire question of the loan to Britain be reexamined and that Britain be forced to give up immediately its mandate in Palestine were voiced last night at a mass demonstration in Madison Square Garden sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference.

Coming on the heels of Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's rejection of the proposal to admit 100,000 Jews into Palestine, the meeting, which was called a week ago to protest the "stalling" tactics of the British Government, turned instead to a bitter denunciation of the entire policy of the British Government on the issue of Palestine. The meeting was attended by 12,000 persons.

The principal speakers at the rally, including Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the Emergency Council; Bartley C. Crum, San Francisco lawyer and member of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine, and Senator Edwin C. Johnson, Democrat, of Colorado, interpreted Mr. Bevin's remarks as an affront to President Truman, who personally had advocated the admission of the 100,000.

The demand that Britain surrender the mandate was made by Mr. Crum and Senator Johnson. Mr. Crum, along with five other Americans and six Britons, had served on a commission that had made an exhaustive four-month study before submitting its unanimous recommendations on Palestine.

Change of Mandate Asked

Mr. Crum asked that the mandate be turned over to the United Nations; called for immediate withdrawal of all British troops, and suggested that the United States Senate examine the feasibility of having this country assume the mandate.

He also declared that Mr. Bevin's statements had made it possible "for the first time" for the Soviet Union to ask that it be made one of the trustees of Palestine under the United Nations.

He said the British policy constituted a violation of the British-American agreement of 1924, whereby the United States became a party to the mandate to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of Jews in Palestine.

Mr. Crum also said the return of the Grand Mufti to the Middle East, "apparently with the help of the British at this particular moment, is, I consider, one of the most shameless affronts ever given to public decency."

He said he had seen in Germany an agreement dated twenty-four hours before the German surrender signed by the Nazi government and a representative of the Grand Mufti under which large sums of money were paid in gold for his activities up to that day and as payment in advance "for his promise to lead an all-Arab attack against the 'common enemy.'"

"I charge," he said, "that the Grand Mufti is now using funds given him by Hitler to carry on Hitler's work where Hitler left off. He is the most dangerous advocate of Hitler fascism in the Middle East."

Dr. Silver accused Mr. Bevin of "a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst," and declared:

"In view of this shocking record of broken pledges and the repeated violation of solemn obligations, American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in the Congress of the United States, who are discussing the granting of a loan to Great Britain, and inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a government whose pledged word seems to be worthless."

Dr. Wise Quotes Bonnet

Dr. Wise disclosed that only a week ago Henri Bonnet, the French Ambassador, had assured him that the Grand Mufti would not be permitted to leave France.

He said the purpose of British troops in Palestine was not, as asserted by Mr. Bevin, to protect the Jews, but rather to safeguard British interests in Egypt and other parts of the Middle East.

Dr. Wise declared he was not bothered by the "offensive vulgarity" of Mr. Bevin's remark that American Jews did not want European Jews in New York City, but that he was "troubled because it indicates that, even though President Truman appointed the whole Cabinet, with himself included, as a commission to deal with Palestine, there will be no hope of fulfilling the unanimous recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee unless President Truman speaks sharply and acts decisively in relation to the British Government."

Dr. Wise added that he spoke as a lifelong admirer of the English people, but that unless the 100,000 certificates of admission were issued immediately, "we have no reason to believe that any pledge of Britain will be kept."

Senator Johnson reviewed a long history of British refusal to carry out explicit commitments on Palestine and the obligations inherent in the mandate and also endorsed a move to force Britain to relinquish the mandate and turn it over to the United States.

"She is pressing us to assume all of the responsibilities," he said. "We should also assume the decisions."

Henry Monsky, chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, presided.

Posters filling the interior of the garden attacked the British in such terms as "Are the Four Freedoms for all but the Jews?" and "Escape for the Nazi Mufti, but no rescue for Nazi victims."

New York Sun - June 13, 1946

BEVIN CALLED ANTI-JEWISH

Rally Hears Senator Cry Insult at Briton.

Re-examination of the proposed British loan and a demand that Britain be forced to give up immediately its mandate in Palestine were urged last night at a rally of 12,000 in Madison Square Garden, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference. The mass demonstration was called to protest the purported "stalling" tactics of the British Government toward the admittance of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, also was denounced because of his speech earlier in the day in which he rejected the proposal for the mass migration plan.

"Britain has proved that she is unwilling and unable to carry out her responsibility with respect to the Palestine mandate," Senator Edwin C. Johnson (D.-Col.) declared. "She is pressing us to assume all of the responsibilities. We should assume also the decisions."

Johnson said that Bevin's speech was a "gratuitous insult to the President and the people of the United States. I don't think the President will take it lying down."

Silver Cites Promise.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, asserted that Bevin had given his word to the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the Palestinian situation and that its recommendations, if unanimous, would be carried out. The committee recommended the admittance of 100,000 Jews immediately.

"In view of this shocking record of broken pledges and the repeated violation of solemn obligations," Silver said, "American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in Congress who are discussing the granting of a loan to Great Britain, and inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a Government whose pledged word seems to be worthless.

Cheers, boos and shouts of "Boycott England" were voiced. Silver then said that the British people should "repudiate" this "maligner and cheap vulgarian." He characterized Bevin's "remarks as a "coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity" and asserted that "it very well might be that the British loan will be held in abeyance until this slur is clarified."

Bartley C. Crum, a San Francisco lawyer and a member of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine, also demanded that Britain surrender its mandate and that it be turned over to the United Nations. He called for immediate withdrawal from Palestine of all British troops and suggested that the United States Senate examine the feasibility of having this country assume the mandate.

Sees Plot With Mufti.

Crum declared that Bevin's statements had, "for the first time," made it possible for the Soviet Union to ask that it be made one of the trustees of Palestine under the United Nations. He asserted that the return of the Grand Mufti to the Middle East "apparently with the help of the British at this particular moment, is, I consider, one of the most shameless affronts ever given to public decency." He charged that "the Grand Mufti is now using funds given him by Hitler to carry on Hitler's work where Hitler left off. He is the most dangerous advocate of Hitler fascism in the Middle East."

Crum expressed the opinion that the United States State Department is "far from blameless" in the matter of delaying the entry of Jews into Palestine. Concerning Bevin's statement that more Jews are not wanted in New York, Crum declared "I brand that a lie, and he knows it's a lie."

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman of the Emergency Council, said that he was not bothered by the "offensive vulgarity" of Bevin's remark that American Jews did not want European Jews, but that he was "troubled because it indicates that, even though President Truman appointed the whole Cabinet with himself included to deal with Palestine, there will be no hope of fulfilling the unanimous recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission unless President Truman speaks sharply and acts decisively in relations to the British Government."

Is Britain Prepared to Accept Responsibility for the Mufti's New Murders?

THE ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Amin el Husseini—murderer, war criminal, friend and supporter of Adolf Hitler—is reported back in the Near East. He is undoubtedly preparing to organize riots and pogroms, and to instigate acts of terror.

Why has the Mufti been helped to "escape" and who engineered his plane journey to Damascus? We are shocked to read reports that the British Colonial Office has re-imported this killer. Even more astounding are newspaper accounts indicating that France and reportedly also the U. S. State Department* were participants in this intrigue.

Has all this been done to make it possible for Britain to claim that "the Arab world will go up in flames" if 100,000 homeless Jews are admitted into Palestine immediately, as requested by President Truman and recommended by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry?

Will we be asked to believe that England is helpless before the papier-mache' swords of Arab puppets?

The American people have had enough of imperialist treachery! *The helpless Jewish remnants in Europe must not be sacrificed to appease democracy's mortal enemies.*

Join with us in demanding an end to this immoral game of power politics.

Insist that 100,000 displaced European Jews be admitted into Palestine at once.

Fight the tactics of Great Britain and the U. S. State Department.

COME TO THE GREAT MASS DEMONSTRATION

Tomorrow, Wednesday, 8 P.M. Madison Square Garden

SPEAKERS: BARTLEY C. CRUM
SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
HENRY MONSKY, Chairman

Admission Free
Come Early

Doors Open at 6:30 P. M.

*PARIS, June 9 (UP)—Diplomatic circles said today that they believed that the Mufti had obtained an American air priority with French help, left Wednesday by a United States Air Transport Command plane for Cairo under an assumed name and changed there to a British plane.

SPONSORED BY
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

PART OF GREAT CROWD at last night's Madison Sq. Garden rally which scored Foreign Minister Bevin's Palestine policy.

New York Journal-American - June 12, 1946

Throw Open Palestine's Doors to Helpless Jews NOW

By HARRY H. SCHLACHT

TONIGHT in Madison Square Garden thousands will assemble to voice their thunderous protest against the unconscionable procrastination of the British Government and our State Department to admit 100,000 European Jews into Palestine.

It was unanimously recommended by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

It was approved by President Truman, with the recommendation that the "100,000 Jews be transferred to Palestine with the greatest despatch."

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SEEKS INDEFINITELY TO DELAY THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS NOBLE OBJECTIVE TO WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT IS FULLY COMMITTED.

* * *

This great demonstration is held under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Co-Chairmen, warn that delays will produce an unprecedented catastrophe in the displaced persons' camps unless the doors of Palestine are opened at once to these helpless Jews.

They appeal to the conscience of humanity to aid these stricken people.

Let the world remember that more than six million innocent Jews have been ruthlessly murdered and that the surviving remnants have been forced to wander aimlessly and helplessly over the face of the earth.

Let the world remember that so-called civilization has witnessed the unmerciful annihilation of a race without precedent in recorded history.

* * *

From the woes and sorrows of the concentration camps and the death chambers comes the wailing of the dead that will not be silenced—to save the Jews that still can be saved.

* * *

We cannot fail them.
We must not fail them.
We must make our voice the voice of justice for the oppressed.

* * *

Let America take the leadership.
America is the light and hope of the world.
Let us demand justice for a tragic people now.
Let us demand justice with action.

ATTEND THIS GREAT RALLY TONIGHT!

New York Post - June 13, 1946

Rally Hits Bevin, Asks U.N. Rule Palestine

By ALVIN ROSENFELD

A huge Madison Square Garden Zionist rally sent a wrathful answer back to Foreign Minister Bevin today for rejecting the Palestine immigration plan and demanded immediate United Nations control of the Holy Land and a re-examination of the British loan.

Bevin himself was under the heaviest attack for saying that American agitation for the immigration of 100,000 homeless European Jews to Palestine was due to the belief that "more Jews aren't wanted in New York."

Speaker after speaker denounced the British Foreign Minister as an "anti-Semite," a "vulgarian" and a traitor to the cause of liberalism and labor.

Asks Mandate Transfer

Bartley C. Crum, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine which recommended the immigration plan that Bevin rejected, led in the assault at the mass meeting last night.

Crum demanded that the Palestine mandate be wrenched from British control and turned over to the United Nations, called for immediate withdrawal of British troops there and called upon the U. S. Senate to review the British loan.

Crum assailed British connections with the "escape" of the Mufti of Jerusalem from France to the Middle East, charging that the Mufti now is using money given him by Hitler to carry on the fight against the Jews. The Mufti, Crum declared, is "Hitler's spiritual successor."

The youthful-looking San Francisco attorney spoke before a huge poster which showed emaciated, careworn refugees collapsing in a scorched countryside, but close to a gate of hope labeled, "Palestine Jewish National Home." That gate of hope was shown barred by a sign: "Padlocked by British Imperialism, U. S. State Dept."

Against this somber backdrop Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, strongly indicated that so-called illegal immigration to Palestine will be intensified, saying: "We are going to move into Palestine from every direction despite every closed door."

The Protests Mount

Against this backdrop Sen. Johnson (D-Colo.) charged that the State Dept. had ordered 30 days' delay in acting on the Inquiry Committee's recommendations "in the hope that more and bigger protests will be forthcoming."

Against this backdrop Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman with Silver of the American Zionist Emergency Council, told President Truman that "it is you who are being insulted" by Britain's refusal to open Palestine's gates.

Against this backdrop Mrs. Moses P. Epstein warned that unless immediate immigration was granted, there would be mass suicides in displaced persons camps.

Against this backdrop Judge Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund, flatly declared that "Palestine is the only solution to the problem of Jewish homelessness."

Bevins Stuns Them

These speakers and others attacked Bevin's speech yesterday, in which he refused to adopt the Inquiry Committee's recommendation for admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine and charged that American agitation for Palestine immigration was due to the fact that more Jews are not wanted in New York.

Crum termed Bevin's statement a "lie" and pointed out that a secret poll of displaced Jews showed a great majority wanted to go to Palestine and not to the U. S. or Britain.

The men and women of all ages and income groups who streamed into the Garden seemed stunned by the Bevin statement. But, as the meeting proceeded, they seemed to regain hope.

They roared approval when Johnson asked Britain to give up the Palestine mandate on the grounds that she is unwilling to carry out the mandate's provisions for establishment of a Jewish National Home.

They hissed and booed when Crum disclosed that "it took great persuasion by the President to convince" a reluctant State Dept. that the Inquiry Committee's recommendation on immigration was to be official U. S. policy.

Bids New Yorkers Act

They stomped their feet in agreement when Silver, after accusing Britain of successive betrayals on the Palestine issue, said U. S. citizens have a right to ask whether their government "can afford to make a loan to a government whose pledged word seems to be worthless."

The audience applauded vigorously when Silver urged New York's Jews to exercise their political influence to demand large-scale immigration, pointing out that several Arab states have been set up in the Near East in recent years but that establishment of a Jewish state has been delayed repeatedly.

And, when Silver expressed apprehension over what Palestine's Jews would do when they heard the news of the Bevin statement, there were scattered cries of "fight! fight!"

Both Crum and Johnson assured the rally, which was sponsored by the Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, that Palestine's Jews could defend themselves.

Riddles British Alibis

Johnson quoted the British commanding general in Palestine as saying that, even if British troops were to withdraw, the Jewish self-defense formations there could hold the land against any combination of Arab forces for several years without any outside support. Johnson disclosed that this hitherto-secret statement was made before a hearing of the Inquiry Committee in Jerusalem.

The Senator also branded as without basis the British assertion that large-scale immigration would require use of American troops to keep order, and said this issue was trumped up "for the sole purpose of scaring off this country" and to give Britain a free hand.

The Jewish self-defense organization Hagana can withstand "any onslaught," Crum said, adding that actually there was no anti-Semitism in Palestine.

The Arab masses are not anti-Jewish, he said, and the reactionary Arab rulers are opposed not so much to the Jews as to the Western democratic civilization brought by the Jews.

Escape "a Trick"

Angered by Bevin's statements, Crum virtually tore up his prepared speech and delivered a blistering attack on the Foreign Minister and on the "bankrupt policies of British imperialism."

Crum also decried the Mufti's arrival in the Middle East as a "despicable trick."

In Nuremberg and Vienna, Crum said, "I saw proof which convinced me as a lawyer that this war criminal . . . was himself largely responsible for mass slaughter of Jews."

POST READY TO OFFER REWARD FOR BRINGING MUFTI TO TRIAL

The New York Post is prepared to offer a $5,000 reward for the Mufti of Jerusalem if he can be found and placed on trial as a war criminal, Bartley C. Crum, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, told last night's Madison Square Garden protest rally.

Crum said the reward depended on whether Justice Jackson at Nuremberg could give assurance the Mufti would be tried and added that Post Columnist Edgar Ansel Mowrer was ready to fly to Nuremberg with documents proving the Mufti's war guilt.

T. O. Thackrey, editor and general manager of the New York Post, commenting on Crum's statement, said today it was questionable whether any of the powers involved in the Palestine question wanted to find the Mufti of Jerusalem.

The Post's editor explained that if the Mufti were indicted a series of rewards, from $5,000 up, would be offered by this newspaper to find the Arab fugitive and bring him to trial as a war criminal. He pointed out, however, that the real trouble was not finding the Mufti, but in locating an official agency that really wanted to try him.

The "Liberated" Jews of Europe Still Plead for Liberation

The fate of 100,000 tortured men, women and children is in your hands citizens of America!

Unless the Jews in the Displaced Persons Camps of Europe are permitted to enter Palestine immediately, they are doomed to a hopeless existence which may end in mass-suicide.

The President of the United States and the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine have called for the *immediate* admission of 100,000 homeless Jews into Palestine. At least a fraction of the Jewish remnants could thus be saved.

But the British Government and our own State Department would not have it so! They employ delaying tactics, when action is long overdue. They create new issues which have no validity, when the real issue has long been altogether clear. As for the homeless Jews---well, Jews are used to suffering . . .

But the gentlemen are wrong. *The Jews of Europe have passed the limits of endurance, and the Jews of America have reached the end of their patience!*

We demand action, not mere sympathy

If you want these tragic people saved now . . .
If you want an end to the delaying tactics of Great Britain and the U. S. State Department . . .

Join

THE GREAT MASS DEMONSTRATION

Tomorrow Night—Madison Square Garden—8 P. M.

SPEAKERS: BARTLEY C. CRUM, SENATOR ED[illegible]L C. JOHNSON, DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, HENRY MONSKY, Chairman

Sponsored by

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

ADMISSION FREE
COME EARLY

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

DOORS OPEN
AT 6:30 P.M.

New York World-Telegram - June 13, 1946

Bevin Hit as Anti-Jewish At Garden Zionist Rally

Twelve thousand persons at a Madison Square Garden rally last night heard speakers accuse Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, of anti-Jewish bias for his proposals to postpone Jewish migration to Palestine.

The rally, under the sponsorship of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, was called to protest the delay in admitting to Palestine 100,000 Jews from displaced prison camps in Germany and Austria, as recommended unanimously in April by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

Link to Loan Seen.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, said the Jews would ask the President of the United States "to stand firm this time, for God's sake," in his support of the Jewish move to open the doors of Palestine.

Dr. Silver accused Mr. Bevin of "a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst," for his rejection in a speech yesterday of the proposal that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine immediately.

"In view of this shocking record of broken pledges and the repeated violation of solemn obligations," he said, "American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in the Congress of the United States who are discussing the granting of a loan to Great Britain and inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a government whose pledged word seems to be worthless.

Move to Palestine Seen.

"We are going to move into Palestine from every direction, in spite of any obstacles. Soon we will be sending hundreds of thousands of young American Jews into Palestine. The Jews have had enough. We want a national home for our people."

Bartley C. Crum, a San Francisco attorney and member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry into Palestine, said of Mr. Bevin's statement that more Jews are not wanted in New York:

"I brand that a lie, and he knows it's a lie."

Insult to Truman.

Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, (Dem. Colo.), urged that the British government give up its Palestine mandate and turn it over to the U. S. to administer.

He added that he wondered what President Truman thought after hearing Mr. Bevin's speech. "It was a gratuitous insult to the President and the people of the United States," he said. "I don't think he will take it lying down."

New York Journal-American - June 13, 1946

Rally Blasts Bevin For Slur on Jews

Rabbis Wise and Silver Assail British Refusal to Open Palestine Door

(Photo in Today's Picture Section.)

British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin's declaration that "New York doesn't want any more Jews" was assailed here today as "a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity" and one of the "most pitiable speeches in English history."

The replies were given by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland rabbi and president of the Zionist Organization of America, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, joint chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Bevin told the British Labor Party's annual conference that agitation in this country, particularly in New York, for immigration of 100,000 displaced European Jews into Palestine "is because they don't want too many of them in New York."

MASS DEMONSTRATION.

Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise were principal speakers at a mass demonstration in Madison Square Garden to support Jewish Immigration into Palestine. The rally was sponsored jointly by the American Zionist Emergency Committee and the American Jewish Conference.

Labeling Bevin "a maligner and cheap vulgarian," Dr. Silver attacked Britain's failure to open the door to Palestine to Jewish immigrants.

"We are going to move into Palestine from every direction," he told the audience of 9,000, "in spite of any obstacles. Soon we will be sending hundreds of thousands of young American Jews into Palestine.

"We Jews have had enough. We want a national home for our people."

He called upon American Jews to ask Congress to protest Britain's policy in Palestine, and "inquire whether the Government can afford to make a loan to a nation whose pledged word seems to be worthless."

JOHNSON'S VIEW.

Dr. Wise stated British troops in Palestine were not there to "protect the Jews," as Bevin said, "but to safeguard British interests in Egypt and other parts of the Middle East."

Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D.-Colo.) called upon Britain to surrender her mandate over Palestine to the United States.

"Britain has proved she is unwilling and unable to carry out her responsibility with respect to the Palestine mandate," he said. "She is pressing us to assume all the responsibilities, so we should also assume the decisions."

He added Britain committed herself to make Palestine a national home for the Jews when she accepted the mandate, and called her failure to do so "faithless."

Reprinted from The Nation, June 22, 1946

Palestine and Bevin

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Cairo, June 15

I HAVE seen no report of the American reaction to the Palestine remarks made by Bevin at Bournemouth, but read here in the context of events in the Levant, in Egypt, and in Palestine itself, they seemed most ominous. For a Foreign Minister to say that "the agitation in the United States . . . for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine is because they do not want too many of them in New York" is to offer an unjust and untrue simplification of a complex problem; it is hard to believe that Bevin would have ventured it if he were not casting about for an alibi to cover his own failure to meet the issue. Also when he says, "If you have to raise the Arabs' life to the standard of the Jews, you cannot do it if you take away their land," he is distorting both the recommendations of the Inquiry Committee and the intentions of the Jews. But more significant and disturbing was Bevin's assertion that "if we put 100,000 Jews in Palestine tomorrow I would have to put another division of troops there," coupled with the demand for the Jews and Arabs to lay down their arms. Reading this, one realizes how little Bevin has learned from the inquiry, indeed from the long record of British colonial policy: he still believes that order is a prerequisite to policy, an idea easily converted into the theory that order is a substitute for policy. This mistake was responsible for the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, for the Amritsar massacre, and for a dozen other bloody events easy to recall. If persisted in, it will have the same ugly results in Palestine.

For almost five weeks I have been watching developments and talking to informed people—Jews, Christians, Moslems—in Palestine, Lebanon, and Egypt, and I am sure that if real trouble starts it will not be because 100,000 Jews are brought to Palestine but because of the stalling and hedging of the British government, its painful reluctance to apply any clear-cut policy, and the behavior of many of its agents, military and civilian, who do everything but openly invite an Arab revolt. As days pass without a decision on Palestine, the Moslem world becomes more and more convinced that blackmail pays and that the Western powers can be frightened into sacrificing the Jews just as they have already abandoned the Christians in Lebanon. One country the Arabs are uneasy about is the United States. They believe that if 100,000 Jews come to Palestine it will be because Truman insists they come. They know that an uncompromising stand in Washington, backed by solid promises of material help, would go far to offset the Arab threats and the warnings of Bevin's advisers out here.

If our government takes such a stand, it will alter in a most salutary way the balance of forces in the eastern Mediterranean. But I wonder whether we can be counted on to do it. We are not accustomed to following an independent line, and we depend heavily on the British for the defense of our interests. Nor are we immune to Arab propaganda. Today at Payne Field, a huge airport outside of Cairo which our government has just sold to Egypt, I encountered several American oil men on their way home from Arabia. They agreed that Ibn Saud was an old fox and had scared Standard Oil to death by threatening to destroy installations in the oil fields and to end concessions if we did not quit supporting the Jews. "Would he do it?" I asked. They didn't know but thought he figured he wouldn't have to; he counted on threats to turn the trick. "He could wreck the whole works in three hours," one of them said. "But then of course he wouldn't get the money." Concessions are the lifeblood of Oriental absolutism, and Ibn Saud is perhaps more fox than fanatic.

I have been much disappointed by the recent words of another Britisher, R. H. S. Crossman, a good writer and a member of the Inquiry Committee who is supposed to have been working hard—with indifferent success, one must conclude—to convert Messrs. Attlee and Bevin to the report. In Palestine Crossman was generally regarded as the ablest member of the committee. This being the case, I wonder why he should have taken particular pains, in a talk the other day at the London School of Economics, to ridicule the American role in relation to Palestine. When he rejected the idea of British-American condominium—proposed by nobody so far as I know—by saying that "it is difficult enough to run the country under the Colonial Office, but it would be quite impossible under a Tammany regime," I could not help recalling somewhat cynically the massive rolls of barbed wire I saw festooning every British official building in Palestine, and the iron censorship, and the political prisoners, also behind barbed wire. Against this backdrop Tammany seemed by contrast quite like the benevolent society it was originally supposed to be. But what I found more gratuitous and politically rather questionable was Crossman's remark, greeted with "laughter," that "poor Truman was neatly caught when he demanded the entry of 100,000 and was asked by Bevin to send American commissioners," and his further ironic comment on the anxiety of Americans, including the American Jews, to deflect Jewish immigration toward Palestine.

I do not intend to dispute these points; I want only to suggest that Bevin's speech indicates the political use to which such remarks are bound to be put. Assuming that Crossman was honest in his desire to win Cabinet approval for the report, his chances were hardly improved by a deliberate attempt to discredit American influence. If Truman was tricked by Bevin, it would seem good strategy in a political fight to welcome the support of Washington rather than undermine it, especially since the most encouraging note in Bevin's discussion of Jewish immigration to Palestine was the suggestion that Britain and the United States should together consider implementation of the report.

But the Foreign Minister's statements at Bournemouth demand examination on their merits. Is it true that the

arrival of 100,000 Jewish D. P.'s would necessitate another division of British troops? To a recent visitor in Palestine the assertion sounds like convention oratory. I do not know how many divisions are already there or, indeed, whether the entire British and American armies combined could prevent guerrilla attacks by armed and bitter citizens. The German army could not do it in France. But I know that Palestine is an occupied country from end to end. The Jews and Arabs alike live under military rule while civilian officials take shelter behind sandbags and armed guards. In Barclay's Bank in Jerusalem a Tommy armed with a machine-gun is prominently posted on the balcony overlooking the main room. Press censorship is complete. No explanation need be given for suspensions or prohibitions. The following item, printed while I was in Jerusalem, shows how it is done:

> *Haifa, Saturday.* The editor of the local afternoon paper, *Zohorayim,* was informed that "the High Commissioner in Council, being of the opinion that matter appearing in said paper is likely to endanger the public peace," has ordered its suspension for a fortnight.

Arrests are frequently made under similar emergency decrees.

Though I had read about the concentration of military and police forces in Palestine, I had no idea until I went there how overpowering it had become. Convoys of British tanks and trucks move along the roads holding up civilian traffic. The public barracks, located at strategic points only a few miles apart, are really forts, concrete structures formidable in size and solidity, and everywhere one sees contingents of the Transjordan Frontier Force, Arab troops originally recruited for the purpose the name implies, policing towns and highways; nothing could be better calculated to provoke Jewish resentment.

But if Bevin really needs that extra division, one might remind him that he is pledged to the withdrawal of the whole naval and military establishment now stationed here in Egypt. The size of these forces is not public property, but the British-owned *Egyptian Gazette* today gives 50,000 as "near the mark"—surely a conservative figure. When negotiations with Egypt are happily ended, Bevin will have two or three extra divisions to send to Palestine, which Britain obviously intends to make its chief stronghold in the Middle East. In the light of these facts I think we need not take too seriously Bevin's military worries.

The real question is the one asked at the beginning: can the British government achieve order in Palestine by continuing to pile up force, while encouraging the Arabs to resist even the recommendations of its own Committee of Inquiry? If a peaceful Palestine is what Bevin wants, it is hard to explain the behavior, for example, of Glubb Pasha—a man who seems to have been clipped, name and all, right out of Kipling. Glubb Pasha is the British brigadier commanding the Arab Legion in Transjordan and is besides Deputy Inspector General of Police for Palestine. In a recent interview Glubb announced flatly that if the committee report is implemented, "British will be at war with the Arab League." "I doubt," said the Pasha, "whether the British forces available are adequate to enforce the committee's recommendations. . . . Palestine would become the scene of murder, sabotage, severed communications, and convoy attacks. In Arab countries outside of Palestine disturbances would take the form of pogroms, attacks on British subjects and premises, and sabotage of Anglo-American oil concerns." Glubb Pasha concluded by calling for twelve to fifteen divisions to handle the situation.

This sort of "warning" is, of course, an open invitation to Arab extremists to launch a holy war. As the Palestine *Post* put it, his statement was "an incitement to mass pillage and murder . . . and to war against his own country."

Glubb's is only a flamboyant example of a point of view which largely dominates the British ruling group in Palestine. Little as Arab leaders like British control, it is none the less heavily weighted on their side. Today this is more than ever true, since the bitter events in Europe and the restrictions of the White Paper have combined to drive the Jews to acts of resistance which are entirely alien to their tradition. Terrorism is still regarded with profound disapproval by official Jewish opinion, but the effort to build and equip a strong defense force and to smuggle refugees through the immigration barriers is universally applauded. A Zionist would no more oppose illegal immigration or Haganah than a patriotic Frenchman would have opposed the F. F. I. during the Nazi occupation. Terrorist acts will increase as long as the present state of suspense continues. And the tactics used by jittery police officials and the military have the effect of creating sympathy for the terrorists—still only a handful—and weakening the authority of responsible leaders.

I could multiply the instances of bias against Jews displayed by British officials. One which came to a climax while I was in Jerusalem will serve as an illustration. On May 1 a government communiqué reported that a kitbag packed with explosives had been found over the magazine of H. M. S. Chevron in Haifa harbor, with detonators fitted, and that "thirteen Palestinian naval ratings" had been arrested, explosives being found on several of them. The story was dressed up with colorful details: one of the arrested men was described as "a well-known terrorist" and the ship as having been engaged in intercepting illegal immigrants. In London the *Daily Telegraph* headed the story "Attempt to Blow up Destroyer" and converted the thirteen Palestinians into thirteen Jewish ratings. It appeared on the day the inquiry recommendations were published. By the time I reached Palestine the accused had faced court-martial and one Jewish sailor had been found guilty of illegal possession of explosives. What was interesting was the collapse of the story put out by the Palestine Information Office. The detonators were not fitted; the position of the kitbag was found to have been accidental; the "Palestinian ratings" were Cypriot, Arab, Armenian, and Jewish; the "several" with explosives became one; no attempt to blow up the warship was found. The offender is in prison. But the P. I. O. official who doctored the story is presumably still carrying on as usual. Such tactics, applied day after day and in every relationship, insure the continuance of tension and bitterness in Palestine and make nonsense of Bevin's demand that the Jews and Arabs disarm.

[*In her next article, based on interviews with Arab and Jewish leaders in Palestine, Miss Kirchwey will deal with the possibility of Arab revolt and the views of Arab leaders, particularly their attitude toward the United States.*]

TIMES-HERALD, WASHINGTON, D.C., TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1946

A B U M D E A L -- By FRANK C. WALDROP

From within the United States Treasury comes news of official discovery that the British have kidded us again, and about big money.

A PERSON WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THEN SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY VINSON'S ORIGINAL STAFF FOR HANDLING THE BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR A $4,400,000,000 "LOAN" DISCLOSES THAT BRITAIN'S CLAIMS OF POVERTY ARE FALSE, AND RECOMMENDS THE LOAN BE CUT BACK, ACCORDINGLY.

This analysis has been furnished to top governmental authorities. It is so important that we reprint it here in full without attempting to translate. It's plain enough, anyhow. Here it is, dated June 19:

"The British loan should be re-examined and cut down to size.

"ACTUAL TRADE DEVELOPMENTS SINCE VE-DAY - AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE GUESSTIMATES MADE BY THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR NEGOTIATING THE LOAN--NOW DEMONSTRATE THAT THE BRITISH DO NOT NEED ANYTHING LIKE THE SUM AGREED ON BY THE NEGOTIATORS.

"As of last August the British claimed that in the first year following VE-Day they would incur a balance of payments deficit of three billions and in the next two years a further deficit of two billions.

"The British estimate for the balance of payments in the crucial first year of transition was as follows (Mr. Clayton's testimony, Senate hearings, SJ Res. 138P118): (In billions of dollars.)

	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
MINIMUM IMPORTS, AUSTERITY LEVEL	5.2	
COMMERCIAL EXPORTS		2.6
NET BALANCE ON WAR EXPENDITURES	1.3	
NET BALANCE ON INVISIBLE ITEMS		.6
	6.5	3.2

Deficit : 3.3 (billions of dollars).

"Ten months have now elapsed since VE-Day and actual export and import figures are available against which to check the estimates made last August.

"BRITISH IMPORTS ARE ACTUALLY RUNNING AT A RATE ONE BILLION DOLLARS LESS THAN THEY ESTIMATED. ON THE OTHER HAND, BRITISH EXPORTS ARE RUNNING AT A RATE ONE BILLION DOLLARS MORE THAN THEY ESTIMATED, THUS REDUCING THEIR ESTIMATED BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT BY TWO BILLION DOLLARS.

"No information is currently available as to the actual developments with respect to the net war expenditures or the net balance on invisible items, but both these are very probably more favorable than was estimated last August.

"Taking into account the actual flow of commodities it is perfectly clear that the balance of payments deficit in the first year after VE-Day will amount not to the 3.3 billions assumed in August of last year, but to no more than and probably much less than 1.3 billions.

"This conclusion is confirmed by the British holdings of gold and dollar balances. During the last 10 months when the British expected a deficit in their balance of payments to cut sharply into their holdings of gold and dollar balances, nothing of that sort has occurred.

"According to British figures, their net holdings of gold and dollar balances at the end of the war amounted to $1,840,000,000. The latest figures supplied by the British show that nine months later their net holdings were still $1,750,000,000.

"The decrease is accounted for by settlement of a Canadian account.

"It may be noted that as of April, 1941 the British reported a net balance of gold and dollar exchange of zero.

"DURING THE WAR AND BY REASON OF LEND-LEASE AND TROOP PAYMENTS MADE TO AMERICANS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE THEIR NET BALANCE OF GOLD AND DOLLAR EXCHANGE INCREASED TO A LEVEL OF APPROXIMATELY 1.9 BILLION.

"There can be no doubt that during the war this country made a very powerful contribution to the improvement in the British gold and dollar balance position.

"THE LOAN SHOULD BE REFERRED BACK TO COMMITTEE AND CUT DOWN IN SIZE.

"The figures cited above demonstrate the British balance of payments is actually very much more favorable than assumed by the Administration when it negotiated the loan. If the loan was proper on the basis of the estimates made in August, it is obviously too large in the light of actual developments.

"THE ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO SUPPLY THE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS WITH INFORMATION SHOWING THE ACTUAL COURSE OF TRADE DEVELOPMENTS. THIS WAS NOT THE ONLY ITEM ON WHICH THEY HAVE FAILED TO TELL THE WHOLE STORY.

"They did not point out that empire countries during the war enormously increased their holdings of gold and dollar balances. South Africa alone holds 900 millions, three times her prewar holdings. Nor did the Administration indicate what it knew to be true, that the British liabilities to empire countries would be substantially reduced.

"The British owe India 4.5 billion, Egypt 1.5 billion and Palestine 550 million. These sums, the Administration has been informed will be settled just as lend-lease was settled, at a small fraction of the nominal indebtedness.

"In the light of these considerations a cut in the British loan is clearly indicated. Indeed, there is reason to believe that quite apart from any loan or gift the British can receive all the assistance they may need in their balance of payment problem through the international fund.

"Through that fund, it may be recalled, the British can get without any struggle at all 350 million every year to total 1.3 billion. If necessary they can, of course, receive much more than that."

There it is. Nobody in his right mind can misunderstand that memorandum. Nobody with the best interest of the United States at heart will ignore it.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THIS WEEK BEGINS FINAL CONSIDERATION OF THAT SO-CALLED "LOAN" TO BRITAIN. THE MEMORANDUM QUOTED IN FULL ABOVE SHOWS AS PLAIN AS DAY WHY THAT "LOAN" IS A BUM DEAL FOR THE U. S. A.

Instead of merely cutting it down, Congress will throw the "loan" out entirely if it wants to serve America first. At any rate, just remember what you read here. If the "loan" goes through there will be big trouble to follow--and never let it be said that "we didn't know."

Reprinted from the Nation, July 13, 1946

Will the Arabs Revolt?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE FEROCITY of the British military attack on the Jewish establishments in Palestine can be explained only by panic or by a desire to prove that the situation is too tense and unstable to permit the admission of 100,000 new immigrants. Perhaps both emotions are involved.

When I was in Palestine last month, panic was plainly observable in British reactions. Official alarm seemed out of proportion even then to the isolated acts of violence committed by Jewish extremists. And the authorities were unwilling to acknowledge any distinction between terrorist acts, condemned by all but a small minority of Jews, and those other illegal operations, such as the smuggling of immigrants and the organization of defense forces, which had the support and approval of the whole Jewish community. The British in Palestine behaved as if they went in deadly fear of the Jews; the provocative warnings of Glubb Pasha mentioned in my last article,* although more hysterical in tone than the comments of ordinary officials, were otherwise typical. Their composite attitude was something like this: "We must at all costs put an end to Jewish resistance and if possible prevent any new immigration; otherwise we shall have war arising out of the justified resentment of the Arab majority."

How realistic are these fears? Would the admission of more Jews into Palestine actually touch off civil war or, even more terrifying, start a general Islamic revolt? Such questions must be answered before one passes final judgment on British behavior.

From the day the Joint Inquiry Committee's report was issued, Arab leaders and the Arab press have carried on a steady campaign of threats and protests. They have promised everything from local acts of terror to a Holy War. A collection of newspaper headlines over the last three months indicates that the city room of an Arab newspaper has no lessons to learn from Mr. Hearst. One of the most imaginative appeared above the story of Truman's first statement on the Palestine report: "Hitler Has Been Found Alive—In The White House!"

It is instructive, however, to contrast the fury of the press, and of leaders aiming their words at public opinion, with the reserve displayed in private conversation as well as in the decisions reached at the recent Arab conferences at Inchass and Bludan. In Jerusalem I talked to the two most influential Arab leaders then in the country. The first, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, is a man whose volcanic flood of oratory conceals genuine patriotic feeling. He is an old hand at the nationalist game, having attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 with Feisal and participated in various subsequent negotiations with the British. He knows the documents by heart and lays the pertinent passages before you. The mandate Auni Bey does not recognize; it was illegal, since the Arabs were promised independence. But even granting the validity of the mandate, its execution by the British has been in violation of the League Covenant. Whereas Iraq and later Transjordan had their own governments under Britain, and Syria and Lebanon theirs under France, Palestine has been ruled directly by the British like a crown colony. "This, of course, is because the Jews were colonized in our country for Britain's imperialist purposes and they had to be protected by British arms."

But Britain is the old adversary, accepted and almost tolerated—like Satan in the Christian theology. The whole explosive fury of Auni Bey's invective was aimed at the United States. He shook his finger under my nose and asked what business the United States had coming into Palestine and running its affairs, installing a plan that would "kill the Arabs?" "Kill?" I asked. "Will 100,000 additional Jews kill the Arabs?" He did not stop to explain but from the general direction of his talk I gathered that more Jewish immigration would, in his opinion, squeeze the Arabs off their land, create a non-Arab life in Palestine, and end age-long established customs and relationships. "You can do this," he said. "With money, with the atom bomb, America can kill every Arab who protests because the promises have all been broken and the foreigners have been forced into this country. Is that what you wish?" I could not have offered a defense of the Committee's report or of America's role if I had tried, for Auni Bey's questions were strictly rhetorical. I only asked, because this was what I had hoped to hear from him, whether he and the other Arab leaders had agreed on a specific plan of action in case the Committee's report was accepted in London. I got no real reply but only deflected a little the direction of the flow. "What can we do? You can kill us. We can die. What else? We are not prepared to wage war against Britain and the United States and the Jews. But in time, we will be vindicated. If it takes a thousand years, justice

* *"Palestine and Bevin," June 22, 1946*

FREDA KIRCHWEY has just returned from a two-months trip to Europe and the Middle East. Her analysis of Arab strength, organization and intentions is particularly timely in view of current developments in Palestine and throughout the Moslem world.

will finally be done." And then, a little abruptly he mentioned Russia. "We don't wish to call upon Stalin for help. But if necessary we can do so." "What about the United Nations?" I asked. "Will the Arab League lay the Palestine issue before the Council or the Assembly?" To this question Auni Bey gave no answer. What was evident from his conversation was the uncertainty that lay behind his genuine indignation.

From one of the other leaders, a very different man, I got the same impression. Dr. Hussein Khalidi, formerly Mayor of Jerusalem, is a successful lawyer and a member of the Arab Higher Executive. He is as quiet and smooth as Auni Bey is violent. He talks with you, meets objections, appears to weigh arguments. He, too, leans heavily on documents, and uses them well. He showed me the verbatim testimony, never published, taken at the London Conference in 1939 which resulted in the White Paper. He was there as one of the Palestine Arab delegates. At this meeting Malcolm MacDonald promised, without the slightest equivocation, in answer to detailed questions by himself and another delegate, that the Arabs would have permanent and final control over Jewish immigration after five years; during that period 75,000 Jews would be admitted under the British plan. If the quota were not filled during the alloted time, the remainder would not be admitted after the period ended. It was there, black on white, question and promise. On the record the Arabs have an unanswerable case. (And so, of course, have the Jews; and the issue therefore cannot be decided on the record at all, but must be dealt with, as the Joint Committee honestly attempted to do, on its political and human merits.)

Khalidi, like Auni Bey, having proved his point and expressed his profound distaste for American interference, became vague as to Arab policy. He predicted trouble—but how much and what sort, he didn't say. Would the other Arab states help the Palestinian Arabs?, I asked. He wouldn't commit himself on that either. Both leaders were restrained by their knowledge that the meeting at Inchass of the Arab kings and chiefs of state, then in progress, was debating this very problem, and by the more intimate fact that the Palestinian Arab parties had just split into two "higher" committees over the question of appealing to the United Nations.

The decisions reached at Inchass were never fully disclosed, but when the Arab League met in extraordinary session at Bludan on June 8 to consider the Palestine issue, the press announced that it was acting, not as an independent policy-making body, but under directives from the Arab rulers. In fact, the secretary-general of the Arab League, Abdul Rahman Azzam, himself declared that the League had become the "executive agent" of the Arab chiefs of state. After a series of defiant and deafening speeches, the League went into closed session and at last emerged with a program which must have disappointed the pan-Arab fire-eaters. Talk of a Holy War had disappeared altogether; so had the expected demand for Palestine independence. No mention was made of an appeal to the United Nations for action against the Committee's report. The resolutions adopted merely called for the creation of a committee representing all the Arab states to "supervise all questions concerning Palestine"; the setting up in Palestine of a new Arab Higher Executive to supercede or unite the two competing "higher" committees; the demobilization and disarming of all Jewish troops (no mention of Arab military organizations); and various proposals to end land sales to Jews and strengthen the boycott of Jewish goods.

Arab nationalism is a real force. No one who has been in Egypt and the Levant can deny it. It does not go as deep as its leaders want you to think but it has enough popular backing so that foreigners, and non-Moslems, foreign or native, face growing hostility in Moslem countries. The poor masses in the villages are probably almost unaware of the issue; in the cities there is plenty of explosive material for the politicians to use. Nationalist feeling backed up and inflamed by religious fanaticism is unquestionably growing.

Will it explode in Palestine? This is the question raised in acute form by British action there. To me the answer seems so obvious that I find it hard to take seriously the feverish warnings of British officials and Arab propagandists. The caution displayed by the Arab leaders when they sit down to consider policy is far more convincing. Unless all political signs fail, no general rising of Arabs would result from the application of the Committee's proposals. Doubtless there would be sporadic attacks and local disorders, though even these would, I am convinced, be reduced by the general respect in which the Jewish defense organization is held. But no Holy War, no invasion from neighboring countries, not even civil war in Palestine.

Britain may be executing a slow retreat in the Middle East: its economic hold may be threatened by American competition, its ultimate political control by Russian penetration. But the Empire has enormous staying power and up to the present time it has been able to manipulate the ambitions of Arab leaders, and especially the divisions among them, to buttress its strategic positions.

No Arab state or combination of states can start a war in Palestine without British connivance. The Arab leaders know this well; they may bark loudly, but they have very few teeth to bite with. Egypt will never endanger its present negotiations with Britain by seriously involving itself in Palestine. King Farouk has huge ambitions, encompassing the whole Arab world. But his present need is to win a diplomatic triumph through the withdrawal, on favorable terms, of British forces from Egypt. Farouk is playing a cagey game and doing everything politically possible to minimize—while using—the growing Xenophobia of oppostion parties and fanatic organizations like the Moslem Brotherhood. No Holy War will start in Egypt in the early future.

Transjordan's newly crowned king, Abdullah, is in Britain's pocket—not only because the whole independence farce was staged and run off by the British; not only because the treaty with Britain secures that power's predominant interest; but above all because Transjordan's army is officered by Britishers and is in fact an integral part of Britain's armed forces in the Middle East. To imagine an incursion from Transjordan into Palestine without Britain's consent is a little difficult. In Iraq, British control is only a little less overt. Since the overthrow of Rashid Ali in 1941, the Iraqi government and army have operated under strict British supervision.

There remain Syria and Lebanon. Ostensibly independent since the French were evicted, these countries might possibly cause trouble across the border. Syria is now militantly pan-Arab and has taken the lead in boycotting Jewish goods from Palestine. Lebanon, torn between Arab propaganda and the fears of the Christian population, is more inhibited. But both are deeply beholden to the British. The liquidation of French control was accomplished by a series of maneuvers which have never been fully exposed. In the process, local politicians, bought and paid for, were established in power by their new overlords. The financial by-products of office are great in the Levant and it will be some time, I imagine, before these officials will think it discreet to kick over the traces. If they did, their ability to make trouble in Palestine would be severely restricted by the almost complete collapse of the Levantine armies since the French moved out.

Apart from direct British influence, however, there are all sorts of minor pressures at work to prevent united Arab action in Palestine. The Arab states may adopt a common attitude on Jewish immigration, but they can never stage a general revolt as long as they continue to be split by cross-currents of interest and feeling. King Farouk's ambition to dominate an inclusive Arab union —even to revive the Caliphate—is in direct conflict with King Abdullah's ambition to rule over a Greater Syria comprising Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan, a plan supposedly encouraged by the British. Both projects are opposed by Ibn Saud, absolute monarch of Arabia, who looks upon himself as the legitimate leader of the Moslem world and nourishes an ancient feud with the Hashimite family, to which Abdullah belongs. Even within the Greater Syria orbit, the interests of Abdullah clash with those of many Syrian politicians who benefit from their country's role as an "independent" republic with a seat in the United Nations.

If an Arab revolt on a big scale is out of the question, as I believe these facts indicate, how can one explain the fears of British officials in Palestine and the ugly events of the past week? The answer is to be found in the history of Arab blackmail and British appeasement. During the years before the outbreak of war, Nazi agents in every Arab country spread the charge that the British intended to subject the Moslems to Jewish domination. Arab attacks on Jewish settlements in the late '30's were largely the product of this untiring propaganda, and by the end of 1938 the Colonial Office had pretty well convinced the government that the loyalty of Jewish Palestine would be more than offset, in case of war, by the hostility of the Arab chieftains. Quite abruptly, and without regard for past commitments, the British instituted a sweeping program of appeasement. For the first time Arab notables were invited to join in discussions of the Palestine problem. Then the whole policy based on the Balfour declaration and embodied in the Mandate was reversed by the provisions of the White Paper. Through these moves the British hoped to counter Axis propaganda and insure the loyalty of the Arabs.

The results of this maneuver are well remembered. With very few exceptions Arab leaders in Palestine and outside were either openly pro-Axis or unreliable and shifting in their allegiance. The behavior of the Mufti—today again at large and ready to resume his dominant role in the Middle East—was only a dramatic expression of the general Arab attitude.

But the failure of appeasement during the war did not discourage the engineers of Britain's colonial policy. Victory wiped out the power of the Axis; it did not guarantee the security of the Empire. In the offing they see the looming threat of Soviet power pressing toward the warm-water ports and oil resources of the Middle East. A bloc of Arab states linked to Britain by concessions, favors, and a well-grounded fear of communism still seems to the conventional colonial mind the best available bulwark against Russia's penetration.

Such hopes would be frustrated by the growth of Jewish strength in Palestine. For the energy and progressive social program of the Jews menace, far more imminently than does Russia, the hierarchic feudalism of the Moslem world from which the Arab ruling class derives its wealth and power. To encourage the Jews would be to plant dynamite under that decadent system. It would make further appeasement impossible. If the Arab leaders cannot stage a revolt, they can make plenty of trouble of other sorts. They might even, as a maneuver in power politics, carry out their threat and call upon Russia for help. The frightened colonial official sees these possibilities crowding in on him, and his single impulse is to step on the Jews. Heaven knows he does not want social change any more than the Arabs; he wants the old system and men on top with whom he can make satisfactory deals. If military force can do it, and if Mr. Bevin continues to back him up, he will wipe out the Jewish defense forces while there is still time and stop the smuggling of D. P.'s from Europe. And with his last breath he will oppose the recommendations of the Joint Committee of Inquiry.

[Miss Kirchwey's next article on the Middle East will analyze the Jewish position in the struggle over Palestine.]

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THE COCKPIT OF THE MIDDLE EAST

ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

SOME months ago, an office in Washington, interested in news from and about the Middle East, placed an order for such material with a clipping service. At the end of the first month, the man in charge was amazed and greatly perturbed by the size of the bill. It amounted to over ten thousand dollars.

This furnishes a tangible illustration of the place occupied by the Middle East in current world developments. The range extends all the way from a local rebellion by a Kurdish chieftain in Iraq to the fear of a new conflagration over the Soviet-Iranian conflict in the UN's Security Council in New York. Or does it end there? Is there a single issue among the many perturbing the world today that does not cut across Middle East realities?

Though this may sound like a hyperbolic statement, it is far from that. In some cases, the crucial importance of the Middle East has become clear to everyone. In others, observers at a distance fail to detect the explosive potentialities until the eruption actually takes place. It takes time to see the connection between disturbances in Azerbaijan and two hundred years of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia; between demands presented to Turkey on behalf of the Georgians and Armenians and Russia's need for a free outlet to the warm seas if she is not to remain a landlocked empire; between anti-French riots in Damascus and British-French disagreement over European issues; between terroristic outbursts in Palestine and Britain's determination to maintain its dominating position in the Middle East; between the sudden declaration of Transjordanian independence and the UN's plans for trusteeships over mandated lands; between an American airfield in Saudi Arabia or an American trans-Arabian oil pipeline and Mr. Byrnes' indignant speeches on Russia's failure to withdraw her forces from Iran.

More than any area on earth, the Middle East is a jigsaw puzzle with enough pieces in it to cause bewilderment even to experts at the game. Yet this puzzle, like all others, has a solution. All the pieces can be made to fit.

SOME of the components of the Middle East puzzle are tangible or visible. Here they lie before us in utter disorder: Arabs and Jews; Christian minorities of all churches, including some whose very existence is unknown to most Americans (Melkites, Nestorians, Chaldeans, etc.); Moslems of a variety of sects; Assyrians and Armenians; Druzes and Kurds and even sun-worshipers; the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf and also the Dardanelles —the latter to be included in the Middle East if we take this term to cover also the

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Near East. There is more oil in the Middle East than in any other single region of the world; its strategic and communications values are unparalleled. This is where the invisible components of our puzzle come into play: the interests of the great powers in whose hands the local factors are no more than pawns. The stake in this game of rival imperialisms is the domination of a region which holds one of the keys to world power.

The ingredients of internal strife, apt to produce worldwide repercussions, are present in the Middle East in great abundance. Azerbaijan was not invented in the Kremlin, and if tomorrow the world is faced with the question of the Kurds and their demand for the formation of an independent Kurdistan, this, too, will not be the invention of some evil mind. There are Kurds in the Middle East, some three million of them, and they were even promised, after World War I, that they would have an independent state of their own. In other words, the pawns have been there all the time, but their moves are timed and directed by world interests.

Because of the Middle East's crucial importance in the world picture, it would be of little use to analyze any single local problem on its limited merits. They are all interwoven in one pattern, the threads of which do not end in the Indian Ocean in the east or in the Dardanelles in the west. The threads go on to London, Moscow, and Washington. It would be futile to try cutting the knot in Cairo, Jerusalem, or Teheran.

There is enough dynamite amassed in the Middle East to explode into a world-wide conflagration. On the other hand, wise statesmanship could use the dynamite as a lever in a great constructive effort on behalf of humanity. Oil moves tanks and bombers, but it also feeds tractors and diesels. A diversity of national and religious groups can easily breed trouble, but it can also produce a more colorful civilization.

II

OIL is now on everybody's lips. Oil is seen behind every clash and difficulty in the Middle East. The existence of nearly thirty billion barrels of petroleum in the ground of the Middle East lands has indeed been established beyond doubt. Fairly competent guesses speak of an additional seventy billion barrels. This is a very respectable amount of oil, far exceeding the total home reserves plus the Caribbean reserves of the United States, and probably equaling the combined known and undiscovered reserves of the Soviet Union. Yet, I venture to say, the importance of the oil factor in Middle Eastern rivalries is both over-emphasized and over-estimated.

On the face of it, it was Russia's desire for oil concessions in northern Iran that was the cause of all the recent agitation in the UN's Security Council. However, a sober analysis of the Soviet-Iranian conflict would prove that oil played but a minor part in the development of events. Does Russia need Persian oil so badly as to risk a serious clash between the Big Three? Is it known with any degree of certainty that there are substantial petroleum reserves in Iran's five northern provinces, and do the Western powers entertain any ambitions of their own with regard to the oil of that area?

The honest answers to all the above questions would be in the negative. Without mentioning her present control over all the oilfields of eastern and central Europe, Russia has enough oil within her own boundaries, not only for her current needs but also to fuel an extensive program of reconstruction and industrialization. To be sure, Russian oil production suffered during the war, and new sources would be welcome. But the need is hardly acute enough to warrant war. Britain and the United States have no reason whatsoever to oppose a Soviet concession in northern Iran, a region which traditionally belongs to the Russian sphere of political and economic influence and which is virtually inaccessible to profitable exploitation by any other power. This region, moreover, is as yet unexplored and its petroleum potentialities have never been established. The British own the rich oilfields of southwest Persia and the Americans have tried to get a concession in the southeastern part of Persia. In addition, Britain and America control all the oil reserves of the Arab lands. No British or American com-

pany wants concessions in northern Iran, for the simple reason that it would not pay.

A look at the map will show that the five northern provinces of Persia—Ghilan, Azerbaijan, Astrabad, Mazanderan, and Khorassan—are so cut off from world markets that an oil industry there could not compete with other producing areas. These provinces lie near the Caspian Sea and Russian developments in that region. The conclusion is indicated that no oil concession to any nation is practical politics in this area, unless it is obtained and worked with Russia's consent.

If it was not oil that caused all this trouble, what was it? The truth of the matter is that none of the great powers was half so interested in obtaining the oil of northern Iran, as in not letting the other fellow have it. Russia does not need the oil, but she would hate to see Britain established so close to her borders and to the Caspian Sea. Britain does not need the oil of northern Iran, but she is determined to prevent or to slow down Russia's thrust toward the Persian Gulf.

THE real crux of the problem is this: who is to control the strategic heights in the Middle East? All the rest is camouflage, not always artistically executed, but widely used by both parties. British-American indignation over Russia's use of Azerbaijan to achieve its aims in Persia or to create a Soviet-dominated puppet state can hardly be taken seriously in the light of Britain's own record. One could recall the case of the Assyrians after World War I. Britain raised the question of the Assyrians, when she demanded that the Mosul district be cut off from Turkey because the Christian Assyrians could not be safely left under Turkish rule. But as soon as Mosul was incorporated in Iraq and the British secured for themselves the oil of Mosul, they forgot the Assyrians completely—even to the extent of condoning their mass massacre by the Arabs of Iraq.

We do not have to go as far back as that. At the very time that the Security Council was preoccupied with the Soviet-Iranian controversy, the British government in London announced the independence of Transjordania. This land lying east of the Jordan, an integral part of the area under the jurisdiction of the Palestine mandate of the League of Nations, was suddenly transformed into a sovereign kingdom. Who had taken the decision to abolish the League's mandate? Not the League of Nations; not its mandates commission; not the United Nations; not even a conference of the Big Three. It was done unilaterally by Great Britain. It was done, moreover, in great haste, without waiting for the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine or for the decisions of the UN's Trusteeship Council which is supposed to take over the League's mandates.

To be sure, Transjordania will be no more independent now than before. Granting it the nominal status of "kingdom" and its ruler, Emir Abdullah, the title of "king," will not change the basic conditions of its national existence. There will still be only about 300,000 inhabitants, mostly nomadic illiterate Bedouins, with no industry, little commerce, poor communications, no cultural institutions, no economic development. Transjordania and its "king" will still be totally dependent on Britain politically, militarily, and financially. If Britain were to stop its subsidy to "King" Abdullah and his Arab Legion of 16,000 (British-officered) men, the king and his soldiers would have to beg for alms.

One is entitled to ask: If Britain may set up a puppet state in Transjordania, in disregard of international covenants, why should not Russia be allowed to do the same with Azerbaijan today, or Kurdistan tomorrow, or a larger Soviet Armenia the day after?

III

THE sun does not set on the British Empire. Nor, for that matter, does it set on the Russian Empire. A Labor government in Britain and a Soviet regime in Russia cannot change these physical realities. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Stalin are engaged, not in an ideological dispute between Socialism and Communism, but in a clash of two mammoth empires. The main scene of their duel is the Middle East. Nothing happens today in the cockpit of the Middle East without being affected by this over-all rivalry between Britain and

Russia. Its ultimate outcome must be either the most annihilating war in history or peaceful collaboration between the two empires, with America as a third partner and arbiter. There seems to be no middle way.

This is the light in which the various Middle Eastern issues, big and small, must be seen. An American expert who possesses first-hand knowledge of Persia and the Middle East recently tried to take the bull by the horns and offer a solution for the Iranian problem, which, if accepted, would set the pace for a peaceful and constructive settlement of the many complicated problems of the entire Middle East. I refer to the statement issued in April by Dr. Arthur C. Millspaugh, of the Brookings Institution, who served as administrator general of Persia's finances from 1922 to 1927 and again from 1943 to 1945. What Dr. Millspaugh suggested was an American-British-Soviet guardianship over Iran for twenty-five to seventy-five years as the only alternative to competitive concession grabbing and the only way to establish a progressive and enlightened administration in the interests of the masses of the people rather than of a few feudal lords.

Here is how Dr. Millspaugh describes conditions in Iran:

> . . . Discontent and disloyalty are widespread. The government neither represents nor serves the people; and, without outside control, it is, in my opinion, incapable of doing the things that are necessary if Iran is to establish stability at home and command respect abroad. In Iran, neither independence nor self-government is a reality; and neither can become a reality if it is assumed that Iranians are now politically capable of solving their own problems. What Iran needs for a time is more foreign interference, but interference of a new and constructive kind.

If this is true of Iran, an independent and self-governing state for thousands of years and, in the past, a conquering empire, how much truer must it be of the many little states of the Middle East to whom nominal independence was indiscriminately granted after World War II, regardless of their qualifications for statehood in general, and progressive self-government in particular. We have mentioned the case of Transjordan. Syria and Lebanon, as well as Iraq, are in the same category. So is Lybia, where, it seems, a similar plan for nominal independence and factual dependence on Britain has been set in motion, as a counter-move to the Russian demand for sole trusteeship over that ex-Italian colony. By now it should have been clear to Britain's statesmen that the setting up of satellite-states is a double-edged weapon. Two can play at this game, and in this kind of politics the Kremlin certainly lacks neither ability, nor experience, nor connections, nor appeal to the imagination of the masses.

INDEED, what the dispassionate expert, Dr. Millspaugh, has suggested with regard to Iran, was recently advocated, if not explicitly, by a leading British weekly. In a penetrating analysis of the forces at play in the Middle East, the *New Statesman and Nation* arrives at the conclusion that present British policy is suicidal. After describing the elimination of France from the Middle East with Britain's active support and the erection of the Arab League —once again with active British support— the paper says:

> . . . From the Soviet point of view, the only conclusion that can be drawn from British policy is that it is an effort to organize the Middle East against the USSR. They have plenty of material to justify this view, just as the British can cite much Soviet propaganda and intrigue to prove that Russian policy is to destroy the British Empire. . . . In deciding to found their future on a presumably anti-Soviet Arab bloc, British policy appears to us to be founded on sand. The Arab League is of no military account; its economic resources are small; it is beset by internal rivalries; and there is not the slightest reason to believe that it will remain "loyal" to the British Empire. . . . In our present bid for Arab support we British can only go a certain distance before we cut our own throats. Anglo-American commitments of all kinds are such that we cannot offer the moon. The Russians can always go one better; the strength of the Russian appeal in the long run is that it offers the miserably poor Arab peasants the hope of a modernized economy and the end of landlord exploitation.

I apologize for this extensive quotation, but the *New Statesman and Nation* has stated so succinctly the relative positions in the Middle East and the dangers inherent in present policies that I have not been able to withstand the temptation of borrowing its description. On the strength of this apology, I should like to reproduce the concluding passages of the article, as well:

. . . If the rising tide of pan-Arabism, set in motion by ourselves, but now also fostered from Moscow, submerges the Jewish establishment in Palestine and the Christian Lebanon, the only friends whose loyalty has never wavered will have been sacrificed to the romantic chimera of a great Arab union, resuscitating the glories of the Caliphate, linked to Britain by bonds of gratitude and amity.

This has never been an intelligent dream, and it does not take account of present reality. It would surely have been wiser for both the British and the Russians to maintain the original policy of Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, which was, verbally at least, to accept the facts of each other's power, co-operate on the basis of respect for each other's interest, and work together to improve the living standards of backward peoples.

Thus Dr. Millspaugh's detached American approach and the British weekly's concern for the future of the empire dictate the same conclusion. Anti-Russian intrigue by Britain will produce payment in kind by Russia. If the present clash is allowed to continue, it must lead to a catastrophe. Anglo-Soviet-American co-operation in the Middle East would seem to be a far more "intelligent dream."

IV

UNDER existing conditions, any adjustment in the Middle East can be no more than a temporary expedient liable to break down under the impact of either Soviet or British-American onslaught. As long as mistrust and hostility continue to dominate the relations between the two empires, there cannot be even a minimum of stability in the recently proclaimed independence of Transjordan, in the statehood of Syria and Lebanon, in a new British-Egyptian Treaty, in a British-American decision with regard to Palestine, in a UN-negotiated settlement of Soviet-Persian relations, in an international agreement with regard to the Straits, in any number of other decisions and agreements about Lybia, Greater Soviet Armenia, Azerbaijan, oil, Kurdistan, Georgia, Eritrea, Sudan, the Suez Canal.

Should the Big Three, however, adopt the wiser policy of co-operation, the problems could be solved in a manner which would at once safeguard the legitimate interests of the big powers and assure justice for the small peoples. Analysis of the major problems will substantiate this.

Let us, first of all, formulate the chief legitimate interests of the great powers. Britain's interest in the Middle East has priority from the viewpoint of both oil and communications. Unlike Russia, Britain has no petroleum at home. Unlike Russia, the British Empire is not a compact land-mass but a chain of possessions spread all over the globe. Accordingly, if Britain is to exist as a great power and retain her empire, she must be sure of her oil supplies and line of communications.

Russia has two main concerns in the Middle East: she needs an outlet to the warm seas and fears an anti-Russian or anti-Soviet *cordon sanitaire* in the Near and Middle East. The first consideration is responsible for the Soviet maneuvering in Persia with an eye on the Persian Gulf and for the Russian, Armenian, and Georgian demands on Turkey—demands actually centered on the Straits. The second consideration motivates all Russian intrigues against Britain and the Empire.

Both the United States and France are interested in Middle Eastern oil and other economic resources, and have religious and sentimental attachments to the area.

THESE legitimate aspirations of the great powers are not wholly irreconcilable, while their harmonious co-habitation would benefit the peoples of the Middle East—and I mean the peoples, not the ruling cliques—much more than the present system.

A genuine agreement between the great powers would easily dispose of the three major international assets of the Middle East: oil, the Suez Canal, and the Straits. As far as oil is concerned, if mutual fear and mistrust are eliminated, there should be no difficulty in the division of exploitation areas among the various parties. There is enough oil in the Middle East to satisfy all needs. These natural riches, moreover, could and should contribute to the welfare of the Middle Eastern peoples themselves. As matters stand today, the Arab fellah, the Bedouin, or the Persian peasant derive hardly any benefit at all from the abundance of liquid gold in their soil. The nearly one hundred million dollars paid by the oil companies to Iraq have not improved the lot of that

country's downtrodden masses. The same is true of the oil royalties paid to King Ibn Saud, or to the sheiks of Kuwait and Bahrein. Actually, these Moslem potentates can do nothing with their oil unless it is developed, produced, refined, piped, shipped, and marketed by Western capital and industry. It is well within the capability of the Western world to see to it that the capital invested in Middle East lands be used for a program of development which would elevate the masses from their present misery.

If the questions of the Straits and Suez are treated together rather than separately and the same yardstick is applied to both, a just and logical solution can easily be reached. Each is an international waterway in which one major power is primarily interested. The Suez Canal is the chief artery of Britain's naval communications, while the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles are Russia's only outlet to the Mediterranean. There is a third essential similarity between these two waterways: both lie within the geographic boundaries of small states. In fact, the Suez is probably the main obstacle in Egypt's way to independence and the Straits constitute the main danger to Turkey's national security. These slices of international power are too large to rest safely in the hands of small peoples. The Straits were once internationalized, after World War I, but later were returned to Turkey's jurisdiction. The Suez Canal, now in Britain's hands, should revert, by 1968, to Egypt's possession and full control. The solution lies, of course, in the establishment of international administrations over the two waterways, with a Briton at the head of the Suez administration and a Russian at the head of the Straits administration. Egypt and Turkey should get their revenues from the traffic in the waterways, but neither of them could expect or should desire to be charged with the sole responsibility for strategic positions of such international significance.

V

If the same principle of international collaboration could be applied in good faith to the local problems and conflicts of the Middle East, all of them could be resolved. The former Italian colonies in North Africa, Lybia, and Eritrea, will continue to cause an international headache as long as Britain tries to prevent Russia's penetration into the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Russia had demanded sole trusteeship for herself over Lybia, probably as a bargaining device in the controversy over the Straits. Britain encourages the Arab League to ask for the independence of these territories, which is a mere joke, for these desert countries are utterly incapable of exercising statehood. An American-British-Russian trusteeship, with a possible cession of part of Eritrea, including an outlet to the Red Sea, to Abyssinia, is the only regime which could develop these lands economically, culturally, and politically in the interests of the local populations.

Continuing our examination of local problems from the fringes of the Middle East to the center, we come to the question of the Azerbaijanians, Kurds, Armenians, and Georgians. Today, the demands of these groups for national self-determination or for more *Lebensraum* sound very much like Soviet intrigue. They may be, but there is no way of proving it and certainly no justification for refusing Azerbaijan or Kurdistan what is granted to Lybia or Transjordania. As in Lybia, so in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, condominium administrations by the Big Three would be the best remedy. As to the demands of the Armenian and Georgian Soviet Republics, an international inquiry into the historic background and present conditions should precede any decision. However, it should be remembered that there is only one large group of Armenians outside of Russia: over 100,000 in Lebanon. If the question of Lebanon is solved in such a way as to safeguard the existence and development of its Christian communities, the problem of these hundred thousand Armenians would lose its urgency.

We have still to consider three major Middle East groups: the Moslem Arabs, the Jews, and the Christian minorities other than the Armenians. All three now face a common enemy—fanatical Pan-

Arabism, promoted by reactionary chieftains, feudalistic landlords, and backward clergy, and sponsored by Great Britain. Pan-Arabism today stands opposed not only to a Jewish Palestine and a Christian Lebanon, but also to the vital interests of the Arab masses. The adverse effects of Pan-Arabism on the relations between the great powers have already been mentioned. Its effects on the progress of the Middle East are no less detrimental. That there is anti-foreignism among the Arabs —as among many other peoples—cannot be denied; but if the Arab League were deprived of the artificial aid given it by the conflict of rival imperialisms, it would remain with very little real power, whether political, military, economic, or religious.

The fear of Pan-Arab reaction is often cited as the main reason for the non-fulfillment of the Balfour pledge to the Jewish people. If it were not for that fear, most people would agree that Palestine was promised to the Jews and that the Jews are entitled to a homeland. The failure of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine to offer a plan for the final solution of the problems, was, once again, due fundamentally to the fact that Soviet Russia was not invited to share in the inquiry and in the responsibility.

BRITAIN shows no inclination to transfer Palestine to the jurisdiction of the UN. Not only the proclamation of Transjordania's independence militates against this, but also the fact that at the liquidation session of the League of Nations in Geneva, in April of this year, Lord Robert Cecil, speaking for the British government, state that while Britain was willing to hand over her mandates in Africa (Tanganyika, the Cameroons, and Togoland) to the UN, the question of the Palestine mandate had to be postponed. Britain, moreover, is busy building extensive military installations in Palestine at the cost of many million dollars, enlarging her garrison there, and showing every sign of transforming Palestine into her main military and naval base in the eastern Mediterranean. This stands to reason, in the light of the pending withdrawal of Britain's forces from Egypt.

The establishment of a British-American-Russian trusteeship over Palestine and of a French-British-American administration in Lebanon would solve the Jewish and Christian problems in the Middle East, as no other device could. In twenty or thirty years, Palestine would become a predominantly Jewish republic and the Lebanon a Christian state. Both of them would be loyal collaborators with progressive humanity. Both of them could be trusted to respect the legitimate interests of the great powers and take care of the social and economic needs of their working masses. All they need is a chance, and that can be given them only by the great powers acting in concert.

ONCE the civilizing influences of the great powers and of Jewish Palestine and Christian Lebanon were firmly established, the way would be open for progressive promotion of Arab statehood in Iraq, Syria, and the Arab Peninsula. For in cases such as these, formal concepts of independence are without practical meaning. In the words of Dr. Millspaugh, what these states need is "more foreign interference, but interference of a new and constructive kind." Great power condominiums over the Arab states would make possible not only the utilization of their petroleum resources for the benefit of the Arab masses, but also the inauguration of development programs of historic magnitude. The prerequisites for such development are there; they have been waiting many centuries for intelligent and well-meaning administrators to come and set to work.

The fate of humanity is now being determined in the cockpit of the Middle East. Which is it to be: a new Armageddon or a better world?

The Manchester Guardian
September 1, 1946
(City, London + International Editions)

Letters to the Editor

AMERICAN OPINION AND PALESTINE

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir,—At this moment the British Government, in its blindness, seems to be transforming the friendly attitude towards the United Kingdom of Americans who used to be traditionally pro-British and who showed their deep-rooted friendship during the first and second world wars, especially during the period when the United States were not yet actively engaged in those wars and when the enemy had facilities to foster Anglophobe sentiments. This applies particularly to the question of Palestine. The effects in the United States of that crisis have for a long time been mistaken by the British Government as propaganda fostered by American Zionists only. This I believe to be a cardinal misinterpretation of what is happening.

The general feeling in the United States, which seems to have escaped the British Government's attention, can be summarised in the statement made by a coloured bootblack who cleaned my shoes this morning outside the Hotel Rice, in Houston, Texas: "Mister, when you is shore from England you all can tell your people they needs a Abraham Lincoln, now." There seems to be one issue upon which the two principal political parties in the United States are united: a deep feeling ranging from regret to outspoken anger about Palestine. And this at a time when an election is pending. It should be remembered that the influence of coloured people on any political issue, whether they are bootblacks or judges, is practically nil—in this case it is the country as a whole.

Of course there is more to it than just public emotion. The Democratic party has steadily lost support in the country and they now stand only an almost equal chance with the Republicans in some important States, especially New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. In these States the powerful and now united Jewish vote will no doubt determine the issue. No party can ignore this and they are clearly taking account of it.

It is incomprehensible to the most intelligent leaders here that the British Army was ordered in Palestine to play a role which seems to have a faint Hitlerian odour. The explanation given by the British Government is usually dismissed by the word "bunkum"—an eloquent word needing no translation.

This state of affairs has been arrived at without the broadsides of American Zionism, which seem to be presented to the people in Britain by the Labour Government as an explanation of the feeling of the American people. During a recent journey through thirty-two States the writer has not once seen any clear evidence of the existence of American Zionists. But there was not one town which did not discuss the fate of the refugees stopped by the Royal Navy outside Haifa.

The question has often been asked by Americans whether the people in Britain are fully informed by their press of what is happening and whether the press is afraid to report some things which might to uncomfortable to the Government. The imagination of many Americans is already painting the glum picture of the British press being afraid of the threat of nationalisation by the Labour Government, and it takes hours of fact and argument to convince them of the contrary. In fact, the task of convincing anybody in America of the good faith of the British Government is almost impossible while the Government continues on its present course.

There is a rumour that the Zionists are about to form two regiments of their war veterans, which would volunteer for service in Palestine should the need occur. The significance of that rumour may be seen perhaps in the summary comment made upon it by a Mid-Western newspaper after reporting it: "Good luck to you fellows."—Yours, &c.,

W. E. HART.

Houston, Texas, August 24.

Jersey Session Set to Take Up Veteran Houses

Legislature to Meet Today on Republican Plan for Spending $41,000,000

Special to the Herald Tribune

TRENTON, N. J., Sept. 29.—The Legislature will take up tomorrow in special session the veterans' housing program upon which Governor Walter E. Edge and Republican legislative leaders have agreed.

They plan to appropriate $6,000,000 from current revenues and float, subject to referendum, a bond issue of $35,000,000 to be paid for out of existing revenues. Originally Governor Edge and the legislators had aimed at a bond issue of $100,000,000 to be paid for through a two-sent tax on cigarettes.

Alfred E. Driscoll, Republican candidate for Governor, objected to this, however. His platform contains an anti-sales tax plank, and he feared that the cigarette tax would be used as a political weapon against him. Governor Edge acceded to his wishes and modified the plan for the relief of shelterless veterans.

The Republicans have majorities in both houses. Bernard M. Vogel, minority leader of the Senate, said, however, that the Democrats would introduce a housing measure of their own which would include loans to veterans, property owners and communities for housing purposes and prohibition of non-essential building.

Besides the housing program, in which Governor Edge deferred to Mr. Driscoll, the two men differ on the appointment of a Chancellor, the highest judicial office in the state. The nomination is to be presented at the special session. Governor Edge favors Justice A. Dayton Oliphant of the Supreme Court. Mr. Driscoll would like to see Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association, get the appointment.

Pre-War Output of Fats And Oils Held 3 Years Off

Agriculture Department Calls Far East Unrest a Factor

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 (UP).—The Agriculture Department estimated tonight it will be at least three years before world production of critically needed fats and oils reaches pre-war levels.

The department said political unrest is seriously retarding the usually huge Manchurian soybean and Sumatra palm-oil production.

The department said current international agreements limiting annual whale-oil production in the Antarctic to one-half the 1938 level are another major factor in the low over-all supply.

The outlook on available supplies for international trade consequently is dark.

Because of deficits in other major food supplies, many countries must consume an unusually large amount of their domestic fats and oils. This will automatically cut down exportable supplies.

The department placed world fats and oils production last year at 17,200,000 short tons, or 20 per cent below the 1935-'39 average of 21,600,000 tons. It said that production of all types of fats and oils was below pre-war levels, with palm oils showing the greatest decrease.

World Bank

(Continued from page one)

bank, probably within a week or ten days, will complete a process begun last June with France's brief "letter of intent" to borrow the $500,000,000. French officials expect negotiations to begin by the end of this month with appointment by the bank's executive directors of a committee to study the bid.

Other nations planning to seek credits will watch with keen interest the progress of the French loan talks for the emergence of policies which will govern the bank's handling of their own requests.

They will observe not only the development of certain attitudes on questions of interest and period of repayment but on the uses to which a "reconstruction" loan from the bank may be put.

The French request, for example, places more emphasis on credits for coal and raw materials than on machinery and plant requiring items associated with reconstruction needs. Experts contend, however, that [illegible] minerals are essential if they are to attain the modest production goals set in a four-year reconstruction program that was explained to American officials last May.

At that time the United States government extended to France a $720,000,000 surplus property credit and a loan of $650,000,000 from the funds of the Export-Import Bank. In December, 1945, the French obtained a credit of $550,000,000 from the Export-Import Bank.

Referred to World Bank

These credits and war-time lend-lease assistance have helped to repair French transportation and industrial facilities. The United States government recommended that France go to the World Bank for further assistance, without offering any commitment of support.

Mr. Valensi, who will head the French negotiations, received additional documentation last week from Mr. Schuman and Mr. Monich upon their arrival in Washington to attend the first annual meeting of the World Bank and International Fund governors.

The two boards will meet separately tomorrow to hear reports from Eugene Meyer, president of the bank, and Camille Gutt, managing director of the fund.

Latin-American Ultimatum

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28 (AP).—A Latin-American bloc—ultimatum in hand—was reported tonight to have formed on one issue as governors of the World Bank and International Fund prepared to buckle into major problems of world finance.

Luis Machado, of Cuba, an executive director of the bank, reported that the Latin-American republics will support Paraguay's request for an increase in her quota in the monetary fund "as a bloc."

"If the fund does not grant the revision, we will inform the fund that the Latin-American unit cannot be counted on for further cooperation," Mr. Machado said.

"In other words, if the revision is not granted we may threaten to withdraw from the organization."

Paraguay's allotted contribution to the fund is $2,000,000. Only Panama and Iceland are lower, and Paraguay contends her economic position entitles her to a larger quota.

The size of quota determines the amount which a country can borrow from the fund in the currencies of other nations when such loans are needed to correct temporary shortages of foreign exchange. The fund's object, in such lending, is to discourage barter agreements and currency depreciations which hamper world trade.

The Paraguayan request will go before a committee scheduled to meet tomorrow.

Dost thou love life? Then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of.—Franklin

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AN OPEN LETTER

To The Democratic National Committee

At its recent New York State Convention, the Democratic Party included in its platform a vigorously worded plank on Palestine which pledges full support for the aspirations of the Jewish people. We regret that we are unable at this juncture in the tragic history of the Jewish people to hail this renewed expression of support from one of our country's two major political parties.

Full knowledge of the desperate condition of the homeless Jews of Europe, still suffering in concentration camps, and the inhuman policies being imposed upon the Jews of Palestine by Great Britain, prompts us to view renewed expressions of sympathy and support by the party of our National Administration as all but meaningless. *The Jewish people has had enough of promises. It wants—it desperately needs —action.*

At its last national convention, the Democratic Party of the United States declared: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

This was the platform on which President Truman was elected. More than two years have passed since this clear and unequivocal pledge was made—two years of misery and persecution for the Jews of Europe, two years of increased brutality and treachery by Great Britain in Palestine.

No action has been taken by the United States Government to redeem this pledge.

On August 31, 1945, the President of the United States requested British Prime Minister Attlee to admit 100,000 homeless European Jews into Palestine.

More than a year has passed since that request was made and the Jews of Europe are still languishing in detention camps. Surely the United States has sufficient prestige and influence in the world to accomplish this act of elemental humanity.

We are approaching an election and we know that many of your spokesmen will again reaffirm adherence to American policy on Palestine as enunciated by Congress and our political parties. *We will not be content with these speeches. We do not seek new promises or new planks. The old ones are good enough. What we ask is that our Administration fulfill those old promises now.*

We ask that American policy on Palestine be carried out NOW.

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Reproduced from "Commentary" for November, 1946

EGYPT: BRITAIN AND THE ARABS

Pages from a Correspondent's Notebook

HAL LEHRMAN

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

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

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

Bedfellows

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

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

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

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

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

Inscrutable Albion

THE hullabaloo that the embryo League is even now raising against the French in Syria, with British connivance, is a foretaste of what a full-grown League could do against the British as well. This is a prospect which baffles everybody here who is trying to make sense out of British policy. Azzam Bey, who will be Permanent Secretary to the League, looks me solemnly in the eye and declares: "The Arab unity drive runs parallel to the interests of Britain and the other Great Powers." But there is a shadow of a wink on his leathery face suggesting that he is thinking other things. If so, he agrees with all foreigners here—except the British Embassy and the office of the Resident Minister—that British policy, as usual, doesn't see beyond the next twenty years.

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

Tartar Nightmare

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cloak and Dagger

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

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

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

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

The major was waiting for me outside AMET headquarters, and nervously took me off to a quiet corner at the Little Groppi's. "Hope I didn't gab too much last night," he worried. "I was celebrating my transfer to Italy—to the front."—"Is that good? Where've you been?"—"Christ, will I be glad to get some place where I can fight Germans! All I've been doing lately is scheming against the British and laying up trouble for the Jews." He squinted at me: "You Jewish?" I grunted. "Well, I hope you fellows are wise to what's cooking in Saudi Arabia. I've just come up. Been down there eight months. You won't print my name, will you? You know what I've been doing in that goddam desert? Teaching the Arabs how to play soldier.

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

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

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

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

"We Are Against Them . . ."

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

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

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

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

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

called imperialism and Zionism, and letting democracy mark time.

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

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

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

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

Democracy on the Nile

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

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

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

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

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

Israel in Egypt

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

According to D—, a prominent member of Alexandria's Greek colony: "One of the original excuses for the British getting into Egypt in the first place was that the minorities had to be protected. And one of the original Egyptian arguments to keep the British out was that no discrimination existed here, all persons being equal, and equally treated. Well, both sides have forgotten their positions. The Egyptian constitution itself stipulates that the Egyptian state is Moslem, with a Moslem king and a Moslem prime minister. After the 1922 treaty, and especially after Zaghlul, Egypt's great rebel, the usual discriminations began to crop up. Zaghlul was a real democrat, a nationalist of the Mazzini kind, demanding liberty for all. But after him, nationalism, as in Europe, degenerated into xenophobia. The Egyptians began talking about the foreigners 'coming in and getting rich.'

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

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

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

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

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

Palestine Hungers for U.S. Goods Blocked by Britain

By GEORGE L. CASSIDY
N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent
(Copyright, 1946, New York Post)

Tel Aviv, Nov. 29—Palestinians are hungry for American goods, from toothbrushes to tractors, but the Colonial Office is forcibly feeding them British products.

That is one of the most striking results of the administration of Palestine not as a mandate, but as a colony.

I have just completed a round of visits with local agents of American firms. Their stories all are the same. They have orders running into many thousands of dollars, but they cannot provide American products.

The local government "controllers" refuse to grant import licenses for American gods. The reasons vary, the most usual being that dollar credits are not available, that goods are not essential, or frankly, that American goods cannot be imported if British goods—even if inferior or dearer—can be obtained.

Have to Buy British

As a result, Palestinian housewives buy British refrigerators at prices far higher than American makes which they like better or they do without; they listen to British radios which cost three times similar American models, and they long for sturdy American electric appliances which nobody ahs for sale.

Palestine trucking firms are buying wornout American trucks from British Army surplus stocks at prices higher than the original Lend-Lease cost, because import licenses for new and more suitable American trucks are not forthcoming.

Businessmen travel over the mountainous roads in pigmy British automobiles for which they pay as much as a full-sized American car.

Even American pumps cannot be brought in, except rarely, despite the importance of utilizing every trickle of water. Auto tires and tubes have been allowed in at a ratio of one to every four British.

Plenty of Dollar Credits

The contention that Palestine has insufficient dollar exchange seems strange to importers. Palestinian commodities sold in the U. S. during the first six months of this year averaged $2,300,000 per month. That does not include more than $1,500,000 monthly given by Americans to Jewish organizations.

Imports from the U. S. have been less than a third of dollar credits earned by Palestine. The explanation is that Palestinian dollar credits are dumped into Britain's dollar pool, and used for other British-dominated countries and dependencies for the United Kingdom itself.

The dismay of American business men has been mounting and the anger of the public has kept pace. Government officials ride around in American cars while ordinary citizens must buy British. One big importer who did get licenses for cars was required to sell 82 per cent to government agencies or officials.

The last straw was the request from the controller of heavy industries for estimates within seven days of what vehicles American factories could ship by Mar. 31, with a warning that licenses would be cancelled if vehicles were not actually loaded by that date.

Agents say the request cannot be met because the time is too short. They are particularly annoyed because the demand comes after months of representations by the American Consul-General to local officials. The League of Nations mandate and the provisions of the U. S. loan to Britain forbid discrimination against American products.

Contrast to Arab States

Public opinion has had no effect upon the government because there is no way to bring pressure. The contrast with surrounding Arab states is striking.

The newly created Kingdom of Trans-Jordan imports American products lavishly. Radios enter freely, although electric current is available in only a few places and many of the radios can operate only on voltage supplied in Palestine. Sometimes Trans-Jordan buyers take them by camel across the Jordan and re-sell them in Palestine, as they do cars, refrigerators and lipsticks.

The insistence of many Jews upon the creation of an independent Jewish state is based partly upon such economic considerations.

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Zionists Hold Their Congress

With Zest and Determination, Delegates Fight Battles of Ideology

By John Chabot Smith

BASEL, Switzerland, Dec. 14. — Watching the endlessly deadlocked tug-of-war over Palestine in the slow-moving foggy atmosphere of London, it has sometimes seemed that Jews are Jews, Arabs are Arabs, British are British and nothing can ever be done about it. Here in Basel the picture is entirely different. The climate is more stimulating and so is the climate of opinion.

The first and most striking discovery is how many different points of view are represented in the Zionist movement. Jews do not all have the same conception of what Zionism is, of what they want to achieve or how best to go about it.

They fight their ideological battles with as much zest and determination as any members of Congress or delegates to political conventions —in fact, more so. Yet they are united in their basic ideal as profoundly and unquestionably as Congressmen uphold the Constitution.

To a complete outsider—who is neither Revisionist, Mizrachi, Mapai, General Zionist nor a Zionist at all, and who is not a Jew and has done his best to cultivate an impartial viewpoint toward Jews, Arabs and British—the proceedings of the twenty-second Zionist Congress have a quality of impersonal, emotional involvement somewhat analogous to that of a powerful drama played by sincere and skilful actors.

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Any opinions derived from this experience necessarily involve the Jewish viewpoint only and can have little relation to what the British and Arabs have in mind. The British are ever present in the minds of every one here, but they are present only as an external factor in the situation—a factor which at times has been helpful to Zionism but now appears as an obstacle to be overcome. It is impossible to think of the British viewpoint in any other terms in this atmosphere.

As for the Arabs, they are wholly disregarded by every one except the Hashomar Hatzair, a small fraction of the Mapai (Labor party), which believes in uniting Jews and Arabs in a bi-national state with a Jewish majority.

The Hashomar Hatzair have twenty-five delegates out of a total of 375, and they are tolerantly regarded as a sort of extremist fringe, influenced by the Communist idea of the brotherhood of the world proletariat, but powerless to harm the Zionist movement. They are the least ardent in their support of Zionism as an end in itself. They believe the main thing to do now is to save as many Jews from Europe as possible, bring them to Palestine and set up a peaceful regime there with all possible speed.

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At the other extreme are the Revisionists, who claim not only the area now known as Palestine but Trans-Jordan as well. They believe in "direct action" and do not object to terrorism, although they do not openly support the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern group. They are intensely and aggressively nationalistic. Other Zionists often accuse them of being Fascist.

Between the extremes are the Mapai, who are Socialists and have a majority of the Palestine delegation; the General Zionists, who are the largest group in the American delegation and pin their faith on America's power to determine British foreign policy, and the Mizrachi, whose primary interest is preserving the orthodox Jewish faith.

Out of these elements and the smaller groups which evolve around them, the political life of the Jewish state in Palestine, if and when there is one, will be formed. These are the groups which between them hammer out the policy the Jewish Agency must follow in its relations with Britain and the strategy the World Zionist Organization must use in trying to achieve the Zionist ideal, whether by diplomatic negotation with Britain, pressure on the American government, armed rebellion in Palestine or all of these and other methods.

The Zionists have no doubt their aim will be achieved at least in its main essentials. They have been working at it in this organized fashion for nearly fifty years, and none of them seem to consider the possibility of failure. The type of Jewish state which will emerge and the role it will play in the world will depend largely on the manner and degree of their success and the interplay of their political parties as represented in the congress.

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The General Zionists are in the saddle at the present congress, with a program of using armed force in Palestine and the pressure of American public opinion to force Britain into granting the Jews an independent state. The present executive, headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann and David Ben Gurion, has been following a less ambitious policy of negotiating with Britain in the hope of compromising on "an adequate area of Palestine" instead of the whole of it.

Dr. Weizmann and Ben Gurion are fighting to remain in office. If they succeed, they will resume negotiations with the British, but they will be forced to raise their terms and, at least, ask for the whole of Palestine, even though they may ultimately settle for the "adequate area."

The difference between Weizmann and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, champion of the General Zionists, is more a difference of method than of aim. Weizmann is a diplomat of the old school. He has dealt with the British for thirty years, and he helped negotiate the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandate. Rabbi Silver and his delegation are full of a sense of the power of America and fearful of diplomatic methods which may enable the British to get the better of the aging Weizmann. Weizmann thinks he knows the British; Rabbi Silver thinks he knows Americans.

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Rabbi Silver's followers argue the whole trend of Anglo-American discussions about Palestine shows an effort on Britain's part to commit the United States to an active share in the defense of the British Empire and of Britain's position in world politics. They argue it is in America's national interest to give Britain that support, since Britain's bargaining position is so weak. America can make the full Zionist program the price of her support.

Rabbi Silver's followers also argue that since Palestine is of paramount strategic importance in the Middle East, it is in America's national interest to place Palestine in the hands of people who would forever be friendly to America, namely the Jews. They add that the Arabs could easily be consoled by the investment of American capital in the economic improvement in the Arab countries and that this would be to America's commercial advantage.

Admittedly, political, social and economic strains would follow throughout the Middle East if first Palestine and then the Arab countries went in for economic expansion of a more or less Socialistic type. The dangerous question mark of Russia would be involved. The feudal regimes of the Arab states would be undermined. But it can be argued that problems of this sort would have to be faced in any case.

More pertinent is the question of what sort of political development would take place in Palestine itself and what would happen to the character and temperament of the Jewish people.

The Zionists hope that if the Jews have a nation of their own they will settle down and "be like other people," and the peculiar circumstances which have caused Jews to be persecuted at various times and places will disappear. They believe that if the Jews live in their own country at peace with themselves and other nations, Jewish culture will flower in a new renaissance and will be welcomed by the rest of the world.

The realization of this aim will depend largely on whether the trend of Jewish politics, once the Jewish state is established, is toward Hashomar Hatzair or toward Revisionism and the Irgun—toward living at peace with the Arabs or toward trying to reconquer the wide territories which at one time or another were ruled by the House of Israel.

Some General Zionists recognize Hashomar Hatzair as containing the ultimate in Zionist idealism, and it is perhaps significant that at this congress the Revisionists are definitely unpopular while the delegates of Hashomar Hatzair get a more sympathetic hearing.

• • •

The first and best speech made to the congress by a Hashomar Hatzair delegate came from Jacob Hazan, an earnest young Palestinian with a Russian cast of features. Hazan spoke in Hebrew, a language beloved of all the delegates but understood by less than half of them and spoken by even fewer.

Hebrew is a beautiful tongue, with an intrinsic rhythm more stately than that of Greek and a paucity of vowel sounds that turns prose into a constant succession of rhymes. Those who cannot understand Hebrew are the more powerfully moved by the esthetic appeal of the sounds because they are not distracted by the meaning of the words.

To all Jews, Hebrew has the appeal of tradition and religion because it is the language of the Old Testament and the synagogues, a language which had passed entirely out of profane use until it was revived in Palestine by the Zionists. Now it is the natural tongue of Palestine Jewry.

Yiddish is the language of the wandering Jew of modern times, the language of suffering and the common denominator of Jews of many nations. It is used at this congress for routine business and argument. English is the language of the American delegation and is used in speeches of critical importance in the debate because the American delegates have the balance of power. Hebrew is the language of noble emotion and of the ultimate Jewish ideal.

Jacob Hazan spoke in Hebrew to 2,000 people, most of whom violently disagreed with everything he had to say, but he spoke beautifully. When he finished none of his opponents said anything about his arguments, but the rest of that day wherever they met they said to each other: "What a beautiful speech Hazan made! What beautiful Hebrew!"

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1946

If Arabs Revolt, Blame Britain

By RICHARD MOWRER
N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent
(Copyright 1946 New York Post)

Cairo, Apr. 30—Many people predict an Arab uprising in Palestine. It is a practical certainty, they reason, that the British and American governments shortly will authorize large-scale immigration of displaced Jews to Palestine.

Arab leaders testifying before the committee in Cairo and Jerusalem repeatedly threatened violence should the "rights" of Arabs—as conceived by these leaders—be violated.

Personally, I don't think the issue is as cut and dried as that. An Arab revolt is possible, but can only occur if encouraged by the British. Here's why I think so:

You have to distinguish between Arab leaders and the Arab masses in Palestine. The leaders resent and fear the westernization of the Arabs, for which Jewish development in Palestine is largely responsible. More and more Arabs are beginning to slip away from the stranglehold of the feudal system and are getting ideas of social and economic emancipation. Their labor unions recently went on a general strike alongside Jews, seeking better working conditions for both. What's more, the Arab-Jewish strike was successful, and they found that by standing together they gained.

Arabs Have Benefited

The Arab masses in Palestine instinctively feel there is no clash between themselves and the Jews. Arabs may regret the changing character of Palestine resulting from Jewish immigration, but the compensation they derive from this change is such that they are reluctant to put their lives in balance. Moreover, Palestine Arabs are impressed by the power and organization of Jewish military organizations, and by the trouble these have been giving the British.

They know, too, that in the event of an Arab movement against the Jews, the Jews will not revert to the policy of self-restraint which obtained in the revolts of 1936 and 1939. Unless Arabs in Palestine can be made to believe that the Jews are out to destroy the Moslems' holy places; unless they are convinced the British will lend at least passive support to an Arab revolt against the Jews, Arabs won't open the attack.

The question arises: Is the Palestine administration encouraging reactionary Arab leaders to promote trouble? It looks that way For one thing, the British have permitted the return to Palestine of Arab leaders whom they exiled at the beginning of the war. Back from Rhodesia is Jamal el Husseini, the former Grand Mufti's relative and right-hand man. They are permitting him to tour Arab towns and villages in Palestine, to make inflamatory speeches attacking Jews and urging a tightening of the anti-Zionist boycott.

A Violation of Treaties

The anti-Zionist boycott, technically an embargo on exports of Jewish manufacture, is a violation of Arab League trade treaties with Palestine—a British mandate. The British government could retaliate. But it hasn't even protested, and you have the spectacle of Arab states—members of the United Nations—establishing a boycott on a racial basis, and making laws fining people who dare trade with Palestine Jews—a state of affairs possible only because of British acquiescence.

Arabs of Palestine can only suppose that the anti-Zionist boycott goes on because the British want it that way, and don't care what the Arabs do to the Jews.

Then there's the question of the ex-Mufti. The British government has announced that Amin el Husseini, former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, is not a war criminal. So the French, who captured him in their occupation zone in Germany, have released him, or are about to. The rumor is that the Mufti will soon return to Lebanon, Syria or Egypt, if not Palestine.

The Mufti's war record as an ally of Hitler is well known. But what's important to the Arabs is his power in Palestine and his record there. Arabs in Palestine are no fools. They've noted that the British have abstained from naming a new Mufti to fill the vacant post in Jerusalem. The implication is that the ex-Mufti will be allowed to return. Therefore, if the Mufti is to regain his power tomorrow, the Arabs reason it is better not to do or say anything now that he wouldn't like.

Power of the Mufti

The Mufti wields tremendous power over the Arab community. He's head of the Supreme Moslems Council, and thus is in charge of all Moslem religious institutions. An Arab cannot be married or buried without the Mufti's approval. Moreover, the Mufti can get rough. Palestine Arabs recall the assassination by the Mufti's agents in 1941 of Fakhri Nashashibi, who opposed the Mufti during the Arab revolts of 1936 and 1939, and assassination of Hassan Sidky Dajani, another important leader of opposition to Mufti.

If the British say the Mufti is not a war criminal and enemy of Britain; if they've kept his post vacant; if they permit the Mufti's friends to return from exile and parade the Mufti's picture in Palestine villages, then, reason the Palestine Arabs, Amin el Husseini is going to stage a comeback duly approved by the British. The last time there was a revolt, the war cry of the Arabs was "El Dawla Maana!"—"The government is with us!"

Will it be the same war cry if there is a next time?

Palestine Laws Breed Terrorism

By RICHARD MOWRER
N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent
(Copyright, 1946 New York Post)

Jerusalem, July 9—The British public is being told, it seems, that the Jews have opened a smear campaign to discredit the British Army. They are being told that reports of looting, wanton destruction and brutality in the course of the recent "operation" are part of this campaign, whereas in actual fact "the greatest restraint" was exercised by British soldiers and "there is no foundation for allegations which have been made in regard to atrocities and looting by His Majesty's forces."

Reports that the settlement of Yagour had been razed were admittedly exaggerated. No neutral observers were permitted to witness the searches and exaggerated reports were for a time uncontrolled. From my personal observations in Tel Aviv, however, there definitely was wanton damage and looting done by the 6th Airborne Division with a dose of anti-Semitism thrown in.

But this recrimination and behavior of the British soldier is beside the point—and perhaps the claim that Jews are attempting to besmirch the honor of the British Army by a smear campaign is, in fact, intended to detract attention from the real issue or to deaden public reaction to contemplated future acts of violence.

Symbol of Despair

The real issue in Palestine is what the British have done, not how they did it. According to Prime Minister Attlee, the British government's purpose in arresting Jewish leaders and cracking down on Hagana is to end terrorism. This is like treating the symptoms and ignoring the illness. For terrorism in Palestine is a symbol of despair.

Since the 1939 White Paper limiting the immigration and sale of land and right up to now, the Palestine Jews have felt unjustly discriminated against. The Arabs got what they wanted by violence and the British Government appeased them by the White Paper—which is still in force. During the war, Jews in Europe who could have been saved had they been permitted to come to Palestine, were not—because of the White Paper.

The Jewish community in Palestine gave much, the Arabs little toward the Allied war effort. In the black days before El Alamein, Jews of Hagana volunteered for dangerous missions into enemy territory and many never came back. The Arab Transjordan Frontier Force mutinied against the British at the time of a pro-Axis revolt in Iraq, but today they participate in the searches of Jewish settlements.

Delays on Entries

Fascist-minded Arab leaders are permitted to return from Germany and from exile, but Jewish survivors of Hitler's gas chambers are still in barbed-wired camps in Germany. The Anglo-American Committee Inquiry recommended the entry of 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine two and a half months ago, yet delay follows delay while 100,000 Poles under the not democratically-minded Gen. Anders get transportation from Italy to Scotland.

Finally, to visualize the state of mind of the Jews in Palestine, take a look at the laws as they affect the rights of man in this land. Under emergency regulations in effect today you are guilty until proven innocent. There is no habeas corpus. Any policeman, any British soldier of any rank, can arrest you on mere suspicion. You can be detained without a charge being preferred against you and without a trial.

You can be held indefinitely. You can be deported from the country. Emergency regulations as amended Jan. 28 of this year affect Jews more than the Arabs because of the insertion of paragraphs regarding illegal immigration. By this law if you give shelter to your own mother, knowing she is an illegal immigrant, you are liable to eight years' imprisonment, $1,000 fine, or both.

In Difficult Position

As far as the immigration laws are concerned, Jews are placed between morality and legality—morality of doing everything they can to assist those who escaped the fate of 6,000,000 Jews murdered in Europe—and the legality of the Palestine laws.

Few if any hesitate. Despite the drastic regulations designed to curb terrorism (you are liable to a death sentence merely for belonging to a group whose members committed an offense against the emergency regulations) Jews are convinced that moral righteousness is on their side. The passive ones acquiesce to terrorism as apparently the only means of attracting the world's attention to the plight of the Jews. Others perpetrate terrorism.

In the case of Hagana, terrorism hasn't been in the line of deliberate killing, but in spectacular sabotage and in operations to assist the entry of illegal immigrants.

Two Measures

Looking back, Palestine Jews see there are two measures: One for them, one for the others. But in the Holy Land vigorous and proud nationalism has developed. "We Jews are not better, but we are not worse than anybody else," they say. So what happens next?

Looking ahead, Jews see the arrest of their leaders and the attempt to disarm Hagana as a direct threat against continuance of the Jewish national home.

A little more of what has been perpetrated already is likely to precipitate violence and open war. Maybe that's the idea.

The Second Exodus of the Jews

By SAMUEL LUBELL

An Important Analysis of the Plight of the Jews of Europe Today

Reprinted by the United Jewish Appeal
from **THE SATURDAY EVENING POST**

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1947

British Compel Tel Aviv Jews To Run Gantlet

Soldiers Beat Them, 29 Are Hurt; Anti-Semitism and Hatred of British Grow

By Homer Bigart

By Telephone Via London

Copyright, 1947, New York Tribune Inc.

TEL AVIV, Palestine, Jan. 7.—Two obvious facts—a growing anti-Semitism among British troops and a rising anti-British feeling among all classes of Palestine Jews—dominate all other considerations in the Palestine crisis.

The anti-Semitism has been the inevitable product of terrorist acts, just as terrorism appears to be the inevitable recourse of a people who feel that all legal pressure for achieving security and freedom have failed.

The British troops now in Palestine are certainly no worse than American troops now in Germany. Both forces are composed largely of young recruits who, under strain, are liable to lose their heads. No one could deny that troops here have suffered nagging provocations. But the Sarona incident in Tel Aviv Thursday night was a particularly nasty display of anti-Semitism, and the tragic prospect of further excesses must receive urgent consideration in London.

Shortly after a terrorist attack on the district military headquarters in a citrus house in the heart of Tel Aviv, soldiers and police entered the Montefiore District, on the northeast of the city, rounded up the male population and marched them into Sarona police compound. Some sixty to seventy men were forced to run the gantlet between rows of soldiers and police, who struck them with rifle butts and batons. Twenty-nine were injured, seven seriously enough to require hospitalization.

A brigade commander of the 6th Airborne Division, whose troops were involved, told this correspondent tonight that a closed inquiry would start tomorrow. "As a result of allegations made by certain civilians regarding incidents at Sarona, the whole matter is sub judice," he said. "No officer or other rank is empowered to give any further information, by virtue of this fact."

The inquiry had been demanded by Mayor Israel Rokach. The Mayor was ill today, but the Town Clerk, Yehudah Nedivi, who served four years as a captain in the British Army, said the city administration was convinced the allegations were correct.

I drove to the Montefiore district and talked with several men who had been beaten.

Abraham Klajman, owner of a textile mill, said that police entered the factory after 9 p. m. and ordered Klajman and twelve men of the night shift out into the yard. "I asked them whether I should halt the machines, and they replied, 'You'd better—you won't be back very soon.'

"I told the girl employees they'd better stay inside the factory. We were lined up in the yard. Some of the workers started smoking, but the cigarettes were struck from their hands by the police.

"Suddenly a policeman fired in the air and I heard a command, 'Run.' We ran to the main road, where we mixed with a crowd of men whom the police and soldiers had removed from a bus. We stood there a few minutes, and then the command 'Run' came again. At Sarona, the main gate was open. Soldiers and police were lined up on both sides of a lane leading to the center of the compound—a distance of one-sixth of a mile. I heard the cries of men being beaten in the darkness ahead, and then I realized that the shots fired by the police had been a signal to the soldiers to prepare the gantlet.

"I was a prisoner of the Germans at Radom, back in Poland, and I have learned a few things. I kept in the center of the mass of running men and suffered fewer blows than those on the outside. I was clipped once on the head and twice on the arm, but did not fall. Some of the older men fell. I saw a man clubbed with the butt of a rifle as he lay on the ground.

"In the center of the compound we were ordered to sit in a circle on the ground. The soldiers continued to beat those they could reach at the edge of the perimeter. Some of the men became nauseated, others fainted. I heard one soldier cry, 'Give me a machine gun and I'll kill the whole bloody lot.'

Ordered To Go Home

Then we were put into trucks and taken to the British Counter-Intelligence at Jaffa. There was a stretcher case unconscious in my truck, and another man with a broken leg and one with a badly injured arm.

"At Jaffa they simply took our names and ordered us to go home. I overheard an officer saying: 'Who gave orders to arrest these people? Take them back.'"

Similar stories were obtained from Benny Brabda, who had fought with the Jewish Brigade in Belgium and Holland; Joram Danieli, a textile worker, and Joseph Dula, a laborer whose right arm was still in a sling. Dula had fallen during the gantlet run and lost consciousness.

Tel Aviv was quiet tonight, despite the expiration of an "ultimatum" from the underground giving the 6th Airborne Division seventy-two hours to leave town. Meanwhile in Jerusalem there were rumors that the Jewish Agency was attempting to negotiate a truce in terror with the Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern gang. Mrs. Golda Meyerson, new chief of the agency's political division, returned to Palestine this morning and conferred with Sir Henry Curney, chief administrative officer at Government House.

British Compel Jews To Run Gantlet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 13, 1947

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the news story as told in the New York Herald Tribune of January 9, 1947:

BRITISH COMPEL TEL AVIV JEWS TO RUN GANTLET—SOLDIERS BEAT THEM, 29 ARE HURT; ANTI-SEMITISM AND HATRED OF BRITISH GROW

(By Homer Bigart)

TEL AVIV, PALESTINE, January 7.—Two obvious facts—a growing anti-Semitism among British troops and a rising anti-British feeling among all classes of Palestine Jews—dominate all other considerations in the Palestine crisis.

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REPORT ON PALESTINE

BY

GEORGE L. CASSIDY

These three articles are reproduced from the *New York Post* of January 14, 15 and 16, 1947. They were written by the *Post's* foreign correspondent, George L. Cassidy, after he had spent six months in Palestine.

Facts Refute Charge Jews Take Over Country From Arabs

By GEORGE L. CASSIDY
N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent
(Copyright, 1947, New York Post)

London, Jan. 14—This is an attempt to explain a bias, a thing every reporter worth his salt tries to fend off but sooner or later acquires when he has lived too long with a complex of passions and events such as revolve around Palestine and its destiny.

I came to Palestine without bias, but with an inclination toward the belief that there must be found some refuge for the hundreds of thousands of Jews whose pathetic figures I had seen, first as a military government officer and later as a correspondent, streaming across Europe.

They formed a particularly distressing group even among their fellow displaced persons. The Jews whom I had known felt they had no homes to which to return, for almost everywhere in Europe lay memories of pogroms or at least of persecution.

But I did not believe Palestine was the only answer, nor had I prejudged the issue between the Jews and the Arabs.

My Bias Came Slowly

My bias came slowly, and hardened only a few months ago, after I had spent many weeks in Palestine, studied the past of the problem, traveled from one end of that small country to the other, made friends with Jews, Arabs and Britons, listened to endless discussions and learned the conditions of life there.

The Arab argument can be stated in a few words:

The Arabs have inhabited Palestine since Biblical times, whereas the Jews have come there only recently. The country is small. If the Jews buy all the best land the Arabs will soon find that they will have to move out or perish. Even if that isn't true, then the Jews will gain a majority and the Arabs will become second-class citizens, a subject race in their homeland.

There may be some social and economic progress brought to some Arabs by the westernized Jew, but the Arabs don't want progress at such a cost. They would rather have freedom in their own homeland.

Facts Defeat It

All that had a certain appeal to an American with a natural bent in favor of protecting the minority against attack by the strong. But the Arab argument, so simple and so easily grasped, soon seemed far less convincing in the light of the facts.

Although the Arabs have, indeed, inhabited Palestine since Biblical times, the fact is that during most of modern history they were the exploited subjects of the Turks. The Allies, in the war of 1914-18, freed the Arab lands from the Ottoman Empire.

At that time Britain, only one of the Allies, promised the Arabs to create Arab states and also promised the Jews a National Home in Palestine.

The promises to the Arabs have been kept. There now exist the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Republics of Syria and The Lebanon, the Kingdoms of Iran and Iraq (if Iran and Iraq can be called Arab) and the Kingdom of Trans-Jordan.

But Jews Were Failed

The promise to the Jews has not been kept, although it seems that the League of Nations, in attempting to set up Palestine as a haven for the Jews, charged the rest of the Arab world very little for independence. Palestine is less than two per cent of the freed area.

There still remained other points to the current Arab argument. But one of the strongest, the notion that the Jewish immigrants were forcing the Arabs out of Palestine, obviously was untrue.

Side by side with Jewish immigration over the past 50 years, the Arab population has increased, partly as a result of Arabs seeking a better living there, partly the result of reduction in infant mortality and improving health standards generally.

So far as I could find, Arabs other than the few political grandees whose workers have begun to copy the independence of Jewish companions have no feeling of political insecurity. There is an exception, perhaps, in the few Christian Arabs, who have to contend with pressure from their neighbors to take part in the periodically stimulated boycotts of Jewish goods.

Better Than Iran

The ordinary Arab in Palestine has little to say about his lot. He is governed, without constitution, by his landlord.

The fact that the denuded mountains and desert lands of Palestine now are supporting nearly twice the population of half a century ago gives the lie to the notion that Jewish immigration has harmed the Arab. Instead, the arrival of the Jew has helped him immeasurably, although it may have hampered the high, wide and handsome exploitation that some wealthy Arab landlords would prefer.

Those were some of the things that I found as I lived and traveled in Palestine. They turned me into that uncomfortable phenomenon, a biassed reporter.

Committee's Stopgap Solution Offers Best Hope for Palestine

By GEORGE L. CASSIDY **N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent**

(Copyright, 1947, New York Post)

London, Jan. 16—Palestine's present tragic crisis is the direct result of the British government's insistence upon attempting an immediate and final answer to the political issue between Jews and Arabs rather than adopting the temporary remedies suggested by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry 10 months ago.

The committee, in effect, suggested continuance of the British mandate pending creation of a United Nations trusteeship, thereby avoiding the question of Jewish or Arab statehood, but urged repeal of laws restricting Jewish land purchase and immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish immigrants.

Had the committee's report been made effective, the whole Palestine problem might now have been much closer to a final solution and it is certainly probable that conditions in Palestine would be very much better.

Bitter Over DPs

During nearly six months I watched tension mount and saw the more moderate Jewish leaders lose influence in the community. The basic cause of bitterness among the Jews in Palestine was perfectly clear—the refusal of the government to permit refugees from Europe, most of whom already had relatives in Palestine to enter the country not only before and during the war but afterwards.

To the Palestinian Jew, no matter of what age or condition, it was incomprehensible that this policy could continue. Whenever a new shipload of immigrants arrived, the Jewish community expected that they would be permitted to land, and with each deportation to Cyprus disappointment and rage grew stronger.

If 100,000 immigration certificates had been issued, there is no doubt the Jewish community would have turned against terrorism.

Failed to Ease Land Laws

Similarly, relaxation of the restrictions on the purchase of land would have given the Jews an opportunity to make up for the war years when their program of settlement and agricultural development came almost to a standstill. A great deal of the energy that was diverted to what amounted to a steady battle against the government might well have gone into healthful economic and social effort.

Arab leaders of the stripe of Jamal Husseini and others under the influence of the Grand Mufti might have been able to stir up some of their followers to violence but the likelihood is that such a reaction would not last long. Unlike 1936 and 1937 the Jews now are well organized and capable of lending much greater aid to their isolated settlements.

The formula proposed by the Anglo-American Committee, in the opinion of most Arabs and Jews who read it, did not offer a permanent settlement because few believe either Zionists or Arabs would give up their desires for establishment of an independent state in Palestine. But the committee's suggestions, in the long run, might make some form of partition easier.

At present, the only formal British offer of partition is wholly unacceptable to the Jewish leaders because it provides for so small an area of Palestine for a Jewish state that the most optimistic despair of such an organism being able to live. Yet the immediate establishment of a Jewish state in a large area presents the difficulty of including within its borders far more Arabs than Jews.

One of the reasons for this has been that Jewish immigration has been halted or strictly curtailed for many years, while Arabs who wished to enter Palestine have found no barrier and, during the war, were brought into the country by the Allied forces to work in military installations. Thus the Arab population has increased more rapidly than the Jewish Carrying out the committee's recommendations might help to redress the balance.

Ten months of attempted negotiations toward a final solution have been worse than fruitless. There seems to be little hope for any in future so long as the present policy continues. The first step toward sanity in Palestine lies in making the committee's report effective.

Reprinted from
The CHURCHMAN
FEBRUARY 1, 1947

From One Parson to Another

An American Clergyman Writes to a British Clergyman

By Carl Hermann Voss

• *Dr. Carl Hermann Voss is extension secretary of the Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. He is chairman of the executive council of the American Christian Palestine Committee.*

DEAR . . . Thank you for your interesting letter of December 17 and its enclosures, which came during the Yuletide Season. May I try to be equally sincere and candid in my answer.

Like you, I should consider "some measure of compromise inevitable," but not, I beg you, at the further expense of the Jews who not only have had Transjordan cut off from the "Palestine" envisaged in the Balfour Declaration, but have been confined in a "restricted" Palestine as outlined by the 1939 White Paper.

Like you, I would "strongly recommend a careful study" of the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry; but I deplore the fact that the report was so coldly received in Britain, and I look with despair on the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee and its incredible Morrison-Grady scheme of federalization which violated the basic premises of the Inquiry's Report whose recommendations it was ordered to implement.

In all earnestness, may I say that I see no possibility of "a peaceful solution of this most difficult problem of human relations," as you describe it, as long as our basic misunderstandings prevail.

When the British Council of Christians and Jews adopted the resolution you sent me in which "certain irresponsible Jewish groups" in Palestine were condemned for engaging in terrorist activity, it had, I was relieved to read, the grace to note that the crimes were committed by "a numerically insignificant minority." The resolution, proposed from the chair by the Archbishop of Canterbury, declared the acts of terrorism to be "fundamental violations of the spiritual and ethical principles common to Judaism and Christianity."

But the resolution omitted some things. Are not acts of tyranny of the British military regime in Palestine also "fundamental violations of the spiritual and ethical principles common to Christianity and Judaism?"

I refer to the way in which refugees, who tried to enter their legitimate national home, were clubbed and gassed; to the arbitrary arrest and the detention of democratically elected leaders of the Jewish community without charge or trial; to the looting and wanton destruction of property by armed troops; and to the unilateral breach of international covenants. Yes, terrorism is reprehensibe, but it is no less reprehensible to provoke terrorism by injustice. The bombing of the King David Hotel and the flogging of British soldiers were tragic and deplorable, yet are the logical result of British policy in Palestine. The terrorists in Palestine are not the first to resort to direct action against what they construe to be British misrule. The pattern was set for them by the Sinn Feiners in Ireland, by the resistance movement of the nationalists in India, and by such stalwarts as the Minute Men of Lexington and the instigators of the Boston Tea Party.

IT seems to me that a good deal of over-sensitivity enters into the reaction of some of your people to what is being said and done in America. No reasonable person should expect our people and yours to see eye to eye on everything. Such a situation would have within it a stagnation of clear thought and expression. You may remember that about two months ago *The Manchester Guardian* (Nov. 12, 1946) remarked: "What in fact is the moral basis of our Palestinian policy? We are not carrying out the terms of the original mandate. We are not noticeably approaching the day when Palestine will be independent. And we are not offering to make it a trust territory under the United Nations. It is no use simply feeling aggrieved."

Our British friends should realize that they are largely responsible for the state of mind which prevails in America today. It is not enough to find fault with the results emanating from a given cause. The cause *itself* is, I believe, the very core of the problem.

The remarks of Mr. Neville Laski and his expressions of horror and outrage over some of the things that are being said in America about your country and its government are, I would venture to say, in rather bad taste. Lately, some very harsh things have been said about our country and our government in your House of Commons and in your newspapers. But no one here has taken up the sword either in attack or in defense. We take it for granted that, whether you are wrong or right in your evaluation of American policies, we have no right to attempt to take away your privilege of being critical. Any other attitude would spell disaster for our peoples. Likewise we take it for granted that you may not take away our right to be critical of your policies.

IT would be more fitting for Mr. Laski and others of the same mind to look into their own consciences and endeavor to square them with the actuality of Britain's present attitude toward the Jewish people. To claim that the British people have always been "the best friends" of the Jews is to beg the issue. Even the British Labor Party does not deny that it has taken a somersault on the Palestine issue.

It is extremely difficult for us to understand certain aspects of a new British orientation with regard to Jewish affairs generally and with Palestine in particular.

I refer particularly to the gross vulgarities expressed by some of your generals in Palestine and to the anti-Jewish sentiment which has recently been generated by your press and some public officials with regard to the so-called "terror" invasion of Britain by Jews, despite the very clear evidence that this was not based in fact.

How do you expect us to react to the policy which seeks to appease the Arabs at the cost of honor and integrity? We know how much and how willingly the Jews of Palestine sacri-

THE AMERICAN PRESS SPEAKS ON PALESTINE

(SOME EXPRESSIONS FROM LEADING AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS)

The Washington Post

Thursday, February 6, 1947

Palestine Decision

To Mr. Bevin, now that both the Anglo-Arab and the Anglo-Jewish conferences have ended in deadlock, goes the responsibility for producing a unilateral policy for Palestine. It is a fateful assignment. Hitherto Mr. Bevin has not been noted for his aptness in handling the situation in Palestine. He is reputed to feel that a delay is in order until the seven-day notice that the British administration in Palestine has served on the Jewish Agency has expired. The due date is next Monday. By then the Jewish Agency is expected to cooperate with the administration in rounding up the terrorists. But, if Mr. Bevin expects this cooperation, he is as lacking in imagination and a sense of realities as the men on the spot in Palestine. The Jewish Agency, no matter how much it condemns the terrorism, will clearly not be put in the position of turning spy and informer. It is too close to the terrorists in opposition to British rule in Palestine to do any such thing. The cooperation asked by the British would be equivalent to a sponsorship of civil war by the Jewish Agency itself. Nor is it likely that the counterterror instigated by the British will browbeat the Jewish Agency into acceptance of the kind of federal state under British administration which goes under Mr. Morrison's name and which Mr. Bevin is said, more or less, to have in mind. Both the Morrison plan and intimidation have run their course, and the line of true statesmanship must be sought elsewhere.

It would seem that the wise thing would be to outline a policy without regard to what is going on in Palestine. Palestine is the kind of problem the unmanageability of which has increased by delay and indecision. Partition, it has long been our view, is the only possible device for application to Palestine, and even that, in the circumstances of present tempers and passions, would have to be imposed. As long ago as 1937 it was laid down as just by the British Peel Commission. But what could have been done then without much difficulty, and even in 1945 with a good chance of success, is now, admittedly, full of danger. Arab intransigence has thriven on British indecision, and many Zionists have become whole hoggers. Yet the nettle must be grasped, not in terms of a phony partition such as was represented by the Morrison plan, but in those of the Peel Commission. Only a partition admitting of a viable state for Jewish Palestine will do—that is to say, one giving an autonomous Jewish Palestine access to the highlands of Galilee and the empty spaces of the Negeb.

The parallel between Palestine after this war and Ireland after the last is becoming uncanny. Repression in Ireland created a terrorist movement which went from opposition to the British to opposition to partition. It developed so alarmingly that the British government simply had to turn to conciliation, as they will have to do in Palestine, if only to allay the growing discontent on the part of the British people, who are impatient over police commitments out of their straitened circumstances. Unfortunately, as Emerson said of British colonial rule nearly 100 years ago, "Whenever an abatement of their power is felt, they have not conciliated the affection on which to rely." This proved to be the case in Ireland. It may, alas, happen in Palestine, for extremism has fed on itself for too long a time to take kindly either to the British or to partition. The only British hope of sowing seeds of tranquillity is to come out with a declaration for a just partition, and let time strengthen the inherent wisdom and justice of it. A just partition, it seems to us, could not fail to evoke American support, as was implicit in the President's statement to Ibn Saud on October 4. Such a statement of British policy would pave the way for American aid, especially in river valley development, which is the only means that will promote the healing that one day will have to be undertaken.

The Philadelphia Inquirer. 9/24/36

ON WHAT PAGE IS THE WORD "HUMANITY?"

Cleveland Plain Dealer

IRELAND OF 1947?

The stage is being set in Palestine for the enactment of an international tragedy. The actions of the British in the Holy Land are reminiscent of the futile steps taken in 1920-21 to put down the republic in Ireland. The analogy is so close that a lesson should be drawn by Downing Street from the Irish experience before Palestine is bathed in blood.

Ireland's Sinn Fein movement of the '20s may be compared with the Zionist movement of today. When Britain turned from diplomacy to military action to resist the claims of the Sinn Fein the terrorism began in Ireland and the underground Irish Republican Army came into being. The failure of British diplomacy, and the breaking of promises to the Zionists, has led to the creation in Palestine of the Irgun Xvai Leumi, the underground terrorist group.

The war between the Irish Republicans and the British forces, popularly known as the "Black and Tans," became one of the most disgraceful—and as it proved, most futile—episodes of the early postwar years.

Then as now, London could see the employment of military force as the only answer to a situation which had degenerated because of the breakdown of diplomacy. The following paragraph from a cable dated May 24, 1920, has a familiar note:

"The question of how many more troops are to be dispatched to Ireland also has arisen in the cabinet. It is calculated that there are now about 50,000 troops in Ireland, and several more battalions are under orders . . ."

Substitute Palestine for Ireland and 100,000 for 50,000, and the cable might have been received yesterday.

Terrorism, cruel retaliation, the involvement of the innocent population are today common events in the Holy Land as they were a quarter century ago in Ireland. Britain endeavored then to involve the population in the campaign against the Republicans. It has so warned the Jewish National Council (the Vaad Leumi) that it has until next Tuesday to join the British in stamping out terrorism. Otherwise, recognition of it as the official representative body of Zionism will be withdrawn.

The answer to the agency's refusal to turn Palestine into a nation of "spies and informers" was explained by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

"The Jewish Agency has indicated that it will do everything that lies in its power to restrain these extremist groups. It is not, however, prepared to ask the Jewish population to turn informists and spies for an administration which itself has been guilty of gross inequalities and cruelties against Jews who seek refuge in their own homeland."

All the British steps to solve the Palestine problem have failed to date. The latest failure is the total rejection of the partition scheme by the delegates of the Arab League now in London. It no more satisfies the Jews. Foreign Secretary Bevin has indicated his surprise, but this result was to be expected. The London conference with the Arabs, to be followed by another with the Jews, are part of a pattern of procrastination that solves nothing.

Before Palestine becomes the Ireland of 1947 the British should recall the outcome of the former tragedy. After the shooting was over, when everyone was sickened by useless bloodshed which brought no issue, the problem was settled by diplomacy. With common sense and honesty this can be done in Palestine today before total tragedy engulfs the region. A determined people cannot be intimidated by force. Especially is this true when the record clearly shows that the oppressing power is violating its own solemnly given commitments.

Allentown, Pa.
Call Chronicle

Is It Nothing To You?

There is much unrest in Palestine on the part of the Jews because Britain has not admitted the number of refugees they desire. There is no good reason why life and property should be destroyed in the effort to compel the British to admit more of their people. The violence is not condoned by the large majority of the Jews in Palestine. Nevertheless, the great Nations which were the winners in World War II should take prompt action to relieve the awful refugee situation in Europe. More than five million Jews were deliberately slaughtered like cattle by the Germans and a million and a half are still largely confined to concentration camps and have no place to go. None of the great nations has suffered in loss of life so much as these people have suffered simply because they are Jews. A Jew believes in the same God as does the Christian. Even Soviet Russia has made the statement that Palestine should be given to the Jews and President Truman has urged that 100,000 refugees be admitted to Palestine.

There are now 600,000 Jews in Palestine and 1,200,000 Arabs. The Arabs there have profited greatly by the return of the Jews. If the Jew had not come the Arab would still be cultivating his land with the small wooden plow, and there would be no progress in the land. Someone has made the statement that the Jew has long since lost Palestine because of its conquest by other nations, and that the land belongs to the Jew by divine right: as much entitled to America as the Jew is to Palestine. They forget, however, that there is a Divinity that shapes the ends of nations, and that the land belongs to the Jew by divine right. Sooner or later, despite opposition of other nations, the Jew will occupy Palestine and he will again occupy the Holy Land given him by the Almighty. That land extends from the Euphrates river to the Mediterranean, and from Egypt north including Syria and Lebanon.

How can a people rest with a million and a half of their brethren homeless and still prisoners of war? The immediate problem which should concern the successful nations is the placement of these displaced and unhappy people.

Palestine can still assimilate more people. It is a small country, only 60 by 120 miles, but it has every promise that it will again regain its prosperity of centuries ago, and the Jews will take care of their own if they are given the opportunity.

Great Britain fought for freedom and won. It does not become them now to continue concentration camps for the Jews or any other people.

New York Times
December 29, 1946

PALESTINE—"SEARCH FOR AN OPEN DOOR."

N. Y. Post
February 4, 1947

WELL?

PHILADELPHIA RECORD
JANUARY 5, 1947

Make the Colonial Office Throw Away Its Whips

Hon. Ernest Bevin,
Foreign Minister of Great Britain.

Sir:

Make them throw away their whips.

That is the only way you will settle the Palestine problem.

We refer to the whips carried by officers of the Palestine police, working under orders of your Colonial Office.

When you make them throw away their whips you might as well throw away the officers—or retire them on pensions—because they have been trained to rule by the lash, and most of your senior officers are too old to learn new tricks.

Because this newspaper has supported your great Commonwealth of Nations at every turn of your courageous and inspiring battle against the Germans, we have hesitated to give this advice.

We have been even more hesitant because we are well aware that our own United States is open to the same criticism which we are directing against your Government.

We hang our heads in shame because, in certain Southern States, they still terrorize Negroes. We cannot hide our Ku Klux Klan, our lynchbos and our Rankins. Even north of the Mason and Dixon line, not 30 miles from his office in the small State of Delaware, the sheriff is required by law to flog prisoners for certain offenses.

So who are we to call attention to the "mote" in your eye with the "beam" in ours? But we can give you this little inside information on public relations and public reaction in this side of the Atlantic.

A little lady from New England wrote a melodramatic novel called "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which was made into a play. It did more to change our history than any other American writing—and that is taking in a lot of territory, including Tom Paine, Tom Jefferson, Ben Franklin and Walt Whitman.

From a literary standpoint it was not a great novel or play—but it did the job for which it was intended, by arousing the North against chattel slavery in the South.

It is nearly 50 years since the writer of this editorial read, and cried as he read, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It is more than 40 years since he saw it on the stage. But the vivid impression remains of the villain Simon Legree, overseer of the plantation, lashing old Uncle Tom with a bull-whip.

Mr. Bevin, the overwhelming majority of Americans don't like to see or hear of anyone being flogged. We believe the same to be true of the overwhelming majority of your constituents. In fact, we believe that free men throughout the world abhor the whip.

You know, or ought to know, that your Colonial Office rules with the whip.

It worked for a long while in India. It still works with the illiterate savages of darkest Africa. It works to a certain extent with the Arabs, especially the nomads.

We have heard one of your former police chiefs tell how he and one sergeant walked to the central square of Haifa, when it was in revolt, and lashed the Arab Mayor into submission.

By such terroristic methods Spain built a South American empire—and today Spain is a third-rate Power.

The British Commonwealth is strong and great in Canada, Australia, New Zealand—wherever it is not blighted by your Colonial Office.

The Jews of Palestine, an enlightened people, will not stand for the whip. Most of your Colonial force in Palestine served their apprenticeship in the wilds of Africa, where they amused themselves shooting elephants and whipping illiterate bushmen. They have tried to apply the same system to an entirely different civilization.

Your Colonial Office is an anachronism in Palestine. It is not their fault, but the fault of the administration which puts them there, that they have made such a mess of things.

Remove the Colonial Office and all its civil servants from the Holy Land and your Palestine problem will solve itself overnight.

Get rid of the man with the whip.

Moslems and Jews can get along together—as they did get along together until your Colonial Office took over in 1918.

THE PHILADELPHIA RECORD.

Facts Refute Charge Jews Take Over Country From Arabs

By GEORGE L. CASSIDY
N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent
(Copyright, 1947, New York Post)

London, Jan. 14—This is an attempt to explain a bias, a thing every reporter worth his salt tries to fend off but sooner or later acquires when he has lived too long with a complex of passions and events such as revolve around Palestine and its destiny.

I came to Palestine without bias, but with an inclination toward the belief that there must be found some refuge for the hundreds of thousands of Jews whose pathetic figures I had seen, first as a military government officer and later as a correspondent, streaming across Europe.

They formed a particularly distressing group even among their fellow displaced persons. The Jews whom I had known felt they had no homes to which to return, for almost everywhere in Europe lay memories of pogroms or at least of persecution.

But I did not believe Palestine was the only answer, nor had I prejudged the issue between the Jews and the Arabs.

My Bias Came Slowly

My bias came slowly, and hardened only a few months ago, after I had spent many weeks in Palestine, studied the past of the problem, traveled from one end of that small country to the other, made friends with Jews, Arabs and Britons, listened to endless discussions and learned the conditions of life there.

The Arab argument can be stated in a few words:

The Arabs have inhabited Palestine since Biblical times, whereas the Jews have come there only recently. The country is small. If the Jews buy all the best land the Arabs will soon find that they will have to move out or perish. Even if that isn't true, then the Jews will gain a majority and the Arabs will become second-class citizens, a subject race in their homeland.

There may be some social and economic progress brought to some Arabs by the westernized Jew, but the Arabs don't want progress at such a cost. They would rather have freedom in their own homeland.

Facts Defeat It

All that had a certain appeal to an American with a natural bent in favor of protecting the minority against attack by the strong. But the Arab argument, so simple and so easily grasped, soon seemed far less convincing in the light of the facts.

Although the Arabs have, indeed, inhabited Palestine since Biblical times, the fact is that during most of modern history they were the exploited subjects of the Turks. The Allies, in the war of 1914-18, freed the Arab lands from the Ottoman Empire.

At that time Britain, only one of the Allies, promised the Arabs to create Arab states and also promised the Jews a National Home in Palestine.

This article is the second in a series summarizing George L. Cassidy's views after six months in Palestine.

The promises to the Arabs have been kept. There now exist the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Republics of Syria and The Lebanon, the Kingdoms of Iran and Iraq (if Iran and Iraq can be called Arab) and the Kingdom of Trans-Jordan.

But Jews Were Failed

The promise to the Jews has not been kept, although it seems that the League of Nations, in attempting to set up Palestine as a haven for the Jews, charged the rest of the Arab world very little for independence. Palestine is less than two per cent of the freed area.

There still remained other points to the current Arab argument. But one of the strongest, the notion that the Jewish immigrants were forcing the Arabs out of Palestine, obviously was untrue.

Side by side with Jewish immigration over the past 50 years, the Arab population has increased, partly as a result of Arabs seeking a better living there, partly the result of reduction in infant mortality and improving health standards generally.

So far as I could find, Arabs other than the few political grandees whose workers have begun to copy the independence of Jewish companions have no feeling of political insecurity. There is an exception, perhaps, in the few Christian Arabs, who have to contend with pressure from their neighbors to take part in the periodically stimulated boycotts of Jewish goods.

Better Than Iran

The ordinary Arab in Palestine has little to say about his lot. He is governed, without constitution, by his landlord.

The fact that the denuded mountains and desert lands of Palestine now are supporting nearly twice the population of half a century ago gives the lie to the notion that Jewish immigration has harmed the Arab. Instead, the arrival of the Jew has helped him immeasurably, although it may have hampered the high, wide and handsome exploitation that some wealthy Arab landlords would prefer.

Those were some of the things that I found as I lived and traveled in Palestine. They turned me into that uncomfortable phenomenon, a biassed reporter.

GOVERNOR GREETS BREWSTER—with Governor Ralph F. Gates as th... day night at the Indianapolis Zo...

Cleveland
THE PLAIN DEALER
TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1947

Devious Ways in Palestine

Britain seeks a complicated and devious twofold solution—military and political—to the problem of Palestine when a direct, honest approach to the political issue alone would bring peace.

Cabinet conferences have been held on the future of the Holy Land attended by Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, Palestine high commissioner; Field Marshal Lord Montgomery, Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones and Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Secretary Bevin.

Their decision, expected this week, will either put the official stamp on the proposed partition of Palestine in two Arab and Jewish states with the British retaining an occupation zone of their own, or it will recommend the surrender of Britain's League of Nations mandate to the United Nations.

These cabinet meetings, held as a preliminary to the Palestine Conference opening in London on Jan. 21, rather prejudice the conference deliberations. Of course, they are already prejudiced, for the Jewish representatives have refused to attend. They are justified in this stand. Britain has refused to abide by any decision that might be reached at such a conference between the Arabs and the Jews themselves. Vividly in the mind of all interested parties is London's refusal to carry out the recommendations of the British-American Inquiry Committee on Palestine.

But any political settlement, London maintains, is impossible until "the open rebellion against law and order" by Jewish extremists in Palestine is crushed. The quotation is from yesterday's War Office announcement that the biggest military offensive in the Holy Land's history would immediately get under way. More than 100,000 British troops, heavily reinforced from garrisons in Egypt, will be employed. Everyone suspected of the remotest connection with Irgun Zvai Leumi or the Stern gang will be arrested. Obviously, a reign of terror is to be intensified.

The British Labor government is well aware that it is putting the cart before the horse by these means. If an honest political settlement were obtained the violence would disappear. It is Britain's refusal to carry out her word—as witness the rejection of the British-American recommendations—which has driven the extremists to action.

Everyone is aware that strategic imperial interests are involved in this settlement. Britain intends to remain in Palestine. Downing Street's shortsightedness consists in believing that it could not do so if a peaceful solution were reached. The violence, bred by refusal to bring political peace, fits the empire book at the moment. Until this fact is recognized and dealt with there will be no peace in Palestine.

New York Herald Tribune

By Bill Mauldin

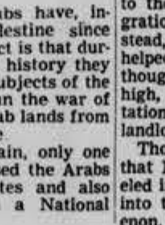
LIBERATE: to set free. (Webster's)

British Have No Solution for Palestine

By L. F. Levenberg
The News Foreign Affairs Editor

ON Monday in London, the British government's conference on the Palestine situation will be resumed, with only Arab delegates in attendance.

Jewish representatives, under provisions of the resolutions adopted at the recent World Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland, will not be present officially, but are expected to confer informally with heads of the colonial and foreign offices and other government spokesmen.



L. F. LEVENBERG

The Zionist position is that the organization will not take part in formal negotiations until the British government abrogates its White Paper of 1939, which restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and practically banned the purchase of land. Zionists charge that the White Paper is a violation of the mandate granted Great Britain by the old League of Nations and a repudiation of the 1917 Balfour pledge.

• • •

THIS ZIONIST position was made clear at the Basel congress and amplified eloquently by Rabbi A. H. Silver a week ago before the City Club. Unfortunately, the Basel congress resulted in a difference of views between the factions led by Dr. Silver and those in support of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, British scientist,

CLEVELAND, OHIO, NEWS
JANAURY 25, 1947

long president of World Zionism. The divergent views are not based on the ultimate aims of Zionist, but on methods.

Rabbi Silver's stand has been bolstered by developments of the last week. Only yesterday British colonial and foreign office officials conceded that they had no definite plan for a solution of the Palestine question aside from partition, which neither the Arabs nor the Jews will accept. Since the Arabs have been adamant in their demands for overwhelming representation in any state established in Palestine, these British officials admitted that there was little hope for agreement.

Another incident of the week was the revelation that the four Arab delegates to the London Conference had stopped off in Cairo to confer with the former mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini, who fled from Palestine during the war, taking refuge in Berlin and Rome, from where he broadcast Hitlerism and anti-British propaganda and directed a traitorous Arab campaign.

The Arab delegates are strong supporters of the mufti.

• • •

THESE ARE THE PEOPLE with whom Britain will try to negotiate a resumption of the program for appeasement of a population which has been hostile and disloyal. There are many blots on the British record of imperialism and colonialism, but none as black as this.

Haj Amin, the traitor who now is directing the policy of the Arab League, a British-created body to offset the influence of the Zionist organization, is descended from an Egyptian family. In the first World War he was an officer in the Turkish Army with a reputation for intrigue, anti-British agitation and anti-Semitism. In the early 1920's he was sentenced to 15 years of hard labor by a British court on conviction of charges of violence and agitation.

He escaped and was in hiding in Syria when he was pardoned, permitting him to return to Palestine. Over the protests of the Moslem high council he was appointed grand mufti of Jerusalem for life. This is the highest authority in the Moslem world in the interpretation of religion and law.

Later when the Supreme Moslem Council was created by the British high commissioner, Haj Amin received only nine votes for the presidency as against 19, 18 and 12 for three rivals. The British commissioner again forced the election of his favorite.

• • •

THIS IS THE SAME mufti, with a criminal record, who deserted the British in their time of trial and returned with British connivance to direct the campaign against the Zionists and the Jewish Home.

One British defense, as expressed by the British consul in Cleveland, is that neither the Arabs nor the Jews contributed much to the Allied cause during the last war. The statement was made recently in a talk to a suburban Rotary club.

As for the Arabs, the statement is an exaggeration. The Arabs contributed nothing. Some 9,000 enlisted during the war, but the total was reduced by one-half through desertions and discharges. Most of the enlistees were from Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon; practically none were from Palestine.

• • •

BUT, IN CONTRAST, some 33,000 Palestinian Jews volunteered, 4,000 of them women, and, despite the obstacles of the British government, finally formed a Jewish brigade which fought in Africa, Italy and Europe. Up until recently the brigade was a part of the British Army of Occupation in Europe. In addition, Palestine industry and agricu... was harnessed to the war effort and... calculable assistance was given by the a... tists and technicians of the Hebrew Un... sity and other Jewish schools.

The British have minimized all this. A... end of the war they sponsored five Arab ... in the Assembly of the United Nations, ... veniently forgetting the open hostility of ... same Arab states to the Allied cause.

The British will have difficulty living ... the record they have established in Pale... The excuses are weak and the alibis ... qualifications.

• • •

NO ONE DENIES the problem is se... The Zionist contention is that the British ... taken the wrong slant. Palestine is not ... never was meant to be a British colony ... was only a mandate from the League of ... tions, a stewardship which England has ... interpreted and mismanaged.

For an immediate solution, the answ... simple: Merely open the doors of Pale... to Jewish immigration as a humanitarian ... for the rescue of some 130,000 victims of p... cution and brutality. These people are h... less and homeless. Palestine offers their ... salvation. The economy of the state can ... it and facilities for their care are waiting.

It is such an easy solution that it ... stupid to remain blind to it.

• • •

FOR A LONG-RANGE settlement of ... Palestine problem, further negotiations ... be necessary. The United Nations could ... the agency to work it out. But this must ... certain, if Britain will withdraw the W... Paper and permit the resumption of immi... tion, the Zionists will be willing, even e... to enter into further discussions with ... will and reasonableness.

POLIS, INDIANA NEWS
NUARY 13, 1947

The News Photo—George Tilford

Senator Owen Brewster (R., Me.) (left) is shown ey chatted before Senator Brewster's address Sun- nist district dinner meeting in the Hotel Severin.

wster Condemns British sion of Palestine Pledge

By JAY ZAL

e the next war may be n the Near East, particu- he Palestine area, and be- e Russians may be the that war, the British are to hold on to the Holy d its oil outlets, Senator . Brewster (R., Me.) told ist district meeting Sun- t.

nor Ralph F. Gates intro- im to more than 200 Jew- bers and guests gathered quet in the Hotel Severin. n Levi, president of the olis Zionist district and officer, said $35,000 is ere to aid the expansion he Zionist Organization of

r Brewster, member of ted States senate foreign committee, has visited and also the concentra- s of Europe which housed placed by the war. He critical of British policy Palestine since.

ndemned Britain for fail- eep its pledge as outlined Balfour declaration which the Jews a national home- Palestine.

of the big issues in the crisis since 1924," he petroleum. The British are king of the Arab or the y are thinking of British sm and the Arab sheiks. ish hope to mobilize the against the Soviet and n to do that through the of the desert sheiks, King Ibn Saud of Arabia ular."

enator said the British o interest Gen. George in their point of view he war, long before any thought he someday might ica's secretary of state.

ing to Mr. Brewster, dur- African campaign, when the were approaching Cairo, sh sought to get a state- m Gen. Marshall which avow American sympathy Zionist cause in order to b support for the imme- ense against the Nazis.

nator said Gen. Marshall he was shocked by the that he refused with the n that such a statement a betrayal of America's

ew England senator said the effect that the Jews cing Arabs in Palestine h propaganda designed to ent true facts. He said hold 90% of the Arab are doing little or noth- velop the area.

"The area needs irrigation badly. One-fourth of the oil royalties paid the Arabs by the British in the last ten years would do the job. The Arabs are suffering at the hands of the sheiks. The Arabs have no courts, no democracy of any kind. They will turn to the Russians instead unless Ibn Saud gives them something.

"For the last two years our state department and congress have been controlled by one party. Their resolutions have not been sufficient to help clear the Palestine issue. Since the election the responsibility regarding Palestine will be divided, and not for the Jews alone.

"The peace of the world is involved in Palestine. There is no place in Palestine where United States policy can be heard. Our radio facilities there have been restricted by the British and French in the Arab areas. Our planes are restricted, even from the very field which was built by $10,000,000 of American money. The British fear we might establish a listening post. That is why they won't even let our planes land. But that is why we are interested in Palestine. We want to help keep the peace."

Senator Brewster said when Secretary of State James F. Byrnes was absent from the country, underlings in the department virtually repudiated America's true policy toward Palestine and the Jews. With the government now back in the hands of the two-party system, he said, "there will be a reshuffling of the state department and underlings will not be able to repudiate the pledges of their superiors."

He blamed the desertion and neglect of Arab lands on the Moslems themselves.

"But the Zionists have made a paradise of the lands they have acquired. About 600,000 Jews have found homes there. And 600,000 Arabs also have found a haven in Palestine. Now there is a total of nearly a million Arabs there and very happy about it, also. And that is because they prefer the sanitary conditions there.

"Arabs would like to sell their lands to the Jews. Jews would like to buy. But the British object.

"The Jews have wrought a miracle in the desert through the Zionist cause, in a land sacred to the three religions.

"I hope the British will fulfill their legal obligation and right a grave moral wrong. I hope they will also choose a course that will serve the interests of world harmony and in the end, the interests of the British empire as well."

The Washington Post

Monday, February 3, 1947

"Forward!"

THE WASHINGTON POST
Saturday, February 8, 1947

Palestine Mess

By Barnet Nover

Belated British Action

WINSTON CHURCHILL was indulging in no rhetorical exaggeration when he told the House of Commons the other day that the policy which the Labor government had been pursuing in Palestine has covered Great Britain with "blood and shame."

NOVER

That policy has consisted of endless stalling and buck-passing by the cabinet in London plus mounting repression by the British authorities in the Holy Land, a peculiarly explosive combination as events have proved.

To be sure, the difficulties of the problem that confronted Prime Minister Attlee and his colleagues when they took office in the summer of 1945 are not to be minimized.

Those difficulties were very great. But they had been there from the beginning. They were implicit in the Palestine problem in the days when Great Britain willingly and eagerly accepted the League of Nations mandate over the Holy Land.

It was with a clear awareness of these difficulties that the Labor Party and the individual Labor leaders, not once but repeatedly, took a strong pro-Zionist position on the Palestine issue.

IN DECEMBER, 1944, the Labor Party, at its annual conference, went on record as saying:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home (which the Balfour Declaration had promised) unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded, calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe . . ."

This plank also urged that more land in Palestine be made available to the Jews through a transfer of the Arab population. Indeed, the Labor Party went so far as officialy to suggest that the possibility be examined of "extending the present boundaries of Palestine by agreement with Egypt, Syria or Transjordan."

In 1945, only a short time before the general elections which resulted in a Labor triumph, the party of Attlee, Bevin and Morrison reaffirmed this policy without reservation.

IT CAN ONLY be a matter of pure speculation, now, whether the policy advocated by the Laborites could have been wholly carried out. The fact is that no attempt was made by the Labor government to carry out any part of the program which they had advocated for more than 20 years, including the years in which Attlee, Bevin, Morrison and other members of the present cabinet shared governmental responsibility with Churchill.

What happened was that as soon the [illegible] came into power, it their Palestine shelf. They de- a wait-and-see course.

In politics, as in physics, nature abhors a vacuum. Having shelved the only Palestine policy to which their party was committed, the Labor leaders in the government had no alternative but to accept the advice of those who knew where they wanted to go and thought they knew how to get there, namely, the men on the spot and the bureaucrats of the Colonial Office.

In other words, British policy during this year and a half has been made by individuals few of whom have had the slightest sympathy for the Labor Party's Palestine program and who consciously or subconsciously were determined that it should never go into effect.

The inevitable result has been that British policy, geared to such a day-to-day basis and determined by local officials rather than by the government in London, has gone backward rather than forward.

It moved, although with self-righteous blindness Bevin and Attlee long refused to see it, not toward the fulfillment of the Balfour pledge of a Jewish homeland but in the direction of the root-and-branch destruction of the Zionist experiment.

HAD THE LABOR GOVERNMENT leaders been endowed with even elementary understanding of what the situation called for, they would have accepted with enthusiasm and carried out promptly President Truman's suggestion that 100,000 refugee European Jews be admitted to the Holy Land.

They had a second chance to act on that after the Anglo-American Committee's report was issued last year.

Now, months later, they are proposing to do just that as part of a more comprehensive settlement of the Palestine problem. But whereas action on refugee admissions in the summer of 1945 would have given the British government time to work out a decent and viable solution of that problem, it will now appear to be no more than strawberry syrup to make a dose of castor oil more palatable to the Jews when they ask them to swallow the concoction.

The Arabs, having reached the conclusion that Britain fears them, are shrieking to high heaven against even the slightest British concessions to Zionist wishes.

Great Britain is thus reaping the bitter fruits of having waited too long to come to grips with the Palestine problem. Had she displayed half the vigor and determination 18 months ago, or a year ago, she is belatedly showing now, the present Palestine mess might have been avoided. In peace as in war, the worst possible policy is one of "too little,

THE OREGONIAN, WEDNESDAY, DEC. 4, 1946

Left Out or Millions

BY PHILIP H. PARRISH
Editor, The Oregonian Editorial Page

Adjacent to this column appears a photograph which has just caught up with me. It was taken by an army photographer on October 3 at the Jewish assembly center of Zeilsheim, down the Main from Frankfurt, Germany—an assembly center holding 3500 out of approximately 114,000 Jews assigned to centers throughout our zone in Germany.

Please study the photograph carefully. It is a document of much pathos and great significance.

Toward the lower right there are army and UNRRA officials, along with Palmer Hoyt of the Denver Post and myself. We had just come out of a children's hospital, from a window of which the picture was taken. The others in the picture, except for two members of the editorial party, standing in the middle of the group (wearing hats), are typical Jewish survivors of the Nazi program of extermination.

The point which I wish to bring out is that these sorry remnants out of millions are almost all the same height and the same weight, and except for a few children they are in younger middle life. The older and younger people are dead; hardships killed them. The taller people and the shorter people are dead; they attracted the attention of their guards and went first to the gas chambers. Nearly all of those one sees here are survivors of the extermination camps. I have stared at the marks on many arms designating the order in which they were to go to the chambers. Most of those who live are from 5 feet 4 to 5 feet 6 in height, weighing 135 to 160 now that our feeding has restored their flesh. One could almost push a lawnmower across their heads, they run so much to one size.

They were the physically and mentally tough, and those most likely to escape attention from the guards.

Prior to the war Germany had 600,000 (plus) Jews, and there were several millions in Poland and adjacent countries of central Europe. Something over 5,000,000 died during the war, from wilfully imposed hardships or from mass murder. The figures are inconceivable, but that is the sorry record—a fearful blot not only upon the Nazis but upon civilization. And of the German Jews, few indeed remained when our troops battered through. They either had escaped or were slain. Probably only two or three in the accompanying picture would be German Jews. Most of the rest would be fugitives from Poland. Some would have arrived from the east under the earlier impacts; some would have taken the road west following the Kielce massacre last July. (The Jewish problem seemed to have stabilized itself until this massacre in Russian-dominated Poland started tens of thousands flocking westward, most of them headed for the American zones of Austria and Germany, and none of them, under our policy, turned back.)

As of my last information, we had approximately 114,000 Jews in our German settlements and about 25,000 in our Austrian settlements. They represent a tremendous charge upon the American taxpayer, and upon the human conscience.

The British zone, so far as I could learn, has only some 15,000 stragglers, the refugees in general moving to our side because they felt they would have better care and a better chance for ending up where they wanted to go—Palestine.

That is, about 80 per cent want to go to Palestine. Possibly even 90 per cent. They say they have little chance of getting into the United States, and, anyhow, they would settle for Palestine, which has become a "cause" with them. They feel they have suffered enough to deserve it, and that somehow the British concern over Arab reaction must be broken.

Personally, and within limits, I am in agreement with them.

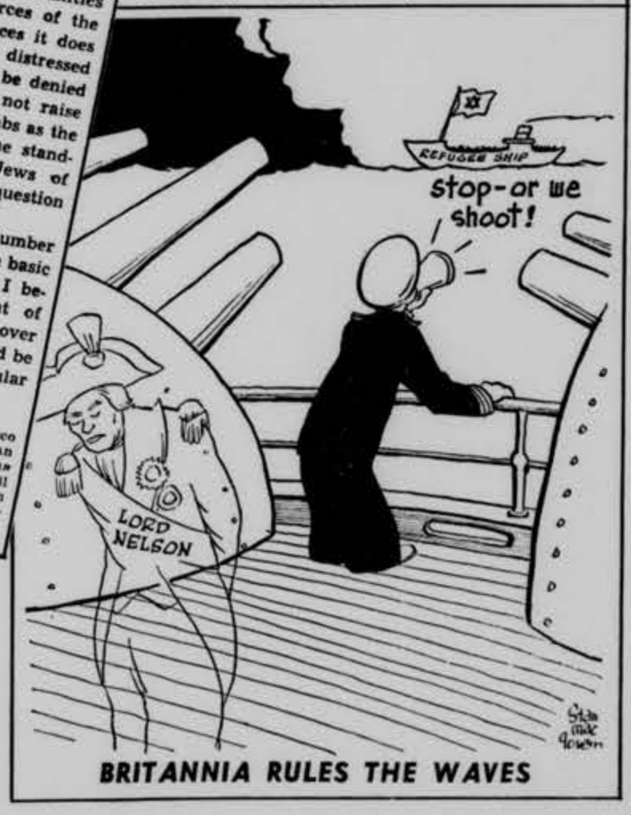
To recapitulate: The American zones of Germany and Austria have become the havens of the displaced Jews of Middle Europe—most of them wanting to get to Palestine.

And why shouldn't they go? As I understand it, there are now approximately 1,200,000 Arabs in Palestine, and only something over 500,000 Jews—even after all the migrations and the furore. The Arabs have increased dramatically in numbers as a result of the opportunities offered by the industry and resources of the newcomers. Under these circumstances it does not appear to me reasonable that the distressed and homeless Jews of Europe should be denied entrance when such entrance would not raise the question of displacement of the Arabs as the dominant power in Palestine, from the standpoint of numbers. The persecuted Jews of Europe could be absorbed without that question coming up.

One hundred thousand or twice that number could be admitted to Palestine without the basic situation in that country being changed. I believe the presumably liberal government of Britain should concede and have the matter over with. The ultimate destiny of Palestine could be decided when the misery of these particular Jews had been alleviated in this decent way.

Editor's note: Bartley E. Crum, San Francisco lawyer, who was a member of the Anglo-American committee which investigated the displaced persons problem throughout Europe earlier in the year, will speak before a mass meeting in the public auditorium Thursday night. His observations, combined with subsequent studies, should make his address well worth attending.

NEW YORK POST,
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1946



New York Post

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1947.

Palestine—Britain's Alternatives

The British are privileged, by virtue of their arms, to act as conquerors in Palestine. They may, for rifles give them permission, force thousands to abandon their homes in Jerusalem. They can sweep through settlements—searching, smashing, even looting the magnificent achievements wrested by blood and sweat from a harsh earth.

They may, as happened at Sarona the night of January 2, force Jews to run a gauntlet of gun butts and truncheons until some fall bloody and unconscious. They are able to order non-essential Britishers to evacuate Palestine as they prepare an all-out drive on terrorists.

But they cannot prevail through such tactics.

Of course, there can be "no surrender to terrorists." But hanging Dov Gruner and turning Palestine into an active theatre of war IS surrender to the terrorists.

For nothing could suit the strategy of the extremist groups more than the imposition of martial law, now almost a certainty. It means closing down factories and farms, forcing thousands into unemployment. And in the atmosphere of hopelessness and resentment thus engendered, the conviction that nothing is to be gained through moderation will spread and men, in desperation, will turn to guns.

Idealists to Machiavellians?

Unless idealists have overnight turned into Machiavellians, that is not what British Labor wants. It is certainly not what the vast mass of Palestinians desire.

Yet it is coming. True, Britain has offered the Jewish Agency 7 days in which to conduct its own purge of terrorists. But no institution faintly representative of the Jewish people could accept that ultimatum. The British have flouted their mandate, converted their Balfour pledge into a scrap of paper, turned unfortunate immigrants back from their only hope of life. Do they now expect the Agency to wage civil war in order that such illegalities and indignities be facilitated in the future?

Deprived of the elementary attributes of sovereignty—the right to control immigration, land purchases—is the official spokesman of Palestinian Jewry to assume an artificial sovereignty momentarily proffered it by the British, so that it may better proceed to the shedding of brothers' blood?

Yet the Agency wants desperately to stop the terror. The economy of Palestine built by the bitter toil of pioneers is imperiled by extremist activities. Citrus crops often rot, for the highways to shipping points are unsafe. Merchants are forced, at gunpoint, to subsidize the underground.

But the Agency cannot turn quisling.

Hope Is the Answer

The answer then, lies not in ultimatums and flourishes of arms. If Britain desires an end to terrorism, she must offer the Jewish people of Palestine some hope for the future. She must, at the very least, propose a plan that will set up a free Jewish state large enough to sustain its present population, plus those who dream of migrating to their homeland.

If and when that happens, no ultimatums will be required to end the excesses. For widespread terror can exist only by sufferance of the community. And given hope and reason the Jews will themselves take care of their extremist fringe.

The alternative is more British troops and ultimatums. But that will solve nothing. A gun will be turned up here and there, arrests will mount. But for every man jailed a hundred, grown embittered and disillusioned, will spring to take his place. The ancient, continuing battle for human freedom will blaze forth in full, unquenchable fury.

And the end of that battle will not be a British triumph. Of that, Mr. Bevin, Gen. Barker and like-minded Britishers may be sure.

As His Majesty's Government prepares to free Burma and India, it should ponder what a harsh imperialist policy —using guns instead of reason, denying elementary human rights to subject peoples—has already cost the Empire.

"COMING OUT AND GOING IN"

Low © All Countr

British Compel Tel Aviv Jews To Run Gantlet

Soldiers Beat Them, 29 Are Hurt; Anti-Semitism and Hatred of British Grow

By Homer Bigart

By Telephone Via London

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TEL AVIV, Palestine, Jan. 7.—Two obvious facts—a growing anti-Semitism among British troops and a rising anti-British feeling among all classes of Palestine Jews—dominate all other considerations in the Palestine crisis.

The anti-Semitism has been [illegible] the darkness ahead, and inevitable product of terrorist a[illegible]otion ta realized that the shots fired just as terrorism appears to has harme[illegible] police had been a signal to the inevitable recourse of a pe[illegible]he arrival o[illegible]s to prepare the gantlet. who feel that all legal pressur[illegible]him imm[illegible]a prisoner of the Ger- achieving security and free[illegible] may [illegible] at Radom, back in Poland, have failed. [illegible] I have learned a few things. [illegible] kept in the center of the mass

The British troops now in Palestine are certainly no worse than American troops now in Germany. Both forces are composed largely of young recruits who, under strain, are liable to lose their heads. No one could deny that troops here have suffered nagging provocations. But the Sarona incident in Tel Aviv Thursday night was a particularly nasty display of anti-Semitism, and the tragic prospect of further excesses must receive urgent consideration in London.

Shortly after a terrorist attack on the district military headquarters in a citrus house in the heart of Tel Aviv, soldiers and police entered the Montefiore District, on the northeast of the city, rounded up the male population and marched them into Sarona police compound. Some sixty to seventy men were forced to run the gantlet between rows of soldiers and police, who struck them with rifle butts and batons. Twenty-nine were injured, seven seriously enough to require hospitalization.

A brigade commander of the 6th Airborne Division, whose troops were involved, told this correspondent tonight that a closed inquiry would start tomorrow. "As a result of allegations made by certain civilians regarding incidents at Sarona, the whole matter is sub judice," he said. "No officer or other rank is empowered to give any further information, by virtue of this fact."

The inquiry had been demanded by Mayor Israel Rokach. The Mayor was ill today, but the Town Clerk, Yehudah Nedivi, who served four years as a captain in the British Army, said the city administration was convinced the allegations were correct.

I drove to the Montefiore district and talked with several men who had been beaten.

Abraham Klajman, owner of a textile mill, said that police entered the factory after 9 p. m. and ordered Klajman and twelve men of the night shift out into the yard. "I asked them whether I should halt the machines, and they replied, 'You'd better—you won't be back very soon.'

"I told the girl employees they'd better stay inside the factory. We were lined up in the yard. Some of the workers started smoking, but the cigarettes were struck from their hands by the police.

"Suddenly a policeman fired in the air and I heard a command, 'Run.' We ran to the main road, where we mixed with a crowd of men whom the police and soldiers had removed from a bus. We stood there a few minutes, and then the command 'Run' came again. At Sarona, the main gate was open. Soldiers and police were lined up on both sides of a lane leading to the center of the compound—a distance of one-sixth of a mile. I heard the cries of men being beat- [illegible] of the compound. I was clipped once on the head and twice on the arm, but did not fall. Some of the older men fell I saw a man clubbed with the butt of a rifle as he lay on the ground.

"In the center of the compound we were ordered to sit in a circle on the ground. The soldiers continued to beat those they could reach at the edge of the perimeter. Some of the men became nauseated, others fainted. I heard one soldier cry, 'Give me a machine gun and I'll kill the whole bloody lot.'

Ordered To Go Home

Then we were put into trucks and taken to the British Counter-Intelligence at Jaffa. There was a stretcher case unconscious in my truck, and another man with a broken leg and one with a badly injured arm.

"At Jaffa they simply took our names and ordered us to go home. I overheard an officer saying: 'Who gave orders to arrest these people? Take them back.'"

Similar stories were obtained from Benny Brabda, who had fought with the Jewish Brigade in Belgium and Holland; Joram Daniell, a textile worker, and Joseph Dula, a laborer whose right arm was still in a sling. Dula had fallen during the gantlet run and lost consciousness.

Tel Aviv was quiet tonight, despite the expiration of an "ultimatum" from the underground giving the 6th Airborne Division seventy-two hours to leave town. Meanwhile in Jerusalem there were rumors that the Jewish Agency was attempting to negotiate a truce in terror with the Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern gang. Mrs. Golda Meyerson, new chief of the agency's political division, returned to Palestine this morning and conferred with Sir Henry Curney, chief administrative officer at Government House.

THE SHREVEPORT TIMES, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1947

PALESTINE

The Palestine situation rapidly is developing into a disgrace to civilization with the blame resting to large extent squarely on Great Britain for its failure to carry out its pledges for freedom for Jews in Palestine—and to some extent on the United States for failure to back its own commitment to support those pledges.

Conferences between the British and the Arabs now are going on in London after having been dropped last September. The Jewish Agency, which represents the Jewish groups aggressively fighting for full Jewish immigration to Palestine and the right to Jewish statehood there, refused to participate in the present conferences because of what its leaders consider betraying actions by the present British government.

Former Prime Minister Winston Churchill brought the British phase of the situation to a head in the house of commons yesterday when he frankly charged Great Britain with breaking her pledges to the Jews, which is exactly what the Jewish Agency charges. He declared that unless Great Britain and the United States can evolve a new policy for Palestine on a 50-50 basis, then the whole problem should be turned over to the United Nations. Great Britain and the United States supposedly have had a 50-50 policy in relation to Palestine, ratified by the United States senate for many years, but Great Britain hasn't adhered to it and the United States has done little if anything to try to get her to do so.

Mr. Churchill's speech doubtless will be quite embarrassing to the Attlee government, and it may have been meant in that way. But his statements on broken pledges are true just the same, and of course they were true under governmental regimes of which Mr. Churchill was a part, too. He knows whereof he speaks.

It is worth noting also that the London Times seems to be relaxing its past policies on Palestine a bit and pulling away from the present government course. Whether this relaxing was timed with plans for Mr. Churchill's speech, or vice versa, or simply coincidence, is not clear, but the London Times last Monday published a lengthy editorial calling on the British government to settle the Palestine problem quickly or get out of it by referring the whole thing to the United Nations. The London Times obviously is irate at the unfavorable world position in which Great Britain is being put by failure to keep its pledges to the Jews, by inability to get anywhere as outbreaks of civil strife continue in Palestine, and particularly by what it believes is American opinion adverse to Great Britain because of the government's weakness in the whole affair.

The London Times flatly states that Britain has gotten into such a muddle that she now cannot permit either the Jews or the Arabs to control Palestine without sacrificing her honor to the other—the honor of pledges, presumably. This is rather trite in view of the sacrifices in honor already made in betrayal of pledges to the Jews. Mr. Churchill does not seem to agree with the London Times on this point for he stated bluntly yesterday that the fact that Britain has broken her own pledges to the Jews means that "we have no right to say that we stay there (Palestine) for motives of honor."

Great Britain should know by this time that she cannot settle the Palestine problems by conferences, particularly with the Jews absent, and she should know that there is no reason for the Jews to attend new conferences with a nation that has broken so many pledges made in past conferences of various kinds.

Great Britain is committed to re-establishment of statehood and nationhood for Jews in Palestine. The United States is committed to support for that policy. It is time for Great Britain to make good and for the United States to use every peaceful power available to persuade Great Britain to make good.

The British concede their own commitment and the commitment of the United States to support of it. What are they waiting for?

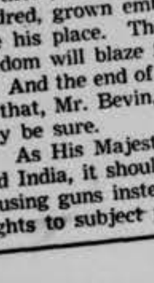
We The People

Palestine's Future British Give Clew Same Old Pattern

BY JAY FRANKLIN

Students of British foreign policy must conclude that the British Government is prepared for a settlement in Palestine, after a number of years of indecision and cross-purposes.

The clew is given by the announced plans to evacuate British civilians and the wives and children of British officials from the Holy Land. This follows the established pattern for British political retreats. During the Irish troubles, in the course of—and after—World War I, the British government ran through the same cycle of official promises, broken pledges, coercion which included the "Black-and-Tans," and truculence. Then—after the I. R. A. had proven its belligerent abilities and the mass of the Irish either supported or acquiesced in the rebellion—the British prepared for the treaty which established the Irish Free State.



JAY FRANKLIN

The Free State was launched under the threat of "immediate and dreadful war," in which the Irish took at gun's point the practical independence for which they had been fighting.

Followed Same Pattern in Case of Turkey

In another instance, the establishment of nationalistic Turkey, the British government followed the same pattern. Kemal's armies had won the war against the Greeks and were marching on Chanak, on the Dardanelles. The London authorities beat the drums for war and rushed reinforcements to the Straits. At the same time the British negotiators came quietly and durably to terms with Kemal Pasha and backed down with magnificent truculence after having threatened to resume full-scale hostilities.

In the case of Palestine, the terms on which the British will settle are terms of partition. For this the Arab League was created, after it was established that there was no substantial hostility between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine itself. Since the local Arabs were not disposed to conduct pogroms against the Jews, the neighboring Arab states were rounded up for that purpose. Unless there is a division over which the British authorities can preside, the Palestine mandate is difficult to administer. Hence the Arab League, aided, and abetted by the American oil companies which are busy—with British permission—in obtaining concessions from Ibn Saud.

Must Persuade World to Overlook Promises

Here the chief problem it to persuade the world in general and the American government, in particular, to overlook past promises and treaty undertakings in return for settlement which will perpetuate the Palestine feud as the division of Ireland into Ulster and the Irish Free State has perpetuated the Irish feud.

Partition is necessary, but on terms that will restrict the Jews to a small enclave under British protection. If the State Department agrees—as it will, because the State Deparment has been since 1943 a branch of the British foreign office in all important issues—then London can pose once more as protector of the Jews against the threat of the Arabs which London has inspired.

This is the ancient rule of empire—divide and rule! It is the invariable result in any country where the British Empire intervenes to protect law and order. Whether it is Hindu against Moslem in India, or Arab against Jew in Palestine, or Protestant against Catholic in Ireland, or Indonesian against Dutch in Japan, it is hard to find an area of the world where British power has intervened where things do not get so much worse so rapidly that, by George! the British simply have to stay there indefinitely to keep things from getting out of hand.

(Released by Consolidated News Features, Inc.)

'Is That What They Call British Socialism?'

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

N. Y. TIMES
FEBRUARY 18, 1947

AMERICAN ZIONISTS DEMAND U.N. ACTION

Urge World Group to Nullify All British Restrictions on Jews in Palestine

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17—Charging British "faithlessness" to the mandate of Palestine, the American Zionist Conference, in an emergency session today, called on the United Nations to repudiate imperial restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement in the country as violations of the organic grant.

It accused the British Government of "insincerity" in its negotiations with Arab and Zionist leaders in London recently and of trying through the United Nations to perpetuate military rule in Palestine. It demanded a voice for the Jewish Agency for Palestine in any United Nations discussion of the subject, and it asked this Government to continue its efforts at getting 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine.

Resolutions couched in the strongest terms ever employed toward the British Government by the American Zionists were approved unanimously by the 650 delegates from thirty-seven States who attended the emergency meeting and converged on Congress during the noon recess to convey their sentiments to members.

Denies Narrow "Pressure"

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency, presided over the discussions and advised delegates to have no misgivings in approaching Congressmen as citizens urging the justice of their cause through a completely democratic process. There was no question of applying "political pressure" in the narrow sense, he said.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, another member of the American section of the agency, reported on the negotiations with Foreign Secretary Bevin, explaining that, "if the British spokesmen approached the Palestine question with open minds, they were hardly vacant of ideas." Mr. Bevin, according to Dr. Neumann, warned the agency's representatives that the United Nations would never permit a Zionist state in Palestine while telling the Arab delegates to beware the United Nations because it would ultimately do exactly that.

Sees Many Lives Lost

A resolution of the conference devoted to British Palestine policy said that, "In reviewing the Government's history of inaction, vacillation and faithlessness, we are deeply aware of the fact that hundreds of thousands of Jews might have been saved but for indefensible policy."

The latest proposal for Palestine made to the Zionists and Arab leaders in London was described as a thinly-veiled Morrison-Grady plan that had already been rejected by the United States Government as a basis for discussion.

The conference went on record as saying that, in turning over the Palestine question to the United Nations, the British Government hoped to secure "the prolongation of arbitrary British rule pending the time-consuming deliberations, the results of which Britain may negate with her veto power."

Condemning the British administration of Palestine as "mocking those very ideals in whose name the American people fought side by side with Britain in her moment of peril," the resolutions rejected Britain's justification of her actions against Jewish refugees as designed to maintain law and order.

The conference delegates were cheered by a telegram from Dean Alfange, chairman of the American Christian Palestine Committee of Greater New York, who urged the organization to "pursue a militant and unswerving course in the battle for the survival of Jewry that is now being waged in the settlements and cities of Jewish Palestine."

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17 (AP) —Pennsylvania's two Senators, Francis J. Myers, Democrat, and Edward Martin, Republican, told a delegation of Pennsylvania Zionists today that they would work for the immediate immigration of 100,000 displaced European Jews to Palestine.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1947

Zionists Urge We Take Lead, Ask U.N. Seat

By OLIVER PILAT
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Feb. 17—The U. S. should take the lead in solving the Palestine problem now that Britain has decided to turn the issue over to the United Nations, American Zionists declared today.

Meeting in emergency conference here at the Hotel Statler, more than 500 delegates from 32 states heard their leaders describe the breakdown of negotiations in London for a Palestine settlement.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, member of the Jewish Agency Executive, who took part in the London negotiations, called for "an American-sponsored solution" now that Britain has made "public admission of failure." Such a solution, he said, must follow the lines of a 1945 Congressional resolution including three points:

1. Free entry of Jews into their homeland.

2. Fullest opportunity for economic development.

3. The status of sovereignty, of a free and independent Jewish nation, to be achieved through statehood and symbolized by a seat in the U. N.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Counci, who issued the call for today's meeting, pointed out that the Palestine problem cannot come before the U. N. Assembly before next September, and that there may be additional months of delay before any action is taken.

"Meanwhile, our refugees will languish in camps," he said. "Their plight will continue to get worse and we may be facing the gravest human tragedy."

Rabbi Silver said Britain was "prepared to do nothing in Palestine which the Arabs do not approve."

"With Britain we seem to have reached the end of the road," he said, "so the role of the U. S. increases tremendously."

Pointing out that the Arabs would have representation in the U.N. but the Jews would not, the Zionist leaders seemed to feel that the U. S. could in many ways act as spokesman for Palestine by insisting on the terms of the Anglo-American agreement of 1924.

N. Y. POST
FEBRUARY 18, 1947

Zionists Ask U. S. Aid Before U.N. Takes Over

By a Staff Correspondent

Washington, Feb. 18—The U. S. should itensify pressure to bring 100,000 displaced European Jews to Palestine during the period which must elapse before the United Nations takes over the Palestine problem, American Zionists urged today.

Following an all day conference at the Hotel Statler, more than 500 delegates adopted a resolution asking the U. S. also to insist on "removal forthwith of discriminatory land restrictions in the Jewish national home."

Speakers pointed out that the U.N. Assembly cannot take up the Palestine issue until September and may spend many months before reaching a decision.

Britain's announcement that it would turn tangled Jewish-Arab relations over to the U.N. for solution is a "maneuver calculated to secure prolongation of arbitrary British rule pending time-consuming deliberations, the results of which Britain may negate with her veto power," the conference declared.

P. M. Feb. 18, 1947

In Washington:

A nation-wide Zionist conference called on the U. S. Government to "take the lead in solving the Palestine problem." The conference, called by the American Zionist Emergency Council, urged U. S. officials to "draw upon the great fund of American idealism and traditions of freedom to advocate a solution which will do substantial justice to the most martyred of peoples."

Conference leaders urged the U. S. A. to take up the issue "after the public admission of failure by the British Government."

N.Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE
FEBRUARY 18, 1947

Zionists Seek U.S.Backingfor Palestine State

Washington Meeting Asks Government Pressure on Britain to Help Jews

By Frank Kelley

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17.—American Zionist leaders launched a determined campaign here today to get Congress, President Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall to work through the United Nations and upon the British government to create a Jewish national home in Palestine.

At a day-long extraordinary session at the Statler Hotel the Zionists under the chairmanship of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who also heads the executive of the American branch of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, passed resolutions calling upon the United States to bring pressure upon Great Britain for immediate entry of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. They also demanded "removal forthwith" of the "discriminatory land restrictions" set out in the British White Paper of 1939.

The group further called upon the U. N. to issue an "interim order" that, pending its final decision on Palestine, the terms of the present British mandate be "fully applied" without restrictions assertedly imposed by Britain "in violation of that fundamental document."

Another resolution urged the United States to attempt to obtain commutation of death sentences imposed on several Palestine Jews for terrorism.

Flareup in Debate

There was a brief flareup of debate over wording of a resolution of "solidarity and support to the Yishuv (Jewish community) and its nationally disciplined and responsible resistance movement" in Palestine, with many of the 700 Zionists from thirty-three states demanding deletion of the phrase "nationally disciplined and responsible." The debate brought impassioned speeches from a number of Zionists who wanted to pledge support to all resistance in Palestine, but their move was beaten.

Speakers at the meeting drew bursts of applause with denunciations of the British government, of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and of what were described as "Britain's Arab stooges —the Mufti of Jerusalem and the Arab spokesman Jamal El-Husseini."

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, of the Jewish Agency executive, who returned Friday from London, where he had participated in informal British-Jewish talks, asserted that: "Every time I opened my mouth, Bevin took it as the occasion for a diatribe on American interference." He said that Mr. Bevin expressed "rising resentment" at the growing power of the United States.

Delay in U. N. Feared

Britain's decision to hand the Palestine problem to the United Nations got a mixed reception. Dr. Silver said that on the surface, it appeared that further delay in solution of the problem would be encountered, as the U. N. General Assembly will not meet for months and may not tackle Palestine immediately. Moreover, he said, the Jewish people are not represented as an entity in the U. N. whereas the Arabs have a voice in five delegations.

Dr. Neumann charged the British with attempting to revive the Morrison plan which, he said, would "ghetto-ize" the Jews. He denounced the British Foreign Office and the British War Office as "custodians of British imperial interests."

Louis Lipsky, chairman of the American Jewish Conference executive committee, termed the British proposal "a gesture."

During a three-hour recess, state delegations of Zionists called upon their Senators and Representatives on Capitol Hill with instructions from Dr. Silver to "avoid all mention of the Jewish vote" in pleading their cause.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
FEBRUARY 21, 1947

Britain Issues White Paper on Palestine Crisis

It Contains Bevin, Morrison and Arab Plans but Has Little New Material

By John Chabot Smith

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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LONDON, Feb. 20.—A new White Paper on Palestine was issued by the British government today, containing what have been called the Morrison plan, the Arab plan and the Bevin plan.

The pamphlet, designated "Cmd. 7044," price four pence, is the latest addition to the monumental heap of documents which Britain intends to lay before the United Nations. An official source said today that every White Paper, committee of inquiry report and other official document dating back to the Balfour Declaration of 1917 will be included.

Today's release contained little new material, since the Bevin plan had already been unofficially circulated and the other two officially published. Significant, however, was Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's summation of Britain's twenty-five years as mandatory ruler of Palestine. His concluding paragraph follows:

"Throughout the period of mandatory rule in Palestine it has been the object of His Majesty's Government to lay the foundations for an independent Palestinian state, in which Arabs and Jews would enjoy equal rights. The state of tension between the two peoples which has existed thereto has continually thwarted the attempts of the mandatory power to progress toward this end. . . . The proposals contained in the present memorandum are designed to give the two peoples an opportunity of demonstrating their ability to work together for the good of Palestine as a whole, and so providing a stable foundation for an independent state."

Curiously enough, this statement is not exactly what the League of Nations mandate said the mandatory power was supposed to do. Whether Bevin's words mean the same as the words used in the mandate is arguable; indeed, Arabs and Jews have argued the point for twenty-five years and the argument has contributed toward the tension Bevin referred to. The words used in this connection in the mandate are:

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the (Balfour) declaration . . . in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

"Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country. . . .

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion."

Bevin told the House of Commons on Tuesday that the mandate had proved unworkable; the new White Paper does not settle the old argument of whether Britain ever tried to make it work.

The text of the Bevin plan, as released today, confirms in every important detail the versions of it which circulated unofficially as soon as the Foreign Secretary submitted it to the Arab delegations and the Jewish Agency representatives on Feb. 7. The principal difference is that the text is tricky and ambiguous.

The Morrison plan consists of an extract from a speech made by Herbert Morrison in the House of Commons on July 31, 1946.

The Arab plan submitted by the Arab delegations to the Palestine conference on Sept. 30, 1946, was made public at that time.

The White Paper also releases for the first time the official explanatory map attached to the Morrison Plan. This shows exactly what unofficial versions of the map portrayed—a small Z-shaped Jewish area, embracing part of the coast from Haifa, southward in the hills around Galilee; an Arab enclave at Jaffa; the Jerusalem district and the Negeb desert under British rule; and the rest, almost half the country, designated "Arab Province."

By a curious accident of the map maker's art, the boundary of the Negeb in the Morrison Plan neatly divides the name "Palestine" into the British-ruled "Pale" and the Jewish and Arab provinces of "Stine." Britain has long used the word "pale" to distinguish a district which has a special law and government from the surrounding territory. There was an English "pale" in Ireland, until Queen Elizabeth conquered the whole island, from which comes the expression, beyond the pale." The Russian Czars maintained a "pale" for the Jews in Russia.

The map shows scattered Jewish settlements in the Arab provinces of the "Stine," but a detour of the boundary excludes the southernmost Jews from the "Pale." The map is dated July 1, 1946; since then the Jewish settlements have been extended southward, deep into this area.

No map accompanies the Bevin Plan in the published White Paper, but an official said the requisite map has been prepared. It shows at least twenty different Jewish and Arab zones, the unit of local administration being the municipality instead of the province, he said.

CROSSROAD IN PALESTINE

BY BARTLEY C. CRUM

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Reprinted From Collier's
Issue Dated March 22, 1947

In the fall of 1945 after President Truman had urged that 100,000 displaced persons from Europe be allowed by the British to enter Palestine, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee replied that he did not know whether this was feasible and suggested that an Anglo-American fact-finding committee study the situation. Such a committee was named, including six Americans and six Britons. One of the American members, appointed by President Truman, was a Republican, Bartley C. Crum, San Francisco corporation lawyer. The committee held hearings in Washington, New York, London, Cairo and Jerusalem, and investigated the condition of displaced persons in Europe as well as the relations between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East. It later issued a unanimous report urging the admission of 100,000 refugees to Palestine and making other recommendations. In this article Mr. Crum looks behind the record of British and American dealings in Palestine. It is an excerpt from his forthcoming book, Behind the Silken Curtain, and represents the viewpoint of one member of the committee

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WHEN I was appointed one of the six American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, I was brought face to face with a problem which, I was to discover, presents the greatest issues of our time in microcosm. I was to learn much about how governments govern; about the prejudices that underlie the thinking of the leaders of nations; about the way democracy must go if it is to survive; and, particularly, about one of the great social and national experiments of our time—the tangled, tragic, yet deeply promising twentieth-century history of the Jews.

American foreign policy is, of course, of prime importance to the American people. We desperately need an honest, forthright policy, so grounded on moral principle that it will hold equally for China, the atomic bomb, Germany or Palestine. The basic question in Palestine, indeed, is whether the Western democracies possess such a moral principle. If they do, then we, the free people of the West, will win out. If they do not, the Middle East may well become the breeding place of new wars.

It is imperative that we think clearly on this subject. But we cannot do so if the facts are veiled. It is for this reason that I write now.

Almost the very afternoon I arrived in Washington for our Committee's first hearings I was briefed on the subject of Palestine. Loy W. Henderson, chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs of the State Department, took me aside, and observed, "Mr. Crum, one fact faces both the United States and Great Britain: That is the Soviet Union. It would be wise to bear that in mind when you consider the Palestine problem."

Sometime later I heard the same view expressed by a representative of the British Foreign Office: British policy was based on the protection of British interests against Russia and it should be to our advantage to fall in line with that policy.

This viewpoint was iterated when we embarked on the Queen Elizabeth for Europe. Climbing the stairs to the sun deck to attend our first shipboard meeting, I was chatting with Evan Wilson, of the Near Eastern desk of the State Department and chief of the American experts assigned to us. "If your Committee reaches a decision on Palestine which could be interpreted as too favorable to the Jews," he was saying, "an aroused Arab world may turn to the Soviet Union for support. The Committee must consider that seriously."

I turned to him. "If your words reflect the position of the State Department," I said, "how can you square that with all the assurances this government and the British Labor party have made to the Jews? Or does anyone know the real position of the State Department?"

Wilson looked at me quizzically. "The Department can't always make its confidential records public," he said. "But I can tell you that our concern is shared both by the British Foreign and Colonial Offices!"

I had a chance to read some of those confidential records on our third day out. I was handed a document marked "Contents of file of

Despite top-level battling, Arabs and Jews live peacefully together when their settlements meet in the desert, the Anglo-American Committee members reported

EUROPEAN

CROSSROAD IN PALESTINE

Continued

confidential communication on Palestine supplied by Division of Near Eastern Affairs for use of Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry." It dealt with seventeen items—dispatches, cables, correspondence, memoranda of conversations. This was a resumé of the State Department secret file on Palestine, the existence of which apparently not even President Truman had known.

According to this file, since September 15, 1938, each time a promise was made to American Jewry regarding Palestine, the State Department promptly sent messages to the Arab rulers discounting it and reassuring them, in effect, that regardless of what was said or promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine without consulting the Arabs. (When I charged last summer that the middle levels of the State Department had sabotaged President Truman's Palestine policy, Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson denied my charges. I challenged him then to make public the communications in this secret file. To this writing, Mr. Acheson has remained silent.)

It was a sorry and bitter record for an American to read. When I had finished I said, "I think I ought to book passage home as soon as we arrive in Southampton. I don't see that there is any purpose in going on with our work."

Sir John Singleton, the British co-chairman of our Committee of Inquiry, said dryly, "It appears that Great Britain is not the only power who promises the same thing to two different groups."

My reading of the record recalled to me the promises which the Jews had been given throughout the years of the Roosevelt Administration. Two of them stood out: The first was the Democratic party plank adopted at the 1944 convention in Chicago, reading, "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

A Personal Pledge from F.D.R.

The other was President Roosevelt's letter in October, 1944, to Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, which was to be read before the convention of the Zionist Organization of America. In his letter the President not only reiterated the plank of his party, but also committed himself personally as follows: "Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim, and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

I remembered, too, President Roosevelt's statement, made after his Red Sea visit with Ibn-Saud, and less than a month before his death, in which he reaffirmed his pro-Zionist stand. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the veteran Zionist leader, was authorized to quote him: "I made my position on Zionism clear in October. That position I have not changed and shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization."

But the State Department record presented a very different picture. Here, for example, was proof that when the Iraq prime minister questioned the authenticity of the statement quoted by Dr. Wise, he received a secret cable from the State Department assuring him that the statement "referred to possible action at some future date," and adding that when President Roosevelt wrote his letter to Senator Wagner he was "of course keeping in mind the assurances made to certain Near East governments regarding consultations with the Arabs."

The chronological story was as follows: On May 26, 1943, a highly confidential note to King Ibn-Saud from us asserted that no decision affecting the basic situation in Palestine would be reached "without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews." On October 26, 1943, in a secret cable to the acting foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, the U.S. took the position that "we sympathize with the aspirations of the people of the Near East to attain full independence and strengthen the ties between them."

While this message may have been designed to offset the pro-Axis broadcasts then being made from Berlin by the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem,* it certainly encouraged the Arabs at this critical moment to believe the United States might repudiate the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine.

Secret Messages to the Arabs

From time to time, as American Jewry obtained Congressional support, our State Department—on February 24, 1944, again on March 4, 1944, and on March 28, 1944—reassured Cairo, Yemen, Bagdad, Beyrouth, Damascus and Jidda by secret diplomatic cablegram that President Roosevelt's views remain unchanged and there would be no decision without consultation with the Arabs.

Then came Dr. Wise's statement of the President's position. This was followed not only by the reassuring message cited above to the Iraq prime minister, but by similar messages to King Ibn-Saud of Saudi Arabia, the regent of Iraq, the prime minister of Lebanon, the emir of Trans-Jordan, and the prime minister of Egypt. The only part of this correspondence made public so far is the now-famous exchange between Ibn-Saud and President Roosevelt in March and April of 1945.

Similar messages were sent by the State Department under President Truman's Administration. On August 16, 1945, President Truman revealed that he had discussed Palestine with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee at Potsdam, and that they wanted to allow as many Jews into Palestine as possible. But shortly after, on October 23d, in a confidential cable to Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, Beyrouth and Jidda, the State Department explained this away by asserting that President Truman and the prime ministers "engaged in exploratory correspondence on this subject and naturally mentioned Palestine as one of the havens for homeless Jews, but there has been no change in this government's previously announced attitude on Palestine." On November 15, 1945, another similar reassurance was given to the Arab world.

No doubt those who drafted these dispatches to the Arabs believed themselves astute. I can think of no more perfect illustration of the danger of power politics and secret diplomacy than this "secret file." It exists in our State Department. Its counterpart undoubtedly exists in the British Foreign Office. Many are apt to say that open covenants openly arrived at are not practical. But the results of British and American policy in the Middle East, based upon this cynical belief that one can be all things to all people, has only been to alienate both Jews and Arabs and to bring about among the small peoples of the world a profound disillusionment with the great democratic powers.

The attitude of some of the British members of the Committee of Inquiry to these disclosures was painful to me. Sir Frederick Leggett, a noted Labor conciliator and a friend of Ernest Bevin, was almost amused. Richard Crossman, the brilliant Labor Member of Parliament, said he could not understand the stupidity that would permit us to do a thing like that, "but I must say it pleases me to find the British and the Americans are in the same boat."

Sir John Singleton, our British co-chairman, consoled me. In his stateroom he explained matters. "Really, the Jews are not the most important factor at all," he said. "The important thing is Anglo-American co-operation. Since these promises of yours have put both nations in the dock together, it only serves to bring us closer in the world ahead."

As for the reaction of the Americans on the Committee, I think I was more deeply depressed than any of them. Dr. James G. McDonald, Honorary Chairman of the Foreign Policy Association of New York, was a veteran in the diplomatic business, as was Ambassador William C. Phillips. I am afraid neither of them was very surprised. Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, Jr., of the Fifth Circuit Court, Houston, Texas, who was the American co-chairman of the Committee, was most displeased, but felt that as agents of President Truman we should not consider ourselves bound by the State Department records. Frank W. Buxton, then editor of the Boston Herald, a Republican and former Willkie man, put the best possible face on it. He said, "In spite of all the correspondence, we'll call the shots as we see them."

I sought to get a clarification of the British point of view on Palestine from Harold Beeley, a member of the British Foreign Office who had been assigned to the Committee as a Near East expert. One evening in the ship's lounge he explained his views to Buxton and me. The Palestine issue, Beeley said, must be seen in the framework of strong Soviet expansionism. The Russians planned to move down into the Middle East. The United States, therefore, would do well to join Britain in establishing a *cordon sanitaire* of Arab states. If Palestine were declared an Arab state, it would be a strong link in this chain.

Beeley was frankly pro-Arab. He had tremendous influence with the British committee members. The impression I had been given was that our experts were to be neutral on the Palestine question. We were a committee of inquiry, charged to find the facts; surely we should be able to turn to our experts for advice. Yet, if the British brought a pro-Arab adviser, we were not guiltless either.

Among the letters I carried aboard the Queen Elizabeth was one from a Washington newspaperman. He had enclosed a newspaper clipping reporting a speech in which one of our American experts, an authority on Semitic languages, had ascribed Palestine's troubles to the "misguided efforts of the Zionist movement to secure political control of the country for the Jews." The note that accompanied the clipping concluded, "You wouldn't say the cards are being stacked, would you?"

Surveillance on Shipboard

Once in London, I felt for the first time the strange sensation of being watched. I do not say that I was being trailed day and night. But aboard the Queen Elizabeth I had been told that it was not wise to send confidential messages over the ship's radio to Washington. Beeley was in charge of our arrangements in London and when we arrived I discovered that I was to share a room in the Hyde Park Hotel with one of my British colleagues. It seemed reasonable to suppose that members of governmental committees might have rooms of their own. I was keeping a diary, making and receiving many personal telephone calls, and I preferred privacy. I broached the subject a number of times, and on the third day I was given a room of my own.

Nonetheless a British member of the Committee cautioned me to be careful to whom I spoke and particularly to choose my words when I was on the telephone. I took this as a pleasant way of letting me know that my conversations were being tapped, that we were under some form of surveillance. I was to be aware of this curious sense of espionage throughout the course of our investigation in Europe, Egypt, and Palestine, where finally whoever was opening my letters did not trouble to reseal them.

One afternoon I returned to the London offices of the Committee to find George Wadsworth, our minister to Lebanon, closeted with one of the American members. I was interested to know what an American diplomat, stationed at Beyrouth, was doing in London. He had come to us, it developed, as an emis-

"And to my nephew, Elbert, I leave positive proof that I am the old tightwad he always said I was"

COLLIER'S LARRY REYNOLDS

**The Mufti reached the high point of his exhortations to the Arabs on March 4, 1944, when the United States Monitoring Service heard him broadcast to the world: "Arabs! Rise as one and fight for your sacred rights. Kill the Jews wherever you find them. This pleases God, history, and religion. This saves your honor. God is with you."*

sary of the Arabs. The Arabs wished to testify before us—but in private.

I was against this as were most of the Committee. All witnesses had given evidence publicly so that the opposition had been able to hear what was said and had had an opportunity to refute it. Wadsworth must [illegible] rather lively impression [illegible] suggestion, for the next day a note was received from the Royal Egyptian Embassy that five Arab spokesmen wished to appear before us—publicly.

In London I was most eager to see how the British Labor party would meet the issue of its pledges on behalf of Jewish development of Palestine. In December, 1944, the Labor party had adopted a Palestine plank reading in part, "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded, calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe." How would Labor M.P.s react to this pledge now? Part of the answer came in the testimony of Thomas Reid, Laborite Member of Parliament.

Hasty Labor Party Resolutions

Reid was forthright: His party's pledges on Palestine had been "hurried through" the Labor party conferences. There was practically no discussion of them. He added, smiling, "I think the average party member had about as much knowledge of the Palestine problem as I have of the moon. These resolutions were put forward and accepted because nobody objected, as far as I can remember."

One of the British members of the Committee, Wilfred Crick, adviser to the Midland Bank, leaned forward. Precise and formal, he asked: "Would you care, for the benefit of our American colleagues, in particular, to give us your view as to the weight which is to be attached to these declarations? There might be some presumption that a declaration passed by the party conference could be expected to hold out a flag as to the direction in which the government might move when it assumed office. Have you any comment to make for our American friends on that prospect?

"Would you agree," Crick continued, "that it is not entirely without precedent that political parties, when they are faced with the responsibility of government, do sometimes qualify the policies they have expressed?"

"I am afraid it is worse than that," said Reid promptly. "Sometimes political parties make promises which they do not at all carry out. I do not think the Committee need pay an enormous amount of attention to vague resolutions passed at Labor party conferences."

Dr. James McDonald spoke up sharply:

"I'm a good deal troubled by these answers, Mr. Reid. Being a naïve American, I had thought much about the pronouncements of the Labor party. I had supposed that while they might not indicate a binding obligation, they definitely indicated a party line. I suppose that is not the line which you have suggested. Is that correct, Mr. Reid?"

Reid rubbed his nose. "You must not ask me, sir," he said.

[illegible] the memorandum Reid had presented to the Committee. One paragraph seemed to call for explanation. I read it to him:

"On pages 8 and 9 you state: 'The Arab states occupied some of the most important strategic positions in the world at least before the atomic bomb upset former world strategy. It behooves the practical man either to get their friendship, sealed in treaties, or to exterminate the lot, not a very paying proposition. Then Saudi Arabia has a lot of oil which the world needs. The practical man will conclude that the great warrior king, Ibn-Saud, is worth cultivating.'

"Would you mind explaining that a little further?" I asked.

There were some chuckles from the gallery, and Reid reddened. "I am glad you gave me a chance of pointing out that I totally disapprove of the views of the narrow practical man, as stated here," he asserted. "I want to make it quite clear. I quoted the narrow practical man because I disagree with him."

"You don't think our decision should be made on the basis of oil and of friendship with Ibn-Saud?" I asked.

"As I have stated in the memorandum," he said, "this Committee should not bother their heads about the oil or the greatness of the position of Ibn-Saud, but simply on the question of justice and legality."

I had no further questions to ask of Reid, but I could have wished that someone else had appeared as their spokesman. As I left this session of the hearings I came upon Harold Laski, the theoretician of British Socialism. I checked with him on Reid's statement that the Palestine pledges were vague and hurried.

Laski denied this emphatically. "Far from hurried," he said. "The Palestine plank was carefully studied for several years, I can tell you, and it represented the mature opinion of Labor party members. I regard it as absolutely binding on the party."

"You've got to hand it to them, the way they went at getting us to leave. First, running out of liquor, then getting the kid to play his violin, then bringing out the home movies—and finally . . ."

COLLIER'S — SALO ROTH

I myself had the opportunity to see a promise made and broken in the course of the next few weeks. While in London, Foreign Minister Bevin tendered our Committee a luncheon. He spoke frankly to us. The British government would take our counsel. "We will accept your recommendations," he declared.

I have since charged publicly that Mr. Bevin made this promise and the only reply to date is that the British Foreign Office "has no record" of it.

Bevin and Attlee Criticized

I may say that I never dreamed that when we finally produced our report urging that 100,000 Jewish displaced persons from Europe be permitted to enter Palestine immediately, our entire report would be discarded by Mr. Bevin and Mr. Attlee. Here, after all, were the unanimous recommendations of a joint commission of investigation representing two great nations and set up at the invitation of the British government.

Yet, I suppose I should have suspected that there was more truth than fiction in Beeley's casual observation toward the end of our stay in Lausanne, Switzerland, where we wrote our report. He made it with a twinkle in his eye—an offhand remark—"Well, after all, we certainly won't implement any such program as this."

And I remember Sir John Singleton's repeated warning with a hesitant cough and clearing of throat, "You know, Crum, these are only recommendations."

Yes, they were only recommendations, but they were made in good faith and in the belief that governments base their acts on decency and morality. Our Committee had gone through the crowded displaced persons' camps in Germany, Austria and Italy. We had seen the unspeakable conditions in Poland. We had heard the testimony of competent Jewish, Christian and Arab witnesses. We had studied Arab-Jewish relationships on the spot in Palestine, and had realized that the political conflicts on high levels did not affect the relations between the men on the street.

We had conferred with British military authorities in Cairo and Jerusalem, and we had been assured that it was feasible to allow 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine, that the repercussions likely on the part of the Arab world were highly exaggerated and no great trouble was anticipated; and it was our unanimous opinion that it would be consonant both with human decency and the best interests of the peoples of all the Middle East to make this recommendation. Our report was filed with President Truman, who endorsed it. He said there was no reason for the British to delay further the issuance of these 100,000 certificates.

Every newspaper reader knows the bitterness and disorder that have followed. Unrest in Palestine is part of the troubled pattern of the entire Middle East, and it is to our own interest as a nation to work out democratic policy which will keep that area from being a springboard to new wars.

I am convinced that the free development of the Jewish community of Palestine is the key to the democratization of the Middle East. We must support that program whose wider implications were first seen by the great statesmen who framed the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine. If Britain now does not have the vision, the strength, to take the path to tomorrow rather than that to yesterday, we must point the way for her. She needs our help. Her burdens are many. For our own protection and hers, we must contribute our thought and our energy to that end.

THE END

NEW YORK POST
DAILY MAGAZINE SECTION
TUESDAY, APRIL 8, 1947.

Mowrer On World Affairs

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

This is the only season when Christian and Jews normally rejoice approximately together. Easter and the Passover—resurrection and liberation! How pleasant to report that, celebrating this event, the British had decided to open Palestine to that pitiful remnant of European Jewry still living in army camps!

Instead, the newspapers can but chronicle a new example of British injustice. The British are famous for their bulldog grip. Never was British doggedness in a worse cause than in the present determination not to carry out the terms of the Palestinian mandate.

That mandate, it can never be repeated too often, allowed the British to enter Palestine for the purpose of making that country an adequate Homeland for the Jewish people—no more no less.

Once the British broke the mandate by the issuance of the White Paper in 1939, their own presence in Palestine became illegal.

The real question that the United Nations should be examining is therefore not—as Ernie Bevin is proposing—what sort of government should be established in Palestine. That was decided at the end of the last war—a Jewish government.

What the assembled delegates should ask themselves is why are the British not carrying out their original pledge.

To me there is something infinitely sad in the attitude toward the Jews of the present British leaders. These men had always been idealists and fought for truth and justice. They came to power at the end of a terrible war in which their great country had been all but exhausted. They came pledged to carry out a program of rigorous anti-imperialism.

That program they are rigorously carrying out in most parts of the world in the face of jingo opposition from the British Tories and even—to our shame be it said—from certain Americans fearful lest the "barrier against Russia" be thereby weakened.

In India, in Egypt, in Burma, the Labor Party program is being carried out in the face of great difficulties. Attlee, Bevin, Morrison, Dalton, Noel-Baker, will go down in history as men who decided to put an end to the British part of man's oppression—except in Palestine. Here these men—minus the honest Mr. Noel-Baker—are maintaining "imperial defense" with a callousness unsurpassed by any Tory.

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Come what may, they are determined that there shall not arise in Palestine a democratic Jewish Commonwealth embodying the dream to which Israel has clung for nigh on two thousand years.

Some weeks ago, when the British government announced it was "turning over the Palestine problem to the United Nations for settlement," it looked as though His Majesty's Government had suffered a change of heart.

Not so. Now it appears that this was only the latest in a series of devious maneuvers.

For Great Britain has reserved her right to reject any United Nations decision on the future of Palestine.

In other words, if the U.N. Assembly should recommend something desired by His Majesty's Government, the recommendation will be accepted as right, proper and legal—and put into effect.

But should the Assembly decide, for instance, that Britain had, since 1939, systematically violated the mandate; that the severance of Transjordania was illegal; that the British have either to carry out the mandate as originally conceived or renounce the mandate and clear out of Palestine, or that the U.N. should aid in setting up in Palestine the promised Jewish state—then the British Government "reserves the right to reject" the United Nations' decision.

* * *

How can one account for such shabby action on the part of a great people?

First, politics. With the Soviets pressing outward everywhere in the Middle East, British colonial officials can think of nothing better than to bid for the favors of the hollow Arab giant they themselves so carefully built. Too many foolish Americans still believe that, as defense against Russia, the democracies can count on Hitlerites like the Nazi mufti of Jerusalem.

Second, anti-Semitism. As Richard Crossman, confused Labor Party Member of Parliament, confesses in his latest book:

"Somehow we (Englishmen) like the Arabs even though they fight us, and we dislike the Jews even if our interests run together."

And therefore, for the Jews, injustice without end.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, APRIL 8, 1947

TODAY and TOMORROW

By WALTER LIPPMANN

Truman and Monroe

THERE is this most critical difference between President Monroe's message of Dec. 2, 1823, and President Truman's of March 12, 1947: Monroe made his declaration only when he knew beyond a reasonable doubt how the commitment was to be met, indeed that there was virtually no chance whatever that he would be unable to meet it. The Monroe Doctrine, unlike the Truman, was preceded by negotiations abroad and by cool and studied consultation at home in which Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams played the leading parts.

They approved the declaration when they had before them the definite assurance, given in August to the American Minister Rush by Canning, that Great Britain, then in undisputed command of the sea, had decided to prevent the reconquest of the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere. It was then, when Jefferson had read the dispatches from Rush about the British decision, that he approved what became the Monroe Doctrine, saying that "all Europe combined would not undertake such a war, for how could they propose to get at either enemy (Britain or the United States) without superior fleets." Madison was equally definite and practical in realizing that it was the assurance of overwhelming power which justified the commitment: "It is particularly fortunate," he wrote to President Monroe, "that the policy of Great Britain, though guided by calculations different from ours, has presented a co-operation for an object the same with ours. With that co-operation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe, and with it the best assurance of success to our laudable views."

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The Truman Doctrine expresses our laudable views. But unlike the Monroe Doctrine it has been declared to the world without the kind of careful calculation of the assurances of success, which were made by Jefferson, Madison, Adams and Monroe before they announced their laudable views. The difference is a big one—between making a promise which you know you can carry out, and making a promise first, and then wondering how you are going to carry it out. It is the difference between bold but astute statesmanship and reckless rhetoric.

As a result Senator Byrd has asked the Administration a question which is quite proper but, under the so-called Truman Doctrine as it now stands, is quite unanswerable. Senator Byrd wants to know whether "we have the resources alone to pay the bill."

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What bill? The immediate bill for Greece alone is nearly $300,000,000. But under the Administration policy this can be only the first installment. The money is to be used to balance the Greek budget this year on behalf of a government which collected almost no taxes and is, with our approval, conducting a civil war. Conceivably this installment would pay the Greek bill if there were set up promptly in Athens a government which can collect taxes and can unite the bulk of the Greek people. But the deficits of this government, which protects the profiteers and is trying to crush the republicans as well as the Communists, will continue as long as the government, as now constituted and conducted, exists.

Yet Greece is only a pin point in the Truman global policy. There can be no end to the financial costs of that policy because adequate precautions have not been taken to see to it that the money will accomplish the purposes for which it is given. Unless the Greek government is reformed, Greece will not be stabilized by our meeting the deficits of that government.

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The case of Greece illustrates concretely the basic fallacy of the Truman Doctrine in its present uncorrected, unqualified and unbalanced form. It is that the expansion of the Soviet Union and the spread of Communism can be checked by subsidizing all the governments, parties, factions which are most undeniably anti-Communist. A policy of this kind is bound to fail because it commits us to an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world and alienates the moderate and democratic forces.

It assumes that mankind is divided into totalitarian Communists and Jeffersonian Democrats. It is not. There are also Nazis, Fascists, feudal lords, war lords. There are also republicans, enlightened conservatives, liberals, progressives, social democrats, socialists, Christian democrats, co-operators, labor parties, democratic planners, and what not.

If we conduct the Truman policy on the principle that whoever is most vehemently against the Soviets is our friend and ally—and in his heart a Jeffersonian Democrat—we shall separate ourselves from the masses of the people almost everywhere. We shall have embraced the extremists of the right as against the extremists of the left, when it is our interest and our duty to align ourselves with the middle and the moderate parties. They are our real friends in the struggle for freedom, and they will decide the issue.

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Rich as we are, and powerful as we are capable of being, we are not rich enough to subsidize reaction all over the world or strong enough to maintain it in power. The American people and the Truman administration do not want to do that, of course, nor do they think they are doing it. But that is what we shall be doing, nevertheless, if we entrust the formulation and execution of the new policy to men whose zeal has gotten the better of their judgment.

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THE Atlantic

POPPA KNOWS BEST . . . . . Bill Mauldin

The most brilliant cartoonist to emerge from the war, and one of the most audacious spokesmen for the veteran-turned-civilian, has some sharp things to say about the American Legion, its shortcomings, and its opportunities.

PLANE HITS MOUNTAIN . . Francis and Katharine Drake

No instruments could have prevented 84 per cent of last year's flying fatalities. The human element in aviation is the most difficult to measure. What are the human errors which have contributed to those shocking headlines?

WHAT HOPE FOR WOMEN TEACHERS? Isabel Stephens

Ten years from now every high school in the country will be overcrowded, but unless we take steps, there will be an acute shortage of good teachers. An Assistant Professor of Education at Wellesley explains why women no longer want to teach. It is more than a matter of pay!

PALESTINE: REALITIES AND ILLUSIONS Eliahu Ben-Horin

The case for the Jewish nationalists, written without compromise by an editor who lived two decades in Palestine and who knows the trouble inside and out.

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THE ATLANTIC REPORT on the WORLD TODAY

The Far East—Washington
London—Berlin-Moscow

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PALESTINE: REALITIES AND ILLUSIONS

by ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

Writing in the February *Atlantic*, Professor W. T. Stace of Princeton raised the issue of whether in Palestine we are "pursuing the methods of justice or the methods of force." His article, "The Zionist Illusion," provoked instant response, and chief among the more thoughtful replies is this article by ELIAHU BEN-HORIN, who was born in Russia and immigrated in 1921 to Palestine. He lived there for two decades and became Editor of the Hebrew daily *Doar Hayom* and Editor-in-Chief of the Palestine News Service. Mr. Ben-Horin writes with an intimate knowledge of the Middle East and Palestine, which he last visited in 1946. He is the author of *The Middle East: Crossroads of History* and a contributor to leading American magazines. — THE EDITOR

1

I HAVE never tried to climb Olympus, and I do not know how it feels to be among the gods. It must be an awesome feeling to sit there and lay down the law for all the fallible human beings walking the earth, stumbling over each other as they hurry on their way.

There is something Olympian about the boundless objectivity which Professor Stace, author of "The Zionist Illusion," in the February *Atlantic*, claims for himself. Being a philosopher, Mr. Stace is sincerely convinced of his own objectivity. He seems certain that in his analysis of the Palestine problem he has applied nothing but cold reason — which, according to his basic postulate, is the only foundation of justice in international relations. I do not claim such objectivity for myself. I fear, moreover, that no such complete objectivity exists in international or human relations, and that even Mr. Stace possesses only the normal quota.

Take two Americans and send them to China, and you are likely to get two diametrically opposed appraisals of the rights and wrongs of the Chinese situation. The same result would be obtained in the case of Spain, Soviet Russia, Greece, Yugoslavia, or any other land. Recent history offers an obvious example: the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. Late in 1945, six Americans and six Britishers were commissioned to study the Palestine problem and make recommendations as to its solution. Sharp differences of opinion cut across the Committee, sparing neither the American half nor the British. This was only natural. Men and women with different political views, different social outlooks, backgrounds, educations, ways of reasoning, and emotional reactions cannot help being subjective on any given issue. Do we not loathe the totalitarian state precisely because its people have no right to differ? Only in a totalitarian world could men reach that "ideal" rigidity and objectivity which Mr. Stace advises us to employ in the settlement of international problems.

If for argument's sake one were to endorse every word of "The Zionist Illusion" and agree with the author in his basic assumption that the will of any given majority should be accepted unconditionally, and that Zionism is therefore an aggressive force, it does not yet follow that Zionism is an "illusion." What about the British Empire, the French, Belgian, and Dutch colonial possessions — are they all based on the will of the local majorities, or are they all illusions?

This brings us to another question, which is, in effect, a test of Mr. Stace's objectivity. He writes that he has selected Palestine as a good case for the examination of his theories with regard to justice in international relations. Why Palestine? Why not Ceylon, where he spent some time as a British civil servant? He surely knows all the intricacies of the Ceylon situation better than he knows Palestine. Or he could have chosen the Sudan — apple of discord in the recent British-Egyptian negotiations; or Indonesia — the scene of a recent small-scale war, in which Britain actively helped Holland to suppress the fight for independence of the native majority; or Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, and many more lands, where small British minorities "own" the colonies and deny millions of natives not only "self-determination" but the most elementary civil and human rights. Was the choice of Palestine as

a test case altogether accidental, or does Mr. Stace, as a former British civil servant, feel disinclined to apply the yardstick of cold reason and international justice to Great Britain?

It seems, after all, that Mr. Stace is as human as the rest of us.

2

The very idea of the League of Nations in the past and of the United Nations in the present is the affirmation of mankind's right to settle and adjust matters on an international scale, beyond and above national boundaries or the will of local majorities. When the Potsdam Conference determined to approve the post-war transfer of three and a half million Germans from the Sudetenland, they did not ask the local majority whether they would like it or not. When the United Nations decided the fate of Trieste, they did not ask for the approval of the people of Trieste.

Any observer of European affairs would undoubtedly agree that Hitler represented the majority of the German people. Had a scrupulously democratic election taken place in Germany at any time between the remilitarization of the Rhineland and the first setbacks suffered by the Wehrmacht on the Russian front, Hitler would have received a more overwhelming vote than Roosevelt ever obtained from his countrymen, and would then have proceeded to do exactly what he did without democratic elections. Would any of us contend that the world should unquestioningly have accepted the will of the Reich's majority regardless of the atrocities which such a Nazi majority was undoubtedly likely to commit?

It is no accident that the League of Nations was brought into being by the same political philosophy which outlawed imperialism and aggression and proclaimed the right of self-determination for all nations, large and small. The Woodrow Wilson who was the author of the famous Fourteen Points was also the father of the League of Nations idea. Strangely enough, "The Zionist Illusion" never mentions the basic fact that the Zionist enterprise in Palestine and Jewish aspirations with regard to Palestine received the approval of the League of Nations; that the League of Nations not only endorsed the Balfour Declaration but took over Palestine primarily in order to bring about the materialization of that declaration; that Britain was entrusted with the administration of the Mandate on behalf of the League of Nations; that it was only after civilized mankind, through the League of Nations, had given the Jewish people the green light to go ahead that they poured into Palestine their sweat and blood, their youth and money, their skill and hopes. The League of Nations Mandate is still the only constitutional basis for the administration of Palestine and the only legal international covenant defining mankind's intentions as to the future of Palestine.

Nor can an unbiased mind entertain any doubts as to the real intents of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate. Although these documents employed the somewhat nebulous term of "national home," Lord Balfour himself, David Lloyd George, Britain's Prime Minister at the time of the Declaration, as well as Winston Churchill, President Wilson, Field Marshal Jan Smuts, and others who took an active part in the framing of the Declaration, went on record as asserting that what was promised to the Jewish people was the gradual establishment of a Jewish majority in Palestine, thus transforming Palestine into a predominantly Jewish state. Even the anti-Zionist Royal Commission, headed by Lord Peel in 1937, could not help confirming this fact.

Were the statesmen responsible for the Balfour Declaration and the representatives of fifty-two nations in the League of Nations so ignorant as not to know that there was an Arab majority in the Holy Land?

As a matter of fact, there were eight Arabs to each Jew in Palestine three decades ago, whereas today the proportion is only two to one. It was in full awareness of this fact that the highest body of organized humanity decided that it would be right and just to establish such an internationally guaranteed regime in Palestine as would facilitate Jewish immigration and colonization with a view to ultimately creating there a Jewish majority and transforming the Arabs into a minority.

This and nothing else is the basic element in the Palestine issue. All the other elements — the historic connection of Jews and Arabs with the Holy Land, the objections of the present-day Arab majority, the fact that Jewish colonization benefits the Arabs, the suffering of the Jewish displaced persons in Europe, and the disinclination of all the nations in the world to accept these refugees into their own countries — are subsidiary.

"A promise to steal ought not to be kept." This sounds like good, ethical reasoning. But can the embodiment of the collective conscience of the world — in this case, the League of Nations — be so lightheartedly accused of conniving in theft?

Has any one of us the right to imply that mankind as a whole is wrong and he alone right?

Formally the Balfour Declaration was a purely British pledge, but all the Allied powers were responsible for it. The United States was actively involved, for President Wilson had coöperated in the negotiations which led to the issuance of the Declaration. Britain and her allies, as the victors in World War I, were in the position of being able to dispose of the spoils of war. However, they handed over the spoils to the League of Nations, and it was the League, now the trustee on behalf of humanity, which made the decisions regarding the various territories of the former Ottoman Empire.

Palestine had not been an Arab state either prior to the First World War or ever in history. It was a Jewish state in antiquity, a Crusaders' kingdom for a short period in the Middle Ages, but never an Arab state. The Arabs formed a majority of the population for a long time (not for two thousand years as Mr. Stace erroneously writes, but for about half that period), yet for the last five hundred years they were a subjugated people living in provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

The Arabs, like the Jews, received pledges during the First World War, and they received them — never questioning their validity on ethical or other grounds — from exactly the same party that issued the Balfour Declaration. It was the Allied victory that transformed the Arab subjects of Ottoman tyranny into rulers of several independent Arab states. At present, there are seven such states with kings or presidents, with membership in the United Nations and all the paraphernalia of statehood. The total area of the seven Arab states amounts to well over one million square miles, whereas the area of Western Palestine is only 10,000 square miles — in other words, less than one per cent of that part of the Ottoman Empire which was liberated by the Allies in World War I.

3

What have the Arabs done with the enormous territories handed over to them for possession and rule? And what have the Jews achieved in the small area which was promised them but never actually placed at their disposal?

These questions may be secondary elements in the Palestine and Middle East picture, but factual examination of them will prove most illuminating. In the years since the end of World War I, the high rate of illiteracy has remained almost stationary in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Syria, and even in Egypt, affecting from 80 to 95 per cent and more of the population. Abject poverty, unsanitary conditions of life, diseases of all descriptions without medical help, a high rate of mortality especially among children, a subhuman level of existence — these are the hopeless lot of over 90 per cent of the masses in the Arab lands. Wealth, absolute power, harems, and luxury are the exclusive possession of about 2 per cent of the population. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been poured into the Arab lands in royalties for oil concessions. All this wealth has gone into the pockets of the kings, sheiks, and effendis — none of it for the betterment of the working masses. Western civilization is barred from the independent Arab states as tightly as it was in the days of the Turkish sultans.

Is this the kind of "self-determination" that spells fulfillment of the noble dream Woodrow Wilson had thirty years ago, or that holds out promise for the better world which the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations proclaimed in our days? "Independence," "self-determination," "self-government," and "majority rule" are no fetishes and should not be treated as such. It is the essence of the thing that counts, not the pretty slogans. In essence, one cannot even say that "the Arabs made a mess of it." They — namely, the Arab ruling cliques — never wanted self-determination for their peoples. They wanted "self-determination" only for themselves. They wanted absolute freedom for the shameless exploitation of the Arab masses, for the preservation of a feudalistic society, reactionary and antisocial, in the twentieth century. And they got all they wanted.

What the Jews made of Palestine is supposed to be common knowledge. But it is not. People take it for granted that the Jews have done wonders in Palestine, and immediately shrug this off as something self-understood. Few realize the extent of Jewish achievement in Palestine, that the Jews actually performed the greatest colonization achievement of the twentieth century. This the Jewish people did without having any powers of statehood or compulsion, and despite the active opposition of the Mandatory power, which (contrary to the prescriptions of the Mandate) prevented Jewish immigration instead of facilitating it, hindered Jewish settlement on the land instead of helping it. The Jewish enterprise in Palestine may also claim the rare distinction of being about the only colonization process in history which not only did not displace or exterminate the native

population, but greatly benefited it economically, socially, and culturally, and bolstered its rate of natural increase.

These benefits conferred by Zionism on the Palestinian Arabs do not in themselves justify Zionism, but they undoubtedly throw a very favorable light on the ethics of Zionist aims and methods. The Jewish people have done their full share towards the realization of Wilson's idea of self-determination for small peoples. Thus far they have proved to be the only people in the Middle East which neither made a mess of, nor misused for reactionary and antisocial purposes, the opportunity offered by the League of Nations.

In the deep social cleavage between Jewish Palestine and the Arab potentates, one may find the main explanation for the opposition of the ruling cliques in Arabia to Zionism. It is, moreover, in relation to this aspect of the Middle East problem — the social aspect — that Great Britain and, to some extent, America are committing their greatest mistake in foreign policy.

I was sitting in the Foreign Office in London, talking to one of Mr. Bevin's top assistants. It was late in July of last year, and I was then on my way from the United States to Palestine. We were discussing British-Soviet relations in and over the Middle East and the broader lines of Britain's Palestine policy.

On this occasion I formulated Britain's situation in the Middle East in the following terms: "These are your alternatives. You can adopt a pro-Arab orientation in the Middle East, which means, of course, backing the reactionaries who rule the Arab states and the Arab League. Or you can back the march of civilization into the Middle East with Jewish Palestine as its advance guard. You can ride one of these two horses but not both of them at the same time. You must take your choice."

Despite its Labor Government, Britain seems to have made its choice in favor of the Ibn Sauds and the Amin el Husseinis. Why the feudal barons of Arabia fight Zionism is obvious. Zionism is a serious threat to their absolutist power over the Arab masses; it is a living indictment of their way of life; it is an ever present call for progress in the Middle East. But why is Labor Britain so determined to block Zionism, contrary to the obligations of Great Britain and to the solemn pledges of the Labor Party during the last thirty years? Is it fear of Russia? Fear of Arab threats of a pro-Soviet orientation? Is it because of the oil interests? Or is it a continuation of traditional British muddling?

Nobody knows better than the British that the Arab states in the Middle East, with the Arab League at the top, represent no tangible force in economics, industry, culture, politics, or war potential. The British know also that the Arab states lack the fundamentals of nationhood and statehood, let alone the necessary prerequisites for Pan-Arabic expansion. Most of their kings, sheiks, and politicians are directly or indirectly on the payroll of the British Exchequer. They are puppets of Britain, and they know it.

The British are neither pro-Arab nor anti-Jewish. They are pro-British. They use the Arab argument in the Palestine controversy for their own ends, caring little about the interests of the Arabs. They cannot possibly be afraid of the Arab threats, for they know that there is no substance in them, but they are not above using these threats to impress others, especially America.

Bartley C. Crum, one of the American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, said in an address last year that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., would sooner turn to Stalin to ask for his intervention in reducing his income tax in America, than Ibn Saud and other Arab kings would call for Soviet intervention in the Middle East. There is nothing I could add to that. When the kings of Arabia are ready to commit suicide, they will turn to the Kremlin. For the time being, King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan goes to Ankara and concludes a pact with Turkey, openly directed against Soviet Russia. For the time being, the Arab League appeals to Arab lands to settle in their territory 100,000 ex-Soviet Caucasian Moslems who joined the Wehrmacht during the German invasion of Russia and are now in Allied prison camps. Don't these and similar facts speak louder than words as to the probability that the Arab rulers will jump into the open arms of Russia?

4

The problem of oil in the Middle East is equally misinterpreted. I wish I had enough space in this article to "explode" the "oil argument," based as it is on misinformation and misdirection of public opinion. I can only touch on it here.

For England, which has no petroleum resources at home, Middle Eastern oil is the main source of supply and therefore extremely important. But even for England, oil is only one ingredient in the general strategic importance of the Middle East. In time of war, it is not formal ownership of oil concessions that counts, but their accessibility.

In other words, it is only when Britain controls the seas and can bring oil from the Persian Gulf to any place of battle that Middle East oil can be decisive in the fortunes of war.

This is even truer of America. This country has enough domestic oil for many generations to come, as far as peacetime needs are concerned. Should it have to oil a new world war, the American-owned concessions in Saudi Arabia or in Bahrein, 10,000 miles away from our shores, would be of little avail unless America should establish strategic bases in the Middle East and naval stations all along the route, strong enough to secure the accessibility of these oil resources.

These are the realities reflecting the maneuvering of the great powers for strategic and oil positions in the Middle East, with Britain and the United States aligned *de facto*, if not officially, against Soviet Russia. All this has little to do with justice in international relations or with Jewish and Arab rights in Palestine. Jews and Arabs, kings and politicians, historic pledges and contemporary conferences, are no more than pawns in a much bigger game of power politics. It is here, rather than in the Jewish-Arab controversy over Palestine, that one should look for the very real danger of a new world-wide conflagration. In this crucial fight between the major powers, the desires and preferences of the Arab potentates are of no consequence. They have no choice in the matter. They cannot turn to the Kremlin, because they would then lose all their power, wealth, and influence. They need the oil royalties which form the major item in their incomes, and they are entirely dependent on the Western powers politically, economically, and militarily.

Wise statesmanship on the part of Great Britain and America could have used these stern realities in order to entrench Western democratic influence in the Middle East. There is obviously only one way to do it: namely, to make Middle Eastern oil a means of progress in the Middle East. The capital, skill, and political and economic power which Britain and the United States are pouring into the Arab lands could have been used in the interests of the masses of the population in those countries. Seventy-five cents, if not ninety-five cents, of each dollar paid in oil royalties, subventions, grants, and interest-free loans should have created schools, hospitals, maternity clinics, sanitary dwellings, roads, irrigation, and general improvement of conditions. Five per cent should have sufficed for the upkeep of the harems of Ibn Saud and the sheiks of Bahrein and Kuwait.

However, both Britain and the United States can hardly be said to be acting with wise statesmanship in the Middle East. All they want is oil, and beyond that they do not care. They come to the Middle East to take, not to give. They have no long-range policy. From a short-range viewpoint they consider it good business to make deals with the feudal barons of Arabia and thus help them to perpetuate their regime of tyranny and exploitation of the Arab masses. British and American policy-makers are too shortsighted to see that it is they who leave no choice for the underdog in the Middle East but to turn, sooner or later, to Russia. Britain and America, fearful of Soviet expansion, actually pave the way for that expansion.

Badly exploited, chronically undernourished, poverty and sickness ridden human masses must become more and more susceptible to Soviet propaganda. The day may come when the present reactionary orientation of British or American policies in the Middle East will backfire with such strength as to upset the British-American cart entirely.

5

The fiasco of the recent London Conference on Palestine led to the official announcement that Britain will hand over the Palestine problem to the United Nations without any recommendations. One is driven to the unhappy conclusion that this is an act of desperation rather than of constructive planning on Britain's part. Breaking the Palestine Mandate and blocking Zionist progress in Palestine have proved too costly in terms of military manpower and unfavorable public opinion: the nearly 100,000 soldiers kept in Palestine could be used to good advantage in British factories and mines.

Thus, after twenty-five years, the Palestine Mandate may return to the jurisdiction of organized mankind. Whether the question comes before the Security Council, the General Assembly, or the Trusteeship Council, it will have to be analyzed and decided on its intrinsic merits, and not on the exigencies of politics. Since, ultimately, it is the great powers that will determine the fate of Palestine in the UN, the Western democracies will have an opportunity to revise their entire approach to Middle Eastern problems.

If the Middle Eastern situation, the forces at play there, the claims and counterclaims and the crisscross interests of the great powers are seen in the right perspective, Palestine emerges as one of the focal points in the entire picture. A Jewish

Palestine would offer the natural base of operations for the march of civilization in the Middle East. No other country in that part of the world can provide such a base. A Jewish Palestine would be the fulfillment of mankind's pledges to the Jewish people, would provide the solution for one of the most tragic problems of our times, and would remove a bad irritant in international relations. No other country could or would offer such a lasting and stable solution.

The Zionist idea and the problem of the Jewish displaced persons in Europe are not identical. Zionism, as the supreme expression of Jewish national renaissance, political, cultural, and spiritual, existed long before Hitler arose to fame and power in Germany. The Zionist prognosis of the Jewish position in Europe and in the world amounts to this: as long as the Jews are a minority everywhere and a majority nowhere, Jewish defenselessness and the Jewish tragedy will not end. The Zionist remedy therefore was and still is to regain nationhood and statehood for the Jewish people. It was this Zionist aspiration that was endorsed by the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate of the League of Nations.

The cruel extermination of 40 per cent of the Jewish people by the Nazis only served to confirm the prophetic prognosis of Zionism as to the insecurity of the Jewish position in the world. The pitiful situation of the remnants of European Jewry, who cannot stay in Europe and who are unwanted by the world at large, lends additional urgency to the Zionist demands to open the gates of Palestine. However, the demands themselves are not based on the existence of Jewish displaced persons in Europe, but on the legitimate rights of the Jewish people under the Mandate.

Zionism offers the only realistic solution of the Jewish problem. One looks in vain in "The Zionist Illusion" for a practical solution of the Jewish problem, "greathearted" or otherwise. One finds there a frontal attack on Zionism and a negation of the justice of the Zionist solution of the Jewish question, but not an alternative solution. On the contrary, starting with the desirability of "all the underpopulated countries in the world" amending their immigration policies, so as to absorb the homeless Jews of Europe, Mr. Stace soon arrives at the conclusion that "we have to face the plain truth, however unpleasant it may be, — however shameful if you like, — that none of the great nations want these refugees." There he lets the matter rest, and returns to his concluding jibes at Zionism. Where is the alternative?

It does not exist. Neither Mr. Stace nor anyone else can suggest a solution of the Jewish problem outside of Palestine. By that I mean, of course, a tangible, workable solution, not mere lip service and emotional orations on Jewish suffering.

Madagascar, Uganda, Southern Rhodesia, British Guiana, and the many other territories mentioned from time to time as possible alternatives to Palestine fade out of the picture as soon as you analyze them in practical terms. What is more, all these territories have native and European populations utterly unwilling to give up their present positions or even to make room for the Jews. Nor can the Jewish people claim any rights with regard to all these territories, as it can in the case of Palestine.

We have Professor Stace's testimony to the effect that none of the great nations wants to absorb any sizable number of Jews. Nor is there any small land available for Jewish colonization. At this late hour in their tragic history, the Jews would be pursuing a dangerous illusion if they pinned their hopes to a new dispersion among peoples who frankly do not welcome them.

Palestine is no illusion. If there is anything tangible in Jewish life and in individual and national Jewish hopes, it is Palestine. Despite the insecurity of daily life and the political uncertainty as to the ultimate status of the country, Palestine is the one land on God's earth where a Jew feels completely at home. Even Jews coming from Western democratic lands react thus in Palestine. Palestine is the only land capable of bringing out the best in the Jew: his idealism, his devotion to the earth, constructive search for social justice, and great colonizing ability. Jews tried to colonize in Argentina late in the last century, and failed. Jewish colonization in Soviet Biro-Bidjan and in the Dominican Republic cannot boast of great achievement. Only Palestine provides the ground for truly magnificent Jewish colonization.

It is true that against the background of Arab backwardness and neglect, present-day Jewish Palestine may seem like a mirage in the desert. This is about the only illusory feature one can detect in Jewish Palestine and in Zionism. Otherwise, Zionism is the one stark reality to which the Jewish people can cling in their despair and helplessness. It is also the only forceful and dynamic reality capable of bringing the Middle East back to civilization.

(*Readers are directed to Atlantic Repartee, where there is further discussion of this controversial issue.* — THE EDITOR)

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1947.

Palestine Is the Test

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Immediate admission to Palestine of 100,000 Jews.

2. Immediate repeal of laws prohibiting Jewish land-purchase.

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

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

NEW YORK POST
DAILY MAGAZINE SECTION
MAY 1, 1947

Mowrer On World Affairs

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

By the time these lines appear, it will be evident that the British have not handed the Palestine problem to the United Nations because they want a legal solution. In law the Jews have an open and shut case — and the British haven't got a leg to stand on.

Nor do the British expect a solution in equity. For although in that case there might be an Arab case for partition, there would still be no excuse for the British remaining in the Holy Land.

The British are looking for a political solution. What they want is to swap the old mandate that gave Palestine to the Jews for a new one that will give it to the Arabs—under British protection. They hope that at the United Nations Assembly they will find a majority that can be convinced that such an Arab-British set-up is an essential step toward protecting the Middle East against Soviet expansion.

This is felt to be a telling argument. The Middle East is a key spot in world strategy and world economics. It is the land bridge linking three continents. It contains the Suez Canal, the most sensitive section of the chief East-West waterway around the earth. Middle Eastern oil is essential to British security. It happens to be inhabited by an Arab-speaking population.

What is more plausible than the British argument for breaking the world's pledge to the Jews and buttering up the Arabs.

* * *

It is an appealing if a cynical argument. **Relations between the western democracies and the Soviet Union have been so strained by Soviet imperialism that most Americans and Britishers are convinced that a policy of "containing" Russia is essential. If such "containment" should require double-crossing the Jews and appeasing Arab criminals, who took sides with Nazis murderers in the last war, a large part of the non-Soviet world might reluctantly accept it as a necessary evil.**

The facts are fortunately exactly the opposite. Legality, morality and strategy are all on the side of the Jews. Against big-bad-wolf Stalin, the Arabs would be at best ramparts of straw, the Jews ramparts of solid brick.

Russia—it must never be forgotten—wields a double force, the Red army and the Red idea. To "contain" Russia, you must stop both. The Arabs can do neither. They can neither resist nor side with the Red army. They can not resist the Red idea.

* * *

Military experts have no illusions about Arab military power. It is roughly zero. Revolting Iraq was reconquered by the British with just two battalions. Populous Egypt never even dreamed of opposing a victorious Axis. It could not. For the Arab bloc is a bit of the medieval, scimitar-and-camel world in the atomic age. Here lazy and corrupt leaders rule over a mass of untechnical, illiterate and diseased subjects. They could not resist a Soviet cavalry raid, still less a Soviet tank column.

Nor could they side with the Soviet Union, though their rulers cunningly threaten to do so in their frantic effort to close Palestine to the Jews. Stalin has no use for feudal rulers like them. Though he might use them for a few weeks or months, it would be only to toss them out once he had acquired other friends among their peoples.

Against the Red idea a backward feudal society is even less effective. For the present Arab states are living examples of the kind of regime Communism promises to extirpate.

* * *

Without the Balfour Declaration, there would, in all this area, be no single element upon which the democracies could count in "containing" the Soviets. Thanks to the Balfour Declaration, there can, in the near future, be a small but highly effective Jewish state of some two or three millions, the natural guardian of the Suez Canal, technically unsurpassed, industrially advanced, agriculturally productive, democratic in spirit, utterly impervious to the Red idea.

Jewish Palestine is the natural outpost of the occident in the Middle East. This is of course why obscurantist Arab rulers hate it so.

The U. S. delegation at the United Nations Assembly has no reason to avoid the political decision that the British are seeking. For our present policy is the best possible argument for insisting on the Jewish solution to the Palestine problem.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1947

Europe's Jews Great Tragedy Summed Up: To Be Forgotten

Survey of United Nations Procedure Indicates Many More Months of Delay Before There Can Be a Decision on a Homeland for Them

By George Fielding Eliot

If you were a homeless Jewish refugee, sitting in a D. P. center in Germany or Austria, waiting to find out what was going to be done with your life and future by leisurely, argumentative gentlemen far away in well fed New York, very likely you would be rather impatient. You might—especially if you'd been waiting for two years, as some of the Jews in those camps have waited—feel that you were indeed a forgotten man, or woman, or child.

Very likely you would not care much for the whole idea of being investigated and reported on again, to begin with. You would have remembered that the whole question of Palestine—which you would regard as your future home, in very truth the Land of Promise—had been sufficiently investigated. You would feel that the facts are surely well enough known now for decisions to be taken. You would be shrewd enough—with wits sharpened by bitter anxiety and deprivation—to see that in the end the United Nations must face the same necessity which Britain has faced: the necessity of making and imposing a settlement which will not be wholly satisfactory to either party, and which will therefore have to be imposed and guaranteed by some exterior authority.

But above all, you would say: How long, O statesmen of the world? How long? How long must I wait here, with hope giving way to despair little by little through the long days and weeks and months? How long must I be forgotten? Is there no urgency in my condition? You would read with agonized attention such newspapers as you might be able to obtain, and you would observe with anger or with sad resignation, according to the state of your spirit, that in all the debate, all the face-saving, all the time-consuming talk, there is very little mention of you and yours. Yet it is your life, your future, which is the very center and stake of the whole discussion. Were it not for you and your brethren who still remain in the countries of eastern Europe, there would be no need to debate the question of Palestine at all. There would, in fact, be no Palestine question to debate. The issue is entirely whether you shall or shall not have your promised homeland, and on what conditions.

Of these things you would think, and your heart would be sick with hope deferred.

For if you interpreted carefully and discerningly what you read, you would be able to foresee certain things of which the signs are already clear.

You would be able to see, for example, that there is little or no prospect that this special session of the General Assembly will do anything about recommending an increased rate of immigration into Palestine for the interim period between now and the time when the regular session of the General Assembly takes up the substance of the Palestine question after receiving the report of the investigating committee now to be appointed.

That being pretty clear, you might—if you were still a hopeful soul—fix your mind on the third week in September as the time of times, the lodestar of your reliance. But then you would think again. You would see many reasons to doubt that September will mean very much to you. First, you would note that at the present rate of progress it is unlikely, indeed, that this special session of the Assembly will reach a final decision on the composition and size of the investigating committee before, say, the first week of June. Next, you would begin to entertain doubts that the investigating committee could complete its labors and make up a report so as to be ready for the opening of the regular meeting of the Assembly. You would begin to see that you would be lucky if the report were finished in time to be considered somewhere toward the end of the session—perhaps late in October, with every one's mind already fixed on the forthcoming meeting of the Big Four in London in November, with the principal delegates of the major powers already moving toward ships or planes, with every one else anxious to get through and go home.

You would realize that, even if Palestine is seriously debated by the fall session of the Assembly, the Assembly at best has power only to recommend a settlement. You would realize that when this has been accomplished, some other agency of the United Nations—perhaps the Trusteeship Council—must take in hand the question nearest your heart: the question of what actually is to be done, and how, and when. And you would realize that in the end, to do anything constructive will require definite action by the only two governments able to act with strength in the Middle East: the United States and Great Britain. Perhaps these powers can act more effectively as agents of the United Nations than by themselves. But you would not be encouraged by the record of what they have done and left undone in the past.

Then you would fold up the paper, turn to your waiting comrades, and re-echo the words which I heard your spokesman utter a few weeks ago in a western city: "The greatest tragedy which can come to human beings is TO BE FORGOTTEN."

RUSSIANS EAGER TO JOIN IN INQUIRY

Gromyko Rejects U. S., British, Chinese Thesis That Big 5 Stay Off Committee

By NANCY MacLENNAN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May —Andrei A. Gromyko of the Soviet Union said today that the Big Five should shoulder their responsibility for the fate of Palestine through all stages of the United Nations work on the problem. He argued that there was "no justification for the United States and Britain's" opposition to being included in the peace organization's Palestine inquiry committee.

Declaring that Russia had no material interest in the Palestine problem and that the Soviet Jewish population, as far as he knew, does not have much interest in immigration to Palestine, Mr. Gromyko said that the United Nations would have a better chance of reaching agreement if the Big Five participated in all stages of the work, from the fact-finding committee to the rendering of a judgment by the United Nations General Assembly.

The Big Five, and also the Arab states, should be represented in the United Nations preliminary committee to study the facts of Palestine, Mr. Gromyko said.

Russia Willing to Join

Speaking in the General Assembly's fifty-five-nation Political Committee, Mr. Gromyko said Russia was ready to participate not only in the United Nations decision on Palestine but also in the assembling of facts in the case upon which—theoretically—the United Nations verdict largely would be based. He continued:

"The Soviet Union is interested in the Palestine problem evaluating from the political aspect of the problem. The Soviet Union is interested in this problem because it is a member of this organization and because it is a permanent member of the Security Council. It is interested because it would wish to see such a decision taken which would correspond to the interests of the Palestine population and which would also correspond to our general mutual interests, the interest of the United Nations and to the interest of peace and international security."

Both the United States and Britain would accept membership in the initial Palestine inquiry committee if drafted, but the Governments firmly believe that no member of the Big Five should belong, since this would raise obstacles to a fair, impartial report, Warren R. Austin, the United States delegate, and Sir Alexander Cadogan of the United Kingdom said.

The United States recognizes responsibility and will face "after this preliminary investigation and reporting of the facts," Mr. Austin said. He explained the United States position thus:

[illegible] that opposing views [illegible] among the permanent members (the Big Five)—if the [illegible] over-all, special committee [illegible] the intrusion of other interests which are perfectly obvious here. Everybody knows about them. They are constantly arising on mere [illegible]

Reprinted from
THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1947.

Text of Jewish Agency Representative's Speech Before U. N.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 8—The text of the statement made for the Jewish Agency for Palestine by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver before the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee follows:

I should like to say at the outset that were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of the deliberations he will have an opportunity to participate here.

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you in the matter of constituting and instructing a special committee of this body, which is to study the problem of Palestine and to bring in recommendations for the future government of that country. We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just solution of this grave international problem which this international community is now earnestly seeking.

Such a successful solution will prove a blessing not only to Palestine and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

Pleased Over Outlook

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore, and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, presumably within the terms of a mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes.

The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the war, been conducted by the mandatory powers as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine; whereas it is assumed to administer that country, of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the mandate, which clearly defined its rights and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people and that fact, I take it, motivated the General Assembly of the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish Agency of Palestine to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their good will and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency, you will recall, is recognized in the mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is the only recognized public body in the mandate. It is recog-[illegible] as such, to quote Article 4,

ADDRESSING THE UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, seated at special table between the Czechoslovakian and Cuban representatives, at Lake Success yesterday.

The New York Times

cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law.

Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is Article 80 of the Charter, which reads:

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Article 77, 79 and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments, to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment, will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance, if it will keep the proper perspective always in view.

A generation ago, the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making; it is in such numb[illegible] majority. There [illegible] case for this before [illegible] there is an irresistible [illegible] it now."

When your committee of in-

states which are now members of the United Nations."

"The United States," wrote President Truman, "which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these people should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine."

"I am happy to note," declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

It should, of course, be clear—and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear—that when we speak of a Jewish state, we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish state is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labor party in 1945, now represented by the present Government of the United Kingdom which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

"Here, we halted halfway, irresolutely between conflicting policies. But there [illegible] surely

lay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your committee of inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the mandatory government.

I hope that I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

The Jewish people place great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people, and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have traveled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles.

In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst. The representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions—we hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

At the close of Dr. Silver's statement the following questions were put to him by delegates and he was asked to prepare a reply for a later meeting:

M. Asaf Ali, India:

What was the number of Jews from outside Palestine in 1900, again in 1930, and finally in 1939 when the White Paper of 1939 was issued by the British Government?

My next question would be whether Dr. Silver recognizes the fact that there is a very clear distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home, [illegible] date. Does he also recognize the fact that even the statement, to which he made a reference, which was made by the representative of the liberal government—of the Labor party—referred not to a Jewish state but to a Jewish national home?

you and you will help us so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East, with which Palestine and with which the destinies of the Jewish national home are naturally bound up.

Your committee of inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects, which will result in great economic and social improvement not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

Would Investigate Violence

A committee of inquiry would, while in Palestine, also look into the real, the fundamental causes of the tragic unrest and violence which took the life of the Holy Land to [illegible] Our Jewish pioneers came, [illegible] our Jewish people but with tools. [illegible] weapons but with tools. [illegible] will inquire, I am sure, why [illegible] peace-loving community, whose [illegible] interest was in building a [illegible] home and future for [illegible] and their children, is [illegible] and tension and la[illegible] giving some of its [illegible] to actions which we all [illegible]

[illegible] will ask themselves, I am [illegible] by shiploads of helpless [illegible] refugees—men, women [illegible] children who have been [illegible] all the hells of Nazi

U. N. ASKED TO SET HOMELAND AS BASIS

Continued From Page 1

[illegible]ars—it is exactly two years today since V-E Day—after the close of a war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer."

Pending completion of the inquiry, the Agency spokesman appealed to the General Assembly for the establishment of some formula that would permit emigration "in substantial numbers" to Palestine.

Other major developments as the special session of the General Assembly rolled through its tenth day were:

The Arab Higher Committee of Palestine acknowledged "with thanks" the invitation to a hearing extended by the Assembly and announced it would be "glad to appear before the First [Political and Security] Committee." Efforts were under way tonight to arrange for the hearing for tomorrow afternoon.

The Soviet Union's representative announced that his country deemed it proper that the Big Five be represented on the committee of inquiry for Palestine. He contended that the great powers must agree on committee recommendations if there was to be agreement for definitive action at the fall session of the Assembly. This statement was made as United States and British representatives reiterated their countries' wish not to serve. China and a majority of the smaller nations backed the view that the inquiry committee should not contain any member of the Big Five. France remained silent.

The Political Committee passed the eleven-member subcommittee, including all members of the Big Five, to consolidate three resolutions presented for instruction of the proposed committee of inquiry. The steps was decided after the Soviet delegation presented a third proposal, in addition to the earlier proposals were by the United States and Argentina.

The Argentine proposal, which was rejected by the Political Committee in the first session of the Assembly, called for the establishment of a committee of inquiry composed of representatives of Argentina, Australia, El Salvador, Canada and Uruguay. The Soviet proposal, which was rejected by the Political Committee in the second session of the Assembly, called for the establishment of a committee of inquiry composed of representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine. The Soviet proposal would have required the committee to report to the current session of the Assembly.

Besides the United States, Britain, Argentina, Australia, El Salvador, Canada and Uruguay, the subcommittee will consist of representatives of Guatemala, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Iran, India and South Africa.

In setting up a subcommittee to deal with the terms of reference or instructions for the investigating committee, Mr. Pearson said, he proposed to award the contract for the next session. Noting that El Salvador had added its support to the proposals submitted separately by the United States and Argentina, he said that these two countries, Argentina, Australia, El Salvador, Canada and Uruguay, would meet again [illegible] and would report to the committee [illegible] the committee of inquiry should seek to determine whether the British mandate was valid, whether it agreed with the Covenant of the League of Nations and whether it was proper for a peaceful world to thrust one people on another without their consent.

The day's sessions adjourned at 5:25 P. M. The Political Committee will resume at 3 P. M. tomorrow.

gates. Emir Feisal al Saud of Saudi Arabia and Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, representatives of two of the five Arab states in the United Nations, were not in their seats. They were represented by subordinates in their delegations.

Attention was rapt throughout.

At the close of the remarks, Lester B. Pearson of Canada, committee chairman, invited questions. Ten in all were asked by four nations. Since some required research, Mr. Pearson excused the agency's delegation, which probably will be recalled tomorrow, for answers.

M. Asaf Ali of India asked six questions. He wanted figures on the comparative Jewish population of Palestine in 1900, 1930 and 1939, when the White Paper was issued; the Agency's views on the difference between a Jewish state and a Jewish nations home; background information on European Jews who seek to migrate; reasons for Arab resistance to current immigration; reasons why Jews cannot be resettled in Germany now that the Nazi yoke is removed, and an explanation of current violence in the Holy Land.

Often allied with the Arab states in debates of the current session, Mr. Asaf Ali asked more pointed questions than the others, who inquired merely about the background of the Jewish Agency, its views on the composition of the committee of inquiry and the type of study recommended in regard to homeless Jews in Europe. These questions came from Poland, Colombia and South Africa.

In acting up a subcommittee to deal with the terms of reference or instructions for the investigating committee, Mr. Pearson said, he proposed to award the contract for the next session. Noting that El Salvador had added its support to the proposals submitted separately by the United States and Argentina, he said that these two countries, Argentina, Australia, El Salvador, Canada and Uruguay, would meet again [illegible] and would report to the committee [illegible] the committee of inquiry should seek to determine whether the British mandate was valid, whether it agreed with the Covenant of the League of Nations and whether it was proper for a peaceful world to thrust one people on another without their consent.

The day's sessions adjourned at 5:25 P. M. The Political Committee will resume at 3 P. M. tomorrow.

[illegible] Empire; Presidents Wilson [illegible] Truman and the platform of [illegible] British Labor party in support [illegible] this position.

[illegible] Jewish Agency's spokesman [illegible] at the great oval table between

...and constantly arising on mere ...

The Problems Involved

Presumably, he was referring among other problems to the cl... of Big Three political interests ... the Near and Middle East, the s... cial interests of Britain as ... mandatory power administering Palestine, the United States' d... velopment programs for Gre... and Turkey, Russia's desire ... warm-water ports, rival oil int... ests and competition for the fav... of the Arab peoples and of Jew... humanitarian interests throughout the world.

Britain's position was explained by Sir Alexander thus:

"My Government are in rather a peculiar position. They would find themselves, if they were members of that committee, at times in the witness stand, and then after that, a moment or two later, would resume their seats with the jury. It is a principle, of course, that we have always—and I think everybody has—upheld, that no man should be judge in his own cause, and I think we should be put in a somewhat embarrassing and difficult position."

China agreed with this British view not to evade responsibility but to promote unanimity among the Big Five, upon the preservation of which the workability of the United Nations is based. Dr. Quo Tai-chi, the Chinese representative said.

Under the chairmanship of Lester B. Pearson of Canada, who privately was reported to favor inclusion of the Big Five in the Palestine inquiry committee, the Political Committee debated the issue virtually all day.

This is the first time that a globally representative international body (in contrast with the Anglo-American committee of inquiry on Palestine) has attempted to solve the question. Hence, delegates debated which principles should govern selection of the United Nations committee, the most unprecedented difficulty, and they divided the world mathematically, algebraically, geographically, politically and, finally, in the words of Ambassador M. Asaf Ali of India, speaking for the teeming populations of Asia, brought the question down to "human terms."

Yet the main proposals remained three—the United States, recommendation for a "neutral" committee composed of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Iran, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay; Argentina's recommendation for a committee of the Big Five, an Arab state, three American states other than the United States, a Pacific state, an African state and an Asiatic state; and Poland's recommendation for a committee of the Big Five, one Arab state, preferably Syria, two Latin American states, one African or Asiatic state, one western European state and one eastern European state, preferably Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Gromyko favored the Polish proposal over the Argentinian because the former provided for better representation from eastern Europe, he said.

recognized in the mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is the only recognized public body in the mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote Article 4, " * * * for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

Under Article 6, the Jewish Agency is entitled, further, to cooperate with the administration in permitting " * * * close settlement by Jews on the land"; and, by Article 11, it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish Agency, which we have the honor to represent, therefore, speaks not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish national home; it speaks also for the Jewish people of the world, who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged, by the same Article 4 of the mandate, " * * * to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

I have spoken of "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish national home." In defining the terms of reference of the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint, and in all the committee's future investigations, these, in my judgment, should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key-terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today.

To proceed without relation to them would be to detour into a political wilderness as far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, would only contribute to confusion.

Balfour Declaration Cited

The Balfour Declaration, which was issued by His Majesty's Government as a " * * * declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspiration," declares:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

The mandate, in its preamble, recognizes " * * * the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and " * * * the grounds for reconstituting"—I call your attention to the word "reconstituting"—"their national home in that country."

Those international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You

tional community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making; it has not yet been fully established. No international community has canceled or even questioned that right. The mandatory power, which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home, has unfortunately, in recent years, grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish national home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

"There would be no doubt," he said, "as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand, it was contemplated that, when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

"The notion that Jewish immigration," he continued, "would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent minority, never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come, a great Jewish state rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others.

Quotes Woodrow Wilson

American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish national home. Thus, President Wilson, on March 3, 1919, stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

That the Government of the United States does not now consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, dated Oct. 29, 1945. He wrote:

"The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent

are
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it now."

When your committee of inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor—the international obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish national home—should be kept, in our judgment, constantly in mind. I believe it would be extremely helpful to the committee of inquiry if the mandatory Government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine mandate to it rather than wait for the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the committee in thinking through the problem and at arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

It is illogical, I fear, to ask the committee of inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present Government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the committee of inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effore and achievement. In Palestine, they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting this national home after the long weary centuries of their homelessness, and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable handicaps.

The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor, neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and to other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove a blessing not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was a great leader of the Arab peoples, at the Peace Conference following the first World War. On March 3, 1919, he wrote:

"We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the Peace Conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, so far as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help

and their children, is ...
and tension and la...
driving some of its ...
to actions which we all ...

will ask themselves, I am ...
why shiploads of helpless ...
refugees—men, women ...
children who have been ...
through all the hells of Nazi ...
Europe—are being driven away ...
from the shores of the Jewish ...
national home by a mandatory ...
government which assumed, as ...
its prime obligation, to facilitate ...
Jewish immigration into that ...
country.

They will also investigate, I hope, how the mandatory government is carrying out another of its obligations, which was to encourage also settlement of the Jews on the land; when, in actual practice, it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 6 per cent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish national home discriminatory racial laws which the mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

By way of digression, let it be said—if it need be said at all—that we are not engaged, nor shall we be engaged, in any criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization; and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the displaced persons camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two years—it is exactly two years today since V-E Day—after the close of the war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer.

While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while intergovernmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—redemption may come that keeps their spirit from breaking utterly.

Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the conscience of mankind, speaking through you and through your committee of inquiry, will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that, pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no de-

date. Does he also recognize the fact that even the statement, to which he made a reference, which was made by the representative of the liberal government—of the Labor party—referred not to a Jewish state but to a Jewish national home?

My third question is concerned with Dr. Silver's reference to European Jewry. Will he be so kind as to provide us with some idea of the age of the various communities of national Jewry living in Europe, who would now like to go back to the national home; how long have they lived in Europe; and are they easily assimilable in Palestine?

My fourth question is as follows: He has made a statement to the effect that at Paris in 1919 an extremely conciliatory statement was made by a great Arab leader who welcomed the Jews to Palestine. Is there any reason why the Arabs are resisting immigration now?

My fifth question relates to the refugees from Nazi oppression. The Nazi Government in Europe has been completely suppressed and Nazi Germany is now under the control of the Security Council, or, at any rate, the United Nations. If that is so, is there any reason why these refugees cannot be resettled in their natural German home, where they speak the language of the country and where they find themselves far more easily assimilable?

My sixth and last question would be about the conditions which are currently prevailing in Palestine. It is very gratifying to learn that Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency, has recognized the noble role which the people of the United Kingdom have played in recognizing the urgency of the Jewish problem. May I know why public servants of the Government of the United Kingdom, who are doing their duty under extremely difficult circumstances, are being picked off today by violence?

Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, Poland:

First of all, who represents the Jewish Agency, how many organizations; how is the executive committee established and organized and how does it work?

The second question: Have there been any attempts at collaboration between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine?

Dr. A. Gonzales Fernandez, nandez, Colombia:

I should like to ask Dr. Silver, not as an element of final judgment for us, but simply as an element of illustration, what the views of the Jewish Agency for Palestine are regarding the composition of the investigating committee.

H. T. Andrews, South Africa:

I would only ask one question and that has relation to the terms of reference which we may be giving this committee of inquiry. Dr. Silver has referred to the homeless Jews in Europe. If he would be so kind as to help me clarify my own mind, he said that the committee of inquiry should look into the condition of the homeless Jews in Europe. I would ask him, does he mean that the committee of inquiry should look into the situation as a whole or only in relation to the question of continuing immigration into Palestine?

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1947.

. . . in FOCUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Abba Hillel Silver

New York Post

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 7, 1947.

Empty Purse—Empty Promise

Time was when Great Britain's bonds were as good as her word, and her word was respected throughout the world as a priceless and inviolable pledge.

Now each is equally suspect.

True, her word is still as good as her bonds; but who will be found to claim that either has value?

Her purse is bankrupt.

So is her honor.

* * *

British honor lies dead, a suicide, wrapped in a paper shroud—the infamous White Paper which made a lie of the Balfour Declaration and a mockery of British justice.

The critical condition of the British economy was laid bare before the Parliament and before the world yesterday by Prime Minister Attlee.

Can honor be resurrected and economy revived?

Yes—but it will take more than promises to wipe the bloodstains from the Imperial Flag which flies today over Palestine; and it will take more than pledges of austerity to regain the confidence and credit necessary to Britain's survival.

And it should take more.

We must demand more.

The time for suggestion has long passed.

* * *

The British Prime Minister lists three major factors essential to survival.

First is relaxation of clauses in the present U. S. loan agreement which presently provide that Britain must not discriminate against us with our dollars, by buying only from areas which will agree to keep the dollars from returning to us in trade.

Next is a pledge of reduction in British military forces, presently numbering 1,297,000 men.

Third is a pledge to increase production at home, particularly in coal, even if it means longer hours for labor and new controls on freedom of movement and employment.

It is evident that Britain pins her hope on the good will of the United States not only to renegotiate present loan terms, but to pledge new credits when the present loan is exhausted.

What good will?

If we are to pay the piper, we have not merely the right, but the duty, to call the tune.

Our loan to Greece is coupled with a program to ensure the development of democracy from the quasi-dictatorship of Greek Royalists—who incidentally were restored to Greece by the now flagging power of British arms.

Why should we tolerate British dictatorship in Palestine?

* * *

It is too little known that the British Mandate over Palestine was established by treaty with us, negotiated separately and after the League of Nations had granted it for the avowed purpose of creating a Homeland there for Jews, as well as protecting the rights of all its inhabitants.

Our treaty gave consent, only because of the terms of the understanding implemented by the Balfour Declaration.

The League of Nations has expired.

But our treaty still stands: a treaty which has been transgressed since the White Paper was issued, and is flagrantly violated today by Dictator Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham under direction of the British Foreign Office.

We alone are left with the legal as well as the moral duty to call a halt to the maintenance of British troops and British military overlordship in Palestine.

Who can doubt that funds from our loan, and nothing else, sustain this mockery of human decency?

If Britain's armed forces are to be reduced, what of Palestine, where soldiers paid with our funds tyrannize over Jews as though they were slaves of an ancient Rome?

An independent Palestine, under the United Nations, with the backing of the United States, would free a hundred thousand British soldiers for the mines, and hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Imperial yoke.

We have no wish to see Britain perish.

But before we sustain British life, we must demand the death of British tyranny.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1947.

Britain's Super Dachau

Hitler invented the modern concentration camp for Jews.

But Great Britain has succeeded in surpassing her one-time Nazi foes, by establishing the largest concentration camp for Jews the world has yet seen.

Palestine, a "Homeland" for Jews?

If a jail is a home—

If a slave state is home—

If home is where a Jew has no civil right—

If home is where Jews may be arrested on sight just because they are Jews—

If home is where rioting British soldiers may commit indiscriminate murder with impunity, as long, that is, as the victims are Jewish men, women and children—

If Palestine is a Jewish homeland under the British mandate—then Dachau was a Jewish homeland under the Nazis.

* * *

Great Britain has a new "war hero" today.

Hero, that is, of the new war of extermination—Great Britain's war against Jews.

He is Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, dictator of Palestine, whose functions the clever British seek to dignify by the title of "High Commissioner."

The sentries and barbed wire around this British slave-state finally stand revealed before the world for what they really are: Prison walls.

It was bad enough when the world understood that these well-patrolled barriers were for the purpose of keeping Jews out of the "homeland" solemnly promised by the British of another day.

But now it becomes clear that these barriers are also for the purpose of keeping the new-made slaves inside their torture camp, as well.

The British dictator of Palestine has cut off escape from Palestine for his potential victims by banning travel from his domain.

Mayors of Palestinian towns have been torn violently from their homes to face their British overlords in secret inquisition.

Whole communities are frozen, with movement, even conversation, forbidden.

The charge? Jew.

* * *

Remember Lidice?

Her desperate citizens, driven to a frenzy by the brutal callousness of the Nazi invaders who raped, tortured, beat and murdered at will, at last fought back, and Nazi blood was spilt.

In revenge, the Nazis wiped out all those of the village, and murdered all who were in it, their justification being "atonement" for the life of a member of the master race.

The world, including the British, swore always to remember Lidice.

But Britain's memory of Lidice has taken a peculiar and vicious twist.

Britain is remembering Lidice, only to seek to emulate what the Nazis did there.

Must all Palestine become a vast new Lidice before we act to stay the hand of the new blood-mad tyrants?

* * *

We must demand, at once, in the name of the United States of America, before the United Nations, that Britain's mandate over Palestine be revoked for cause, British troops removed, her dictatorship cease, and Palestinian independence under United Nations joint trusteeship declared without delay.

If United Nations action is delayed, or blocked, then we must act alone in the name of all the men and women who died believing they did so in a righteous cause.

It must be remembered that Britain has treaty obligations to the United States to maintain the mandate on its original terms.

We did not hesitate to fly to the aid of Turkey and Greece when it appeared our ideology was threatened.

Shall we hesitate now when our honor, as well, is at stake?

The Commonweal

August 8, 1947

Threat to Lebanon

Habib J. Awad

The French Priest

M. R. Desobry

Prejudice — **James T. Farrell**

•

George H. Dunne — *Nancy Lenkeith*

VOLUME XLVI — **15c** — NUMBER 17

Threat to Lebanon

Habib J. Awad

A FEW WEEKS AGO, when the United Nations Palestine Committee prepared to move the site of its investigations from Palestine into adjoining Lebanon (in order to receive Arab testimony on less prejudiced ground), the Lebanese Government informed the committee that Mr. Gerald Frank, a representative of the New York *Post,* would not be permitted to accompany the committee into Lebanon. The Lebanon Government intimated that Mr. Frank had, through his dispatches from Palestine, proved himself to be excessively pro-Zionist. The United Nations Committee and its accompanying press body protested against Mr. Frank's exclusion, and the ban against him was eventually lifted.

The action of the Lebanese Government in regard to Mr. Frank may have surprised those members of the United Nations Committee and the press who were, at the time, unfamiliar with the political situation in Lebanon. But by now, as a result of their sojourn in that country, the United Nations people and the members of their press camp must surely recognize the difficulty over Mr. Frank's entry for what it was: a minor behavior symptom which indicates the real character of the fraudulently elected, non-representative current Lebanese Government.

The present Lebanese Government came into power (it would be inexact to say that the government had been "elected") following the elections held in the latter part of May of this year. According to most disinterested estimates, only about fifty percent of the voters went to the polls. In addition to this unusual circumstance—favorable to the government and, for the most part, brought on by its behavior—it is the opinion of the Paris *Figaro* that the elections were corrupt to such an outrageous extent that "in many Lebanese districts the registered voters were two thousand and the counted votes were twenty thousand." And in the United States, the New York Arabic newspaper, *Alhoda,* reported in news stories dated May 28 and June 2 of this year that university and school students in Beirut held a demonstration a short time before the parliamentary elections. The students condemned the existing government and asked the Lebanese President to appoint a provisional government to supervise free and fair elections. The government's answer was to break up the demonstration, wounding a few of the participants in the process.

This action on the part of the government may have effectively disposed of the protesting students, but it was not sufficient to curb other, more adult, instances of protest which followed in the wake of the fraudulent elections. Shortly after the elections, Kamel Bey Jamblat, leader of the Druzes (one of the most influential and numerous of the non-Christian groups in Lebanon) resigned his cabinet post as a gesture of indignation over the manner in which the elections had been conducted. At about the same time, all the leading Lebanese daily papers with the exception of *Le Jour,* President Bechara El-Khoury's own organ, addressed a joint letter to the President informing him that, in their opinion, the newly elected National Assembly "discredits the State," and further informing him that they would no longer cover the Assembly's sessions. They also urged immediate dissolution of the Assembly.

Even more impressive than all these protests, however, was an open letter which His Excellency, the Marionite Archbishop Mubarak, one of the most influential residents of Lebanon, addressed to President El-Khoury. After reminding the President of their forty-five years of friendship (which included at least one occasion on which His Excellency the Archbishop made direct use of his influence in order to save El-Khoury's life) His Excellency informed the President that he was in a state of despair because "in Lebanon there is no peace, justice or happiness—only graft and injustice and murder, robberies and thefts committed by men in office, and government intervention to prevent free elections and make easy the victory of a group which has sacrificed every public interest for its personal profit." The Archbishop's letter concluded by calling on the President to resign, since he had so clearly demonstrated his inability to guarantee the freedoms of his people, the first of which is the freedom of election.

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The above paragraphs constitute, in outline, a picture of the political state of affairs in Lebanon at this moment. The picture is not an edifying one, but it is the current way of things in a section of the world which Americans must get to know and understand if the monumental influence and power of the United States are to be used to bring about the greatest good in the Middle East. Unfortunately, Palestine is not the

only worrisome area in the Middle East. To most Americans, political conditions in Lebanon, the very pattern of life there, in fact, is even more obscure than the tangled situation in Palestine. Lebanon—geographically at least—is a part of the Arab world, and if the problems of the Arab world are to be successfully dealt with by the United States, then all factors of the problem must be known. The Lebanese factor is of particular importance because the problems of that small country are pressing and because it is the only Christian country in the Middle East.

Of all the places for which the distinction is claimed, it can be most truly said of Lebanon that it is the point in the world where East and West meet. It is the area where the culture of the Northern Hittites met with the cultures of Egypt, Babylon and Syria, and it is the place where the cultures of Greece and Rome encountered the influences of the Oriental cultures and traditions.

Today the population of Lebanon amounts to a little more than a million people, a population which is amazingly mixed, containing, among many others, Christian, Jewish and Moslem elements. The Christian majority is very large—about eight hundred thousand people, mainly Roman Catholics. Almost as amazing as the racial and cultural mixture in Lebanon is the fact that these conflicting racial and religious strains have, for the most part, managed to live in what, for the Middle East, constitutes unusual harmony. And it is this very harmony which is in serious danger of being destroyed by activities of the present Lebanese Government.

Lebanon became an independent republic in 1943, and is recognized as such by the United Nations. Until quite recently, the various minorities which are represented within the State have served as a natural system of checks and balances which has made it possible for each community to preserve its own cultural and spiritual qualities within the general and unified social-political character of the country. The independence of Lebanon is today threatened by a number of exterior pressures, and the most disheartening feature of the prospect for continued Lebanese independence is the fact that the incumbent Lebanese government is, by its very nature, prone to give in to these pressures. The result of such a capitulation would mean the disappearance of an independent Lebanon and the extinction of the civil minorities. The traditional character of Lebanon which, more than anything else, is responsible for the preservation of minority privileges within the Republic, is in imminent danger of being snuffed out.

The Arab League constitutes the greatest single threat to Lebanese independence. Lebanese fear of the designs of the Arab League is no mere chimera; it is based on a long series of quite open declarations on the part of prominent members of the League. A number of the most threatening declarations of Arab purpose have been aired within the last five or six years. In 1944, after his return from that year's convention of the Arab League, the late Prime Minister of Syria, Sadallah Beh al-Jabri, informed the Syrian Parliament that the psychological aim of the Arab League would be to create total Arab unity. The first step in such a program, he informed the Parliament, would be the formation of a Greater Syria, to include Syria, Transjordania, Palestine, and, of course, Lebanon. This Greater Syria objective is constantly repeated in the Egyptian *Weekly Magazine* and other papers. King Abdullah of Transjordania has never made a secret of his wish to sit on the throne of the proposed Greater Syria.

Unfortunately for the Lebanese, Arab League aspirations are constantly encouraged by the British. From the British point of view, a most desirable arrangement would be the establishment of a Greater Syria under British guidance. This possibility is more than a dream. Not long ago, the late al-Jabri of Syria, addressed a memorandum to the British General Spears, who was a wartime British representative in the Levant, in which he promised his assistance to the British as a consequence of aid rendered by the British on behalf of Syrian aspirations. It is not my purpose to accuse the British of total lack of feeling and regard for the independence of a small nation. The British, alas, are compelled to bargain effectively with members of the Arab League if their influence, as opposed to Russian influence, is to be maintained in the Middle East.

In addition to these exterior British, Arab, and in a more remote sense, Russian pressures which are now being applied against Lebanese independence, there are also undermining forces at work within the Republic itself. The most dangerous of these is the Syrian National Party of Lebanon, under the direction of Antoun Saadi. The ultimate objective of Saadi's party is implied in its name.

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At the beginning of this article, I dwelt at some length on the character of the present Lebanese Government because it is that character which constitutes the final element necessary to bring about the disappearance of the Lebanese Republic. It is the will of the Lebanese people to resist Lebanese participation in a Greater Syria, or in anything like it. But such is not the will of their government, most of whose members are favorably disposed toward union with a greater segment of the Arab League. It was knowledge of the pressures being brought against

the Republic and a fear of future reprisals (by their own government or by a government soon to be imposed upon them) which discouraged at least half the Lebanese voting population at the recent Parliamentary elections.

The question, then, is how can the continued independence of the Republic of Lebanon be assured—in spite of threats against that independence from without, and in spite of the obvious intentions of the Lebanese Government? The Lebanese are well aware of the direction from which help must come, but they are not at all certain that the source of that help—the United States—is willing to act, or that it will act in time.

What the great majority of Lebanese consider to be the first necessary step toward guaranteeing the independence of their Republic is this: the United States, acting through the United Nations and in company with France (because of the considerable French economic and cultural stake in Lebanon) should warn predatory members of the Arab League that America is aware of the threat to Lebanese independence and feels it necessary to guarantee that independence. Such a guarantee would be greatly strengthened—as would the moral standing of the signers—if Russia and England also became partners to it. And it would be totally effective, if the Arab League, as a proof of good will, were encouraged to sign.

The suggestion is not fantastic, and it would not mean, as some might suggest, that Lebanese independence was being sacrificed to the United States and France, rather than to members of the Arab League. There is a great difference between a guarantee and a loss of independence. Furthermore, there is a precedent for this suggested course of action. In 1860, following a massacre of Christians in Lebanon, the great powers of that moment acted jointly to guarantee the autonomy of Lebanon and to safeguard the rights of its Christian inhabitants.

One might also point out at this juncture that there is also, in contemporary Lebanese history, a precedent for quite a different kind of action. Shortly after the first World War, Riad As-Solh, present Lebanese Prime Minister, accompanied by several members of the Lebanese parliament, went to Syria with the intention of handing Lebanon over to the late King Feisal of Syria. Fortunately for the eight hundred thousand Christians in Lebanon, As-Solh and his friends were intercepted by the French General Gouraud and sent into exile. Nevertheless, the memory of their intention lingers on in Lebanon and, in the eyes of most Lebanese, makes the need for a guarantee on the part of the great powers led by the United States more desirable than ever.

Lebanon is a small country, but that does not make the threat to its independence any less real and painful. The importance of Lebanese independence can be pleaded on the grounds that it is a predominently Christian State as well as being the refuge and shelter of all the minorities of the Middle East. The case for it can be pleaded just as effectively, however, on the grounds that the independence of any state, regardless of its size or cultural-religious character, is a matter of supreme importance at this moment in world history. By acting through the United Nations to guarantee the independence of Lebanon the United States would be striking a blow for freedom everywhere.

Habib J. Awad, Ph. D., is a native of Lebanon, has taught sociology, philosophy and languages at several universities in this country, and worked on the FCC during the war.

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NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1947

End of British Rule in Palestine Is Termed Urgent Task of U. N.

Welles, Condemning Irgun's Execution of 2 Britons, Points Out That London Policy Is to Blame for Holy Land's Vicious Circle of Violence

By Sumner Welles

Former Under Secretary of State

The murder by the Irgun Zvai Leumi terrorists of two British sergeants they had seized as hostages has done infinite harm to Zionism. It has embittered a host of former sympathizers. It was as repulsive an act as Hitler's slaughter of the hostages he took during the war. The Jewish Agency is guilty of no exaggeration when it warns the leaders of the Jewish community in Palestine that the extirpation of terrorism is "an inexorable national necessity."

Yet even in its righteous indignation public opinion must not forget the real origins of this crime. It must remember that injustice and inhumanity breed injustice and inhumanity. The butchery of these hostages was an act of retaliation for the judicial murder by the British authorities of three young Jews who had helped some of their fellow conspirators to escape from the Acre prison last May. These three men may have been misguided, but according to their own lights they were only fighting for Jewish freedom. Their death at British hands at the very moment when the United Nations Commission for Palestine is seeking a final solution for the Palestine problem is a lasting blot on the record of British justice.

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

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

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

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

If the United Nations permits the continuation of this vicious circle in Palestine a major catastrophe will be inevitable. Only a few days ago what was nothing more nor less than a pogrom took place in the streets of the Jewish city of Tel Aviv when British troops deliberately shot down unarmed men and women in reprisal for the murder of the two sergeants. Human passions are mounting to a pitch where they will soon be out of control.

But these dangers, grave as they are, are by no means the most serious of the consequences to be anticipated. Anti-Jewish riots are already spreading rapidly throughout the British Isles. Jewish demonstrations against Great Britain are increasing here at home. Unless the tragedy of Palestine is quickly ended the hatreds now arising will stimulate the growth of that loathsome blight of anti-Semitism in several countries which have so far prided themselves upon their freedom from racial antagonisms.

At its session next month the Assembly of the United Nations will receive the report of its Commission on Palestine. We must hope that the action taken by the Assembly upon this report will provide a just and final solution.

However often Mr. Bevin may deny the self-evident truth the evils resulting from present-day conditions in Palestine are a threat to world peace. They are engendering international friction and ill will. They are jeopardizing friendly co-operation between the western powers. Neither the Assembly nor the Security Council can afford to ignore the fact that their obligations under Articles 11 and 39 of the United Nations Charter will not be met unless some way is promptly found to terminate the British mandate and to replace the British forces now in Palestine with some truly impartial peace - enforcement agency.

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Washington Merry-Go-Round

Mufti Plots Battle in U.N.

By DREW PEARSON

Hadji Amin el Husseini
Spearheaded slaughter of Jews.
(AP Photo)

WASHINGTON, Sept. 14.—As the U. N. tomorrow takes up, among other things, the tragic Palestine issues, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem has a carefully coached delegation of Arabs in N. Y. to defeat any settlement.

Since the allies captured Nazi documents and witnesses, the State Dept. has had sensational evidence of the Mufti's role in the Nazi murder of 5,000,000 Jews. Deliberately, he plotted to exterminate all Jews in Europe.

The records, which the U. S. refuses to publish, include a signed contract by which Hitler agreed to pay the Mufti 50,000 marks a month to stir the Arabs against the Allies.

Since the State Dept. will not disclose documents on this historic subject to the U.N., this column here publishes the most pertinent of them.

Dieter von Wisliczeny, a deputy fuehrer with the title of Adviser on Jewish Affairs in Slovakia, Greece and Hungary, testified:

"In my opinion, the Grand Mufti, who has been in Berlin since 1941, played a role in the decision of Germany to exterminate the European Jews, the importance of which must not be disregarded.

"Broadcasting from Berlin, he surpassed us in anti-Jewish attacks. One of Eichmann's best friends, he incited him to accelerate exterminating measures. I heard that, with Eichmann, he visited, incognito, the gas chamber in Auschwitz."

(Eichman was the Nazi in charge of Jewish extermination.)

American Jewish leaders, through Catholic leaders in the Vatican, were in part successful in smuggling Jews out of Germany during the war. Goering was sympathetic, arranged to wink at the exit of several thousand Jews into Bulgaria and Romania, toward Palestine.

This infuriated the Grand Mufti.

Official records show that on June 5, 1943, the Mufti wrote the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, protesting against 4,000 Jewish children being allowed to enter. He was successful.

The financial agreement between the Nazis and the Mufti came late in the war, when Hitler knew he was licked, but planned to fight the British even after the armistice. The Mufti was given parachutists, a short-wave radio and plenty of cash.

The contract, dated April 5, 1945, a month before V-E Day, reads:

"AGREEMENT

"*between the Government of the Greater German Reich and the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Hadji Amin el Husseini.*

"The Government (Nazi) through its Foreign Office, concludes the following agreement with the Mufti:

"1.—The Government puts at the disposal of the Mufti funds required to fight for liberatio against the common enemy.

"2.—An account is being opened for the Mufti with the Reichtreasurer.

"The Mufti can draw against this until further notice 50,000 reichsmarks a month.

"The account will be charged with expenses of the Foreign Office and other headquarters of Reich organization incurred for the Mufti or the movement conducted by him. These expenses—commencing April 1, 1945—shall not exceed 12,000 reichsmarks a month.

"3—The Mufti agrees to pay back the credit advanced. Amortization and interest payments will be later agreed on.

"4—This is effective retroactively, as of April 1.

"Signed, in Berlin, April 4, 1945.

For the Foreign Office
S/Steengrecht.

The Grand Mufti of Palestine
S Amin el Husseini."

That is the man who plots to block the U.N. settlement of Palestine.

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September 15, 1947

New York Post

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1947.

What Deal, Mr. President?

What deal has the Truman administration made with the Arabs on Palestine? What deal is in the making?

The people of the United States, if anything of the kind is happening, are entitled to know it.

They are entitled to know, also, just what the deal calls for, item by item.

They are entitled to know what is being done in their name because any deal on Palestine would involve breaking every pledge the American people have repeatedly made to the Jews that there would be established a Jewish national home in Palestine.

Any deal involving further concessions to the Arabs would be not only an unconscionable betrayal of the Jews but also open, calculated destruction of American honor.

* * *

If the United States delegation has made or is about to make a deal with the Arabs, what are we, the people of the United States, going to get out of it?

Is it freedom from the fear of an uprising of the Arab world, that hoary threat? Are we prepared to trade our good name for that?

Is it a guarantee of continued access to Arab oil, for which we have paid over and over again already? Is that enough to warrant the repudiation of our pledged word?

Or is it that we hope to buy the loyalty of the Arab States as allies against the possible encroachment of Russia, Arab States that plotted and connived with Hitler? Is this sufficient price for our good faith?

The American people are entitled to know, for what the United States delegates to the United Nations have to trade on this issue does not belong to them. The good name of the United States belongs to the people. It is our most precious possession.

It was the good name of the United States that caused 16 nations of Europe to respond so quickly to the Marshall Plan. The peoples of those nations, no less than their governments, believed that what the United States promised to do, the United States would carry out.

Repeatedly, during and since World War II, our Government has assured all peoples that we sought no material gain but only to build a world in which all could live in peace, enjoy freedom, deal decently and honestly.

Millions believed us. They had faith in our promises.

Should we break our pledges to the Jews, we would destroy that faith, whether we acted in abject appeasement of Arab threats, in eagerness to make them allies or in greed for oil.

* * *

Much has been lost already.

All the world looked to the United States for leadership in seeing justice done in Palestine. Instead——

The world has seen Secretary of State Marshall equivocate on the issue of Palestine in his opening speech to the U.N. General Assembly.

Then he met in secret with the Arab chiefs, although these same chiefs refused to present testimony before the U.N. Special Commission on Palestine.

After that the United States delegation remained silent despite Arab assertions that Secretary Marshall had told the chiefs that the United States has "an open mind" on Palestine.

President Truman should act—and swiftly—to reassure the American people either that no deal has been made, or if there is one, that he will undo it.

This is his responsibility, and his alone. The two leading Republican candidates for his office have endorsed the majority plan for Palestine, but they have no power to act. Mr. Truman, as President, has the power.

The American people have a right to expect him to use it.

The honor of the United States of America, upon which is based the faith of millions here and everywhere, is at stake.

The President of the United States is sworn to uphold that honor.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1947

TIMES-HERALD
Washington's *Independent* Newspaper

Get Going on Palestine

When the United Nations general assembly opened its second regular session at Flushing Meadows a couple of weeks ago, we remarked in this space that at least the big debating society might reasonably be expected to bring about a solution of the Palestine question.

UNSCOP Majority's Proposed Partition of Palestine.

Up to now, no progress has been made toward that most desirable goal, though a large amount of talking has been done about Palestine.

It isn't as if there weren't enough facts available on which to work out some feasible program. Holy Land problems have been investigated from top to bottom some 18 times in the last 25 years.

The latest of these probes was conducted on the spot recently by the United Nations special committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), and a majority of this group turned in a detailed plan whose main features are shown on the accompanying map.

What the UNSCOP majority proposes to do is to give the country its freedom, effective Sept. 1, 1949, and to partition it into two nations, one for the Jews and the other for the Arabs. Jerusalem and its suburbs, including Bethlehem, would be demilitarized and placed under a U.N. trusteeship.

During the transition period, 150,000 Jewish immigrants would be admitted to the proposed Jewish state.

The UNSCOP minority suggested a peculiar looking single state with Jewish and Arab sub-governments.

The majority proposal has met with the approval of most Jewish groups, including the influential Zionists.

CHICAGO SUN
MARSHALL FIELD, Editor and Publisher
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1947

As We Wobble on Palestine

BRITAIN'S decision to get out of Palestine opens three possibilities for the future: (1) Arab and Jew can be left to fight it out; (2) some other nation can take Britain's place; (3) the United Nations can formulate a plan for independence and collectively enforce it during the transitional period.

There is not much question that the last course offers most by way of justice and peaceful settlement of disputes—both being fundamental aims of the U.N.

The Jews in Palestine say they are ready and able to defend themselves when Britain leaves, thus setting up what amounts to a *de facto* Jewish state. Maybe they can. But to let the issue thus be resolved by force would scarcely be a desirable precedent for the U.N., and no such settlement, or lack of one, could be considered permanent.

Neither does the idea of a successor-trustee hold out hope for a basic settlement. It is more than doubtful that public opinion would support any such venture in imperialism by the United States. Any great power which tried it would face immediate opposition from others. None, furthermore, could expect to establish peace and stability where Britain so conspicuously failed.

Irresistibly we are driven to the conclusion that the most honorable, just and workable solution is a United Nations solution. The committee appointed by the General Assembly unanimously recommended immediate independence, and a majority proposed that this be achieved by dividing Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state.

* * *

DESPITE all the difficulties inherent in this plan, it is the one which most fully recognizes the world's obligations to the 600,000 Jews who have settled in Palestine on the promise of a national home, and at the same time recognizes the rights of the Arabs in such degree as to justify the hope that, after a fair trial period, both communities could live amicably side by side.

The Arabs, of course, oppose partition. They are threatening the use of force against it. But then they would oppose any solution except outright denial of Jewish rights. The question is whether the U.N. shall be bullied by such intimidation.

American policy faces the same question. The Arabs threaten to cancel oil concessions to American firms, and to wage an economic boycott against anybody who supports partition. There is little reason to suppose that they could or would carry out these threats. But in no case can the United States afford to be bulldozed by them.

We have a responsibility to the U.N., to the Jewish settlers, to Europe's displaced persons and to the civilized conscience. Our State Department cannot meet that responsibility so long as it wobbles and temporizes on Palestine. Secretary

Towards a Positive American Policy on Palestine

THE PRESS SPEAKS:

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
Wednesday, September 24, 1947

The Palestine Report

The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine is an impressive document, not so much for what it recommends as for the long history behind it, the weight of international authority which it carries, the force of world opinion on which it can call. There are limits to the capacities of human wisdom. The Palestine problem, involving a violent conflict of legal rights and passionately held convictions,

The Washington Post
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SEPTEMBER 3, 1947

Verdict On Palestine

The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine can be better evaluated in terms of expediency than of justice. For the primary question to be asked of the solution it recommends is not whether it is fair to all the conflicting interests concerned—that seems to be quite impossible—but whether it is workable. The question, in other words, is whether the re-

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1947

OUR PALESTINE POLICY

A great many Americans will be startled to learn that doubts appear to be stirring in the Department of State and among our delegates to the United Nations with respect to this country's policy on Palestine. Yet evidence continues to pile up that such is the case. The persistent, noncommittal attitude of Secretary of State Marshall on this question, the silence of other highly placed figures among our policy makers, the carefully engineered slow-down of committee hearings on Palestine before the United Nations Assembly and the sudden spate of adroit propaganda loosed from sources anxious to align our course with views entertained in London—all add up to an increasingly large question mark.

Reporting yesterday from Lake Success, the Globe's correspondent explains that "the delaying tactics in the committee" considering the findings of the commission on Palestine, "give . . . the United States a chance to assess the changing world situation as it goes from bad to worse and to determine thereby which side, Jewish or Arab, is the most politically expedient to take."

If this assessment of the status of the Palestine problem at Lake Success is correct—and it comes from a well-informed expert—it suggests that those entrusted with our nation's policy actually entertain the notion of abandoning fundamental principle as a guide to their tasks, and are flirting once more with the sort of maneuver which can only multiply confusion and weaken America's good repute throughout the world.

On few questions has this country's policy been clearer, hithero, than on this. Our Presidents, from Woolrow Wilson in 1918 onward, have expressly supported the idea of creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine which should be free and independent. Successive Congresses have gone on record for the same policy. In the plat-

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The design of this paper is to adhere among the people correct information on all interesting subjects, to investigate just principles in politics, morals, and public economy, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature.—Prospectus of the EVENING POST No. 1, Nov. 16, 1801

NEW YORK, MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1947.

What Deal, Mr. President?

What deal has the Truman Administration made with the Arabs on Palestine? What deal is in the making?

We asked that question when it first became apparent that the United States delegation to the United Nations was unwilling to take any positive stand on Palestine.

Now, in off-the-record fashion, newsmen have been told that the United States Government (the Truman Administration, in this instance) has decided to accept the UNSCOP report favoring partition.

But even off-the-record there is no assurance that the United States delegation will take leadership in seeing that this report is adopted and its recommendations given life.

This attempt to pacify, in secret, the growing indignation of Americans who have seen their Government wobble over its solemn commitments is far from enough.

* * *

It is far from enough because such a passive attitude on the part of the Truman Administration can do irreparable damage to the cause which that Administration, like others before it, long ago determined to be just.

That cause is the creation in Palestine of a Jewish National Home, promised not only by the League of Nations but also by the United States Government in special convention with the League.

Failure of the United States to fight for adoption of the UNSCOP majority report will imperil this only feasible solution of the problem of Palestine.

If the United States, as represented in this matter by the Truman Administration, appears luke-warm or timid, then other nations will lose heart.

Our United States, in addition to being most deeply committed of all, is the one whose full willingness to carry out

It is not approved by the Arabs, or at any rate by their spokesmen in the U.N. Jamal El-Husseini, chairman of the Palestine Arab delegation, voiced this opposition in an 8-000-word speech at Lake Success day before yesterday.

Mr. Husseini's oration included a warning that the Arabs would slop up Palestine "with the last drop of our blood in the lawful defense of all and every inch of it"—a remark which sounds like, you should excuse the expression, horsefeathers.

• • •

The UNSCOP majority plan seems reasonable to us. Palestine now has an estimated population of 1,825,000. Of these people, roughly 1,200,000 are Arabs and 625,000 are Jews.

The proposed partition would result in a Jewish state having 500,000 Jews and 416,000 Arabs, and in an Arab state with 715,000 Arabs and 8,000 Jews. In the U.N.-trusteed Jerusalem area there would be 100,000 Jews and 106,000 Arabs.

On the basis of numbers alone, therefore, the Arabs would get a better initial break in the Jewish and Jerusalem sectors than the Jews would get in the Arab state. Evidently the Jews are willing to take a chance on that. If it suits them, how can the Arabs justly complain?

The partition, as it looks to us from this distance, would be of great benefit all around.

Partition Looks Fine

It would get Palestine off the nerves of the world, for one thing, after a generation-plus of alarms, excursions, excitements and irritations.

That the Jews would profit from having a country of their own seems beyond argument. We think the Arabs would profit, too, from the nearness to their own state of an up-and-coming Jewish nation anxious for active exchange of goods and services.

Stabilization of the Holy Land should attract outside capital for investment in numerous business enterprises and public improvements, in both the Arab and Jewish commonwealths.

If this plan or something much like it isn't put in the works soon, it seems impossible to see a decent future for Palestine. Great Britain is throwing up its hands in disgust and talking meaningfully about pulling out its troops in the next couple of months.

We can't understand the shilly-shallying in the General Assembly, and the apparent hesitancy to tackle this problem head on and bull a satisfactory settlement through.

It is hard, too, to understand the seeming unwillingness of the Truman Administration to take a positive position in the matter.

The U.N., in short, is on a spot again; and if it doesn't get off this one with some decisiveness and dignity, its own future promises to be more than dubious.

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...weight" to the partition plan, but apparently he has been telling the Arabs this does not imply any decision. Our policy should be the assumption of strong leadership, together with our share of the collective responsibility, for putting the U.N. plan into effect without delay.

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What Do We Answer To The Arab Threat?

Like a small and desperate bully in the schoolyard at recess, the Arab nations have just drawn a line and dared the United States to cross it. If Secretary of State Marshall supports the plan to partition Palestine, the Arabs mutter, the countries of the Middle East will "take all necessary measures to oppose the United States both inside and outside the United Nations."

There should be little question about this nation's answer to such a challenge. The threat itself is an abject confession of bankrupt logic. The debater who has lost invites his opponent to step out into the alley. In effect the Arabs now have admitted that their pretensions to Palestine find no support in reason. Only a stupendous moral recession would permit knuckling under.

But United States policy has, unfortunately, been much less than clear on Palestine. Officials on the level of pronouncements by the President and Congress, we have been most friendly to the Jews and their Palestine aspirations. At the day-by-day level of the Middle Eastern desk in the State Department, however, we have played more with the Arabs.

Secretary Marshall promised long ago to erase the conflicts in policy and draw a firm line of consistent principle. He still has not done so. In fact, when he mentioned the problem of Palestine in his opening address at the current session of the U. N. General Assembly, he slurred over it badly. The United States, he said, was of a mind that serious consideration should be given the proposal for partition, which is the equivalent of a ringing endorsement of another one.

Caution about committing this nation finally on the problem is understandable, of course. The Arabs are making no idle threat. They are perfectly capable, fired as they are with a zealot's religious conviction, of exploding mass murder in the Middle East. They might, as they constantly hint in sly fashion, try playing Russia against the United States and Great Britain, though the landed lords of Araby ought to tremble at the very thought of communism. Certainly the Arab nations will attempt to sever the West's pipelines into the vital oil of the Persian Gulf. Only an idiot would counsel a total disregard of the dangers in crossing the Arab demands.

After all that is said, though, the principles of justice and of humanitarianism still stand. And they will permit no temporizing with the threats of terrorism, no surrender to the merely cautious. They speak unmistakably for that remnant of the Jews who have survived Hitler's attempt to exterminate them.

Partition is no perfect solution for Palestine. But at least it offers a hope for the embattled Jews that an independent Palestine controlled by the anti-Jewish Arabs never could. Within the framework of the plan proposed by the majority of the U. N.'s special commission on Palestine, an answer is at least possible.

It will not be an easy answer. Palestine still would have to be policed, preferably by a U. N. security force; possibly—if Russian opposition to creation of such a force persists—by troops from this and other countries. Almost certainly there would be some bloodshed.

The Arabs have drawn their line. Do we step over it or retreat in shame?

...defies any perfect or quick solution. From the ... the appointment of the committee it was inconceivable that this body would recommend either to restore Pa... to ... Arabs, as the Arab states de... award it to the Jews; deallr... tremely involved complex of h... it was obviously the comm... recommend a compromise, a... done. That it is a bad co... without saying. The Arabs ... the Zionists are doubtful. But there is muc... reason to believe that it is the best compromise which the wit and the institutions of mankind are able to achieve.

The Peel commission recommended partition, which seemed impracticable; the more recent Anglo-American commission recommended a unification which seemed impossible. The majority of the United Nations commission has recommended political partition together with economic unification. For this fiercely divided community, occupying an area no larger than the State of Vermont, the recommendation may seem fantastic. But it is less so than the minority plan, advanced by the representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia; it is the best that the combined statesmanship of the world, after excluding all the more interested parties, could do. And it has the great difference over all previous findings that it takes responsibility out of the hands of the British mandatory and vests it squarely upon all the nations.

The proposals will, of course, be fiercely debated before the General Assembly. The debate may prove to all the parties that this, or something very like this, is in fact the best that can practically be achieved by any appeal to "justice," by any form of international action, by any reliance on world opinion or on other processes than those of brute force. If so, and if the commission plan is accepted by the Assembly, there may be some hope of an assuagement of the passions involved and some chance that the plan will be loyally implemented by the Arab as well as the Jewish communities and will therefore prove workable.

If not, the responsibility will rest on all the powers and not simply on the British. As to what would happen should the Palestine Arabs refuse to set up their state or make the proposed economic treaty, the commission is vague; but it at least hints that the United Nations should erect the Jewish state anyway, while it rather more than hints that the United States should during the two-year interim period assist the British on the ground. We are reaching the point at which, if the best that reasonable men can offer is not accepted by those concerned, the world will either have to abandon the problem entirely or else executive force will have to be applied by thpse who possess it in order to compel a tolerable settlement. This is no longer a problem of Arabs, Jews and British; it has become a United Nations problem, and the strongest members of the United Nations will have to face their share of the common responsibility.

...solution, whether it ... will bring an end to the problem. From the ... of view of the rest of the world, a solu... of this problem is imperative. Already ...as embroiled so many groups and na... ns beyond those immediately involved in ...as to constitute a real peril to peace. The existing state of affairs simply cannot be permitted to continue. What is necessary now is to accept the verdict and make it effective.

The Arabs, who have already protested against the U. N. report, have a legitimate case against it. So have the Jews, who have thus far lodged no formal protest but have certainly been awarded less than they deemed their due. The decision cannot be considered wholly fair to either side. Jews and Arabs alike can bring to the support of their respective contentions all sorts of data and documents; even Britain, the responsible ruling power, which has played the Jews and Arabs against one another, can make a case for itself, we suppose, out of the pressures and exigencies of world affairs. The U. N. committee no doubt listened patiently to all these cases, striving vainly to decide between them. But in sober truth they were beside the point. The point was that an intolerable situation had to be ended with as much fairness as possible and by the most expedient means.

This, it appears, is what the committee tried to do. Only time, of course, can test whether its solution will work well. But it seems to us to have the best chance of working of any proposal yet broached. Partition, to be sure, is no ideal solution in an area so small as Palestine. Yet it seems the only practicable solution in view of the bitterness that has been generated among its inhabitants. Its ill effects may be tempered by the economic integration recommended in the report. With good will and acceptance of the plan in good faith, Jews and Arabs in Palestine may well be able to develop the good neighborly relations which alone can bring peace and the blessings of prosperity to the long-troubled Holy Land.

No doubt there will be efforts, and especially by feudal leaders of the Arabs, to engender strife and to make the plan unworkable. It is indispensable to the success of the plan, if it is adopted by the United Nations, that such efforts be checked promptly and thoroughly; there is no room here for vacillation. The United States, we think, should share the responsibility and the burden of enforcing whatever solution the United Nations may decree. With this kind of firmness, the problem may be solved. And in this lies the best hope of Jews and Arabs and the world at large. Peace in Palestine is now the indispensable foundation for justice.

...for a free, democratic, independent Jewish homeland has been supported. The unanimous decision of the Anglo-American Commission, which studied the problem last year, was for partition and the creation of separate Jewish and Arab communities there. The majority findings of the latest United Nations Commission present similar recommendations. Those recommendations are in harmony with an American policy of nearly 30 years' standing.

Why, then, is there any doubt whatever in Washington as to what course to pursue in the United Nations Assembly? The proposals of the U.N. Commission on Palestine, says Mr. Frank Buxton, a thoroughly informed witness and a member of the Anglo-American committee last year, "are just to both Jews and Arabs and workable, and offer the only sensible solution for an extremely tragic problem." We appeals to our government to take "a strong and honorable stand which is in conformity with our often repeated commitments."

Such an appeal should be unnecessary to statesmen who cherish the good name of the nation they represent. It cannot be that principle and consistency in policy are to be tossed on the table as pawns, in a barter for expedients. Due appraisal of the threats emanating from the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (who cooperated with our foes in the recent war) will scarcely discover that they possess sufficient substance to warrant their acceptance at his own estimate and a disgraceful retreat by our government from the position it has maintained unequivocally for years.

If it is the contention that support of the Palestine committee's report implies strife, because of Britain's proposal for eventual withdrawal, let it be remembered that Britain's withdrawal from India was made with larger objectives in view, which, despite transitory trouble there, is being realized in the emergence of two new dominions in the British Commonwealth. Assurances given by the Jewish authorities in Palestine that 70,000 veterans trained in Britain's armies during the recent war will safeguard the proposed new Jewish state against attack, and early steps through to firm establishment, dispose of the question of transitional disorders. Justice, honor, consistency, the best interests of this country, and the stabilization of the Middle East, counsel against any wavering on this issue.

UNCLE DUDLEY.

...full responsibility for those commitments is essential. We must give U.N. the courage to act.

This must be perfectly clear to anyone who has paid any attention whatever to the history of modern Palestine. Certainly President Truman has been and is in a position to grasp the importance of United States policy as it bears upon justice in this matter.

We must believe, also, that President Truman knows the effect that failure to lead can have upon the outcome in the United Nations. It can lead to postponement, delay and finally to the rejection of the proposal for partition.

Such a result would be just as much a betrayal as if the United States delegation had, like Britain, rejected the majority report.

And that result would be the responsibility of the Truman Administration. For the Truman Administration alone has the power to determine the course taken by Secretary of State Marshall, head of the U. S. delegation. He is the spokesman for the President.

The President is charged with the execution of United States foreign policy.

• • •

If the Truman Administration, by feeble action, is going to condone the repudiation of the commitments of the American people in this matter, we say again that Americans are entitled to know what they are going to get in return for their good name.

Is it Arab oil—which we have paid for over and over again?

Is it freedom from intimidation by Arab States whose spokesman is the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hitler's apologist and agent?

Is it these States as Allies, created by Allied arms in World War I and some of whom joined the Nazis in World War II?

Americans, we say again, are entitled to know what price the Arab chiefs can pay high enough to buy the honor of the United States?

We hope President Truman will act to reassure the American people that no deal, at any price, has been made in their name. We hope that reassurance will be open, sincere and vigorous support of the UNSCOP majority report.

Actions speak louder than off-the-record promises or even half-hearted speeches.

Text of Statement Before U. N. by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on Zionists' Position on Palestine

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, Oct. 2—Following is the text of the statement made today to the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine of the United Nations General Assembly by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which I have the honor to represent, is appreciative of the privilege which this Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has extended to it to be represented at its deliberations and to express its views on the report which the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has submitted.

We have read the report with the deepest interest and the closest attention, and we are prepared to make our observations on it. We are greatly impressed with the earnest and conscientious labors which the eleven members of the Special Committee devoted to their task and which are reflected in the comprehensive and impressive document before us.

It was good to have a committee of neutrals examine the Palestine problem afresh in an effort to arrive at a solution which would be morally justifiable and politically sound. We share entirely the view expressed in the report that the "opinions of members of an international committee who represent various civilizations and schools of thought, and have approached the question from different angles, may be of some value."

The Jewish Agency availed itself of the invitation extended to it by the Special Committee to present its case. We were happy to make available to the committee whatever information it desired of us, to answer any question, and frankly to share our thinking with it. We regarded it as an inescapable obligation to cooperate to the fullest extent with the United Nations, which had this grave international problem presented to it and which assumed the responsibility for formulating a decision on the future government of Palestine.

Arab Lack of Cooperation

In this connection we find it necessary to point to a circumstance to which the report itself draws special attention—namely, the failure of the Arab Higher Committee to cooperate with the committee. The chairman of the United Nations Special Committee, during the hearings in Jerusalem, made an appeal by radio for the full cooperation of all parties. The Special Committee also addressed a letter directly to the Arab Higher Committee regretting the decision of the latter not to cooperate and repeating the Special Committee's invitation for full cooperation. In reply Mr. Jamal Husseini, vice chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, wrote that the committee found no reason to reverse the previous decision to abstain from collaboration.

One is at a loss to understand why the Arab Higher Committee was unwilling to present its case to the Special Committee of the United Nations. The Jewish Agency likewise had been subjected to the strains and disappointments of the numerous Palestine inquiries which preceded it. Having repeatedly refused the invitation to present its case, why does the Arab Higher Committee come now to ask "justice and equity" at the hands of the United Nations, whose authority it had flouted and whose competence to define the form of the future government of Palestine the Arab spokesman on Monday categorically denied?

The same spokesman treated us to an historic improvisation on the origin of the Jewish people and on the history of Palestine. History may not be an exact science but it certainly is not a story out of the Arabian Nights. There are certain facts which do not yield to wishful thinking. Thus the canard that the Jews of Western Europe are descendant not from Israel of old but from a tribe of Khazars in Russia is a relatively recent invention and was popularized in the racial mythologies of our day whose political motivations are clearly transparent. One could say with some amusement that the Arabs of Palestine would be among the last people on earth to wish to engage in genealogical research.

When the Allies liberated Palestine in 1917 along with other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, Palestine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no politically or culturally distinct or distinguishable Arab nation in that province. There never had been. The Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century of the common era held sway over that country, which contained a very mixed and heterogeneous population for 437 years between 634 and 1071 A. D.—437 years out of more than 3,000 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071 the country was conquered by various non-Arab peoples, such as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Crusaders, the Egyptian Mamelukes, and, finally by the Ottoman Turks.

2,000 Years of Jewish History

By the time the Arabs conquered Palestine in 634 A. D., the Jewish people had already completed nearly 2,000 years of national history in that country, during which time they created a civilization which decidedly influenced the course of mankind, gave rise both to Judaism and Christianity, produced the Bible and brought forth prophets, saints and spiritual leaders who are venerated not only by Judaism, but by Christianity and Islam as well.

"In the twelve centuries or more that have passed since the Arab conquest," reads the report of the Royal Commission of 1937, "Palestine has virtually dropped out of history. * * * In economics and in politics Palestine lay outside the main stream of the world's life. In the realm of thought, in science or in letters it made no contribution to modern civilization."

The very identity of Palestine as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jewish history. The country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion and only assumed a specific role in history when the Palestine mandate was ratified. The mandate acknowledged this history by setting Palestine in a distinct and separate context in relation to the Arab world. "I am persuaded," declared President Wilson on March 3, 1919, "that the Allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Speaking in the House of Lords on June 27, 1923, Lord Milner, who called himself "a strong supporter of the pro-Arab policy," stated:

"Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the same footing as the other Arab countries. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter * * * and the future of Palestine cannot possibly be left to be determined by the temporary impressions and feelings of the Arab majority in the country in the present day."

When the Palestine mandate therefore recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" it was only stating a fact that was universally acknowledged through the ages. And when it gave international recognition to the grounds for reconstituting the Jewish national home in that country—an act which Field Marshal Smuts, member of the War Cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration, called "one of the greatest acts of history"—it was only reaffirming the fact that the Jewish people had never surrendered the hope of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For to the Jews Palestine was not merely a place of sacred shrines as to Christians and Moslems, but the home of their exiled people, the land of their national destiny, and throughout the dark centuries of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

Arab Economic Grievances

Concerning the Arab economic grievances which were aired here the other day, we wish only to refer to the report of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them, as well as to the relevant chapters in the Royal Commission report of 1937, to show how utterly groundless they are. These reports, as well as the memorandum of the Palestine Government which was submitted to the Special Committee of the United Nations—a document which can hardly be charged with pro-Jewish bias—conclusively prove that the Palestine Arabs benefited considerably and directly from Jewish development in the economic, financial and social spheres.

We must take note, too, of the interesting contrast which the Arab spokesman attempted to draw between the terroristic acts of the Arabs of Palestine in 1936-39—acts which were never condemned or repudiated by any responsible Arab spokesman—and the regrettable acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today which the official bodies of Palestine Jewry have most severely condemned.

"It has been officially admitted that in their several uprisings against the British in Palestine," stated the Arab spokesman, "the Arabs ordinarily fought face to face as noble men." As illustrative of this nobility, permit me to quote the statement of Sir John Chancellor, the High Commissioner of Palestine, on the Arab riots there in 1929:

"I have learned with horror of the atrocious acts committed by bodies of ruthless and bloodthirsty evildoers, of savage murder perpetrated upon defenseless members of the Jewish population regardless of age or sex, accompanied as at Hebron by acts of unspeakable savagery, of the burning of farms and houses in town and country, and of the looting and destruction of property. These crimes have brought upon their authors the execration of all civilized peoples throughout the world."

In commenting upon the riots of 1936, the report of the Palestine Royal Commission has this to say:

"There were similar assaults upon the persons and property of the Jews, conducted with the same reckless ferocity [as in 1929]. Women and children were not spared."

Role of Great Britain

Before making our observations on the report itself, may we be permitted to comment on the statement which was made at the beginning of your deliberations by Mr. Arthur Creech Jones on behalf of His Majesty's Government?

It was the United Kingdom Government which requested that the question of Palestine be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. It was His Majesty's Government which asked the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter for the future government of Palestine.

In making these far-reaching requests, with which the United Nations complied, the United Kingdom surely must have had in mind not the thought of ultimately imposing its own solution on the United Nations, but the hope that this great international body, approaching the problem anew and without bias, might find a solution which, while not fully acceptable to everyone, would nevertheless represent the collective wisdom and judgment of the nations of the world and would have behind it such weight of authority that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accept it and to cooperate in its implementation.

Surely such loyal cooperation on the part of member nations is presupposed when any international problem is considered by the United Nations. Otherwise His Majesty's Government might just as well have announced six months ago what it declared the other day. Why were six critical months lost, during which time the situation in Palestine was permitted to deteriorate most gravely? And why was all the apparatus of the United Nations invoked to investigate and to recommend a settlement of the problem if there was no intention to accept and to participate in the implementation of such a settlement?

Sir Alexander Cadogan, at the fifty-second meeting of the first committee of the General Assembly, stated: "All we say—and I made this reservation the other day—is that we shall not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which is not accepted by both parties and which we cannot reconcile with our conscience." But we observe that His Majesty's Government is not being asked to accept a sole responsibility. The report of the Special Committee clearly recommends that if so desired, one or more members of the United Nations shall be invited to assist in the administering of the country along with the present mandatory power.

The statement of Mr. Creech Jones seems to go beyond that of Sir Alexander Cadogan's and implies that His Majesty's Government not only does not wish to assume sole responsibility for implementing the report, but reserves to itself the right of refusing any cooperation in implementing the final decision of the United Nations if, in its judgment, it does not comply with its own criteria of justice and with its own preferred technique of implementation.

Challenge to United Nations

One questions whether in taking such a position—if we have understood the position correctly—the United Kingdom is helping to solve this difficult problem and whether its course will enhance the authority and prestige of the United Nations which has assumed responsibility over the Palestine question. It is clear to everyone that the solution of this problem represents a vital challenge to the United Nations and a crucial test of its future effectiveness.

In view of His Majesty's Government's reluctance to impose a policy by force of arms, a policy which would have behind it the sanction of the community of nations, one may be pardoned for inquiring why His Majesty's Government has not hesitated to employ in recent years a military force of 100,000 men, along with its navy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Palestine which no international body has approved, which is contrary to the purposes and provisions of the mandate, and which has been thrice disapproved by international bodies.

It would have been more helpful if the statement of His Majesty's Government had been more revealing. Surely it must be clear to everyone that no settlement of the Palestine problem is possible without some enforcement.

The Palestine problem is not at all unique in this regard. The report to your Special Committee correctly states: "Taking into account the fact that devising a solution which will be fully acceptable to both Jews and Arabs seems to be utterly impossible, the prospect of imposing a solution on them would be the basic condition of any recommended proposal."

It was the realization that such an Arab-Jewish agreement was impossible that prompted Mr. Bevin to turn the problem over to the United Nations. Mr. Creech Jones' declaration, therefore, that "the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews" is very singular indeed and does not advance the solution at all.

Principle of Partition

It may be pertinent to recall that the principle of partition on which the majority report of the Committee is based was first projected by the all-British Royal Commission in 1937. At that time the British Government accepted that recommendation in principle and declared:

"In supporting a solution of the Palestine problem by means of partition, His Majesty's Government are much impressed by the advantages which it offers to the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs would obtain their national independence and thus be enabled to cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of neighboring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress. They would be finally delivered from all fear of Jewish domination. * * * On the other hand, partition would secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and relieve it from any possibility of its being subjected in the future to Arab rule. It would convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State with full control over immigration. * * * Above all, fear and suspicion would be replaced by a sense of confidence and security, and both peoples would obtain, in the words of the Commission, 'the inestimable boon of peace.'"

Confronted as we now are by the latest expression of His Majesty's Government, we cannot help but reflect upon the course which has been followed by successive British Governments during the past decade. In 1937 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the Palestine problem, which, after an exhaustive study, recommended partition as a solution. After an initial approval of the plan, the British Government wound up by rejecting it and promulgated in its stead the White Paper policy of 1939 which was in complete contradiction to the basic recommendation of the Royal Commission.

In 1945 the British Government invited the American Government to join in a two-nation inquiry into the Palestine problem with a view to its solution. This committee submitted unanimous recommendations proposing this time not partition, but a unitary state. It called for the abrogation of the White Paper policy, including its racial land law, the early admission of 100,000 Jews, continued Jewish immigration thereafter, and the faithful implementation of the provisions of the mandate. The British Government rejected the recommendations of this committee likewise and wound up by putting forward the Morrison and Bevin proposals which were diametrically opposed in substance and in spirit to the report of the Anglo-American Committee.

Finally, in 1947 the British Government proposed another examination of the Palestine problem, this time by the United Nations. As a result, a commission was appointed consisting of the representatives of eleven neutral nations. This committee has now submitted a report which recommends a plan of partition coupled with economic union. But this report seems no more acceptable to His Majesty's Government than the two earlier reports. It has indicated no support of this latest report and offers in its stead—nothing.

General Assembly Action Urged

The failure, however, of the United Kingdom Government to give the United Nations a measure of guidance and support, and its announced intention of an early withdrawal from Palestine, which we welcome, makes it more imperative than ever that the General Assembly should proceed with the work before it with utmost dispatch. As early as last April it was realized in the special session of the Assembly that there was great urgency in the matter. Certainly that urgency for action and decision has been intensified by all that has transpired since.

The Jewish Agency, in making this preliminary comment on the report itself, wishes to indicate at the outset its full approval of all but one of the eleven unanimous recommendations made by the committee. On the sixth recommendation, of which it does not disapprove, it would like to make this observation. The sixth recommendation calls upon the General Assembly "to undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem."

It will be recalled that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry likewise recommended that efforts be made immediately to find new homes for these displaced persons. In making this recommendation the Anglo-American Committee stated: "We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe."

The position in this respect has remained completely unchanged. The recommendation of the Anglo-American committee has remained a dead letter. Our unfortunate refugees are still languishing in the displaced persons' camps facing a third winter after the termination of the war. The report of your Special Committee refers to the "intense urge" of these distressed persons to be allowed to go to Palestine.

The "intense urge" of the Jewish displaced persons to proceed to Palestine and the refusal of most of them to go anywhere else springs not only from their realization that the prospects of their admission to other countries are slight in the extreme, and even then only of a very limited scope. It springs pre-eminently from the fact that Palestine offers to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else: the chance of a real home, the prospect of a life in congenial surroundings, the insurance of permanency.

All the longing of these uprooted people for a life of peace and dignity, for a normal and secure existence finds expression in this "intense urge" to go to Palestine. What more overwhelming and tragic evidence of this urge is required than the persistent and desperate attempts of these men, women and children to reach the shores of the Jewish national home from where they are forcibly turned back—in the case of the Exodus 1947, back to Germany. And if it be countered that mere desire does not create a right, a complete answer is that that desire was the basis for the creation of the right by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations mandate.

That desire was recognized as morally so compelling that it led the victorious Allies in the first World War to establish solemn international commitments guaranteeing the legal right of Jews to go to Palestine.

The Jewish Agency strongly hopes that the nations of the world will welcome those among the displaced persons who wish to emigrate to other lands. The Jewish Agency never contemplated that any displaced person should be forced to go to Palestine. But surely, to compel those Jewish refugees, many of whom have close family ties with Palestine, to go against their will to other lands and to deny them the right to go to the Jewish national home would be most unjust and unkind and would be bitterly resented.

"Jewish Problem in General"

The twelfth recommendation of the committee, which was not unanimously opposed by the Committee, reads: "It is recommended that in the appraisal of the Palestine question, it be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general." We are at a loss to understand the meaning of this recommendation—actually not a recommendation but a mere postulate. The "Jewish problem in general" is not a problem of Jewish immigration or of refugees. It is the age-old problem of Jewish national homelessness.

There is but one solution to this problem, a national home. This was the basic Jewish problem which was faced by the Balfour declaration and the mandate, and to which the proper solution was given—the reconstitution of the national home of the Jewish people in Palestine.

Without attempting at this stage a detailed analysis of the solution recommended by the minority of three members of the Special Committee, we must state at once that we find it wholly unacceptable, even as a basis for discussion. This minority report proposes the establishment of an independent Federal State of Palestine, consisting of what are described as an Arab and a Jewish "State," though they are, in fact, little more than semi-autonomous cantons or provinces.

It is obvious that under the constitutional provisions envisaged in this recommendation, Palestine would become in effect an Arab State with two Jewish enclaves, in which the Jews would be frozen in the position of a permanent minority of the population of the Federal State. Under the proposed constitution the Jewish province would not have control over immigration even within the narrow confines of its own borders. Nor would it have control over its own fiscal policies. Not only with regard to the crucial question of immigration, but also with regard to many other matters of fundamental importance, the ultimate power of decision will rest with the Arab majority of the proposed Federal State.

The proposal is a variant of the federal scheme put forward last year by His Majesty's Government, generally known as the Morrison Plan, which was rejected at the time both by Jews and Arabs, as well as by the Government of the United States. The plan entails for the Jews all the disadvantages of partition—and a very bad partition geographically—without the compensating advantages of a real partition: statehood, independence and free immigration.

The Majority Proposals

As regards the majority report we wish to make the following observations. These proposals are those of the Committee. Needless to say, they are not the proposals of the Jewish Agency which, in fact, were ruled out by the Committee. They do not represent satisfaction of the rights of the Jewish people. They are a serious attenuation of these rights. At the hearings of your Committee we fully defined these rights and their justification. I will not here impose upon you by restating them.

Partition clearly was never contemplated by the Balfour Declaration of the mandate. It was intended that Palestine, the whole of Palestine, shall ultimately become a Jewish State. This is the clear testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, who was the British Prime Minister at the time of the issuance of the Declaration. The land referred to as Palestine in the Declaration included what is now Trans-Jordan. The Royal Commission of 1937 declared that "the field in which the Jewish national home was to be established was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine." That area has already been partitioned.

The first partitioning of Palestine took place in 1922 when Trans-Jordan, representing three-quarters of the original area of Palestine, was cut off and has since been set up by the British as an Arab kingdom. Thus, one Arab state has already been carved out of the area assigned to the Jewish national home. It is now proposed to carve a second Arab state out of the remainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish national home is now to be confined to less than one-eighth of the territory originally set aside for it.

This is a sacrifice which the Jewish people should not be asked to make. The legitimate national aspirations of the Arab peoples have been fully satisfied. President Truman, in his letter of October 28, 1946, to the King of Saudi Arabia, calls attention to this fact. "I am happy to note," he writes, "that most of the liberated peoples [of the Near East] are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not yet been fully developed."

The Arabs possess today independent monarchies in Saudi-Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and independent republics in Syria and Lebanon. A population of 17,000,000 in Arab Asia occupies an area of 1,290,000 square miles, enormously rich in resources and potentialities. This area, which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and which, together with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied nations, includes all the centers which are primarily associated in history with Arab and Moslem traditions. Palestine, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the nations of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish national home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only 10,000 square miles in extent, and it is now proposed, in the Majority Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish national home by almost one-half.

Objections to Majority Report

It is not our intention at this time to enter into a detailed discussion of the many territorial provisions in the proposals of the Majority Report. But we feel constrained to point out at least two features which are open to most serious objections. The Majority Report eliminates western Galilee—that is, most of Galilee—from the Jewish State. The Peel Commission included western Galilee in the Jewish State. For reasons which we shall endeavor to explain more fully at a later stage, we regard the proposed exclusion of western Galilee as an unjustified and a particularly grievous handicap to the development of the Jewish State.

Under the terms of the majority proposal, the city of Jerusalem is set up as a separate government unit. We would not question the propriety of placing the old city of Jerusalem, which contains the holy places, as well as the holy shrines, which may be outside the walls of the old city, in the custody of an international trustee. But outside the old city a modern new city has grown up which contains a compact Jewish section of approximately 90,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central national, religious and educational institutions of the Jewish people of Palestine.

Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a particularly severe blow. Jerusalem holds a unique place in Jewish life and religious traditions. It is the ancient capital of the Jewish nation and the symbol throughout the ages of Jewish nationhood. The undefeated resolve of our people to be reconstituted as a nation in the land of Israel was epitomized in the solemn vow of the Psalmist and of the exiled people throughout the ages: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." We strongly urge that the Jewish section of modern Jerusalem, outside the walls, be included in the Jewish State.

There are other modifications which we will take up at a later stage of these discussions.

In the Event of Partition

To return to the basic solution of partition proposed by the Special Committee: It entails, as we have said, a very heavy sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. But if such a sacrifice is made the inexorable condition of an immediate and final solution, we would be prepared to assume the responsibility for recommending acquiescence to the supreme organs of our movement, subject, of course, to further discussion of the constitution and territorial provisions which we assume will take place in the course of these sessions.

We would be prepared to do so because the proposal makes possible the immediate re-establishment of the Jewish State, an ideal for which our people ceaselessly strove through the centuries, and because it ensures immediate and continuing Jewish immigration which, as events have demonstrated, is possible only under a Jewish State. We would do so also as our contribution to the solution of a grave international problem and as evidence of our willingness to join with the community of nations in an effort to bring peace at last to the troubled land which is precious to the heart of mankind.

We are impressed with the recommendation in the report of an economic union between the two states. We approve of the conclusion reached by the committee that "in view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, it is essential that, to the extent feasible, and consistent with the creation of two independent states, the economic unity of the country should be preserved."

This appears to us to be a progressive and statesmanlike conception of great promise. The Jewish Agency is prepared to accept this proposal of a economic union. It should, however, be understood that this economic union, while it would bestow some benefits on the Jewish State, would also impose grave sacrifices. The acceptable limit of these sacrifices is, in principle, clear: the Jewish State must have in its own hands those instruments of financing and economic control that are necessary to carry out large-scale Jewish immigration and the related economic development. The Jewish State must have independent access to those world sources of capital and supplies that are indispensable for the accomplishment of these purposes.

The Majority Report provides, in effect, for a large subsidy from the Jewish to the Arab State, through equal sharing by the two states of the net revenues from customs and joint services. This subsidy would be a very heavy one in relation to the national income. The Jewish Agency would, however, be prepared to assume this burden as one of its sacrifices designed to find a way out of the present intolerable impasse.

Mean to Be Good Neighbors

We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances, defend our rights to the utmost. We have builded a nation in Palestine. That nation now demands its independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make an enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond it we cannot, we will not go.

The report recommends that "during the transitional period the authority entrusted with the task of administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations." In view of the statement of His Majesty's Government it is not clear now which will be this authority. We favor an international authority under the United Nations to supervise and insure the implementation of its decisions.

Above all, we urge that the transitional period be as brief as possible. A period of two years is, in our judgment, considerably longer than is necessary or desirable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the powers and functions of administration to the two peoples in their respective states would not take place at the end of the transitional period, but would be inaugurated immediately and consummated as rapidly as possible. The Jewish people of Palestine stands ready to assume immediately all responsibilities which the establishment of the Jewish State will involve.

As to Enforcement Measures

We agree with the report that "whatever the solution, enforcement measures on an extensive scale may be necessary for some time." The Jewish people hope that the transition from the present status of the country to the new status of two independent states, will be attended by a minimum of friction and conflict. Once the boundaries are defined and the states established by the United Nations they will be entitled to have their territorial integrity and sovereign rights respected and protected as fully as all other nations which are covenated to peaceful relations under the Charter.

All members of the United Nations, whether in the neighborhood of Palestine or elsewhere who are bound by the principles of the Charter, will be expected to respect the rights of these new states, under pain of being condemned as aggressors and subjected to international sanctions. Moreover, we assume that in the constitution of whatever military or police force may be required during the transitional period, full use will be made of the trained manpower available in Palestine which will be prepared to offer its services to the United Nations to maintain law and order.

The Jewish State, when it is established, will respect the sovereignty of its neighbor states as fully as it will defend its own. The Jewish people in Palestine is prepared to defend itself. It is not impressed by idle threats. A people that has survived the accumulated fury of the centuries, faced powerful empires in a bitter battle for survival, and during the last war saw hundreds of thousands of its sons fighting for freedom in all the liberating armies of the Allied nations—while the head of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee was broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Berlin and congratulating Hitler on his African victories over the Allies—such a people will not be intimidated. Nor, we are confident, will this great international body which is earnestly wrestling with this tremendously difficult problem and which is seeking a just and equitable solution, be terrorized into surrendering its high mandate.

We recall with satisfaction that similar threats uttered by the same parties during the first special session did not influence the resolution of the Assembly. Nor was the Special Committee impressed by these threats during its hearings. We hope that these same threats will not influence this great deliberative body which must be guided by principles of truth and justice—the underlying principles of its Charter.

The Jewish people in Palestine, I repeat, will be prepared to defend itself. It will welcome, of course, whatever support can properly be given to it by the United Nations or its members, pursuant to the decisions of the United Nations.

If the British Withdraw

In this connection we must take note of the announcement made by the representative of the United Kingdom that its forces may not be available to the United Nations during the transitional period, and may be subject to early withdrawal from Palestine. In that event, in order to avoid the creation of a dangerous vacuum which might affect public security, the Jewish people of Palestine will provide without delay the necessary effectives to maintain public security within their country.

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee: With this United Nations report we have reached one of the important crossroads of history. The course which will be followed will be fraught with destiny for all, the Jews, the Arabs and the United Nations. We hope that it will be a course of wisdom, justice and courage. The Jewish people hopefully awaits the decision of this body.

Twenty-five years ago a similar international organization recognized the historic claims of the Jewish people, sanctioned our program and set us firmly on the road of realization. We were not then regarded as intruders or invaders, not even by the foremost leaders and spokesmen of the Arab world, but as a people returning home after a long sad exile. The world approved and acclaimed the return of Israel to its ancient homeland. The statesmen of the world faced the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and they set about to solve it.

The Jewish people was confirmed in its right to rebuild its national life in its historic home. It eagerly seized the long hoped-for opportunity and proceeded to rebuild that ancient land of Israel in a manner which evoked the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness blossom as the rose. Surely this great international body, surveying this faithful and fruitful work, will wish to see that work continued, that undertaking advanced, that hope of the centuries consummated. It will be a noble achievement which will redound to the everlasting glory of this world organization. It will be a supreme act of international justice.

ADDRESSES UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver — The New York Times

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Palestine and World Peace

BY SUMNER WELLES

[*At the dinner of the Nation Associates held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on October 13, Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, made the address which appears below. The subject of the evening's discussion was The Palestine Solution and Its Relationship to World Peace. The other chief speakers were Bartley Crum and Richard H. S. Crossman, M.P., American and British members, respectively, of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine.*]

TO ALL those millions of Americans who believe that their nation, because of the influence and power it possesses, should utilize that influence and that power so as to facilitate the solution of international controversies which block the establishment of a free, peaceful, and lasting world order, the past few years have been a profoundly discouraging period. For in the case of Palestine the great opportunity for leadership offered to our government had not been seized. Last Friday this situation radically changed. The United States has at length assumed its responsibility and undertaken a most constructive initiative.

I am not here to speak to you of any of the specific aspects of the Palestine problem, aspects which necessarily arise in an objective appraisal of the recommendations for settlement that have been advanced. Nor would I venture to dwell upon the continuing tragedy of those hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews whose spirits and bodies are rotting in the concentration camps of Central Europe and to whom no hope has as yet been given that they are to have any chance of safety or any opportunity for a new and better life in the days to come. There are many among you who have seen with their own eyes this horror and who have been struggling valiantly to put an end to a tragedy which need never have existed and for which there can be no justification.

But I do wish to speak to you on the issue which seems to me chiefly to concern us here tonight. That is the relationship of the Palestine settlement to world peace.

It would take long to enumerate the reports of the individuals and of the organizations, official as well as unofficial, which have now for many years been investigating the problem of Palestine. Many of these investigations, unfortunately, were undertaken for the sole purpose of procrastination. Many were ordered merely in an effort to avert a crisis which might otherwise be imminent. There is perhaps no other question of international import upon which so much authoritative information is available, and upon which the time and thought of so many able men and women have been expended. What so far has been lacking is the courage and the decision and the authority by which action might be taken on the basis of those facts.

I had hoped last spring that the period of evasion and buck-passing was at length concluded; that the repeated efforts of the British government to prevent any solution and the unsavory attempts of the government of the United States to saddle Great Britain with full responsibility, while at the same time refusing to lift a finger to make a settlement possible, had at last reached their end. For a new and great development had taken place. The nations of the world, at a special meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations, had declared their intention of seeking a settlement of the Palestine question and had appointed a Special Committee on Palestine to undertake a final investigation and to recommend to the full Assembly at its session this autumn whatever solution might in their judgment be most equitable and practicable in the light of all the legitimate interests concerned.

The overshadowing significance of that step could not be exaggerated. It meant that the free peoples of the earth had decided that a just and lasting settlement must be promptly found, and that the moral opinion of the world would support whatever decision the Assembly might finally reach upon such a basis.

AS WE all know, a few weeks ago the Special Committee submitted its findings. The recommendation of the majority of the committee—and it is pertinent to emphasize the fact that the nations represented in that majority could not conceivably be considered as having any partiality or any prejudice—proposed the partition of Palestine and the establishment within the Holy Land of a Jewish and an Arab state.

Many questions can legitimately be raised as to this, that, or the other detail contained in these proposals. But no unbiased man or woman can fail to recognize that, granted the lateness of the hour, granted the urgency of the need, granted the developments that have taken place since the report of the Peel commission was rendered ten years ago, and granted the crisis with which humanity today is convulsed, these proposals are the best that could at present be carried out and are inherently wise and just.

The majority report has, of course, been assailed by the Jewish extremists. It has, of course, been made the target of the Arab nationalists, who assert they will reject any settlement through which the Jewish people would at last attain the National Home long since prom-

ised to them. But I think there can be no question that a vast majority of the outstanding leaders of the Jewish people support the form of settlement now under consideration by the United Nations, however far short it may fall of the ideal for which they had hoped, and that a vast majority of the Arab peoples would accept, even though reluctantly, a settlement which puts an end to a controversy whose continuation can be of no benefit to them, were they to learn that the United Nations was determined to impose such a settlement.

If we view the world as it is today realistically, we cannot fail to see that force—economic force as well as armed force—still continues to be the dominating factor. Every delegate to the United Nations knows that unless the three great powers—Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—jointly support whatever decision the Assembly may reach, and jointly undertake to facilitate the carrying out of the Palestine settlement, no settlement is going to be carried out. However strongly the other member states may feel that the settlement proposed is altogether just, however sincerely they may believe that such a settlement is imperative if a major conflagration is to be averted, they possess by themselves neither the armed might nor the economic resources required to bring about its consummation.

The United States has now spoken. It recognizes the urgent need for a final solution at this session of the Assembly. It supports the majority plan which provides for partition and immigration. While I question the wisdom of some of the modifications it advances, I regard other suggestions offered as altogether desirable.

From the standpoint of the realistic approach to the crux of the problem there is no more encouraging feature of our government's long-awaited statement of policy than the declaration that "the United States is willing to participate in a United Nations program to assist the parties involved in the establishment of a workable political settlement in Palestine" . . . and "in meeting economic and financial problems and the problem of internal law and order during the transition period." For here are more than words or expressions of sympathy. Here is the promise of material help and cooperation.

The position of Great Britain was made known by the statement of Mr. Creech-Jones to the Assembly. We can at least hope that the position then announced may yet be modified. It would be inconceivable, if the Assembly now approves a final settlement based upon the provisions of the majority report, that the British government would evacuate its administrative and law-enforcement agencies from Palestine before the Assembly's plan could be implemented, and thereby open the Holy Land to probable bloodshed and anarchy at the very moment that the United Nations was preparing to assume responsibility. The present difficulties of the British people must not be overlooked. But the United States was fully justified in urging that the mandatory power should not withdraw until a smooth transmission of authority can be assured.

There remains the problem of the attitude of the Soviet Union. Once before, at the Assembly's special session last spring, the Soviet government categorically stated it would support partition as an alternative form of settlement. The Soviet Union has now reaffirmed this position. We have reason for deep gratification that in this outstanding instance the Soviet government has shown a clear intention of helping to make the United Nations function and of working for world peace rather than for world disruption.

LET us strip away all unnecessary verbiage and assess the basic issues upon whose solution a Palestine settlement now depends. They are few in number.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are every day becoming more critical. If the Palestine settlement is thrown into the whirlpool of power politics that now threatens to engulf the entire family of nations, no solution will be attained. If Moscow and Washington permit the question of Palestine to be used as an instrument in this looming conflict between expansion and containment, whatever final decision the Assembly may now reach will be void. Yet there is no reason that can be found to justify so needless a frustration. The establishment in Palestine of the Jewish and Arab states now proposed could never in itself be regarded as a threat to the safety of the Soviet system or of the Western powers. Only if these two new states came under the exclusive domination of either the East or the West could any fear be legitimately aroused on the part of one of the major powers. Great Britain has announced its wish to begin immediately the withdrawal of its occupation forces from Palestine, save in the remote contingency that the Assembly's decisions need not be imposed. Moscow can, consequently, no longer charge that Britain intends to use Palestine as a strategic base against Russia.

But since in all human probability the Assembly's recommendations for a Palestine settlement must be imposed and since an adequate police force must, therefore, be found, is it not unquestionable that if either the United States or the Soviet Union attempts to bring about the employment of its own troops for such a purpose, the Palestine question will inevitably become a cause for further suspicion, for further controversy, and for increased hostility between these two powers?

If the police force is American, the Soviet Union will construe such a decision as an aggressive step on our part. If the police force is Russian, such a measure will at once be interpreted throughout the West as a new indication of the Soviet government's intention to seize the Dardanelles and to dominate the Mediterranean.

And we know only too well from what has taken place in Korea what a joint Soviet-American administration of foreign territory implies.

It is for these reasons, which seem to me so altogether clear, that I publicly suggested some days ago that the major powers announce that no one of them would send military contingents to Palestine for policing duties, and that they agree that the Security Council should establish, after calling upon intermediate and lesser powers that had no conceivable interest in the Palestine settlement for their cooperation, a Palestine police force composed of military contingents from those powers, under the authority of the Council's Military Staff Committee. It has been said that such a suggestion is not realistic, that too many practical difficulties stand in the way, and that the problems of over-all authority and of expense constitute insuperable obstacles. The truth is, of course, that such a solution of the problem of security is wholly practicable provided the major powers wish to make it so.

If the Soviet Union and the United States are willing to cooperate in this regard, the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council is competent to adjust the question of over-all authority, and if the member states of the United Nations recognize in practice the obligation they have already unanimously incurred, the expenses of the administration of Palestine during the transition period and of an adequate police force are obviously expenses which should be shared proportionally by all the United Nations.

Frankly, such a solution of the need for maintaining law and order during the transition period seems to me far more effective and expedient than the suggestion of the United States that the United Nations establish a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis. A volunteer force would necessarily take a long time to recruit and assemble and a long time to train. What criterion, moreover, should prevail as to the national origin of the recruits? What percentage of recruits should any given country be allowed to send? What authority would be responsible for screening the recruits? Would there not be constant suspicion that agents of the major powers were being incorporated into such a volunteer force?

If the lesser powers, as I have suggested, sent some of their own military contingents to undertake the required policing work in Palestine during the transition period, these governments would be each responsible for the membership of the forces so employed, and none of the controversial questions I have mentioned could arise.

WHETHER we shall now see a Palestine settlement of the nature recommended to the Assembly by the majority of the Special Committee on Palestine depends primarily on whether the Soviet Union and the United States will permit the settlement to be carried out.

We are told that the troops of the Arab states are now encircling Palestine. Propaganda is being directed toward the delegates to the United Nations Assembly, and toward public opinion in the West, to make it appear that hostilities will be inevitable if the Assembly adopts the proposals of its Special Committee. If the Assembly permits such blackmail tactics—such an open violation of the solemn commitments into which every Arab country has entered—to remain unpunished, and to sway its final decisions, the authority of the United Nations will be irreparably impaired. But can anyone in this room believe that the threats of violence now being made could ever be carried out unless the Arab governments received the secret support of one of the great powers? Can anyone doubt that if Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States unanimously declared that the decision of the Assembly was also their decision and that they would unitedly support the execution of the steps required to impose it, the attempted blackmail which we are witnessing would not rapidly be shown up for what it is?

Unless the means of securing effective collaboration among the three major nations can now be found, not only will the final settlement of the Palestine problem continue to be remote, but the immediate consequences may be of appalling gravity. Is it already too late for us to have ground for the belief that some field for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States can yet be found? Must we assume that the one world for which we had hoped and for which we have striven is already irreparably divided into two worlds, with all of the consequences that such a division inevitably portends? Need we disregard the lesson which the history of recent centuries should teach us—that if two antagonistic and rival nations find some field for cooperation, this experiment in cooperation can bring about an alleviation of tension and encourage the gradual solution of controversies which had earlier seemed altogether insoluble?

I, for one, cannot reconcile myself to the belief that it is already too late. I believe that the Palestine settlement affords both the Soviet Union and the United States precisely such a field, within which cooperation between them is altogether feasible, and that if they will but employ it they will find the path toward the solution of the differences between them much easier to follow.

There has been no greater tragedy in recorded history than that which the Jewish people have suffered during these past few years. Yet it is possible that through the settlement of the Palestine problem—the one fitting compensation which humanity can offer the survivors of that tragedy—the peoples of the world may find the way to avert a new holocaust, toward which we seem to be so rapidly drifting and in which all that remains of our civilization would inevitably be destroyed.

Letters to The Times

For Palestine Partition

Modernization of Middle East in All Spheres of Endeavor Is Advocated

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The seven signatories to the letter "Against Palestine Partition," published in your issue of Nov. 21, base their argument on what they conceive to be the best American interests. It was this consideration alone, they maintain, which prompted them to urge our Government to reverse its policy on Palestine and to withdraw its support from the partition plan, now under consideration by the United Nations.

The undersigned—also a group of American citizens who have close contacts with the Middle East and a deep concern with the advancement of the best interests of our country—hold the diametrically opposite view both with regard to the advisability of partitioning Palestine and the possible effects of such partition on America's stake in the Middle East.

If one were to accept the contention of the group of seven that our interest in Middle Eastern oil militates against Palestine partition, we would still question the validity of this "oil argument" as the major source of guidance for American policy on a question containing so many political, racial, religious, strategic and economic considerations. Are we, indeed, expected to shape our foreign policies exclusively in the interests of a given trade group, and in full disregard of justice, peace, democratic concepts and American principles and traditions?

Long-Range View

Not that we agree in the least with the other group's interpretation of American interests in the Middle East. If we consider our interests in that vital region from a long-range viewpoint, the following formulation would, in our opinion, adequately express our aims and aspirations.

Politically, we would like to see the lands of the Middle East practice democracy as we do here. Socially and economically, we would want these lands to develop in a manner which would improve local conditions of life and open up both the resources and the markets of the region. In other words, however we look at it, American interests, seen from a long-range view, dictate speedy modernization of the Middle East in all the spheres of human endeavor.

Whoever approaches Middle East realities with even a minimum of objectivity has to admit that thus far there is only one vanguard of progress and modernization in the Middle East, and that is Jewish Palestine. A second potential factor for progress is Christian Lebanon, which, at the moment, is artificially subdued by the Pan-Arabists and Pan-Islamists of the Arab League against the will and sentiments of Lebanon's Christian majority. But for these two islands of Western civilization, Jewish Palestine and Christian Lebanon, the Arab-Moslem Middle East presents a hopeless picture from an American viewpoint.

Position of Arab Rulers

We do not suspect the group of seven of being so naive as to believe that Ibn Saud, Imam Yahyah, King Farouk or Amin el-Husseini will suddenly become the benefactors of the landless fellaheen, of the starving coolies, of the sickness-ridden urchins; or that they will be instrumental in industrial and agricultural development, in building sanitary dwellings, in spreading literacy and in general improvement of the lot of the common man. Nor can these Arab rulers possibly be suspected of adhering to the democratic idea and of practicing democracy in their lands.

In the words of the late Harry L. Hopkins (taken from a recently published personal and confidential letter addressed to Mr. Jesse Jones): "• • • just how we could call that outfit a 'democracy' I don't know." Mr. Hopkins was referring to Saudi Arabia, but we all know that this judgment applies in the same measure to Iraq, Yemen, Syria and all the other Arab lands.

The United States is today committed to a policy of stopping the spread of communism in the world. But communism cannot possibly be stopped by the support of reactionary and backward medieval potentates, who shamelessly exploit the multitudes of their peoples. On the contrary, hungry and starving masses provide the natural breeding ground for revolution and communism.

Barrier to Communism

If we are really concerned about the possible expansion of Soviet Russia in the Middle East, let us help the Jews in Palestine and the Christians in the Lebanon to entrench democracy, spread culture, improve sanitary conditions, decrease mortality, better the pay of the working man, introduce modern agriculture and industry; in short, elevate the masses of the people from their present-day misery to human conditions of life. This is the only effective barrier to communism which we can suggest, and this, too, points strongly toward our support for a Jewish state in Palestine.

If we look at the Palestine Partition Plan from a short-range viewpoint, we still arrive at the same conclusions. The group of seven says that ten years ago, when the Royal Commission advocated partition, it might have been practicable, but that it is not so any longer. Their reasons for this contention are: 1. The deterioration in Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine which has since taken place; 2. "The United States has consistently pursued a policy of supporting the Arab countries in attaining full independence, etc.," and American backing for a Jewish state would supposedly conflict with the above United States policy; 3. Britain is unwilling to participate in the implementation of partition, and it took a British army of over 100,000 men to maintain security in Palestine. "When this army is withdrawn, acts of violence are sure to appear unless an equally effective force can take charge before the British leave."

The authors of the letter go on to warn—or to threaten—that, if partition is adopted, "massacres of Jews will occur in the outlying districts of Palestine and possibly also in Iraq, where there are 125,000 entirely defenseless Jews." They also warn—or threaten—us that "sanctions will undoubtedly be taken against American institutions and business firms."

First, we wish to correct some facts in the statement of our friends of the other group. There has been no deterioration of Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine since 1937. The Palestine Royal Commission, which recommended partition, investigated the riots which took place in 1935-1936, which undoubtedly was the period of highest tension in Palestine. Throughout the Second World War, and since the end of the war, there were hardly any armed conflicts between the Jews and Arabs. Furthermore, despite the active efforts of the ex-Mufti's agents and certain circles of British Intelligence, the Arabs of Palestine refused to rise against the Jews.

There were, moreover, many cases of heartening cooperation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, cases observed and commented upon by both the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. We all remember the Post Office strike in Palestine in which both Jewish and Arab workers wholeheartedly participated.

It is equally untrue to say that a large British army was required in Palestine in order to defend the Jews from Arab attacks or vice versa. It is a matter of record that for the last two years a Jewish-British war has been going on in Palestine, in which the Arabs have taken no part at all.

Passing on from facts to arguments, we cannot see any contradiction at all between the declared American policy in support of independence for the various Arab states and the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. There is nothing to add to what President Truman stated in his letter to King Ibn Saud on this subject. Recalling the role played by America in the liberation of the Arab lands from Turkish rule and in the subsequent development of these lands into sovereign states, the President reaffirmed the validity of our commitments to the Jewish people with regard to Palestine.

No Conflict Seen

Nor can we see any conflict in essence between the interests of a Jewish Palestine and the vital interests of the Arab world. We can, however, see numerous benefits accruing to the Arabs from the existence and development of an independent, progressive Jewish community in the Middle East.

We venture to prophesy that it will not take too long after a Jewish State in Palestine has been established before the young and progressive Arab intelligentsia, which is bound to arise, will join hands with Palestine Jewry for the common good of the Middle East. It is actually this inescapable future development in the Middle East, so unwelcome to the Moslem potentates and clergy, which in the main motivates their opposition to Zionism.

One word more about the warnings, which sound very much like threats, of massacres of Jews and of Arab sanctions against American trade interests. We have heard many such threats in recent months. It is characteristic, however, that Ibn Saud himself, the ruler of the land where we have our largest oil concession in the Middle East, is very careful never to voice such threats. On the contrary, he went out of his way a few times to disavow such intentions and to assure us that he has no intention to "mix oil with politics." (See interview with King Ibn Saud reported by C. L. Sulzberger in The New York Times.)

Dependence on Oil

It is no secret that Saudi Arabia as well as the other oil-producing lands in the Middle East are incomparably more dependent on the income which they get from their vast black gold holdings than America is dependent on their oil.

While the war potential of the Arab lands is insignificant, there is no doubt that Iraq or Syria or Egypt are well in a position to organize pogroms on their Jewish communities. Our friends of the group of seven seem to be sure that they will do so. We wish to doubt it, because we cannot conceive of a situation where members of the United Nations will take revenge on defenseless minorities for a decision adopted by the United Nations. Nor can we see our way clear to advise the Government of our great nation to change its policies because of such warnings or threats

Frank W. Buxton, Bartley C. Crum, S. Ralph Harlow, Walter Clay Lowdermilk, James G. McDonald, Reinhold Niebuhr.

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THIS IS THE ARAB

by

TED BERKMAN

The American Mercury

with which is combined the magazine, COMMON SENSE

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THIS IS THE ARAB

BY *TED BERKMAN*

THE delegate from Iraq rose from his seat and strode confidently down the aisle to the rostrum. Every eye in the spacious hall at Flushing Meadows was upon him. The United Nations' Special Session on Palestine was in full swing, and the star spokesman for the Arab Middle East — that vague vastness of burning blue skies, arid plains and dead civilizations — had the floor.

Fadel Jamali of Iraq, trim and impressive in a pin-striped gray business suit, began speaking in English. His voice was deep and pleasantly accented, his argument emphatic. Five "minimum words," he declared, must guide any UN committee investigating Palestine: "peace, justice, freedom, democracy, independence." Jamali cited President Truman's celebrated statement on aid to Greece: "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure."

"This statement is the very essence of traditional democracy," the Iraquian commented. "It behooves the committee which we are going to appoint to see how this principle applies to Palestine."

Jamali's appeal to international morality was echoed by Faris El-Khouri, pink-cheeked, white-haired representative of Syria. El-Khouri asserted the "human rights" of the Palestine Arabs were at stake, and also their political rights. These were held so dear, he implied, not only by the Palestinians but by Arabs throughout the Middle East, that there might be an uncontrollable popular revolt unless Zionism were officially repudiated by the United Nations.

"All of you in democratic countries," he said solemnly, "know to what extent public feelings can be suppressed. There is evidence that the people of the Middle East may go beyond the power of their governments."

This theme — the passionate political convictions of the Arab masses, and their readiness to take up arms rather than surrender their ideals — was also developed by Charles Malik, hawknosed scholar from the Lebanon.

EDWARD O. (TED) BERKMAN *broadcast regularly from the Middle East over the American Broadcasting Company network last year. Before becoming correspondent for ABC and the Overseas News Agency, he spent two years in the Arab world as a U. S. intelligence official.*

An "independent democratic" Palestine, based on its present Arab majority and with no further Jewish immigration, must be created at once, he insisted; otherwise, the outrage done to the highly developed sense of justice of the Middle East millions might provoke a holocaust. In such a case his government would "entirely reserve its position."

The assembled delegates listened attentively. The Arab League spokesmen were poised, articulate, well-tailored; Hassan Pasha of Egypt, sauntering through the delegates' lounge in his sports jacket and slacks, looked fresh from a Westchester golf course. In fact, practically all the Arab delegates blended effortlessly into the Western scene; except for Emir Feisal of Saudi Arabia, an archaic figure in desert robes, they could have been dropped en masse onto the floor of the United States Senate and would have merged instantly into the sea of spectacles, mustaches and bald heads from Illinois, Nevada and New Hampshire.

And the Arab spokesmen had chosen good words — words that had strong associations with democratic tradition. Liberty, freedom, human rights: these were concepts deeply rooted in the history of England, France, and certainly the United States. Yet, listening to the sonorous phrases, I felt there was something wrong with the picture, something missing. Or was it some*one* who was missing?

And then I knew. It was Mohammed. Nowhere at the UN General Assembly sessions, or at the committee meetings in between, was there any sign of Mohammed: the common man of the Middle East, the little guy who worked in the cotton fields of Egypt, sold newspapers on a Bagdad street corner, tugged his camel across the bleak Syrian desert or planted olive trees on the scrubby hills of the Holy Land. Mohammed, who in countless numbers carried the name of the prophet of Islam — and little else.

The UN delegates weren't getting so much as a glimpse of Mohammed. And if they did, if a shabby barefoot figure had shuffled past them in the lobby, they would probably have dismissed the matter as a mirage, or ordered a change in drinks. It's doubtful whether they would have seen any connection between the shy, ragged, underfed little man and the political firebrands of whose wrath the Arab orators had warned them.

Nor would Mohammed, for his part, have made much sense out of the proceedings. He would have been awed by the stately chambers, terrified by the twisting corridors, baffled and then bored by the endless speeches of the foreign Pashas. The cafeteria alone would have interested him. If someone had informed him that his "human rights" were being discussed, Mohammed would have registered blankness. Such abstractions do not exist in the peasant vocabulary. If his informant then managed to convey the idea in simple terms, Mohammed might have dared

a brief, small, ironic smile. Given time to think the matter over, and the assurance of a sympathetic audience, he might even have roared out loud. For, through all his years of slavery, poverty and illness, Mohammed has somehow managed to retain his sense of humor.

II

Mohammed does not merely dress differently from the Arab diplomats, eat differently, think differently; he lives in a completely different world. It is a world that vanished from Western Europe several centuries ago. From his medieval stockade, he looks out at foreigners, airplanes, medical clinics and the rulers of his own country through the mist of many decades.

Soon after arriving in the Middle East I had to attend a press conference at Arab League headquarters in Cairo. I had lost the address, so I phoned a friend, a young Syrian student.

No, Sabri had never been to the League, but he was sure we'd have no trouble finding it. Anybody in town would know. He'd get the directions in Arabic, and take me there.

It sounded plausible. In Washington, any passerby could direct a stranger to the Capitol.

Our first disappointment was with the cab driver. "*Al jamia arabeiyah*," Sabri said to him briskly. The driver turned around blankly. Sabri repeated, more slowly, the words for "Arab League."

"*Mish haraf*," the driver replied very definitely; meaning, "I don't know."

Sabri tried to elucidate. The driver kept shaking his head.

"Well, it's got to be in mid-town somewhere," Sabri said to me. He gave the driver instructions. We cruised around for ten minutes, then Sabri decided we must be pretty close. We got out and walked up to a man who had been leaning against a high wall, watching us with dull curiosity. He was the perfect Mohammed, Cairo edition: wrapped in a long-sleeved, faded blue galabeah, the nightgown-like robe of the Arab world; a red imitation-leather fez atop his balding head; hand-me-down oversize black shoes poking out beneath the galabeah.

Sabri went to work on him. Where was the Arab League — the meeting-place of the great *Pashas*, the home of the mighty, the talking-hall of the Kings? He tried everything — and got nowhere. The man obviously had no idea what Sabri was talking about. He stared at us stolidly a moment, then shuffled away.

There, directly before us, on the white wall against which he had been leaning, we saw the bronze plaque with large lettering in French and Arabic: "The Arab League."

There was nothing surprising in this. Mohammed could hardly be expected to read Arabic, much less French, since his schooling was probably nil. As for knowing about the League as a matter of general information, his instinctive reasoning

would have been: What have I to do with the Arab League?

Mohammed has many guises — some pathetically wretched, some deceptively picturesque. He may cover his head with an artfully coiled turban, or with a plain white skull-cap; his feet may be slippered or bare. But underneath, he is a fixed, unchanging quality. And he comprises 85 per cent of the Arab world. Except for the landowning government officials, the small merchant class, and the desert Bedouins, who are concentrated mainly in Saudi Arabia, the Middle East is all Mohammed.

A few basic concepts dominate Mohammed's life. Foremost, and affecting all the others, is his religion. Islam teaches him that nothing changes or is changeable; that birth, death and the interlude between are all preordained and firmly controlled by Allah; that it is pointless, if not sinful, to challenge the existing state of affairs. Mohammed finds in the Koran, the Holy Book of Islam, frequent allusions to the poor as an element in society. For example, persons of means are enjoined to set aside regularly 2.5 per cent of their income for charity. By indirection, the permanent status of the poor is thus confirmed in Mohammed's mind; his miserable lot is enshrined in the Prophet's teachings.

This gives the Arab an extraordinary capacity for absorbing punishment. I have seen a Transjordan peasant, notified that for the second time he has lost a child at birth, shrug and remark calmly: "It is Allah's will. I shall have others."

This fatalism has also, of course, dulled any impulse toward rebellion, thereby permitting the social structure of feudalism to harden in the Middle East while it was crumbling in Europe. Confident that Mohammed would not strike back, his landowning masters have flogged, cheated and starved him into submission.

Mohammed lives in one of three places: a big city, a country village, or a large estate as a sharecropper. (Huge holdings in the hands of absentee owners are a commonplace in countries like Egypt, where more than a third of all the land belongs to one half of one per cent of the population.) Mohammed prefers to live in the city, especially if he can land a place in the household of a foreigner. *Inglesi* and *Americani* are much less fussy about checking their food bills than are local employers, and are more generous with such items as used clothing. The city has other attractions: the possibility of learning some minor trade, the likelihood of adequate shelter against sun and cold, the availability of numerous cafés where Mohammed can relax over his long hubble-bubble pipe and of cheap restaurants where he can eat for a few cents a day.

III

When Mohammed joins the city sophisticates, three words come to symbolize his life: *maalesh*, *baksheesh* and *imshi*.

Maalesh resembles the Russian

nitchevo and the American "never mind," but is more encompassing than either. It signifies a cosmic indifference. Mohammed will apply it equally to a radio tuned too loudly, or to the careless destruction of your favorite meerschaum. It can be maddening to a Westerner, particularly from the lips of a somnolent hawker who, confident in the protection of Allah, has just stepped in front of a U.S. Army car and been saved from death only by a herculean wrench of the wheel. Sooner or later, however, the Westerner finds himself yawning *maalesh* at an over-zealous colleague, and realizes he too is succumbing painlessly to the slow, dreamy tempo of the East.

Baksheesh is Turkish for "bribe" or "tip." In the West, graft is incidental; in the Middle East, where $300 a year is considered a very fancy income, *baksheesh* is a basic source of livelihood. I have seen grown men brawl over the piaster *baksheesh* involved in corralling a taxi; a piaster is worth four cents. *Baksheesh* is the whimpering plea of street beggars, the hopeful trill of barefoot urchins. No transaction is complete without it. Your cook considers it a legitimate part of his income. If you check too carefully on the outrageous sum he claims to have paid for oranges, he will calmly switch the jack-up to bananas. Even hospitals are not exempt; a patient who forgets his attendant will find water substituted for his insulin injections.

Imshi is as ugly as it sounds. It means "scram, beat it," but it also means something more. Natives use it only in addressing dogs. Occupation troops used it only in addressing natives. Most of the troops are gone now, but it will be some time before the sting of the British Tommy's "*Imshi!*" is forgotten.

For this and similar reasons, Mohammed is not sorry to see the British forces go. But his joy is considerably tempered by a sober realization: with the departure of the Tommy and his free-spending ally, the American GI, there will be fewer jobs in the cities. Mohammed may be forced back into the death grip of the farm. This is a prospect before which even the habitual, all-embracing *maalesh* falters on his lips. For he knows that he will be exchanging the relative freedom of action and opportunity afforded by the city for the life of a landlocked galley slave.

The Arab *fellah* or peasant goes into the fields at sunrise. Using only his hands or the most primitive of agricultural equipment — a wooden plough, a pair of scrawny oxen — he toils in the blazing sun until evening. For these labors, he receives anywhere from 15 cents a day — the average in the date plantations of Iraq — up to the munificent wage of 30 cents daily, the all-time high achieved by cotton pickers during the wartime inflation in Egypt. The *fellah* who works his own farm fares little better. In Palestine, where, according to the Iraquian delegate to the UN, the people have "their natural rights and

their acquired rights," the per capita income of the Arab population in 1936 was $68 annually. Nearly half of Palestine's two and a quarter million acres are owned by a small group of prominent families, like the Husseinis to which the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem belongs.

Of course, the *fellah* has practically no expenses. Only food and clothing for his family. And sometimes rent. Yet, he is always in debt.

If he works his own land, Mohammed generally needs a cash advance for seeds and other expenses at sowing time. He may borrow ten pounds — the equivalent of forty dollars. He'll pay back fifteen pounds in July — or he won't get his loan. If he needs funds to meet an emergency like a locust plague or a drowned donkey, the local landlord will be glad to oblige, at a nominal interest rate of five per cent monthly. Delay in payment places Mohammed's land in jeopardy.

The debtor's yoke fits even more snugly around the landless peasant's neck. Here Mohammed is hired out, like a horse or water buffalo (but more cheaply), to help harvest a cotton crop or to work the neglected fields of some comfortably distant landlord. To obtain a day's work, Mohammed must apply through a middleman contractor. It is no great problem for the contractor to withhold work from Mohammed for a week or two, force Mohammed to borrow from him, and then impose whatever future wages he pleases on the helpless *fellah*.

A stroll through an Arab country village is a sobering experience. The villagers live in windowless mud huts, either roofless or thatched with reeds. There are no sanitation facilities. Flies crawl through the garbage, into the rice bowls, over the faces of the children. Old women squat motionless before the dark, smelly doorways. The huts are virtually without furniture; straw mats serve as beds. Sometimes the dwelling is duplex: there is an upper section for the family, and a lower one for the cattle. Often the relative comfort of cattle and *fellah* is reversed; on one large estate that I visited, the cattle were housed in clean, wide stalls near the owner's mansion, with fresh air, regular groomings, and room to move around. The *fellaheen* were packed into a cluster of mud huts at the edge of a murky canal, living amid layers of filth and in cavernous gloom. Arab League oratory about "the rights of all peoples to justice, democracy and self-determination" — so high-sounding at the UN — would have echoed strangely in those squalid hovels.

IV

Mohammed's diet is on a par with his housing privileges: tea and flat, unleavened bread for breakfast; bread and a salted onion or tomato for lunch; soup or a vegetable mash for dinner, with black tea and more bread. Once a month Mohammed splurges on a slab of stringy meat for his family. Vitamin content is not a high priority consideration: the big

question is not *what* one will eat tonight, but *whether*.

This regimen does not leave Mohammed in very good physical condition. Arabs who struggle through the early years — one out of five dies in infancy in Transjordan — generally emerge with digestive ailments, eye diseases and other disorders. A Syrian doctor — one of the saddest men I ever met, and understandably — told me the average *fellah* probably has upwards of thirty diseases. He listed anemia, hookworm, tuberculosis and trachoma as the most common. These ailments go untreated. Middle East villages and country estates have no doctors, much less hospitals. The measure of governmental interest in the problem can be gauged by the experience of U. S. Army doctors who, during the war, offered to set up a typhus vaccine laboratory for the Egyptian authorities. The offer was ignored. Vaccine donated by the Americans to head off a threatened typhus epidemic found its way onto the black market, where the fashionable set of Cairo, which was least susceptible to the disease, bought it up at fabulous prices.

Crushed and handcuffed as Mohammed is, there is someone still more miserable: his wife. To the weary *fellah*, women exist mainly to take some of the physical burden from his sagging shoulders, and secondarily to satisfy his biological needs. An attractive village woman with capable hands will fetch a bit more on the market than a young donkey, although not as much as a horse. Mohammed may take himself an extra wife or two if he thinks it's a good business investment. He can always discard a fractious mate by proclaiming "I divorce thee" three times.

This arrangement is helpful, as law courts might be confusing to the *fellah*. Four times out of five, Mohammed is illiterate. Few Arab villages have schools. Programs for rural education, where they exist at all, remain on paper.

But then, as long as Mohammed continues to be a two-legged beast of burden, he has little need for more words. His meager vocabulary is adequate to describe the components of his life: work, hunger and propagation. If Mohammed's horizons were expanded, "it might make him unhappy!" Such was the solemn explanation advanced to me by an Egyptian Senator in the lavish dining hall of Cairo's Royal Automobile Club.

"These people are little better than animals," the Senator explained. "If they came here, and saw these rich carpets and all this expensive food, they might not understand. They might be unhappy!"

This Senator had invited me to dinner to seek my help in getting tires from America for his Packard roadster — "the small car," as he had apologetically added. "After all," he had pointed out, "you can't expect me to ride the trolleys with these wretched vermin in the streets."

One of the battle-cries of the Arab delegates at the UN has been the "po-

litical rights" of the Palestinian Arabs. They assert it is unfair to deprive the Palestinian Arabs of home rule, which would give them all the political privileges enjoyed by their brothers in the independent neighboring countries of the Middle East.

Mohammed would be astonished to learn that he has political privileges. He votes from time to time, yes; but he votes according to the dictates of his landlord or his village mayor, one of whom is probably the candidate for the district. If he shows any tendency toward dissent — an unlikely development, since he has only the haziest notions about government, except to distrust it — he will be thoroughly manhandled on the way home.

In large cities, where the population cannot be so easily rounded up in lorries and rigidly controlled, there is a free-for-all scramble of *baksheesh* and intimidation, with sometimes extraordinary results: at a recent election in the Iraq port of Basra, each of two candidates received more ballots than the total number of voters registered.

Politically, Mohammed is at best a meaningless "vote" in a framed election; at worst, a potential dupe for demagoguery. He has little comprehension of the twentieth-century world, no background against which to sift the coffee-house rumors or the fanatic rallying cries of his "leaders." In April of 1946 I had a revealing chat with my Lebanese cook, a former *fellah* (and perhaps a *fellah* now again). "Jews good people," he said in his telegraphic English. "Christians, Arabs, Jews all good. Some men bad; can be bad Christian, bad Arab, bad Jew. My uncle works for Jews in Palestine, in orange place. Makes *keteer felous* — much money. Jews good people."

Several weeks later we talked again. "Jews bad," he said suddenly. "Jews want take away Palestine from Arabs." He seized a chair to illustrate. "This my chair. Some man wants take it, I shoot him."

In the interim, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem had come back to the Middle East.

Mohammed, in his many millions, can be a great force for good or evil. At the moment, he is the creature of the men who rule him. They own the land he walks on, the rags on his back, the very thoughts in his head. But there are signs that he is stirring in his sleep. Contact with occupation troops; the spread of radios to village cafés; emergence of a vigorous and articulate student movement clamoring for reforms; and the visible achievements of Zionist colonization in Palestine: all these are beginning to pry open Mohammed's long-closed eyes. As Mr. Jamali of Iraq so eloquently proclaimed at Lake Success: "Some people have been in chains for fifty years. They should not be kept in chains for one hour more. It is the duty of the United Nations to see to it that freedom prevails and subjugation ends."

As one who has seen these people in chains, I can only agree.

The United States Senate Hails The Jewish State

A Reprint from the Congressional Record of December 1, 1947

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, inasmuch as I am compelled to leave the Chamber in order to fulfill an engagement, I wish to make a very brief observation on a matter wholly dissociated from the interim European-aid bill, which has been under consideration most of the day, and was passed a few minutes ago.

For a long time the people of the United States and the people of the world have been interested in a fair and equitable settlement of the problems which face Palestine. The United Nations appointed a subcommittee to consider the settlement of the Palestine problem. After long hearings and very earnest efforts on the part of that subcommittee, it reported to the United Nations a recommendation that Palestine be partitioned so as to establish a separate independent Jewish nation in that part of Palestine between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.

After long debate in the United Nations Assembly, just before it adjourned on last Saturday, by a vote of 33 to 13, the report of the subcommittee was adopted by the United Nations, 33 to 13 being a vote of almost 3 to 1 in the Assembly.

While in the declaration of that result, Mr. President, neither side received completely all that it had desired in the way of the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine, yet the result was a culmination of many years of study, thought, and agitation not only on the part of the United Nations, but on the part of the nations of the world and the people of the world.

There are many in this body who have been interested in a proper solution of the Palestinian question. I am one of those. We have felt for a long time that the peace of the world would be promoted by a settlement of this kind, by an adjudication, as it may be called, of the United Nations or of some international tribunal, even before the United Nations was created, which would give to the Jews, not only of Palestine but of the world, a reasonable degree of satisfaction in the consummation of this great ideal which they have for many years and generations held, that there would be established not only in Palestine a homeland for the Jews, but an independent nation. It has now come about, insofar as the judgment of the United Nations is concerned, by the vote providing for the partition of Palestine.

In my judgment, it is the best solution that could have been made of this troublesome, ticklish problem. In my judgment, if accepted in good faith by all the nations of the world, and especially by the nations in the Mediterranean basin, it will contribute much to the peace of the world by the elimination of a sore spot, of a condition which has troubled not only the region in which it is involved, but all the nations of the world, great and small, more than anything that has happened in many years.

Therefore, I feel that those who have been working for the promotion of this ideal are to be congratulated. As to those who have opposed it, I feel that in the interest of world peace, security, and satisfaction ultimately all over the Mediterranean region, among the Jews and the Arabs alike, the acceptance of this decision will make a contribution toward world peace, world satisfaction, and the realization of an age-old ambition and ideal on the part of the Jews especially, and will do no substantial harm to those who opposed it in the United Nations.

I hope the decision will be accepted. I hope it will be received with that resignation on the part of those who opposed it which comes about through the necessity that if peace is to prevail in the world there should be concession, there must be acceptance of the verdicts of mankind, and a realization that the vote in the United Nations must be considered a verdict of mankind with respect to the solution of the Palestinian question.

The vote of the United Nations is only the beginning. A government must be set up. It will require time not only for it to be set up, but to adjust itself into the new world situation and with its neighbors on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea.

I urge upon all those who have been interested in this question and in its solution, no matter what attitude they assume, to accept the verdict of the United Nations and to cooperate in good faith in an effort honestly to carry out the judgment of the United Nations. I hope that ultimately Jew and Arab may live together in peace and harmony in the same region where the destiny of men has placed them. I think they can do that if they find themselves willing to accept this verdict as the verdict of mankind with respect to this particular problem, which has been, I think, so happily settled in the United Nations within the last few days.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I am in hearty accord with the remarks of the distinguished minority leader. I am one of those—and I doubt not that all my colleagues feel the same way—who has great admiration for the very consistent way in which he has carried out his convictions in this particular cause, which has now culminated in the vote to which he has referred.

I point out to him, and I doubt not it has occurred to him in his own heart, the lines of Spenser:

> But Justice, though her dome she doe prolong,
> Yet at the last she will her own cause right.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator.

Just this one word in conclusion. I feel that the leaders of the great Jewish people who have undertaken to bring about the consummation of an independent nation in Palestine are to be congratulated upon the fact that while they did not get all they originally hoped to get, they have accepted the decision as the solution to which they are committed, and which they will undertake to carry out in good faith, and in the faith that stirs their hearts now, and has stirred them throughout all the years in which they have sought this consummation.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I rose to ask the senior Senator from Kentucky to yield for a moment, when he was speaking on the Palestine situation. He did not see me, and so I rise now in my own time, just to commend him for what he has said.

As one who has worked at public and private meetings on the subject of Palestine over a period of years, I certainly pray and hope that the present settlement will be one which will lead to greater peace, greater satisfaction, and greater comfort for many persons throughout the world today. I commend the Senator for his statement. I join with him in what he said.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate for a brief time only. As one of the Senators from Illinois, I wish to associate myself with what the able senior Senator from Kentucky, our distinguished minority leader, said a few moments ago about the partitioning of Palestine. I know of no man in America who has done more in the dissemination of information upon the partitioning of Palestine than has the able Senator from Kentucky. Along with him, and, I think, with all other Senators, I was happy to know that the Assembly of the United Nations had, by a vote of 33 to 13, agreed upon what seemed to them, and what seems to the people of the country, to be the proper and adequate solution of one of the most troublesome problems the Assembly will probably ever be compelled to solve. Like other speakers, I am certain that if those people in the Mediterranean area who are vitally affected by the partitioning of Palestine will face the issue in the true spirit that was exhibited by those who voted in the affirmative, it will go a long way toward eliminating one of the real trouble spots of the world, and will help bring about the thing that every American is truly interested in, which is an everlasting and enduring peace.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I wish to join with other Senators in rejoicing on the action taken by the United Nations in its vote concerning Palestine. However, there is nothing strange about that whatever. Irrespective of the vote

and irrespective of how different countries voted, the important and significant thing is that a historical fact has finally been recognized by civilized governments. That is as it should be. The situation is as it was from the time of Abraham, from the time of the coming of the Persians into Palestine, from the plowing of Palestine by Egypt, from the coming of Alexander of Greece and the Romans and the Crusaders. Think what happened even under England. The significant thing in my opinion is that civilized society, as organized at the moment, has finally recognized that the Jewish people have a place in the earth, something which history has always proved. The other significant thing is that the United Nations has said that foreign military must get out of Palestine, and they will get out of Palestine.

If, now, the United Nations will only carry the matter further and tell France to get out of Indochina, and the Dutch to get out of Java, then we shall really have something for which to be thankful. We shall then actually believe that civilization is making progress.

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, I wish to join the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the other Senators here this afternoon in expressing my great satisfaction and happiness at the favorable decision reached with regard to the partition of Palestine by the United Nations General Assembly on Saturday.

We in the Senate have a justifiable right in feeling that the solution of the Palestine problem was in no small way due to the efforts in behalf of the Zionist cause by many Members of this body throughout the past two decades. One of the leaders of this great cause was the very able and distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER].

I know of no better way of expressing my feelings about this fruition of the dreams of millions of our fellow citizens and the Jewish people throughout the world than to associate myself with the sentiments and remarks of the Senator from New York hailing the partition of Palestine.

I only want to add to his statement, which I ask unanimous consent to include in the body of the RECORD following my remarks, the thought that the solution of this grave and difficult international problem holds out the hope and the promise that what has been demonstrated as possible in the solution of this problem can and should happen with respect to other great issues facing the world.

I join the Senator from New York in saluting Jewish Palestine.

May God grant both the Jews and Arabs the wisdom, the patience, and the good will to see the partition through in that same spirit of cooperation and good will that motivated the nations of the world in working out and voting for the partition of Palestine.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. WAGNER HAILING THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

I hail the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to establish the Jewish state in part of Palestine. This act by the United Nations is in accord with the highest dictates of humanity and the loftiest principles of justice. If the resolution for the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine is immediately implemented, I feel certain that the present tension and difficulties in Palestine will disappear and peace again will reign in the Holy Land.

The American people have for many years taken a close interest in the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. I was particularly pleased with the leading and vigorous role which the United States under leadership of President Truman, Secretary of State George Marshall and our delegation to the United Nations played at the sessions of the General Assembly in implementing the traditional policy of our Government in support of the establishment of the Jewish state. This policy can only further and strengthen the ideals and charter of the United Nations. I am sure that world public opinion will support the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine.

After an exile of more than 2,000 years from the Holy Land the Jewish people in their new state—their own state will start a new and glorious chapter in which hundreds of thousands of Jews can end their miserable wanderings and become rooted in the land of their fathers, the homeland of their prayers and the land of their dreams. Once given the opportunity and the initial economic aid the Jews of Palestine will develop a civilization worthy of their prayers and their aspirations for the future.

As one of the co-sponsors of the current resolution on Palestine adopted by the Congress of the United States and as one of the founders of the American Christian Palestine Committee, and because of my life-long interest and association with the Zionist cause, I am personally very thrilled to see in my lifetime the dream of a Jewish state converted into a reality. This has brought me much happiness.

I salute the Jewish state of Palestine!

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I wish to address myself briefly to the matter which engaged the attention of the Senator from Kentucky, in connection with Palestine. I ask permission that there shall be inserted in the RECORD at this point excerpts of publications of the last 2 days, commenting upon this subject, particularly an editorial from the Herald Tribune of this morning, an editorial from the New York Times of this morning, and a most penetrating analysis of the problems ahead in connection with Palestine, from the publication PM. I ask that these be printed at this point, because I think they furnish a most interesting and valuable historical record. I also ask permission to insert in the RECORD at this point a news article from the New York Times of this morning, on the significance of this occasion and what the future portends.

There being no objection, the excerpts of publications and the news article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 1, 1947]

THE ASSEMBLY ACTS

The final vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations approving the partition of Palestine by a little better than the requisite two-thirds vote represents one of the few great acts of courageous collective statesmanship which our shattered postwar world has been able to achieve. For the first time in some 30 years of anguished history it opens a real hope that a stable settlement of the Palestine issue can be reached. For the first time in the far briefer but hardly less troubled history of the United Nations it reveals that organization acting as it was intended to act in precisely the kind of situation which it was created to meet, with a careful deliberation, but at the same time with an ultimate decisiveness, which are the best possible omens for the future of this second great attempt to bring order into the international world.

The partition plan, dealing as it was forced to do with an irreconcilable tangle of violently conflicting rights, represents only a very rough justice at best. Unable to rely for enforcement on anything more than the existing jumble of national policies, national interests, and available popular forces, it includes no detailed program for its own administration and there is no certainty of its practical success. Zionism, whose path has never been easy or safe, is presented with new perils in this proposed solution. It is clearly not in itself a final answer. But there are not infrequently moments in the affairs of men and peoples when some firm answer, however imperfect or even perilous it may be, is better than none.

It is quite clear from the shifting attitudes of the various delegations and from the composition of the final vote that the partition plan was adopted basically because there was no alternative. The most exhaustive investigation, the most patient hearing of all parties at issue, the most careful calculation of the actual political and human forces involved, yielded no solution which would have ben more just, more practicable, or more certain in its operation than this one. What the United Nations did was to ascertain that fact, to have the courage to make the decision which the fact implied, even though it carried no sure guaranty for the future, and thus to establish as firm a foundation as has yet existed on which an ultimate settlement of the Palestine problem may one day be erected.

Whether or not such a settlement will be erected obviously depends upon many things. It depends upon the sincerity with which both the United States and the Soviet Union meet the implications of a policy on which they have been in rare and fortunate agreement. It depends very directly upon the willingness of the British to effect their evacuation as fully as possible in accordance with the spirit of this international directive, which they invited for their own relief. It depends immediately, of course, upon the Arab states and, perhaps upon the statesmanship which the Zionist community can bring to the problem in its new form. These variables are many, and the difficulties ahead may be grave. But whatever they bring, the two-thirds vote in the United Nations, recording a considered judgment upon the facts of the world as it is, will be a powerful aid and support for reasonable courses. The General Assembly has had the will to speak. That in itself is a new factor, and it leaves us with a new hope.

[From the New York Times of December 1, 1947]

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

History was written at Lake Success when the General Assembly of the United Nations approved, without major change, the plan recommended by its special committee for the partition of Palestine. Under this plan two independent states, one Arab and the other Jewish, linked together in an economic union, will be established after the termination of the British mandate. Jerusalem will be placed under a United Nations trusteeship. Provision is made for democratic rights and processes, for the protection of minorities, for the safeguarding of the holy places of three great religions and for the preservation of existing languages and cultures.

The decision in favor of partition has been made on the basis of an extremely close vote, but we do not believe that this result necessarily measures accurately the judgment of the Assembly on the merits of partition as such. It has been obvious throughout the long debate that a practical question of procedure was involved: namely, the question of how this decision for partition is to be enforced if there is resistance to it. Britain, the present mandatory power, has refused to accept this responsibility; the United Nations has as yet established no international police force which could be used for this purpose, and the General Assembly itself has created no enforcement machinery for a contingency of this kind. It seems probable, therefore, that the failure to make adequate provision for enforcement explains not only some of the negative votes but some of the abstentions when yesterday's poll was taken.

Many of us have long had doubts on another score; doubts concerning the wisdom of erecting a political state on a basis of religious faith. But these doubts must now yield to the fact of a decision made by the necessary two-thirds majority of the voting nations, after a thorough investigation and a full and fair debate. It has been clear for many months that the present precarious deadlock in Palestine required some new solution. It has been equally clear that the most appropriate forum in which to find such a solution was the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Assembly has now made its choice, and its decision should command the acquiescence, the respect, and the loyal support of all nations and all peoples. The award does not go so far, in territorial terms, as most Zionists had hoped. It will grievously disappoint the Arabs. But it is the decision of the United Nations; it is the best decision which that great agency of world opinion was able to discover, and we trust that it will have the willing compliance of the two peoples whose future it involves. Failing that, the Security Council must be courageous enough and resolute enough to supply the necessary means of enforcement. Let us hope that with this decision a solution has at last been found for the Holy Land's tragic and heartbreaking problems.

[From PM of December 1, 1947]

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR THE NEW JEWISH STATE

(The following articles were written by PM's two experts on Palestine. As the postwar fight for a Jewish homeland unfolded, I. F. Stone made three trips to Palestine. One trip was via the European underground of Jewish DP's attempting to reach their promised land. Victor Bernstein accompanied the UN special committee (UNSCOP) to the Holy Land and reported first-hand its findings and recommendations. Here they give their reactions to the fight for partition and how the birth of two nations will come about.)

THE END OF A 2,000-YEAR JOURNEY FOR THE JEWS

(By I. F. Stone)

The decision taken at Flushing Meadow on Saturday gave international approval to the reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Almost two millennia, more than 18 centuries, have passed since the last Jewish state in Palestine fell. It was in A. D. 70 after a struggle whose fury still lives for us in the pages of Tacitus, that Jerusalem was taken by the Romans and the second temple destroyed, all but that fragment of wall at which Jewish pilgrims have long prayed and wept.

Much has been paid for the reestablishment, and much more will be paid before it is firmly realized. It was made possible first of all by those who in the latter half of the last century began to return, not to pray and weep but to build and sow. Except for the empty desert spaces of the Negev, which new settlements have just begun to penetrate, the land granted the Jews by the UN are those acres of Galilee, the Emek, and the coastal plain which these settlers and those who followed them wrested from desert sands, malarial marsh, and stony hills.

Many names are associated with the return: the Viennese journalist, Herzl, who helped inspire it; Weizmann, the chemist with a poet's vision, who played the crucial role in winning the first international recognition of a Jewish national home; the British philosopher and statesman, Lord Balfour, to whose declaration Woodrow Wilson lent his support. Another American President, Harry S. Truman, has made possible the completion of the work to which they set their hands.

Hitler helped to spell out the validity of Jewish claims

One other name, a strange one in this list, must be added, that of Adolf Hitler. No more terrible instrument of Providence could be envisaged. The main payment for what happened in the UN Assembly was the payment of 6,000,000 Jewish lives taken by the Nazi terror. This it was which spelled out in blood and fire a message the most unwilling among Jews as well as non-Jews could not escape: the validity and the necessity of Jewish national aspiration.

The doubts and hesitations, the hypocrisy and reluctance, the intrigue and the power politics of the prolonged UN inquiry and debate, will dwindle into the distance as time passes. And what will loom larger on the horizon of history is the fact that the world did make recompense to this new Attila's foremost victims; that justice and good will and Christian conscience did triumph after all.

A need for understanding between Arab and Jew

The circumstances under which this new nation makes its debut are the circumstances on which its future, like the future of every small country and of the world depends. The United States of America, the British Dominions without exception (only the mother country abstaining), and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with its new east European bloc (only Yugoslavia abstaining) joined to make Saturday's two-thirds vote possible. Everywhere it is hoped that such agreements on other, wider, problems can again be achieved.

Next to this overwhelming need for world peace is the new nation's need for understanding with its Arab citizens and its Arab neighbors. What the Jews have been given is what they had already made theirs by their own sweat and courage; the UN merely set its seal on an accomplished fact. What the Jews can achieve in their area will depend, as it would depend even if they had all Palestine, on joint economic development and trade with the Arab sections of Palestine, with Trans-Jordan, and with the Middle East as a whole. Under such circumstances, the new Judea, like Denmark and Switzerland, can provide a home for several million people.

The courage and the will to do a good job

Those who have been to Palestine and felt the dynamic and confident spirit of the Yishuv will have no doubt that this little community will do an astounding job. Those who have seen the courage and the will to live that throbs in the Jewish DP camps in central Europe and in the detention camps on Cyprus will have no doubts about these folk, on whom the impact of the UN decision is beyond the imagination of those who possess comfort and country.

To these scattered remnants the news on Saturday must have seemed the fulfillment of that prophecy which Jeremiah spoke: "I will set mine eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them again to this land: and I will build them, and not pull them down; and I will plant them, and not pluck them up." On this joyous occasion we greet them and the Yishuv, and wish them in the ancient formula, peace and serenity, "Shalom v'shalvah."

PROPHECY: ARAB ARMIES WON'T MARCH INTO JEWISH PALESTINE

(By Victor H. Bernstein)

"Judge us by the results," a member of the United States delegation pleaded a few weeks ago. The results came Saturday: 33 votes for the partition of Palestine, 13 against, and 10 abstentions. The victory for partition was put through despite last-minute parliamentary maneuvers by the Arabs and their supporters aimed at delay and diversion. But the founding of the Jewish state could be no longer delayed nor any longer diverted.

The day was one of triumph not for Jews alone. The UN, ending its session on a singularly constructive note, disproved the plaints of its critics that it was already a moribund organization. It was a day which also told the world that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics could work in close harmony for justice and human rights.

How much luster would be added to November 29 if it should prove not only freedom day for Palestine and resurrection day for Judea, but also the birthday of future United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics collaboration.

The architects of this freedom day are many. One cannot hope to name them all. The delegates of the UN Special Committee on Palestine laid the foundation. Among those who built upon it were men like Granados, of Guatemala; Fabregat, of Uruguay; Pruszynsky, of Poland; Pearson, of Canada; Tsarapkin, of the Soviet Union; Zoloaga, of Venezuela.

Hats off to United States delegation and to President Truman

I leave for special mention Johnson and Hilldring, of the United States of America, because of the special role they played as representatives of the most influential of all UN members. The United States delegation blew alternately hot and cold during the long and tortuous weeks which came to a climax on Saturday. But in the final and crucial hours they blew hot. "Judge us by the results." America is grateful, President Truman.

I have been here speaking of the architects of freedom. But architects are only designers, not builders. The builders of freedom were the 600,000 and the 6,000,000—the 6,000,000 who died nameless in Europe that the 600,000 in Palestine, and thousands more to follow might live in peace on land that they can call their own.

I have spoken of November 29 as a day of freedom. In cold analysis it is merely a day of opportunity.

I think that, of the thousands who crowded the Assembly hall on that date and tensely counted the ballots, some of the greatest realists sat in that block under the south gallery reserved for Moshe Shertok and his colleagues of the Jewish Agency.

Those partisans of partition who saw the desert blooming anew with each affirmative vote were not realists.

The Saudi Arabian, the Yemenite, the other Arabs who made great show of repudiating the UN decision, and talked of reserving their freedom of action as against the majority of the civilized nations of the world, were not realists either.

The truth about the Arab threats at Flushing

I should like, first, to discuss briefly the phony fervor with which the Arabs insisted on their unity against the Jewish state and against the United Nations.

The Arabs know, and I hope they realize that the world knows, that however they

may appear to be at Flushing and Lake Success, walls of conflicting ambitions tower high between Aman and Damascus, Cairo, and Bagdad. The saber rattling the world heard a few weeks ago emanating from the Arab League Conference in the Lebanese Mountains above Beyrouth turned out to be the tinny sound of pennies rattling in a beggar's cup.

The world should know now the truth of what happened at that conference. The truth was that Saudi Arabia refused even to threaten termination of her oil contracts as a weapon against the United States. The truth was that Egypt declared herself powerless to do anything while her demand that Britain evacuate the Sudan was before the Security Council. The truth was that Syria, with camels instead of tanks, feared the military machine of Iraq on the one hand and of Transjordan on the other. The truth was that Abdullah, ruler of Transjordan, hopeful of swallowing the Arab state which would evolve out of the partition of Palestine, had no desire to burn his fingers before the prize was available.

If you will look at your newspapers of a few weeks ago, you will see in bold headlines the only practical results achieved by the vaunted unity of the Arab League states in their meeting at Lebanon. "Troops menace Palestine along Syrian and Egyptian borders," read the headlines. No one knows how many troops there were on these borders nor how well they were armed. What we do know is that a single Associated Press reporter, flying in an unarmed plane over the reported areas, seems effectually to have dispersed them.

Some prophecies as to the future

The truth was that the Arab League members failed to agree on maneuvering their troops anywhere except across newspaper headlines, where operating costs, presumably, could be kept at a minimum.

I should like, at this point, to make a prophecy that is not based entirely on speculation. If any Arab army crosses into Palestine en masse in the near future, it will be the Transjordan Legion into Arab Palestine. I venture to add that not a single legion soldier will march across any boundary into the Jewish state. And I prophecy, thirdly, that if this does happen, the last pretense of Arab unity will dissolve and the hot winds of the Arab world will be filled with imprecation called out upon the head of Abdullah by enraged politicians in Beyrouth and Damascus, Cairo and Bagdad.

One notes that neither the delegate of Egypt nor of Lebanon associated himself with their fellow Arabs in their explicit repudiation Saturday of the Assembly's adoption of the partition plan.

But if the Arab chauvinists are not realists, neither are those Jews who feel that the UN has guaranteed the Jewish state for them by a stroke of the pen.

What has been created is an opportunity, not a state

The loud-talking Arab politicos at UN may be phony in their arguments on unity, but the mufti and his gang of cutthroats are not. Neither is there anything phony in the simple Arabs throughout the Middle East whose passions have been aroused by years of propaganda against the Jew and the Jewish state. One should not be surprised if riots do occur in all the cities of the Middle East, where Jews are settled in large numbers, nor should one be surprised if before the Jewish desert blooms it will be moistened not only by the sweat of pioneers but by the blood of the defenders.

Above all, there is nothing phony in the oft-repeated statement of the Jewish agency that the Jewish state will be a tiny oasis in an Arab sea whose only hope for survival will be ultimate understanding and cooperation with the Arab world.

I repeat: the partition plan does not create a state; it creates only an opportunity. The plan is merely a skeleton, a frame, upon which the Jews must build with flesh and blood.

No one, least of all the UN Commission which is to go to Palestine, can make the plan work unless the Jews themselves are prepared to pay the price in statesmanship and, if need be, in lives. Those of us who have watched the evolution of the plan through the UN have come to realize and to appreciate the misgivings with which it was finally adopted. At crucial points it was saved by only a handful of votes. Some of its staunchest supporters recognized in it grievous weaknesses which only superhuman efforts can overcome.

I would like to say in passing that the Commission membership chosen by the Assembly on Saturday does not seem, at first glance, an entirely satisfactory substitute for the original list approved by the Palestine Committee. Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama, and the Philippines have been chosen to substitute for Poland, Uruguay, Guatemala, Norway, and Ireland. It is evident that the change, sponsored by the United States, was made as a last-minute gesture of appeasement toward the Arabs. As such, it may have some value if the Arabs accept it as a conciliatory gesture. But it is particularly to be regretted that Guatemala, which fought so valiantly from the outset for the partition plan should not have been retained as a counterweight to the Philippines, whose propartition stand is of rather extraordinary recent origin.

In the end, the plan can only succeed if (a) the United Kingdom fulfills with good will and with sincerity its Saturday pledge to the UN that it will cooperate; and (b) if the Jews of Palestine are granted the arms with which their militia must be made ready to secure law and order as and when the British evacuate their territory.

The actions of the United Kingdom will be watched from here on in with all the cynicism which its past performances in Palestine have given rise. As to the arming of the Jewish militia, that duty will rest primarily on the United States, which can once more perform as the arsenal of democracy.

[From the New York Times of November 30, 1947]

PALESTINE IS HELD UN TURNING POINT—RISE IN PRESTIGE SEEN IF PLAN WORKS, PERIL TO WORLD BODY AND TO PEACE IF IT FAILS—MAJOR POINTS APPRAISED — PRECEDENTS, TROOPS, ADEQUACY OF SOLUTION, RESPONSIBILITY AMONG FACTORS AT ISSUE

(By Thomas J. Hamilton)

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., November 30.—The decision by the General Assembly to partition Palestine is generally recognized as a turning point in the history of the United Nations. If the Assembly's resolution brings about a workable solution, the prestige of the United Nations will be greatly increased. If it fails, not only will Palestine become a potential breeding ground for war, but the future of the United Nations itself will be imperiled.

The following questions and answers are intended to clear up some of the principal points involved:

1. Is there any precedent for such a decision by an international organization to divide up a disputed area?

Students of history agree with Herschel V. Johnson, the United States representative on the Assembly's Palestine Committee, that there is no direct precedent. Next to Palestine, the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein provoked the most intense dispute known in modern history. They were annexed to Prussia, and subsequently became a part of Germany, not by the decision of an international organization, but as a result of the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck.

He promoted the Austro-Prussian War with Denmark in 1864 and 2 years later fought Austria to get undivided control of the spoils. Part of the Duchy of Schleswig was restored to Denmark under the Treaty of Versailles.

WHY THE ASSEMBLY ACTED

2. Why did the General Assembly have to assume responsibility for the fate of Palestine?

Great Britain placed the responsibility on the Assembly for recommendations regarding its future government. The British, who had held Palestine under a mandate from the League of Nations, decided to give it up because they could not find a solution acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. Since the League of Nations had been liquidated, the British turned to the United Nations.

3. What right did the United Nations, and specifically the General Assembly, have to order the partition of Palestine?

There are no specific provisions in the Charter, but the Assembly has the right to make recommendations to member governments and also to the Security Council regarding the maintenance of peace and security. However, since its recommendations are not legally binding, the Assembly in its resolution asked the Security Council to assume the responsibility if a threat to the peace should develop—that is, if the Palestinian Arabs or the neighboring Arab states should carry out their threats to fight rather than agree to partition. Internal disturbances are to be handled by armed militia recruited by the provisional councils of government of the two nascent states.

4. Are these arrangements adequate for keeping peace?

The sponsors of partition, and particularly the United States Government, hope so; but no one knows how much of a fight the Arabs inside or outside Palestine will put up. However, the supporters of partition think the crucial period will come after, not before, the independence of the two states is proclaimed. In that case, serious fighting would be a matter for the Security Council anyway.

The British, however, think the severest test will come between now and the termination of the mandate and the evacuation of British troops—for which the deadline is next August 1—and particularly in the 2-month interregnum between that time and the proclamation of the two states as independent—which is to be not later than October 1. The majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended partition, said it thought force would be necessary to enforce it.

THE PROBLEM OF TROOPS

5. Why did not the Assembly provide outside military force to be on the safe side?

Some members, including apparently the United States, kept thinking until the last that the British would back down on their announcement that they would not allow British troops to be used to enforce any solution unless it was satisfactory to both Jews and Arabs—in which case, of course, no armed force would have been necessary anyway.

The Security Council is supposed to have standing arrangements for an international force to deal with such contingencies, but never has been able to agree on the size of the respective contingents.

The trouble about recruiting an international force from scratch was that the small powers did not have the forces available, and were not willing to send them anyway; and if the great powers sent troops, that might give the Soviet Union a chance to establish itself in a strategic center of the strategic Near East. Besides, the United States State Department did not think that Congress would agree to the sending of United States troops.

The result was that the United States at first proposed the formation of an international constabulary force recruited on an individual basis. This obviously was unworkable, and the United States along with the other supporters of partition then decided to depend on the armed militia in the respective states for keeping internal order.

6. Where will the militia get the necessary guns and other equipment?

Presumably, these will come from the United States and other supporters of partition, although the Assembly resolution says nothing on that subject.

IMMIGRATION CURB SEEN RETAINED

7. What happens about Jewish immigration, and the British laws restricting the purchase of land by Jews, between now and the proclamation of independence?

Presumably the British will keep in force the land laws and the present immigration quota of 1,500 a month until they give up the mandate. However, the Assembly resolution says that the respective councils of governments, under the supervision of the United Nations commission, will have responsibility for such questions during the transition period.

This is one of the many points that have to be worked out with the British. It is supposed that the Jewish state will provide virtually unlimited immigration permits once it gets going.

8. What are some of the other questions to be settled with the British?

For one thing, the British say that although, of course, they will have to evacuate their troops gradually, they will give up authority all at once except for the gradually diminishing area occupied by their troops as they are withdrawn, where the British would govern by military law alone.

On the other hand, the Assembly resolution provides for the progressive transfer of authority; that is, the British would hand over authority as they withdrew their troops, but would continue the civil administration until the last in whatever areas they occupied. In view of this unsettled dispute, it is not clear who would be responsible for restoring order if there were a serious clash between Jews and Arabs after the termination of the mandate.

Much as they dislike it, the British apparently are responsible until they end the mandate, which is one of the reasons why many delegates think this will come sooner, rather than later.

AN ARAB COUNCIL HELD UNLIKELY

9. What are the prospects that the Arabs will form a council of government in the part of Palestine assigned to them, and in general cooperate in carrying out the Assembly resolution?

Such a prospect is regarded as remote.

10. How will this affect the Jewish state?

That state can and no doubt will be established anyway. However, Arab noncooperation would make it impossible to carry out the complicated business of taking over the liabilities and assets of the British administration, arranging for an economic union and a common currency, agreeing on the administration of telegraph and railroad facilities, and so forth.

11. What will become of the area assigned to the Arab state if there is no cooperation?

The Security Council is supposed to do something if provisional councils of government have been established in both states by next April. Some delegates expect the Arabs in the intended Arab state to take over after the British withdraw. As King Abdullah of Transjordan is strongly opposed to partition, his actions may determine whether it can be carried out with relatively little bloodshed.

12. Since the Jewish state will have almost as many Arabs as Jews (397,000 to 538,000), why was there no provision for the exchange of minorities?

Each state is required to write into its constitution guarantees of the rights of the respective minorities. In addition, any Arab who desires to do so may opt for citizenship in the Arab state within 1 year, and vice versa.

No exchange of minorities is authorized because the partition plan is based on the belief that, once a final decision is reached, Arabs and Jews will accept it and live together without fighting, and eventually may even find it possible to forget their present enmity.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES APPRAISED

13. What United Nations agencies are involved in the partition plan?

All the important ones have some role. The Assembly adopted the partition plan, named the commission to help carry it out, and will get the commission's final report.

The Security Council is responsible, if either side refuses to cooperate, to the extent of naming a provisional government, and if there is outside intervention or serious fighting from any direction.

The Trusteeship Council is responsible for administering the city of Jerusalem and outlying towns. The Economic and Social Council is to name three representatives who will hold the balance of power on the commission that is to carry out economic union.

14. Were there any alternatives?

There were, but none apparently could have received a two-thirds majority in the Assembly—certainly not the earlier Arab demand for a single Palestinian state, where the present Arab majority would have had permanent control. A federal state would have had a good chance if the Arabs had accepted it before the eleventh hour.

15. Will partition work?

The answer depends primarily upon the Arabs of Palestine and the neighboring states. If they accept the Assembly decision, it will work. However, their statements at the closing session of the Assembly indicate that they will not. In that case, the answer depends upon the degree of cooperation of Britain in surrendering her authority over Palestine, and in keeping order until the transfer takes place; and, also, the ability of the United States and the Soviet Union to work together in the Security Council in handling the difficult problem of providing military force, if that should become necessary.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I want to speak briefly on this subject, because, while we are witnessing one of the significant events of history in the birth of a nation by a new process, through the action of the United Nations, and with the refusal of Great Britain, who hitherto has been responsible for Palestine, to accept responsibility in the future, it means the United Nations has not only given birth to this nation, but must see to it that the infant shall be properly nourished and developed. So that while we pause for a moment here appropriately to congratulate both the new nation and its parents, and all those who have been concerned in the past half century with bringing this great dream of Zion to pass, we should also remind ourselves that the United States Government, as one of the chief sponsoring powers for this solution in bringing to pass the vote by which it was given birth, 33 to 15, has assumed a considerable measure of responsibility.

This is no time for international or political recrimination. There is glory enough for all if the fond hopes of those who have sponsored this project shall be realized. But we may go far back to see the great vision of Chaim Weizmann, who originally had the vision of recapturing Palestine as a homeland for what seemed to be otherwise a homeless people except as they had found lodgment in other parts of the globe—a vision that, after 2,000 years of wandering the Jews should come to what might be for them appropriately considered the homeland that was promised to them by the so-called Balfour Declaration—Palestine as a homeland for the Jews.

I have said that there is glory enough for all, and what has now occurred is another evidence of the significance of bipartisan achievement in our foreign policy, because it is interesting to note that the first steps for United States participation in this great achievement were taken under the direction of a Republican administration, and its final consummation has been under a Democratic Executive.

After Mr. Balfour's Declaration, the United States, not being a member of the League of Nations, which issued the mandate for Palestine, became a party to the mandate by its treaty, the so-called Coolidge convention with Great Britain in 1924, under the leadership of the late Henry Cabot Lodge, the distinguished predecessor as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the one who has so successfully advanced the measure we have considered here today.

Under his leadership, as well as under the leadership of Charles E. Hughes as Secretary of State and Calvin Coolidge as President, the United States became a party to the British pledge of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

It is not here appropriate to go into the history of the past 20 years, and all of the somewhat equivocal attitude that developed in the mandatory power as a result of the tragic incidents of the last decade, when the Arabs protested vigorously, and there came on the incidents which have more and more occasioned the world to consider that here was the possibility of a disturbance of the peace. But we have come down through to the episodes of the last year, when finally, after some 25 commissions and committees of various kinds had studied the situation, the United Nations were convened this last spring in special session at the request of Great Britain and asked to recommend a solution, which they have now done, with only two dissenting votes outside of the countries which had certain very strong prejudices regarding the appropriate solution, as the result of racial and religious views. So that, as the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] said, the giving of this mandate for the partition of Palestine may be considered the consensus of the opinion of mankind, although two-thirds of Palestine has been removed as the result of the creation of Transjordan.

In the past year the cause has been greatly served by the leadership of the world leader of Zionism, Dr. Abba Hilliel Silver, of Cleveland, and it is under his leadership and wise statesmanship that this successful result has finally been brought to pass.

It is no time to speak of a certain schizophrenia that has apparently affected our State Department during the

various considerations of this question. It is enough that finally the goal desired has been achieved. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that while both great political parties in this country, in their last political platforms, adopted resolutions endorsing the Palestine solution, and while members of both political parties, including Senators on both sides of the aisle, have in repeated public utterances supported their own resolutions, it was not until Russia, to the amazement of everyone, a few short weeks ago became also a cochampion of the partition, that the result was finally achieved.

We were told during the past 2 or 3 years that the reason we must consider the solution of Palestine as a Jewish homeland was because the Russians were going to take advantage of Arab intransigence and would use the action of Britain or the United States regarding Palestine to the prejudice of world peace by stimulating Arab aggression. So it was to the amazement of everyone that Russia in the United Nations a few short weeks ago championed the partition solution. I shall not enter into a discussion of what may or may not have been her motives, whether she was primarily concerned with what seemed to be a just solution, or whether there were some more devious reasons, but at any rate her action destroyed for all time the idea that she was seeking to cultivate Arab national aspirations for the sake of securing interests in our oil concessions in these Arabian lands. I think it is well to bear that in mind as we go forward into consideration of this matter, realizing that this is the beginning, and not the end; that while we are here giving birth to what we trust will be a nation, its continuation will be achieved not only by the continued sacrifice and possibly suffering of those immediately concerned, but that the United Nations themselves, and the commission which they have created for the purpose, have now the tremendous responsibility of seeing that this infant nation shall have its proper nurture during the undoubtedly difficult days that so obviously lie ahead.

I think all the speeches here have appropriately pointed out that it is to be hoped that whatever may be the irresponsible acts of individuals or certain small collective groups in seeking to challenge this solution, that those responsible for the administration of the affairs of the nations which oppose this solution, some of them very old governments, and others comparatively new, that have been born within recent decades and admitted to the United Nations, shall demonstrate their recognition of world order and world democracy by yielding to the overwhelming opinion of mankind, and joining in the suppression of aggressive acts calculated to challenge a solution which has had so long, so sympathetic, and so conclusive a decision.

In that respect I think our own country has now to consider its course. We proposed originally that there should be created an international police force under the direction of the United Nations, although that was not contemplated within the terms of any of the discussions of the Charter, but that rather individual nations should contribute quotas to care for whatever responsibilities should arise. In the suggestion I now call to the attention of the Senate, I do not wish to imply any anticipation that there will be armed revolt on any major scale. It is my hope, my belief, that those concerned will respect this overwhelming decision, and that the two new nations which have now been born will be given their proper opportunity for becoming contributing members of the family of nations. But if such a distressing situation should arise, with the absolute refusal of Great Britain to assume responsibility further and its withdrawal of all its forces, the United States must realize that neither we, nor Russia, as the parties which have championed this solution, can avoid the responsibility that is appropriately ours, and I speak to this because, as the weeks and months pass by, if we shall be faced with a crisis in this situation we must be prepared then to act.

For that reason I call attention to what in my judgment should be the next question considered by the administration in the obvious challenge it may face, the question of whether or not we in America shall be prepared to contribute the indispensable elements essential to the preservation of the peace.

On that score it is a curious anomaly that those who have been most inhospitable to the Jew have been also most opposed to the idea of a homeland for the Jew in Palestine. Meanwhile, whether or not we shall have in the world the force necessary to implement the decision of the United Nations may be determined in no small measure by the action the United States shall take. The United Nations has taken this action, but unless it is supported by appropriate power to compel the acceptance of its decision, then the United Nations will demonstrate its absolute futility, and the United Nations will fall into innocuous desuetude like the League of Nations. I was privileged last week to hold sessions in the vast mausoleum costing $60,000,000 on the shores of Lake Geneva standing as a solitary monument to the vain hopes of all mankind.

So I trust that we in this country will realize that we have set out hand to the plow. If the difficulty comes—and God forbid that it should—it seems to me that it is none too early for the United States to consider the action it shall take. I do not believe that the opinion of America would support the sending of our armed forces to Palestine to preserve order except on the basis which I shall now suggest, and that is that no man shall go there who is not a volunteer. I suggest that serious consideration be given without delay to the organization of a volunteer force not solely for this purpose but for any purpose for which it shall be required under the action of our Government and under the proper direction and request of the United Nations Security Council, to implement and preserve, in collaboration with other countries which shall be ready to take their share of responsibility, the action which we may be called upon to take.

To that end I ask that there be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a letter sent to the Secretary of State, Hon. George C. Marshall, by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America on August 8, 1947, in which, among other things, recommending action on Palestine, they make this proposal:

Recognizing the practical administrative and manpower obstacles which the United Nations might face in placing and maintaining an adequate police force in Palestine at this time, the Jewish war veterans of the United States suggest that such a force be recruited from among trained veterans of all faiths and all nations who would volunteer to comprise such a United Nations police force. The Jewish war veterans of the United States offers its total resources to aid in the efforts to obtain such a force.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., August 8, 1947.

Gen. GEORGE C. MARSHALL,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL MARSHALL: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States, representing 600,000 American Jewish veterans who were proud to fight under your command in World War II, and the over 200,000 who fought in the American armies of World War I, respectfully recommend a course of action to alleviate the present intolerable situation in the Holy Land.

It is obvious that if forthright steps are not taken immediately, violence in Palestine will continue to mount uhtil the rising tide of reprisals by the contending parties will have reached a volume that will gravely menace any attempt at peacemaking.

Under your able leadership our Government has already pointed out an avenue of solution for the problem through the action recently taken with respect to a state of war between the Netherlands and Indonesia. The successful action of the United States delegate to the United Nations Security Council in pressing a resolution that led to a suspension of armed conflict in Indonesia establishes a precedent which may well prove effective in the Palestine crisis.

We, therefore, fervently recommend that our Government pursue that precedent to the following extent:

1. That our delegate to the United Ntaions be instructed to have placed upon the agenda of the United Nations Security Council, for immediate action, a resolution requesting the United Nations to assume authority in the Holy Land dispute.

2. That the United Nations order the immediate withdrawal from Palestine of all British troops and police and substitute therefor United Nations personnel. Great Britain has not only proven herself unable to maintain the peace in Palestine, but her actions have incited continuing turmoil and bloodshed.

We are convinced that these two simple steps will facilitate the immediate cessation of hostilities and will serve as a logical preface to the definite and final solution of the entire problem by the United Nations.

Recognizing the practical administrative and manpower obstacles which the United Nations might face in placing and maintaining an adequate police force in Palestine at this time, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States suggest that such a force be recruited from among trained veterans of all faiths and all nations who would volunteer to comprise such a United Nations police force. The Jewish War Veterans of the

United States offers its total resources to aid in the efforts to obtain such a force.

Said police force would be under the jurisdiction and direction of the United Nations. Participation of American veterans would, of course, be subject to the approval of our own Government and on the basis of existing laws.

We feel that the presence of a police force responsible only to the United Nations, instead of troops now answerable only to Great Britain—one of the disputant parties—suggests a course of action that can put an effective halt to further unnecessary killings on both sides.

The principles of the four freedoms, borrowed from the institutions upon which American democracy is founded, have been incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations. Historical precedent, as well as the basic precepts of human decency, require that the United States now take through the United Nations with respect to Palestine the action that has already been initiated in Indonesia—action that will bring peace to a distracted world. The Palestine problem is a challenge to the necessity for, and the effectiveness of, the United Nations. For the benefit of all freedom-loving peoples and the peace of the world, we appeal for your approval and immediate action on this proposal.

Respectfully yours,

MILTON H. RICHMAN,
National Commander.

Mr. BREWSTER. That proposal was the result of the proposal by the United States in the United Nations Assembly that an international police force should be recruited. There was no provision for it in the Charter and apparently little is likely to come of it.

That has been followed by a resolution adopted in St. Paul at the fifty-second annual encampment of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States under the leadership of Col. Julius Klein, a veteran of the last war with a distinguished war record in the Pacific under General MacArthur, proposing again that the Jewish War Veterans of the United States were prepared themselves very actively to promote the organization of such a group in whatever way might be found feasible. It seems to me, as we realize the responsibilities which are ours, that we may appropriately consider their action, representing 800,000 veterans who have offered their lives on many fields, and their belief that there would be ample resources from which to recruit such a force to be available in the event of need.

In this resolution, adopted at St. Paul at the fifty-second annual encampment, October 15 to 19 of this year, it is recited:

If it will prove to be necessary to establish a United Nations constabulary during the period between the United Nations' acceptance of the said report and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, we hereby place the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, its facilities and membership, at the disposal of our Government and of the United Nations, and assure our Government of the readiness of our members to stand prepared to the end that the UNSCOP majority report shall be implemented without delay.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PALESTINE

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, assembled together for its fifty-second annual encampment in St. Paul, Minn., October 15-19, 1947, as representatives of 800,000 veterans of the Jewish faith who fought in the wars of the United States, recognizing that we stand on the threshold of the realization of the aims, aspirations, dreams, and hopes of the Jewish people for the past 2,000 years of reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine;

And expressing in this conclave our solidarity with our brethren in Europe whose one hope for a new and stable existence is emigration to Palestine and with our brethren in Palestine whose efforts have resulted in the development of that country to the point where it is now ready for complete independence and statehood, and recognizing that our efforts can aid in the realization of the establishment of such a Jewish state, hereby direct our national executive committee to take such steps and make such representations to the appropriate authorities as will make most effective the following policies and principles which this convention now approves and for which it stands:

1. We urge the approval of the UNSCOP majority report, with such modifications as will insure viability of the Jewish state as a minimum measure of justice to those who have suffered the most.

2. We urge the immediate implementation of the said report and believe that such implementation demands the immediate withdrawal of all British troops and police forces from Palestine.

3. We approve wholeheartedly the action of the United States Government in endorsing the majority report of the UNSCOP and in offering assistance in the economic and financial problems which will arise in the implementation thereof.

4. If it will prove to be necessary to establish a United Nations constabulary during the period between the United Nations acceptance of the said report and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, we hereby place the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, its facilities and membership, at the disposal of our Government and of the United Nations, and assure our Government of the readiness of our members to stand prepared to the end that the UNSCOP majority report shall be implemented without delay.

5. We condemn the current Arab threats of war and economic sanctions as reminiscent of Nazi tactics and as a direct violation and affront to the Charter of the United Nations, and we voice our confidence that the United Nations will withstand such intimidation and that the people of the world will realize these threats to be hollow and baseless.

6. In the interest of preserving order during the initial period of the establishment of such separate states in Palestine, we urge immediate recognition by the United Nations of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as the interim governing body of the Jewish state.

7. We urge the United States to announce immediately that upon a definite decision by the United Nations in support of the said majority report, that it, the United States, will assume its full share of responsibility for such economic, political, material and other aid as may be necessary under the circumstances.

8. That copies of this resoution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and the members of the United States delegation to the United Nations.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, my reason for calling attention to this is that I share the high hopes of all that whatever difficulties may arise will be of an incidental, fragmentary character, that there will be no action by any of the countries in this area which have opposed the adoption of this report, and that they will not precipitate any collective incidents. I do not believe they will. I believe that calmer and cooler heads will prevail. But we cannot blind ourselves to the responsibility which has been assumed. I point out to the Senate and to the country that if such a situation arises and the United States is not prepared to act, then the only alternative is the prospect and probability that our fellow nation which has joined us in sponsoring this proposal may be prepared to act, and that the United States might find itself in a very unfortunate and very humble position if in the suppression of difficulties of any character we are obliged to allow the Soviet Nation to take over responsibility for the preservation of law and order in this entire area.

I am calling attention to this subject so that 1 month or 2 month or 4 months from today we may not be faced with another crisis proposal because there is difficulty in the Middle East and some action must be taken, requiring, perhaps, that American armed forces be sent there, when it is obvious that a volunteer force prepared for this purpose should be recruited now. In my judgment it can be done well within the law, so that the existing administration could have such a force ready. No man would be called upon to offer up his life in defense of this situation unless he had properly and voluntarily made an offer of that kind.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. At this late hour I do not wish to press a discussion with the distinguished Senator from Maine on this subject, because I think it could better wait for another day. However, the Senator is leaving me in doubt as to just what he is proposing as a means for enforcing the Palestine partition decision. Let me say incidentally that I am very much in favor of the decision which has been reached by the United Nations in regard to the partition of Palestine. The Senator leaves me in doubt as to whether or not he is suggesting that, if it becomes necessary to enforce that decision, it should be done by an armed force other than a United Nations police force. Am I to understand that the Senator is suggesting that there be raised a volunteer army in this country, of Americans, to be used in enforcing that decision? If so, under what flag would it fight.

Mr. BREWSTER. I do not know that the Senator has been present during all the time I have been speaking.

Mr. MORSE. I have been present every moment of the time the Senator has been speaking.

Mr. BREWSTER. Then evidently I did not make myself sufficiently clear.

As I pointed out, the original proposal of the United States was for the recruitment of an international police force under the Security Council.

Mr. MORSE. That proposal has not been adopted.

Mr. BREWSTER. No; it was dropped, because whether or not there was legal

authority for it within the Charter, there was certainly no contemplation of it. The entire contemplation of the Charter was that whatever force was used would be composed of quotas from various countries which would be contributed to operate as a united whole under the Security Council. It has been impossible to implement that proposal because of the apparent reluctance of Russia to agree upon the composition of the force.

Everyone says that he is in favor of the decision; but, if we favor the decision without being prepared to support it, we are doing a very vain thing. I do not believe that we could justify our action in giving birth to a child whom we immediately throw to the dogs.

I have not gone further than to say that if difficulty arises—which God forbid—the Commission and the Security Council must maintain order. It would be most unfortunate if the United States were to find itself in the position of not being able to assume whatever might be its proper share of the burden, because then we certainly could not challenge the action of Russia or any other eastern power in moving in. Therefore, we should give serious consideration to the question of how we can implement our action. For that purpose, I propose that a portion of our armed forces—not solely for this purpose, but for any purpose for which there might be a legitimate call by the United Nations—should be recruited on a volunteer basis, either from men now in the service or men who might later volunteer for such service. The analogy I suggest is that of the French Foreign Legion. It should be understood that such a volunteer force should be available for whatever purpose the President of the United States should find it proper and necessary to use it. To what extent there should be further legislative authorization, I am not clear. I do not speak on that point.

But, certainly, we should begin to give consideration to how we are to assume our share of responsibility.

Mr. MORSE. If the Senator will permit me, I think I now understand his point of view. I think he illustrates very clearly, at least to my satisfaction, the importance of this country's making clear to the members of the United Nations that there should be established at the earliest possible date a police force of the United Nations, because unless that is done I think there is grave danger that we shall be maneuvered into a position in which American boys under the American flag will be called upon to enforce some decision of the United Nations.

I do not agree with the Senator, if I understand him correctly, that I put myself into an indefensible position if I take the position, as I would take the position, that the American Army should not be used to enforce a decision of the United Nations except as a part of a United Nations police force. I think the nation members of that organization must be called upon to enforce the decisions of the organization. I do not think we should ever permit ourselves to be placed in a position in which, because a difficulty arose in Palestine, for example, the American Army would be used to enforce a United Nations decision. A volunteer force raised in this country, as I understood the suggestion of the Senator from Maine, would lead us into grave difficulties unless it were raised as a part of a yet to be agreed upon United Nations police force. A volunteer force of Americans fighting in Palestine, for example, under the American flag would necessarily carry with it the complete backing of the military might of the United States the moment the first shot was fired against our flag. Hence I urge extreme caution in this situation. I am for the enforcement of the decisions of the United Nations but by the joint action of a United Nations police force.

Mr. BREWSTER. The Senator has not understood my statement. I should like to make my position crystal clear. It is not my concept that an American Army, as the Senator terms it, ever could or ever should enter into this situation. I have repeatedly stated that it would be a question of the Security Council of the United Nations calling upon the Associated Powers for the creation of the force which was contemplated in the Charter. At that point, unless we have a force in being that we could appropriately contribute to that quota under proper arrangements, the problem would be a very difficult one. I am not prepared to take any of our boys who may have been secured either under the draft or, at the present time, under the volunteer system, and order them to such a service. It is my thought that there should be a particular force recruited, understanding that at some time they might be called upon for service of this character if the situation should demand and the Congress and the President, under their proper exercise of power, should so determine. The average man joining the American Army today or at any future time should not be faced with the possibility that he might be sent to such a foreign field. That is the point I am making, and for that purpose it seems to me to avoid exactly what the Senator from Oregon suggests. If 3 months from today we are confronted with a crisis, as we were in Greece, and suddenly the President says, "Russia is endeavoring to take over the whole Middle East. I must send a force there," we shall have to order American boys who have not been recruited or prepared for such service. That is my point.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator, because I think he is making a valuable contribution to the discussion of the Palestine issue, particularly in pointing out, as I think he has, the need of developing a police force within the United Nations so that it can enforce its own decisions.

Mr. BREWSTER. That is exactly the point I wished to make.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I appreciate the reference that was made earlier to the part which my late grandfather played in connection with a homeland for the Jews. This furnishes a personal reason for my satisfaction at the development which has taken place in setting aside a place in Palestine which the Jews can think of as their own.

Another memory which gives this event special significance for me lies in the recollection which I have of the Jewish units which fought in Libia in 1942, in the desert, against the common enemy.

I desire to express my congratulation to Rabbi Silver, who has shown real statesmanship in leading this very complicated and arduous problem to such a successful outcome. I hope that it means that the Promised Land has been reached at last, and that it is the beginning of new happiness and more auspicious events for the Jewish people.

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What Shall America Do About Palestine?

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1948

Arms for Palestine

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

This is the first and obvious answer. It is not the full answer. The questions of security and of enforcement were obviously central to the United Nations' decision for a partition of Palestine; yet these were precisely the questions which were shirked by all the great powers. They cannot be shirked much longer. The legal foundations for the partition of Palestine have been left on swampy ground. Legally, partition has been "recommended" by the General Assembly as a measure for meeting a situation, in the language of the Charter, "likely to impair the general welfare of friendly relations among nations." The Arab states are fomenting a warlike rebellion against this recommendation. They can truthfully assert that the Assembly has no binding power; on the other hand, they are themselves bound by the general obligation on all U. N. members to settle international disputes only by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner "inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

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

Washington Memo

EDITOR: Charles Van Devander
Associates: Oliver Pilat, James A. Wechsler and William O. Player Jr.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1948

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

Washington, Jan. 20.

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

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

JAMAL HUSSEINI

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

Last week, for instance, some 600 Arabs, reportedly commanded by Syrian officers, crossed the border to attack two Jewish settlements (Kfar Szold and Dan) in Upper Galilee.

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
TIMES

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1948.

No Love and Kisses From Arabia.

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1948

American Jews and Palestine

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

To the New York Herald Tribune:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER,
President The American Jewish Committee.

New York, Jan. 19, 1948.

BOSTON, MASS. EVENING GLOBE

JANUARY 12, 1948

Monkey Wrench

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

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

New York Post

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The design of this paper is to diffuse among the people correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate just principles in religion, morals and politics, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature.—Prospectus of the EVENING POST. No. 1. Nov. 16, 1801

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1948.

Talk—and Death

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

Talk.

But not action.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are talking it over.

Talk.

We have been talking it over since 1924.

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

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

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

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

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue **New York 17, N. Y.**

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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Plots and Counterplots

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

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

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

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

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

Without question, if either transaction is illegal, the government has a right to take whatever action the law requires. But has it any decent, unpolitical reason for allowing the incident to be treated as a major scandal, reflecting on the honor of the Zionist movement? While Arab munitions pour into Palestine across every border, the Jewish Agency is prohibited from the legal purchase of arms for the defense of the Jewish people. Yet under the U. N. decision, each community was to create a militia to maintain order in its own territory, and in the debate the arming of Haganah was discussed as an urgent and early necessity. Would any self-reliant people, blocked from buying arms legally because its status as a nation had not been officially established, refrain from getting weapons where and how it could? If the Jewish Agency has stayed within the letter of the law, as it firmly claims to have done, its restraint is astounding. If it, or any Zionist group, has connived at arms smuggling, the misdeed should be looked upon by the American authorities as an excusable, if illegal, act of self-defense.

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

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

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

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

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To the UNITED STATES and the UNITED NATIONS....

Since the United Nations General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine on November 29, 1947, a shameful and deeply disquieting situation has arisen to which public opinion cannot remain indifferent.

Openly defying the United Nations, the governments of the Arab States, themselves members of the UN, are deliberately encouraging aggression against the Jews of Palestine. They are using Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Iraq as bases for these operations. They are providing funds, ammunition and military training, and have already launched attacks in force from Syria and Lebanon against Palestinian Jews. In Palestine itself this state of affairs has resulted in unbridled violence by armed Arab bands organized by Haj Amin el Husseini, the same Arab leader who during the war immeasurably aided Hitler in broadcasts from Berlin urging the Moslems of the Middle East to revolt against the Allies.

This campaign of violence has no moral justification. It is directed against a decision of the United Nations made after nearly twenty committees of inquiry had investigated the problem of Palestine over a period of more than twenty-five years. The decision of the United Nations was, moreover, a compromise which granted national states in Palestine to both Jews and Arabs.

The campaign of violence we now witness is not a spontaneous uprising by the majority of Palestine's Arabs. On the contrary, they wish to live in peace with their Jewish neighbors. But they are terrorized by the ex-Mufti's bands assisted by his confederates in Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut and Damascus. Significantly, Arab violence is largely directed against Jerusalem which, according to the UN decision, is to be an international territory because it is sacred to the Christian world.

The campaign of Arab aggression, led by a group of former Nazi allies and their accomplices across the frontiers, is therefore directed not only against the Jews, not only against the peaceful majority of Palestine's Arabs, but against the authority of the United Nations itself.

This is a bold attempt to blackmail the United Nations into submission. It is an attempt by violence to render impotent the first great decision of the United Nations. If this campaign succeeds, it will reduce the United Nations to a debating society. At a moment when world peace is the hope of all men of good will, it will smash the effectiveness of the only instrument for international peace we possess. It will disillusion those millions who had hopes that at last some way other than the holocaust of war could be found to settle international problems.

If the United Nations cannot make its Palestine decision stick, if a handful of willful men can prevent a UN decision from being carried out because they do not like that decision, then no future action of the UN will have more worth than the paper upon which it is written.

For this state of affairs not only the ex-Mufti and his cohorts are responsible. Other powers are not wholly free of responsibility. The British Government, which insisted that it retain sole control over Palestine and sole responsibility for law and order until the termination of the Palestine Mandate, seems either unwilling or unable to maintain law and order. We do not attempt to judge whether this policy is dictated by unwillingness or inability. But the fact remains that the security situation in Palestine is steadily deteriorating.

One thing is certain: while Arab bands attack Jewish settlements, blockade wide areas, and waylay traffic on the highways, British officials and forces have repeatedly interfered with Jewish defense and counter-attack, repeatedly arrested and disarmed the defenders, and repeatedly confiscated their armaments.

The United Nations has not yet taken action against those overt acts of its Arab member-governments which constitute an open defiance of the Resolution of the General Assembly and of the Charter itself. Nor has the United Nations reacted as yet to the fact that the ex-Mufti's bands and the attitude of the British Administration are a clear challenge and threat to the authority of this international body.

Even if the only issue at stake were the safety of the 700,000 Jews of Palestine, American public opinion should have been deeply concerned. Our Government was largely instrumental in bringing about the United Nations decision on partition. What had we in mind when we encouraged the aspirations of the Jewish people to nationhood in Palestine? Was it our intention to leave them there defenseless?

Much more is at stake than our moral responsibility toward the Jews. We repeat, the very future of the United Nations is in jeopardy. This open defiance of the United Nations decision comes from a group of Middle Eastern states which depend upon the UN and the Western world for sovereignty and international recognition, for political and military protection as well as economic development. If we permit such conduct on the part of the Arab States, then the authority of the United Nations will suffer a staggering blow which can result in incalculable harm to men everywhere.

Let us make no mistake about the danger involved in this situation. The conflict may assume world-wide dimensions, or, alternatively, this aggression of the Arab States can be restrained, thus making the Palestine solution a potent factor for peace and stability in the world. America must help to determine whether the effectiveness of the United Nations shall be destroyed or strengthened.

The United States wants peace in the world. It is to its vital interests to uphold the Palestine decision of the United Nations. Our Government should, therefore, actively support the following measures:

1. **A stern warning to the Arab States calling for an end to the sabotage of the UN decision.**
2. **An unmistakably clear declaration to Great Britain that as long as she remains in Palestine, her armed forces can be neither neutral nor quasi-neutral, but must act in defense of public law and the UN decision.**
3. **Immediate use of the proper UN agencies to provide international military protection for Palestine Jewry and make immediately available the necessary military force to implement the United Nations decision on Palestine.**
4. **Immediate equipment of the Haganah under United Nations auspices to enable this Jewish constabulary defense force to carry out police powers within Jewish territory in Palestine.**

Only in this manner can the United States and the United Nations prevent the threatened conflagration. The delay in implementing the UN decision has encouraged the Arab League and the ex-Mufti in their defiance of the UN, and has forced the Jewish people to resort to desperate means to provide themselves with arms for their defense and for the maintenance of the UN decision.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 East 42nd St., New York

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The Washington Post
Registered in U. S. Patent Office
*** Saturday, January 24, 1948

Palestine Contrasts

Refusal of Iraq to ratify the new military alliance with Britain leaves a gap in Britain's armed alliances with the Arab world which may lead to further appeasement of the Iraqi. Perhaps they want more arms for use against the Jews in Palestine. Fawzi El Kawji, supreme field commander of both the "volunteer invaders and Arab forces inside Palestine," would then be the beneficiary. This gentleman hails from Iraq, though he is a renegade, and, in addition, is one of the old pro-Nazi gang who has been involved in every plot against Britain since 1936. He is working in cahoots with the Mufti—the scoundrel who, according to Mr. Churchill, was Britain's worst enemy. It is all the more surprising to note the tenderness that the British are displaying toward these firebrands.

We may grant that the job of keeping order in Palestine is difficult, but the difficulty has not been lessened by the arms policy that the British have been pursuing. On the contrary, the job has been made impossible. The Arabs have noted the British decision to keep out the U. N. mission till the eve of their own departure in May. But what must have been more interesting to them as a spur to Arab recalcitrance is the arms traffic that the British have recently developed with Palestine's neighbors. The trouble-making in Palestine comes from outside, and since the U. N. decision the British have actually been shipping arms to Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, knowing full well that the arms would be used for the purpose of upsetting the U. N. decision. How in these circumstances could the British administration expect to keep order in Palestine?

The United States has been dragging its feet almost in step with the British. There is one way of restoring some semblance of order in Palestine, but on this way the Americans have turned their backs. This is to arm the Haganah, the Jewish defense militia. But as soon as the United Nations had recommended the plan of partition, the United States slapped an embargo on all arms shipments to the Middle East. Here is a picture of contrasts: the British are arming the Arab extremists and at the same time trying to keep order in Palestine, while we are shutting off all supplies. To cap all, the State Department has just issued instructions to the American consul in Jerusalem to take away the passports of American citizens found among the Jewish defense forces. This was not done when Americans enlisted in the Allied armies prior to our entry into the war. Why the ban is put on Americans in Palestine who are fighting in defense of a United Nations' decision to which this Government is a party is thus glaringly inconsistent with our traditional policy, let alone with our membership of the United Nations. Is it any wonder that the Arab extremists imagine they are getting aid and comfort from the chief props of the United Nations for defying the United Nations?

To be sure, the problem to be resolved depends upon the answer to the riddle of enforcement. It should have been faced squarely during the proceedings at Lake Success. Little Guatemala sought to give a lead by suggesting that an *ad hoc* force be raised among the noninterested powers in Palestine. That was done after the first war in respect of the Saar. Evidently the suggestion got no aid from either Britain or America. The next best thing is to bring up the matter before the Security Council. In the meantime fairness alone—let alone any regard for the U. N. recommendation—demands a raising of the arms embargo by this country. The pusillanimity of the Anglo-American powers is bringing on the tragedy they contemplate, for it is an advertisement to the intransigent Arabs that the scuttling of the U. N. decision would not be displeasing to either London or Washington.

LOWELL, MASS. SUNDAY TELEGRAM
JAN. 21. 1948

Partition and Pipelines

Secretary of Defense James Forrestal ha issued an oblique criticism of the vote by th

CHICAGO SUN
MARSHALL FIELD, Editor and Publisher
FRIDAY, January 23, 1948

Danger for the U.N.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS foundered on the rock of "non-intervention" in Spain and Ethiopia. There is danger that the United Nations may founder on the rock of non-intervention in Palestine.

Each day's crop of killings in Palestine makes it clearer that a conspiracy exists to countermand the United Nations decision for peaceful partition of that land.

The Arabs make no secret of their determination to resist the decision by violent means. What is worse, one sees disturbing evidence that some British and American officials who were never enthusiastic about partition might not mind too much if it fails.

President Truman and the State Department lose no opportunity these days to proclaim full support and strengthening of the U.N. as the cardinal aim of American policy. If they mean it, they can now make their words good. The United States should take the lead in establishing a U.N. constabulary that can keep the peace in Palestine while Britain is withdrawing and the Arab and Jewish states are being set up.

The reasons no such action has been taken are no doubt the same reasons which induced the policy-makers to sidestep the enforcement issue in the first place. Our oil interests in the Middle East impel us to avoid offending the Arabs as far as possible. Above all, the State Department apparently fears that any suggestion of U.N. enforcement may bring Soviet Russia into the Mediterranean--a domain which we consider safe for our military forces, but not for Russia's.

In short, the obstacle to U.N. enforcement is the strategic duel of the big powers. It was the same sort of power politics that caused the League to throw Spain and Ethiopia to the wolves. To complete the parallel, the forces which now challenge the authority and integrity of the U.N. are the feudalistic, anti-democratic, pro-fascist Arabs who played Hitler's game in the war.

The issue is now bigger than Palestine itself. The issue is whether the United Nations possesses the moral force to make its decisions stick--whether the power politics of its members can be subordinated to the collective interest in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Since American leadership was a major factor in bringing about the Palestine decision, the United States has a special obligation to lead the U.N. in backing it up. Unless we do, future pledges of devotion to the U.N. will sound mighty hollow.

PALESTINE:

Test of America's Good Faith—

Test of the UN's Vitality

New York Post
FOUNDED IN 1801 BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON
NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1948.

Peace Is the Issue

We are being psychologically prepared for war.

Or, at least, an all-out effort is being made to prepare us.

In that atmosphere it is obvious that every failure to assault the real and basic enemies of democracy and freedom will be excused on the ground of military necessity to prepare for a shooting war with Russia.

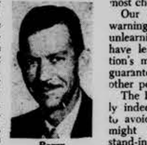
And yet the people are not being told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: they are being told half truth, no truth, and downright fabrication.

For example the country is being told that we have pledged our arms and our military aid to Greece in order

Pm 1/30/48 Jennings Perry

Surprise Party

The rioting in Iraq over the disclosure of the Government's attempt to negotiate a special position treaty with Britain has caused almost as much amazement in London as followed the long-ago rioting in Boston Harbor against the Stamp Act. The treaty would have allowed British forces to enter Iraq whenever, in the British judgment, the security of the little Arab country should be threatened, and London confesses, though with bewilderment, that the popular opposition to this arrangement has been "sadly underestimated." It is a confession revelatory of the unchanging habit of self-righteousness which the British have which must butt its head, from time to time, upon the quickening instincts of "lesser" peoples.


Perry

There is no question but that the British had viewed the treaty as one of mutual benefit; that is, for the Iraqis' own good, just as the Stamp Act was viewed, in another time, as actually a boon to the colonists in America (to provide for their defense, etc.), and do now find it difficult to understand that the Iraqis should have any reasonable grounds for getting their backs up about it.

What is even more interesting in this unheralded diplomatic blow-up in the Near East, bearing in mind our own recent moves to inherit British policy in that quarter, is the fact that the Iraqis justify their vehement protest against the treaty by arguments that have been high on the American export list ever since the days of our own "world-shaking" revolution. The patriots of Bagdad declaim of "sovereignty," of "self-determination," and against "entangling alliances" and "the quartering of foreign troops" with a fervor entirely familiar to us.

Do we recognize our own accents, the catchwords of our own distant break for independence? I trust that we do, and that we are prepared to be properly embarrassed by this contretemps in the Near East, where we ourselves, embarked, in strange company, on a strange mission, are in danger of being confronted by our own most cherished doctrines.

Our embarrassment would be warning that we are in danger of unlearning what the British never have learned—that neither a nation's might nor its cleverest guarantees to it the affections of other peoples.

The British have moved cleverly indeed on the Palestine issue to avoid any forthrightness that might queer their celebrated stand-in with "the Arab world," and their present confusion results largely from the fact that the Arabs of Iraq, after all this buttering, still have no complacence toward the treaty upon which the British had set their hearts. The British might in the Mediterranean is greater than ever before in history with the backing of the American flag, and yet the not-altogether-benighted Iraqis have convinced themselves they want no part of a benevolent protection that might make their small land the first great battlefield of an atomic war.

We have no assurance that the little peoples who no longer care to play tail to the British kite will take kindly to the assumptions of the new American policy—that our might is welcome because of our good intentions.

In Greece and in Turkey, too, our virtuous designs have been plagued by the great words of our prior commitments.

The little peoples, cagy as well as wary, can throw the book at us —our own book—just as the Iraqis have thrown it at the British.

From their game with the ruling classes—and from one place and time to the other—the string has been running out. Our own traditional—and far sounder—policy has been to cultivate the goodwill of the masses. I would not want us to wake up some modern morning to find, as the British have, that, by playing footsy with princes and potentates, we lost out with the worldwide multitudes to whom our championship of revolutionary democracy commended us.

DAVENPORT, IOWA TIMES
JAN. 19, 1948

A DISCRIMINATING EMBARGO

An embargo dispute, reminiscent of the scrap iron to Japan and the Spanish civil war is developing in consequence of the action of the state department in declaring an arms embargo on shipments to all Middle Eastern countries, thereby assuming a role of neutrality in the struggle between the Jews and Arabs over Palestine.

The government came in for bitter criticism of its failure to embargo scrap to Japan, after the Nipponese began shooting it back at American boys. By its ban on shipments of arms to the legitimate government of Spain, the state department made it possible for Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy to establish an ally on the Iberian peninsula, who repaid his debt to the dictators by permitting them to use Spanish ports as bases for submarines which sent a vast amount of American goods and many Americans to the bottom of the sea.

Both of these earlier actions placed the United States government in at least a doubtful moral position, in view of the aid it gave Japan in broadcasting its prosperity sphere at the expense of our friends in the Orient, and the problem created in Spain.

If our policy, and that of Britain was to keep arms from both Jews and Arabs, they might be a contribution to peace in the Holy Land.

Great Britain has announced a decision to continue to fulfill her contracts to sell arms and military equipment to the Arab states despite their threats to march against Palestine.

Basing its action on friendship treaties it has with these states a spokesman for the British government, promises that all shipments of military material will be closely scrutinized and orders will not be approved "if it is clear that the arms will be used in or against Palestine."

"Britain maintains the right to suspend fulfillment of her arms contracts if any of the states violate the United Nations charter" it was further stipulated.

The British may feel that if they do not sell arms to the Arabs the Russians may do so and thus strengthen their grip on the Middle East. Since it is extremely unlikely that these military supplies will be used against the Russians the obvious conclusion is that some considerable part of them will be employed against the Jews.

What seems to have been forgotten by both our state department and the British colonial office is that by virtue of a United Nations decision the Jews have a legal right to set up a Jewish state in the Holy Land. It is the Arabs and not the Jews who are resisting this decision. Furthermore the United States was a leading supporter of that decision, which means that the Jews are struggling to uphold the position taken by the United States before the UN.

The British are in a position to very effectively control the arms coming into Palestine but once military materials are turned over to Arab states, neither they nor our state department can do much to keep them from being used against the Jews and against the state which we were largely instrumental in bringing about in the Holy Land.

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TIME FOR RE-STUDY

The United States has been projected into the Palestine problem by its championing of the cause of partition in the United Nations. This action was prompted by the purest of motives, as well as by the fact that partition is the best solution to the knotty problem of granting living space to the Arab population.

The first motive was the desire to correct an historical wrong dating back to the Roman empire to restore to the Jewish race their homeland and open the gates of a modern Promised Land to the victims of war and aggression in Europe.

On the other side of the picture is the embargo on arms to Palestine by our State Department, which in effect gives the advantage to the Arabs in the inevitable war which followed partition. It also makes necessary such clandestine procurement and shipping of the tools of war as has been revealed in Monmouth County and north Jersey.

Meanwhile the Arabs are bountifully supplied by Egypt and other members of the Arab league. Russia, which gave approval to the partition may also see her advantage in th bloody strife which will hamstring the efforts of the United Nations to cool a cauldron which could lead the world into another war.

There is nothing very clear in our actions. Our State Departmet forgets that had it not been for the aid of France we would have been sorely pressed to win our own independence. We obtained not only supplies but ships and fighting men, something we have not been asked to give in the current struggle for liberty.

It is time we restudied our position.

United Nations on the partition of Palestine. It finds, that because of this vote, the oil-bearin Arabs are sulking in their tents and that only trickle of oil is flowing into the Persian gulf outle as a result.

Mr. Forrestal informed a congressional com mittee that in the event of war the predictabl supplies of oil in the United States would not b sufficient to keep our fighting forces mobilized and he also commented upon the limitation o Arab oil as being a retarding influence on th recovery plan for Europe.

The strongest question put to Mr. Forresta was this: Has the United Nations decision regard ing Palestine rendered our situation more inse cure, considering the 350,000,000 people of th Moslem world—are we in jeopardy of having th Arab pipelines cut? The secretary answered with an unconditional and anxious affirmative.

Mr. Forrestal did not mention any alterna tives that might be used to ease this volatile situa tion, nor did the congressional committee extend itself too far in seeking such opinions. The reason for this general timidity is quite obvious.

The inference to be drawn from the secre tary's remarks is that the United States should intercede with the United Nations to have the motion partitioning Palestine rescinded.

We are charitable when we say that Mr. For restal has become so devoted to his task of build ing up national defenses that he has lost the power to comprehend some of the grave sociological problems of the day, among them being the partitioning of Palestine. He forgets entirely in his anxiety for oil that there are still hundreds of thousands of suffering displaced persons in Eu rope who are seeking a permanent home before they succumb to exhaustion and starvation.

The oily Arabs have used this natural resource as an ace up their sleeves for too long a time. The British stood in awe of the Arabs and their oil supplies, the American commercial interests quiet ly paid homage to the Arabs, and now one of our highest governmental officers is beginning to hedge on the partition of Palestine because he thinks the nation cannot exist without oil from the Near East.

If thousands of displaced persons are going to die because of the Arabs' oil wealth, then let the Arabs have their oil—American scientists and engineers should be able to compensate for the loss. Or are the Arabs going to throw fear into the hearts of all nations because of their rich oil possessions?

PHILADELPHIA, PA. INQUIRER
JAN. 17, 1948

They Can't Make Bricks Without Straw

Palestine partition is doomed unless the United Nations, which fostered the plan, now moves swiftly to save it.

The partition project is disintegrating under the blows of a heavily one-sided civil war, as Arabs armed by the British seek to wipe out the very nucleus of the proposed Jewish state, whose defenders are paralyzed by a United States embargo on shipment of arms to the Palestine Jews.

The British are helping to sabotage partition by their arming of the Arabs and their cynical failure to preserve the peace in the Holy Land in the final months of their mandate.

The Jews in Palestine are fighting not merely for the independence guaranteed them by the United Nations; they are fighting for their very lives. Hundreds have been killed and many more wounded by Arab bullets and knives in raids upon Jewish settlements.

In defiance of the United Nations, the Arab League has announced that the armies of the Arab countries will occupy all of Palestine as soon as the British withdraw. These nations refuse to recognize the existence of a Jewish state; they intend, with the assistance of arms from the British, to make the Holy Land a wholly Arab dominion.

What their plans mean in death, destruction and misery to the peaceful Jewish inhabitants who had been granted the hope, at least, of a homeland all their own, can only be imagined.

How can the United Nations—how can the United States, which has given its sanction to partition—sit by and see the plan fall apart in bloody war?

Having authorized partition, it is clearly up to the U.N. to enforce it. But thus far all that has been done is the appointment of a five-member Palestine Commission, whose assignment it is to go to Palestine, on some date not yet determined, and see to it that the U.N. plan is executed.

As the British do not want the Commission to arrive until two weeks before they withdraw, and as Arab attacks upon the Jews are mounting in violence all the time, the size of the task confronting this body is evident.

The Commission is being called upon to undertake the impossible feat—a reminder of Pharaoh's order to the people as told in the Old Testament, Exodus V:7—of making bricks without straw.

Without the implements to preserve the peace and to protect the Jews while they are erecting their new nation, the Palestine Commission is hopelessly handicapped from the outset.

The obvious need in Palestine is an international police force directed by the United Nations, to keep order and enforce partition.

Request for such a force was made to the Palestine Commission on Thursday by Moshe Shertok, political chief of the Jewish Agency. If that request is not met, he added, then the burden of keeping order and protecting the new-born Jewish state must fall upon a Jewish militia, and the U.N. should take immediate steps to permit the Jews to arm, equip and train an adequate force.

The Security Council is the agency which must act upon establishment of a U.N. police force. Soviet Russia may, as it has so often before, again obstruct action in this regard. But the U. S. should press for it, nevertheless, and offer every assistance.

Meanwhile the unfair embargo against shipment of arms to the Palestine Jews, while their enemies can obtain all they want, should be lifted. Arms and equipment which the Jews desperately require to defend themselves should be sent them. The arms embargo should be directed against the Arabs, who are fighting partition, not against those who are upholding it with their lives.

It is unthinkable that, having given the Jews a glimpse of long-sought freedom in a land of their own, we should now permit the door to be slammed against its realization.

We should abet neither Arab war on partition nor British sabotage of it by indifference and neglect. The Jews need help if they are to save their lives and their homes, and we must see that they get it.

to help that government regain stability, and in order to prevent the spread of communism.

The truth is that we are in Greece because it has proved cheaper [redacted] eat Britain to replace British troops with America bolstering up exactly the kind of reactionary re[redacted]ry Britain still counts upon to regain the balanc[redacted]wer in the Near East, the Middle East and Europe.

We are told tha[redacted]e dare not take effective action to help create the Unite[redacted]Nations State of Judea as a homeland for Jews, becau[redacted]we are dependent upon Arabian oil.

We are not told the truth that in peacetime, there is no likelihood of our [redacted]udi Arabian leases being disturbed—certainly not by its Arabian and American beneficiaries—and that in the event of war the oil lines would be impossible to defend.

We are being told that we require, if we are to be ready for our mythical war with Russia, an air force alone requiring a greater annual budget than our present total military budget, already the highest in the world.

We are not told that it would be utterly impossible—as it would be—for us to maintain any remnants of democracy here or anywhere if we are to adopt that program and that alone as our basis for security.

The policy that we are being lead to adopt is not our own policy, but that of a bankrupt British Colonial Office, conveniently adopted by us without due regard for either national or international safety.

We are being persuaded that British and Arabian allies are far to be preferred to justice, honor and decency.

The fact is that both would be liabilities rather than assets in a shooting war . . . and that the more we co-operate to establish a revival of British colonial policy in a peacetime world, the nearer such a war will come to us.

Our only real allies in the fight for democracy are our natural resources—food for the hungry, everywhere in the world; products for the farm, tools for industrialization, and, last but not least, a dependable sense of justice and integrity.

But our every failure—including our failure to demand of Great Britain and of the Arabian States that the cynical campaign both of arms and propaganda against the United Nations decision on Palestine must stop—rather than securing the peace, is securing the inevitability of war.

The newest game is to try to smear the Jews whom we are continuing to victimize with refinements of Hitlerian cruelty.

British and pro-British American propagandists have even had the temerity to hint that the Jews who are fleeing from Rumanian persecution even as they sought to flee to Palestine from Hitler's persecution, are in reality just a group of communist Fifth Columnists!

This bald-faced lie is being circulated for only one purpose, of course—an effort to cash in on the hysteria reaching crescendo heights in this country over anything and everything that can be labeled, right or wrong, communist.

The next effort will be, of course, to try to characterize the new Palestinian State and all its occupants as dirty anti-democratic agitators . . . reds and revolutionaries.

But it won't wash. The people will not be fooled into believing that white is black merely because it is called red.

The people will, however, as the truth concerning the depths of the deception being practiced upon them becomes clear, as it will during the coming few months, at the very least refuse to return an Administration to power which lends itself so supinely to the British Fifth Column.

The Bridgeport Post
FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1948.

Palestine a Challenge and a Solution

The effective implementation of the United Nations General Assembly decision on the partition of Palestine is the crucial test of the value of United Nations.

Here is a situation where the great powers are in agreement. If the decisions of this world body cannot be effectively carried out in this instance, what hope can there be of its working where the great powers are on opposite sides?

The issue here is whether a small block of Arab States, all dependent on the Western powers for their economy, openly hostile or secretly aiding the Nazis in World War II, being led by the Grand Mufti, Hitler's ally in the last war, may set at naught a decision of the United Nations General Assembly, arrived at after an impartial investigation and decided by larger than two-thirds majority of the Nations and after hearing all parties concerned.

How well the United Nations meets this challenge to its authority will determine its prestige and ability to meet the other problems which await solution.

To meet this challenge the United Nations must set up a small police force composed of levies from the smaller nations so as to avoid the jealousies between the larger world powers.

Then if Great Britain is unwilling or unable to preserve the peace or protect the Jewish Colonist, give the Jews in Palestine the opportunity to defend themselves for the time being. Sell them arms legally and arm their militia—not the terrorists but those recognized by the Jewish Agency.

It is ironic to give them partition but to disarm the Jews who must meet the threats of the surrounding Arab States which are arming the guerilla bands invading Palestine. Do this until the slow machinery of the United Nations can be made to work and do an effective job.

In the meantime when reading the news of fighting in Palestine bear in mind that the Jews in Palestine have been awarded the right to a Jewish State by the Council of the Nations of the World and are defending themselves from the state of anarchy which the Grand Mufti and the Arab State are trying to bring about, hoping in this way to prejudice the Jewish case and to re-open the decision. These facts must be kept in mind in order that the record can be kept straight.

MIAMI, FLA. NEWS
JAN. 25, 1948

UN, U. S. And Palestine

It is none too soon that the Palestine commission has come to the conclusion that it must find a way, probably through the United Nations security council, to raise an international force to keep the peace in Palestine during and after the transition from the British mandate to independence under the proposed partition.

The Arabs have made it plain beyond the slightest doubt that they will overrun the new Jewish state unless they are faced by the twin blocks of organized international disapproval and insurmountable armed strength. Invasion of the new state, whether by member states of the Arab league, or by filibustering parties raised, trained and set in motion within the territories of these states, would be in direct violation of the United Nations charter.

Clearly, the sanctity of international engagements and the prestige of the United Nations are at stake. So, also, are the more limited but equally vital interests of the democratic community within the United Nations. Failure to protect Palestine would be a blow to all that these nations stand for, and it would gravely injure their moral credit in the world. It might also injure their strategic position by encouraging a Soviet attempt to send troops of their own on the pretext of enforcing the UN's decision. If the Russians launched such an adventure, we would accede to it only at the cost of our whole strategic position in the Middle East. Contrariwise, we would resist it only at the risk of having full-scale war flame in the Levant, a war which it would be virtually impossible to localize once it got under way.

In view of these facts, it should be America's role in the Palestine commission and in the security council, to press with all its might for immediate organization of an adequate international force to guard the Jewish state. Bulwarks which we erect in advance will ward off trouble. Vacuums which we leave unfilled by timidity or vacillation will invite trouble. If we draft, we may wake up someday in late spring to find ourselves already in the vortex of armed conflict.

In the meantime as a bridge, although an inadequate one, against delay in organization of the UN force, we should find ways of making it plain to the Arabs that, if forced to act alone, we will take a part no less bold than the part we have taken in Greece. That there is a step even less drastic which we can and should take right away. We should repeal the embargo on the export of arms to the Jewish Agency, to Haganah and to all legitimate Jewish defense forces already on the scene.

The states of the Arab league are arming and training for the undisguised purpose of annihilating Jewish Palestine. The British are sending arms to the Arab league states. The British say that they are sending only normal quantities which presumably will be used to equip the national forces of those states. But who is to guarantee that those forces will not be launched against Palestine? If they are not sent as national forces, who is to say that men and arms, or even arms alone, will not be diverted, unofficially to the aggressors, in the manner of Hitler's and Mussolini's operations in Spain?

If the Arabs are getting arms from the outside world and the Jews are not, the result will be a foregone conclusion, that is, unless the UN intervenes effectively. In other words, our "non-intervention" would in effect be intervention—intervention to overthrow the settlement which we ourselves created. Surely we had enough of this kind of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war to bring us a full understanding of its hypocrisy, its cynicism and its mortal dangers.

JANUARY

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ATLANTIC January 1948

THE ATLANTIC REPORT
on the World today

The Middle East

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

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

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

The outstanding stumbling block to a solution was Britain's refusal, despite its decision to evacuate Palestine, to coöperate in a settlement not acceptable to Arabs and Jews alike. This attitude came strangely from a government which had submitted the problem to the UN on the very ground that all possibilities of Arab-Jewish agreement had been exhausted; and which, furthermore, had shown no compunction about using force to impose the pro-Arab White Paper at great cost to itself in lives and money.

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

Will the Arabs go to war?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Second-rate Arab Army

All the Arab armies together total approximately 135,000 men, a high proportion of whom must be kept at home to maintain order among the discontented masses and — in the case of Syria and Iraq — to cope with mutinous tribesmen. And this figure cannot be greatly strengthened by conscription. Eighty per cent of Egyptian recruits are rejected as physically unfit, and the health of the masses is, if anything, lower elsewhere.

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

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

Misery for the poor

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

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

The Atlantic Report *on the Middle East*

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

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

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

Subsidies for the rich

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

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

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

Rising clamor for reform

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

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

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

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

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U.M.T. Is Conscription

An *Editorial*

Federal Union Is Not Enough!

By Truman B. Douglass

Palestine and the Jew—A Reply

By Philip S. Bernstein

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Palestine and the Jew—A Reply

By Philip S. Bernstein

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

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

I

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

This is true also of the religious leadership. All the rabbinic bodies, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, have strongly repudiated Rabbi Lazaron's position. Of the 311 Jewish chaplains in the United States armed services less than 10 were members of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism.

Between May 1946 and August 1947, while serving as adviser on Jewish affairs to the United States army in Europe, I talked with over a hundred thousand Jewish displaced persons. I did not meet a single anti-Zionist among them. Even those who desired to migrate to the United States to join their families believed in the necessity of a Jewish state in Palestine. From their earliest years they had suffered from anti-Semitism. Since their postwar "liberation," they have seen their hopes blasted by violent pogroms and have faced the obvious unwillingness of every country to open its doors to any considerable numbers of D.P.'s. These Jews are tired of vapid platitudes. They have no faith in international conferences on refugees which simply highlight the reluctance of nations to take them in. They are sick of the humiliation of knocking as beggars at closed doors. Nor do they want a reluctant tolerance which would be followed, according to their experience, by overt anti-Semitism. They want a Jewish state in Palestine to which they would come as of right, not on sufferance. They wish to live as normal human beings among the free peoples of the world. The anti-Zionist, it should be clear, speaks for a very small minority of the Jewish people.

II

Rabbi Lazaron's second point is that establishment of a political state will destroy the moral authority of Judaism. He forgets that the overwhelming preponderance of Jewish scholarship inextricably links Jewish nationalism and Jewish theology. From the ancient Hebrew prophets to the latest book of Prof. Salo Baron, it is incessantly affirmed that out of Zion shall go forth the Law. Daily the believing Jew prays for the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

To charge Zionism with being anti-religious is not only to contradict the facts, it is to ignore current realities. The leaders in the American Zionist movement are rabbis: Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress; Abba Hillel Silver, president of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine; Israel Goldstein, chairman of the United Palestine Appeal. When the Herald Tribune Forum sought an authentic spokesman for modern Judaism, the choice was Chaim Weizmann, revered leader of the world Zionist movement.

Although in Palestine, as elsewhere, there are irreligious people, essentially Zionism has a profound religious motivation. It is based on prophetic teaching and professes a messianic goal. Modern Judaism has been revitalized in Palestine. The ancient ritual practices have already evolved new meaning and new forms. The observance of the Sabbath and the festivals now expresses a living people's soul. New songs and dances and other art forms have emerged which are enriching the religious life of Jews all over the world. With the exception of a handful of old-line Reform temples, all the synagogues of America reveal the fructifying influence of the Jewish renaissance in Palestine. In short, most Jews not only see no conflict between Zionism and Judaism, but find them integrally bound together and complementary.

But Rabbi Lazaron claims that the establishment of a Jewish state will adversely affect the position of the Jews of the world. What are the facts in this connection? First of all, fear of the possible adverse effects of Jewish statehood is irrelevant to the present Jewish position in Europe. Most of Europe's Jews were slaughtered by the nazis. Most of the survivors either huddle in D.P. camps or live in lands where anti-Semitism continues to terrorize them. As the nazis persecuted Jews not for being Zionists but for being Jews, so today Europe's Jew-hatred is unrelated to Zionist aspirations or to the political decisions affecting Palestine. European anti-Semitism is as old as European Jewry. Hitler did not create it; he exploited it. European Jews are worse off today than they have been at

any other time in the nineteen centuries of dispersion. They would smile wryly at Rabbi Lazaron's appeal that they ally themselves with the forces that are marching toward freedom. Where? In what country?

The largest surviving Jewish population of Europe is in Rumania. Most of these 400,000 Jews "sit on their suitcases" awaiting the opening of the doors to Palestine. Many thousands could not wait. I saw them in the D.P. assembly centers in Austria and Germany, their bodies emaciated, their eyes terror-stricken. I asked them whether, since UNRRA had been liquidated and the army prohibited by war department directive from providing aid to new infiltrees, they would not have been better off if they had waited in Rumania. Without exception, they said that the security of the D.P. camps under American protection was infinitely preferable to the menace of Rumanian anti-Semitism.

I saw Polish Jews on the march after the Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1946. They had left behind everything they possessed to flee in panic toward safety in the United States zone. They have been waiting a long time in Germany and Austria, but they will not return to Poland, for they regard it as certain that their return in any numbers would evoke again the violence which forced them to flee. The Jews remaining in Poland—90,000 out of the prewar total of 3,250,000—await the opportunity to move to Palestine.

The second-largest Jewish community in Europe is that under U.S. army care in D.P. camps. Of these, 90 per cent have expressed the desire to go to Palestine. Their eagerness for resettlement has been intensified by the growth of outspoken German anti-Semitism. Recent army studies reveal that six out of every ten Germans would participate in or condone overt acts against Jews. Feeling against the D.P.'s is running high. Nazi songs are heard again. Stones are thrown into the windows of Jewish homes. Jews are abused in trains and other public places. It is generally believed that the removal of the American army would be followed by pogroms.

III

Informed persons know that most of the Jews of Europe have no future there. (Excluded from this statement are the Jews of Soviet Russia, who live behind the "iron curtain," whose precise condition is unknown and who are not free to express their wishes.) Where shall they go? Again I speak from experience. Disregarding the expressed wishes of the displaced persons, I explored every possibility for their resettlement. Occasionally small numbers could be placed here or there, but the results were canceled out by the increasing birth rate and by new infiltration. There simply was no place to send the great bulk of Europe's surviving Jews.

Anti-Semitism, although a major factor, was not the only obstacle. The countries which needed labor wanted farmers, miners, lumbermen, heavy manual workers. The Jews were chiefly artisans, professional people, small business men. Moreover, there is a soul sickness in the world which has made all nations distrustful of foreigners. Even the United States, the richest country in history, has been unwilling thus far to liberalize its immigration laws. It is no secret that anti-Semitism was the most powerful factor in blocking the passage of the Stratton bill to admit 100,000 displaced persons a year for four years.

Thus it was that not only Jews but American military and governmental authorities became convinced that Palestine was the only answer to the problem of displaced Jews. And when it became clear that there could be no large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine without Jewish political control, they threw their support behind the proposal for the establishment of a Jewish state.

The claim that the establishment of such a state will worsen the position of the Jews in Europe has no basis in fact. The Jews feel that their position could not be worse. That is why they are ready to brave every danger and hardship in order to reach Palestine. I am inclined to think that if Rabbi Lazaron had spent some time among these displaced Jews he would feel different about their future in Europe.

IV

What really bothers the anti-Zionists, I suspect, is the effect of a Jewish state in Palestine on the status of American Jews. This situation however is not without parallel. Ireland and Czechoslovakia became independent nations only after World War I, but the loyalty of Irish- or Czech-descended American citizens was never questioned on that account. Of course in the case of American Jewry adjustments will have to be made—and can be made. All that is required is a little common sense. Jews must and will remain politically loyal to the United States of America. Spiritually they will have some such attachment to Palestine as the Irishman cherishes for Eire and the Catholic for Rome. If ever there should be a war between the United States and the new Judea—which certainly seems very unlikely—the Jew will be faced with the same conflicts as other groups. This should be no more an insoluble problem for the Jewish-American than it has been for the Italian-, German- or Finnish-American.

On the other hand, the normalizing of the Jewish position in the world should do a great deal to reduce the strain under which the Jew lives in this country. It was the abnormal position of the Jew in Europe which evoked violent anti-Semitism there. Furthermore, the pressure of the unsolved Jewish problem in Europe has been a constant irritant here in America, exacerbating the general problem of refugees and displaced persons for both the taxpayer and the army. Even the burden of guilt on the American conscience, which recognized that something must be done and yet did nothing, was in a sense an irritant.

All this has led to a growing feeling of annoyance with the Jews. The solution of the European Jewish problem will relieve these strains and burdens. The Jewish problem will then be transferred from the arena of controversy to the area of constructive effort. Regardless of the political problems that may arise in Palestine, I envision a more settled condition for the Jews of the United States as a result of the Jewish state.

V

Finally, I would deal with Rabbi Lazaron's charge that Zionism is a reactionary movement and his insistence that the Jews should align themselves with the progressive

forces of the world. Actually, it is the opponents of Zionism who are the known reactionary forces. The grand mufti, who is the leader of the Arab opposition to Zionism, joined Hitler in Berlin during the war to fight Western democracy. He is the spokesman for an unhealthy combination of economic feudalism and religious fanaticism. Before the Jews revolutionized social conditions in Palestine, he condoned a work day of fourteen hours for five cents. He and his like keep the Arab masses ignorant and poverty-stricken, denying them the benefits of modern medicine and modern agriculture. These reactionaries inevitably conflicted with the progressive Western ideas introduced by the Jews into Palestine.

Certainly neither the Arab rulers nor the British colonial administrators in the Middle East represented the forces of social progress. But the Jews did. Into one of the most backward countries of the world they introduced cooperatives, social insurance, universal education, public hygiene, hydro-electrification, newspapers and soap. They established in Palestine one of the most progressive labor movements in the world. Today the Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, has a higher percentage of the population in its membership than is to be found in proportion to numbers in any free country. The other day, I heard Henry Wallace say that the Arabs in Palestine had the lowest wheat yield in the world, even lower than in the time of Christ. Jews, on the other hand, have developed an amazing productivity. They are showing the Arabs the way to prosperity, literacy and good health. Here is hope for the Middle East. The Jews in Palestine are the progressive forces on the march toward freedom, and it would be well for the Arabs and the world if the Arabs were to join them.

Since Rabbi Lazaron wrote his article his views have taken on a somewhat academic character. The conscience of the world organized in the United Nations has spoken. A clear policy for Palestine has been enunciated. The greatest powers in the world have made the decision and can be relied on to support its implementation. The Jews, having suffered so much and waited so long, and seeing no alternative, will not be turned aside. The Jewish state in partitioned Palestine is on its way.

The question now is, What kind of Jewish state? And what shall our relations with it be?

The new state will face terribly difficult practical problems. At the moment the security problem looms large, but this will become secondary as time passes, while economic and social problems will assume priority. The resettlement and absorption of such vast numbers of Jews will require large funds as well as statesmanship, imagination and social vision. However, it may confidently be expected that the Jewish commonwealth will not only right ancient wrongs and help to bring prosperity and progress to the feudalistic Middle East, but will also yield new insights into life and faith to troubled mankind, once more bringing forth out of Zion the law of God. In an enterprise of such importance and spiritual significance every Jew and all Christians of good will should aid.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Friday, February 6, 1948

Collective Paralysis on Palestine

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

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

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

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

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

Washington Memo

EDITOR: Charles Van Devander
Associates: Oliver Pilat, James A. Wechsler and William O. Player Jr.

Arabs Are Bluffing With Vital Oil, Their Cards Show, and Still We Fall for It

Washington, Feb. 10.

American policy on Palestine is being influenced, and perhaps determined, by one of the most amazing bluffs in history—the threat that this country's access to Middle East oil will be cut off unless we repudiate the United Nations decision to partition the Holy Land.

Fantastic thing about this bluff is that all of the cards are showing—and all that the Arab League and the Mufti's Higher Committee for Palestine have is a busted flush.

FORRESTAL

Public and private dispatches during the past six months from Syria, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia have agreed on one point: The Arab countries are even more desperately interested than is the U. S. in completion of the pipelines that will bring full development of Arabian oil fields and that will mean dollar prosperity to the Arab governments as surely as it will mean oil plenty to the Western Hemisphere.

* * *

The Arab rulers are not interested in francs or pounds, for the obvious reason that nothing much can be bought with those currencies. What they want is dollars. Strangely enough, they are also dependent on this country for distilled oil products to run the thousands of American automobiles, trucks and buses they have acquired in recent years. Gasoline in Syria and Lebanon is now being rationed and is producing from $1.60 to $2 a gallon in the black markets.

Little Lebanon, alone, is counting on $100,000,000 of oil company money being spent in that country during the next few years in completing the Mediterranean pipeline. In Syria, where the pipeline means employment for 60,000 persons, demonstrations against the government have occurred in an effort to speed ratification of the pipeline agreement.

Throughout the Middle East there is a realization that if political difficulties result in U. S. steel being diverted to tankers the pipelines probably never will be built.

* * *

Yet there are American officials—of whom Defense Secretary Forrestal is the most important—who have completely fallen for the Arab bluff that the pipelines will be cut off unless the U. S. repudiates the U.N. decision on Palestine. And the frightened propagandists of the oil companies here are actively bolstering the spectres raised by Forrestal.

When the full history of the mysterious and undercover Washington drive against partition is finally written the heretofore unsung name of James Terry Duce may merit an extensive chapter. Duce is the vice-president in charge of operations of the Arabian-American Oil Co. He journeyed to the Middle East soon after the partition vote at Lake Success.

According to information from highly responsible sources, Duce's pilgrimage was a fateful turning point. In conversations with Arab leaders at Beirut he expressed his company's disappointment at the terms of the U.N. decision. They, in turn, suggested that there was a "way out"—the abandonment of partition and the establishment of a Hebrew equivalent of the Vatican state in Jerusalem.

Duce returned to this capital last month. He subsequently conferred with officials in both the State and Defense departments and reported to his company that he had received a "warm response" from some influential dignitaries. Duce reportedly found that the "Red threat" was the most persuasive argument and he played it hard.

* * *

Now the words that he recited have become common Washington language and are being echoed by some top-ranking government officials. Lobbyists for Standard Oil and Socony Vacuum are promoting the same campaign, using Duce's "reports" as a major weapon in their underground drive.

But the interesting—and unpublicized—side of Duce's story is that he also is said to have informed his company that there was no early danger of the cancellation of oil leases; that the problem was "long-range."

In any case the chronology is significant. For it shows that the renewed fight against partition here broke loose at just about the time that the unheralded agent of Arabian-American Oil began circulating his scare tales and it also supports the belief that the dire Arab threats to cut off Middle East oil from America are pure bluffs.

Letters to The Times

Arabs as Aggressors

United Nations Asked to Authorize An International Police Force

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

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

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

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

No More Conciliatory

The second assumption of the "compromisers" that there are a number of Arab leaders who would accept a compromise—even if this involved some further weakening of the Jewish position in Palestine—is also untrue. Not the slightest evidence has been adduced to show that the Arab leaders are today any more conciliatory than they were in February and March, 1946, when my colleagues and I of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry spent several weeks investigating opinions in Palestine and in its Arab neighboring states. Then not a single important Arab spokesman dared to support any deviation from the accepted line that the whole of Palestine must be an Arab state. During the past two years Arab leadership opinion has become, if that were possible, even more intransigent. Any Arab leader who today spoke of compromise would do so at the risk of his life.

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

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

No Compromise

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

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

JAMES G. McDONALD.

New York, Feb. 11, 1948.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1948

U. S. Stand on Palestine Viewed As Starting U.N. on League's Path

Sumner Welles Attacks Counselors of Caution, Says Holy Land War Would Realize Their Fear—Soviet Troops in the Middle East

By Sumner Welles
Former Under Secretary of State

It is hard to arouse a democracy to impending danger when the clouds on the horizon still seem no larger than a man's hand. Even Winston Churchill could not waken the British people to the menace in the rise of Nazism. The peril to us in Japan's aggression against China and in Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia went largely unperceived. But even if the tragic lessons of the recent past are to be so easily forgotten, the clouds now looming are no longer on the horizon. They are hanging over us.

This government has repeatedly announced that the United Nations is the foundation of American foreign policy. Yet because of the failure of the United States to adopt a consistent and courageous policy on Palestine, the United Nations is today faced with the gravest dilemma in its history.

Save for Britain in the days of Baldwin, it would be difficult to find a more sorry instance of a major power refusing to face facts.

The decision to partition Palestine was taken after full investigation and debate. It was in strict accordance with the provisions of the Charter. The United States was in great part responsible. This country played a leading role throughout the events that led up to that decision.

Lack of Enforcement

The American government failed however to insist that the United Nations must be enabled to enforce its decision, and to protect life and property in Palestine until the independence of the two new states had been finally established.

For lack of any United Nations police force, the members of the Palestine commission have now been told by the British that they will be assassinated if they set foot in Palestine. Major hostilities between Jews and Arabs are imminent. The United Nations cannot carry out its decision. Because the United States has during the last two months renounced every semblance of leadership, the smaller countries are increasingly reluctant to assume any responsibility.

The Palestine commission has at length been compelled to ask the Security Council to determine that there is a "threat to the peace" and to take action under the Charter. And Washington still remains silent.

It is notorious that there is a sharp cleavage of opinion within the government. The Army and Navy, supported by some officials of the State Department and of other departments, insist that the United States must take no action to back up its words. They allege that our growing controversy with Russia makes it unwise for us further to antagonize the Arab states or jeopardize this country's access to Middle Eastern oil.

Soviet Troops?

Such arguments are wholly unconvincing. The British government cannot prolong its mandate in Palestine. Once British forces withdraw, war will result unless the United Nations can send an international constabulary to Palestine. If hostilities break out, the Soviet Union will undoubtedly insist that its vital interests require it to send its own forces to maintain order in its neighborhood.

Should our service departments prevail upon the Administration to refuse to exercise any leadership within the United Nations to maintain peace in Palestine, they will pave the way for what they fear most, namely, the extension of Soviet control over the Middle East.

The arguments on oil are just as unrealistic. If a new war breaks out, the Middle Eastern oil resources would certainly not be available to western Europe nor to the United States. Should peace be preserved, since the Arab governments depend upon the royalties from their oil concessions, they are hardly likely to oppose their exploitation.

But we are face to face with a far more fundamental issue.

Japan defied the League of Nations in 1932 and was permitted by the great powers to do so with impunity. The Italian aggression against Ethiopia, the civil war in Spain, and the rape by Hitler of Austria and of Czechoslovakia were the inevitable result.

The Arab states have now defied the United Nations.

U. S.-Soviet Concurrence

The partition of Palestine is the one major question upon which the policies of the United States and of the Soviet Union have coincided. Yet this government has so far failed to initiate any measures within the United Nations to guard against the Arab aggression which is under way, or even to protest the flagrant violation of their Charter commitments by the Arab states.

If the United Nations is, in fact, the foundation of American policy, the United States must support the United Nations, not only when that is convenient and easy, but quite as much so when such support implies effort, sacrifice and risk.

The League of Nations collapsed because the major powers then members of the League supported the League only when it suited their own ends. They failed to support the League when it seemed that their selfish interests might be prejudiced.

We are seeing exactly the same trend. The Palestine question is a test case. Should the United States persist in its present blind inaction it will be preparing the way for the failure of the new international organization. And if the United Nations fails, the one hope humanity today possesses for the rule of law rather than the rule of force, for the freedom and progress of mankind, and for the establishment of a peaceful world order will vanish with it.

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Brewster Calls Palestine Arms Ban Illegal

Charges State Dept. Has Usurped Legislative Power

By I. F. Stone
Washington Editor

WASHINGTON

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

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

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

Challenges Sincerity Of 'Neutrality'

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

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

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

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

¶ "The Flying Tiger episode [*before the U. S. A. entered the war.*—Ed.] in connection with which we supplied large numbers of airplanes, equipped with machine guns and bomb racks, set up a factory for the manufacture of military aircraft for the Chiang Kai-shek government, and continued to supply this factory with the machinery and tools for the construction of military aircraft."

State Dept. Obliged To Grant Licenses

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

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

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

Reasons For Which Exports Can Be Banned

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

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

¶ If the President had issued a proclamation declaring that the export of arms to any specified country or area "would be contrary to the interest of the United States."

Sen. Brewster
Gives Legal Brief

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

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

State Dept. Cites 'Inter-Office Memo'

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

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

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

UN Hasn't Asked Ban on Shipments

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

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

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

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

Straddling the Issue

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1948

The Straddle

It is difficult to read Mr. Austin's opening statement to the Security Council as anything save a last—a really stupendous—effort to straddle an issue which can be straddled no longer. In its elaborate legal niceties the statement is correct. The General Assembly's decision for partition was a "political" decision; it could have the force only of a recommendation, not of law. To enforce such a decision is no part of the Security Council's duty or authority; it is empowered only to keep peace. It cannot impose the partition plan or any other plan; all it can do is to determine whether Palestine presents a threat to international peace, and then take action necessary to avert that threat.

In suggesting that under the circumstances the first step on the part of the Security Council should be the appointment of another committee to "look into" the matter and further to "consult," the Austin statement, if not correct, is at any rate logical. The Assembly's partition plan was expected to be in effect self-enforcing; the fact that it has not proved so means that in this important respect the plan is a failure and therefore it is a fundamentally new situation which confronts the Council, in which "consultation" is appropriate. The validity of all this careful reasoning must be recognized. Unfortunately, its futility is too obvious even for comment.

The Austin statement does go so far as to say that "if" the Council should decide that in order to maintain peace it is necessary to use armed force "in connection with" Palestine, the United States will be ready to "consult . . . with a view to such action as may be necessary to maintain international peace." This wobbling stand is unlikely to impress the Arabs, or the other members of the Security Council. It will not counter-balance the proposal for another committee, which can only convince the Arabs that they have partition on the ropes and that with a continuation of their present tactics they may even finish it for good.

The Truman administration has made a mighty attempt to straddle this issue, which it has itself helped to develop into a chasm too deep and wide and dangerous for any straddling. The practical alternatives are as before: either to enforce partition upon the Arabs or abandon Jewish Palestine. As the British learned long ago, one cannot attempt to straddle without seeming to favor one side or the other and earning the bitter enmity of both. The British, speaking through Sir Arthur Creech-Jones, were at least completely forthright. They are through, once and for all; they will spend no more blood on this thankless business and will have nothing whatever to do with enforcement of any kind. If the United States is not to stand by while Palestine slides into chaos, carrying the United Nations with it, then the United States must say with equal forthrightness what it will do and what it will urge the Security Council to do.

New York Post

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1948.

Betrayal

An Editorial

By T. O. THACKREY

Stripped of platitudes, the statement of the United States before the United Nations Security Council yesterday cancelled out the plan for the partition of Palestine the United States fought to secure last November 29.

This is betrayal, though quick study of the statement does not disclose it—as it was intended not to disclose it.

The statement is intended to make us believe the United States is merely seeking a method of carrying out the partition decision.

The United States asks the Council to determine whether there is a threat to peace; it offers to consult with the other great powers on the formation of an international army to enforce the peace, if it is found to be threatened; it pledges to support whatever action the Council takes.

This has the sound of a constructive policy, particularly when coupled with intimations that, if the Council decides an armed militia is required to enforce the peace, a way would be found to supply arms.

It was intended to sound constructive.

But it was betrayal.

The first of the significant statements—an outrageous statement containing the very essence of betrayal—was this from the United States:

"The Council's action . . . is directed to keeping the peace and not to enforcing partition."

But if enforcement of the partition decision is not the business of the Council, the only United Nations organ empowered to use force, then it is the business of nobody and is meaningless.

The United States' statement is not content with nullifying the partition decision by conspiring to negate any possibility of its enforcement, however; it goes further.

"The Charter does not empower the Security Council to enforce a political settlement whether it is pursuant to a recommendation of the General Assembly or of the Council itself," is what the U. S. delegate said.

This statement terms the action of the General Assembly a recommendation, which it is not, rather than a decision, which it was.

It also embarks on the most dangerous of all concepts—that whether the General Assembly or the Security Council or both, reach political decisions, the United Nations under no circumstances is empowered to enforce them.

Since every question involving a threat to peace is a political question, what the United States has actually said in its anxiety to avoid enforcement of the partition decision is that no decisions can be enforced.

This is another way of stating that the way to nullify any decision is for the opposed group or groups to attack, threaten the peace, and then have the Security Council maintain peace by nullifying the decision that caused the attack.

The United States also proposes a five-power Security Council Commission to study the Palestine problem.

This commission supersedes, of course, the Palestine Commission empowered by the General Assembly to implement a decision which we now deny was a decision.

What really was done at Lake Success yesterday by the United States was to do these things:

1. Kill the partition decision reached by the General Assembly.

2. Take the whole Palestine problem away from the Assembly and place it effectively in British and Arabian hands for "settlement."

Next, we shall no doubt see the spectacle of the United States urging that Great Britain be begged to remain in Palestine "to keep the peace."

It would have been more honest to state flatly that we have placed our foreign policy in the tender hands of the British Foreign and Colonial offices, and have empowered the Nazi-Arab war criminal the ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, our new Secretary of State for Palestine.

If no other course can restore us to honor, perhaps it is not too soon to raise the question of impeachment.

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

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1948

Peace in the Holy Land

Mr. McDonald Dissents From the Gildersleeve Report

To the New York Herald Tribune:

My reading in the New York Herald Tribune today of the statement of the Committee for Justice and Peace in the Holy Land and the explanation of the Chairman, Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve, has left me with a feeling of amazement and consternation: amazement that the group of American educators and religious leaders who have endorsed the new Committee should ignore the realities of the Palestine problem and basic Christian interests in the Middle East; and consternation that these leaders should in the name of "peace and justice" invite the United Nations to commit suicide by yielding to Arab aggression and to Arab threats of war.

The sponsors of the Committee are quoted as contending that "the Palestine problem must be solved through conciliation or some sort of compromise agreeable to both the Arabs and the Jews." This is tantamount to asking the Jews to surrender their hopes and their rights in Palestine. The Arab leaders when they appeared to give testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (of which I was one of the American members) were unanimous and unyielding in their demand that the Jews should relinquish all special rights or claims to such rights in Palestine. Unashamedly, these Arab leaders demanded the scrapping of the Balfour Declaration with its clear and solemn pledge to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. They demanded, too, the scrapping of the League of Nations Mandate which incorporated the Balfour pledge and which had made that pledge the international law of the civilized world for decades. In short, the Arab spokesmen would agree to nothing less than that the Jews become a helpless and defenseless minority in their historic, their promised homeland. In the two years since the Anglo-American Committee concluded its hearings, Arab intransigence has not diminished. Instead, if that were possible, it has increased.

In view of this Arab defiance, the call of the Committee for "compromise agreeable to both the Arabs and the Jews" must have the effect of bringing pressure to bear upon the Jews to yield to Arab intransigence. How such pressure can contribute towards "peace and justice in the Holy Land" is a mystery which neither the Committee's statement nor the explanation of its Chairman does anything to clear up. The amazing fact is that the Committee and its sponsors could have so completely disregarded the obvious pro-Arab effect of their call for "compromise."

Similarly, the Committee ignores the miracle of re-creation which the Jews have worked in Palestine under the Mandate and the beneficent effect of that re-creation upon the welfare and the feelings of the masses of the Arabs in the country. That the Arab worker and peasant are not unaware of the benefits of Jewish enterprise, modern techniques and devotion to the land is evidenced by the fact that in the recent outbreaks of violence the masses of the Palestinian Arabs have had little or no part. On the contrary, the Arab attacks have been spearheaded by guerrillas or members "on leave" of the armed forces from across the frontiers. Surely if the rank and file of Palestine Arabs were as violently anti-Jewish as their self-appointed leader, there would be no need—since the Arabs outnumber the Jews two to one—for assistance from Syria, Iraq and other neighboring Arab states.

Among the sponsors of the new Committee is such a large proportion, if not a majority, of Protestant religious leaders that the reader naturally concludes that Christian interests in Palestine and the Middle East would be advanced by the proposed surrender to the Arabs. Precisely the opposite would be the more likely result of such un-Christian sacrifice of the Jews to Arab fanatical nationalism.

During the investigation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Palestine and the neighboring Arab states, we were given many opportunities to hear either in open session or private interviews, the opinions of Christian leaders. Of all these leaders none impressed me as deeply as did the Patriarch of the Maronites. This venerable head of one of the most important Christian sects in the Middle East was unqualified in his support of the Zionist aspirations in Palestine and in his denunciation of those Moslem leaders whom he charged were, in the name of Arab nationalism, preparing the way for a frontal attack upon Christianity in that area.

The Patriarch's statement made to me in the presence of his advisers was in substance as follows: "In Palestine the Zionists are synonymous with rebirth and fertility; the Arabs have been synonymous with aridity and decay. The only menace to Christianity in this part of the world is from the success of inflamed Moslem nationalists. Tell your American Christian friends this truth about the danger which threatens Christianity here." Very respectfully I suggest to the Christian leaders sponsoring the new Committee that they take account of the Patriarch's warning.

Recently one of the official organs of the Church of England, "The Record," put the case incontrovertibly: "There can be no impartiality between right and wrong, between justice and injustice. . . . The only consistent course would be for the U. N. to declare the Jews as allies and defenders of the world conscience. The Haganah might logically be appointed as the international force in Palestine."

In all fairness is not this approach at once more realistic and Christian than that of the new Committee, which by urging appeasement of Arab aggression, invites the United Nations to commit suicide?

JAMES G. M'DONALD.
New York, March 3, 1948.

The New York Times

MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1948.

TO SAVE THE PEACE

On May 15 Britain will give up her Palestine mandate and withdraw her troops from the Holy Land. Unless the United Nations acts decisively before that date this withdrawal will certainly be followed by disaster. The United Nations is now in the position of having issued the partition decree and having taken no steps to enforce it. The tragedy of Palestine will therefore be a shattering blow to the U. N. as well as to world peace. Yet in the face of this grim fact the Security Council on Friday voted a delay of at least ten days by referring the matter to the permanent members of the Council. No postponement of the evacuation date of May 15 was included.

We do not believe ten days should be needed or ought to be wasted while blood flows in Palestine and the situation there steadily degenerates. We believe two steps can be and should be taken, immediately, by the Security Council and member governments which may avert the impending calamity: (1) The United Nations should forthwith urge the British mandatory Power to grant Haganah, the Jewish militia in Palestine, a *de jure* status in place of the *de facto* status already reluctantly accorded. After all, the Zionists, whose lives are now in danger, are in Palestine because of British cooperation. The barest good faith demands that they be allowed to protect themselves. We believe Britain could ill afford to ignore this recommendation of U. N., and that she will rise in the world's good opinion if she follows the wise and humane course. (2) We believe that the United Nations should urge the United States and other U. N. member countries to lift any embargo they may have placed on the supply of arms to the legal Zionist militia, and that they, too, under the pressure of this world recommendation, will act accordingly.

These steps will not relieve the United Nations of the ultimate responsibility for policing Palestine and for protecting it against invasion from without. Haganah, however, officially recognized and supplied, may be able to hold the line until further help can be organized or until the Arab dissenters realize that they cannot defy the power and public opinion of the rest of the world. But action must be swift. The lives of many people, the prestige of the United Nations and peace itself depend on this decision.

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TIME is Running Out...

THIS is a fateful week for Palestine—and for the peace of the world. By March 15th we should know whether the United Nations shall henceforth be regarded merely as an international debating society, whose decisions and considered judgments may be lightly shunted aside, or whether it is to be an effective instrument for the settlement of disputes--and the hope of mankind. By March 15th the Great Powers are scheduled to report to the Security Council on the results of their consultations regarding Palestine and to make recommendations "regarding the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view of implementing the (partition) resolution of the General Assembly.". It is our firm conviction that upon those recommendations, and upon the subsequent action to be taken by the Security Council, rests the future of international organization to preserve and maintain peace.

The issue is clear. On November 29, 1947—after many months of earnest investigation, deliberation and debate, and despite repeated Arab threats of war—the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states with an economic union, and with an international regime for Jerusalem. Since that time, Arab states, encouraged by the Mandatory Government's failure to maintain law and order in Palestine. have committed acts of armed aggression against the Jewish community in the hope of intimidating the United Nations into reversing its judgment. Now the United Nations must choose one of two paths: it can carry out its own decision vigorously and forthrightly by using the enforcement machinery provided by the United Nations Charter—and thereby preserve its own prestige and effectiveness for the future; or it can permit the aggressive acts of a few Arab rulers to upset the results of combined world statesmanship—and thereby commit suicide.

These are the two paths and there is no other. All talk of renewing attempts to "reconcile" the Arabs and the Jews, after innumerable and fruitless efforts at reconciliation over a period of thirty years, is wholly unrealistic. The chief spokesman of our own Government underscored this fact at the General Assembly of the United Nations last November.

What do those who are again talking about "reconciliation" really mean? Certainly not an understanding between Jews and Arabs based upon historic rights and international guarantees. The Arabs have time and again refused even to discuss such a settlement. If the Arab spokesmen have convinced us of anything, it is that they are absolutely intransigent with regard to any Palestine solution which in some way meets Jewish needs and rights. Obviously, those who now speak of "reconciliation" mean something quite different. What they have in mind is the whittling down of the United Nations partition decision—to the further detriment of the Jews. This unworthy objective is being advertised as "an attempt at compromise."

In this connection it should be pointed out that the Jews do not base their claim to Palestine upon the UN's partition decision, but upon a long series of international commitments originating with the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, and upon thousands of years of history. The decision of November 29, 1947 fell far short of meeting what the Jews regard as their historic rights. They acceded to the UN's compromise solution, which involved great sacrifices on the part of the Jewish people, but which they were prepared to accept as a way out of a dangerous international impasse.

To represent the UN's decision as "the Jewish solution," on the theory that the Jews should be expected to consent to a further curtailment of their rights, is not only unfair to a long-suffering people, but completely destructive of confidence in the United Nations.

It is with a sense of deep disappointment that we have observed the role that our own Government has played with respect to Palestine during the past weeks. We had hoped for the same clear-cut and energetic presentation of the traditional U. S. policy as was put forward in the final crucial meetings of the General Assembly. Instead, we have found indecision where decisiveness was called for, evasiveness where forthrightness was demanded, acquiescence in procedures which can only produce delay where speed was essential. Surely it cannot be the intention of our Government to destroy, by a series of diplomatic maneuvers, the very UN decision of which it was the chief architect.

We now look to our Government once again to assume leadership on this question and to ensure a just outcome. We respectfully urge that the following action be taken immediately:

1. that the United States Representative in the discussions of the permanent members of the Security Council take an unequivocal stand for the [illegible] of an international [illegible] to maintain the peace and to [illegible] Commission to carry on the work of implementation which was assigned to it;

2. that our Government urge the immediate organization and equipment of the Jewish militia, which is provided for in the United Nations decision; and

3. that our Government immediately revise its present embargo on arms, so that the defenders of the Jewish community—and of the United Nations decision—may be enabled to resist acts of aggression threatening their lives and their homes.

Time is running out.

Prof. James Luther Adams
Dean Alfange
Maxwell Anderson
Rev. Waldemar Argow
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Roger N. Baldwin
George Biddle
Dr. L. M. Birkhead
Manchester Boddy
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NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1948

The United Nations and Palestine

The Implications of the American Stand Would Impair U. N.'s Charter

By Benjamin V. Cohen

Formerly Counselor of the Department of State

THE statement made by Senator Austin in the Security Council on Feb. 24 indicates that the State Department doubts the authority of the Security Council to maintain peace in Palestine on the basis of the plan adopted by the General Assembly. The statement seems to go further and to cast doubt on the authority of the Security Council to remove a threat to the peace in any case by requiring the parties to the dispute to accept a political settlement of their differences. Because the issues thus raised affect not only Palestine but the future effectiveness of the United Nations, I feel impelled to express dissent from the apparent implications of that statement. Those implications would go far to make the charter impotent and to relieve the members of the United Nations of any real responsibility thereunder. In these critical days, it is not in our interest or in the interest of freedom and law in the world for us to read the life out of the charter of the United Nations.

Before considering the legal issues, however, I should like to point out that the State Department's present position represents a departure from the approach to the United Nations heretofore taken by President Truman, as well as by Secretary Byrnes and Senator Austin himself. Heretofore the approach of the American government to the United Nations has been not to inquire what we legally and technically are obligated to do, but what we legally and practically can do, to make the United Nations effective.

When Iran was threatened with aggression in the spring of 1946, Secretary Byrnes did not say we were helpless because the Soviet Union could and would veto anything we proposed, but he solemnly announced that we would defend the purposes, principles and policies of the United Nations, veto or no veto.

In their addresses before the General Assembly in the fall of 1946, both President Truman and Senator Austin averred that the large states as well as the small states were bound to live up to the obligations they had assumed under the charter and that the veto did not give them the right to absolve themselves from these obligations.

Heretofore it has been the policy of the United States to seek to realize the great potentialities of the charter and not to exaggerate and magnify its limitations.

THE statement of Feb. 24 admits the authority of the Security Council to remove a threat to international peace and security whether arising from within or without Palestine; but the statement goes far toward undermining the authority of the Security Council to do so by asserting that the Security Council has no authority to enforce partition or any other political settlement.

Certainly the Security Council, with the active support of our government, took a different view when it accepted the responsibilities to be vested in it in relation to the Free Territory of Trieste under the Italian Treaty. In the Trieste case the Security Council recognized that there were situations in which it could act not only under Article 39 with reference to specific threats to the peace but under Article 24 which vests in it primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. As is clearly pointed out in the President's recent "Report on the United Nations: 1947," on page 96, the Security Council supported the view expressed by the Secretary-General in a formal legal opinion on this question according to which "the Security Council was not restricted to the specific powers set forth in chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII of the charter but was held to have powers commensurate with its responsibilities in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security."

Leaving aside the special circumstances affecting the Palestine situation it is highly disturbing for the future of the United Nations that the State Department in the Austin statement should question, as it seems to question, the authority of the Security Council to impose or enforce a political settlement under Article 39 if the Security Council deems such settlement essential to the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security. In a practical world the problem of peace and the problem of settlement are frequently one and inseparable.

Certainly the general language of the charter requires no such unrealistic interpretation. And if we wish the United Nations to live and grow we should avoid abstract interpretations which may seriously hamper the practical efforts of the Security Council to keep the peace. Our own Supreme Court has wisely refused to interpret our own Constitution save as it is necessary to decide concrete cases. It would be equally wise for our State Department to refrain from attempting to limit by broad generalization in advance of controversy the authority of the Security Council to maintain international peace or security.

UNDER Article 39, the authority of the Security Council, in event of a threat to the peace, is to maintain or restore international peace and security; its authority is not limited to the mere stopping of hostilities. There is no need or justification for insisting at this time that the Security Council has authority only to stop fighting or threatened fighting. In the world in which we live, threats to peace and security cannot be removed without regard to the causes which have produced those threats.

Certainly it cannot lightly be assumed that the Security Council must in all cases maintain peace on the basis of the *status quo* even though the Security Council is convinced and agreed that the *status quo* has been irreparably destroyed by events, or has become practically intolerable and morally indefensible.

Article 37 of the charter obligates the parties to a dispute which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security to refer the dispute to the Security Council if they are unable to settle it by peaceful means, and it authorizes the Security Council when it deems that a continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate. If the Security Council does act under this article and its recommendations are not accepted and a breach of peace occurs, it is very unrealistic to believe that the Security Council was intended under Article 39 to call upon the members of the United Nations to stop hostilities with no power of any kind or in any circumstance to maintain peace on the basis of its own recommendations.

ARTICLE 40 expressly authorizes the Security Council before making recommendations or deciding upon measures under Article 39 to call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as the Council deems necessary and appropriate without prejudice to their rights, but the Council is expressly empowered duly to take account of their failure to comply. It would seem strange indeed that the Council should have authority to call upon the parties to comply with provisional measures and not have authority after full deliberation to require continued compliance with those measures or compliance with such other measures as the Council determines to be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

PARAGRAPH 7 of Article I provides that nothing contained in the charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the charter. But there is this very important proviso: that this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII. This clearly indicates that when there is an actual threat to international peace the Security Council may even require the settlement of matters claimed to be within the domestic jurisdiction of members. In truth, peace cannot be maintained and war averted without regard to the causes of the threats to the peace.

If the charter is to live, we must not exalt the letter which killeth and destroy the spirit which giveth life. To paraphrase the words of Chief Justice Marshall, we must remember that the charter was intended to endure for ages to come, and to be adapted to the various crises in human affairs.

[This is the first of two articles by Mr. Cohen. The second will appear in this space tomorrow.]

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1948

The United Nations and Palestine

General Assembly's Resolution on Partition Should Be Supported and Implemented

By Benjamin V. Cohen

Formerly Counselor of the Department of State

IN ATTEMPTING to make broad generalizations of doubtful validity, the State Department has thus far neglected to consider very significant aspects of the Palestine case.

The State Department refers to the partition plan as if it were a mere recommendation of the General Assembly. That is a very partial or fragmentary statement of the case. It omits consideration of vital developments of great legal significance.

Palestine is under mandate and to be administered as a sacred trust of civilization. The United Kingdom is the mandatory power for Palestine. It is the only sovereign state, the only member of the United Nations having substantive rights in Palestine. The charter contemplated, if it did not require, that a mandatory power desiring to retain its mandate should accept a United Nations trusteeship to be worked out by agreement between the mandatory power and the General Assembly. But the United Kingdom, before the United Nations became effective, created an independent state out of Transjordan which was under the Palestine mandate, and sought, unsuccessfully, to devise a settlement for Palestine which would not involve a continuation of the mandate. Failing to devise a settlement, the United Kingdom notified the General Assembly of her intention to abandon the mandate and requested the General Assembly to recommend a solution under Article 14 of the charter.

Certainly there can be no question of the authority of the General Assembly under Article 14 to make its recommendations for the peaceful adjustment of the Palestine situation as one which if not adjusted is likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations.

TO AVOID suspicion that its solution might be influenced by the power politics or the domestic political considerations of some of the great powers, the General Assembly excluded the great powers from the Special Commission which it appointed to recommend a solution. The majority of the Special Commission recommended a Partition Plan with Economic Union. The General Assembly adopted a resolution recommending "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" which is set out at length in the resolution and is a revised form of the plan recommended by the Special Commission.

The resolution took note of the declaration by the mandatory power that it intended to complete its evacuation of Palestine by August 1, 1948. The resolution provided that the administration of Palestine should, as the mandatory power withdrew, be turned over to a United Nations Commission composed of representatives of five member states to be designated by the General Assembly.

While refusing to accept any special responsibility for carrying out the plan, the United Kingdom has officially announced that she will accept the plan, terminate the mandate on May 15, 1948, and turn over the administration to the United Nations Commission. The United Nations Commission has been appointed by the General Assembly and its members have agreed to serve.

At the present time the Security Council therefore is not dealing with a mere recommendation of the General Assembly. It is dealing with a recommendation which has not only been supported by more than two-thirds of the member states voting, but which has been accepted by the mandatory power, the only sovereign state having substantive rights in Palestine. So far as the authority of the Security Council to assist in the implementation of the plan is concerned, the Palestine plan created by the resolution voted by the General Assembly and accepted by the United Kingdom is not essentially different legally from the plan for the Free Territory of Trieste created by the peace treaty and accepted by Italy. The maintenance of peace in each of these countries is significantly related to the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 24 of the charter, conferring upon the Security Council primary responsibility for international peace and security, is as much applicable to the one plan as to the other.

THE recommended plan for Palestine which has been accepted by the mandatory power provides the only regime of law that will exist for Palestine after May 15, 1948. If that plan is not recognized there will be a legal vacuum in Palestine, and anarchy and terror—an obvious threat to international peace and security—will prevail. The law abhors a vacuum and the principles of the charter cannot and do not tolerate it. Since the mandatory power has accepted the plan and agreed to transfer its administration to the United Nations Commission, no state has the right to use force or the threat of force, or to encourage the use of force or threat of force, to obstruct its execution. International peace and security cannot be maintained in Palestine except on the basis of a regime of law. And certainly those states which voted for the plan are under a moral obligation to recognize that regime.

If, avoiding legal sophistry, the State Department would devote its efforts to the devising of measures which our government, and other governments, individually and collectively, might properly take to assist in the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution on Palestine, we might even at this late date preserve the authority of the United Nations. The time is short for collective action by the Security Council, however desirable that would be. Individual action in support of the General Assembly's resolution and in cooperation with the United Nations Commission is not unilateral action. Failure of the Security Council to act does not relieve member states of their individual responsibility.

The threat to international peace in Palestine arises in large measure from doubt as to the United Nations Commission's ability to maintain law and order in Palestine while the plan is being implemented. The United Nations Commission needs guidance and assistance in developing a dependable militia to act as its defense arm and to protect it in taking over the administration of Palestine. Nothing in fact has undermined the authority of the United Nations Commission so much as the Americans arms embargo denying arms to those willing to support the Commission as well as to those threatening to use force to obstruct its work and to destroy its authority. If the United Nations Commission was aided to organize a dependable local militia from those elements willing to support its authority, the need for outside national contingents would be minimized, if not eliminated.

THE Jewish militia, the Haganah, is the strongest organized force in Palestine. It is committed to the support of the United Nations Palestine settlement. Properly equipped and directed, and supplemented to some extent by voluntary recruitment from abroad, it should be able to protect the United Nations Commission and on the Commission's behalf maintain order in Palestine. The most urgent need in Palestine is not troops, but a United Nations Commission's Command and United Nations' arsenals, for those troops who are ready and willing to subject themselves to the United Nations Commission's Command. What is required are practical arrangements between the United Nations Commission and Haganah to assure the supremacy of the United Nations Commission's Command and the Command's control of the Commission's arsenals. Naturally the Command would not wish to use Jewish troops in the Arab State except when necessary to break up concentrations directed against the Jewish State or the Jerusalem area. Of course the United Nations Commission should be prepared to incorporate into its militia Arab forces which are willing to subject themselves to its Command. And it would, of course, be of great moral assistance to the Commission to have a small token international force if such a force could be promptly recruited on a voluntary basis, preferably from the states which are members of the Commission.

IF THERE is to be peace on the basis of law in Palestine, the United Nations Commission, which will on May 15 become the provisional administration of Palestine, should have the support of the Security Council and of all members of the United Nations in carrying out its difficult task. The members of the Council should make it clear that they will assist and not hamper the commission in implementing the plan and in enforcing law and order. The first step should be to assist and encourage the United Nations Commission to organize a Palestine militia as its defense arm and to provide it with an effective command with adequate arms and equipment. To achieve this and to preserve the authority of the United Nations, the United States can do much if those in our government charged with the responsibility have the will and resourcefulness to do so.

[This is the second—and last—of two articles by Mr. Cohen.]

Munich 1948

HOW LONG WILL HE STAY BRIBED THIS TIME?

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 21, 1948

New York Post
AND THE HOME NEWS

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1948

An Editorial

Betrayal Reaffirmed

By T. O. THACKREY

Full responsibility for America's plan for dishonorable and hypocritical betrayal of Palestine partition and of the integrity of the United Nations must be taken by President Harry S. Truman, who posed as the friend of partition—and of honor.

It was the President who ordered full use of the tremendous power of the United States to bring about the General Assembly's majority decision on partition last November 29.

It was the President who, a week later, took the first step to defeat that decision by ordering an embargo on arms to Palestine, in the face of the arming of Arabs by the British for open warfare on Jewish families, in defiance of the United Nations.

It was the President who reversed our support of partition by an attack on the legal validity of General Assembly decisions as such, when no other method of blocking it was handy; whose determination to kill partition was so great that he was willing to wreck all United Nations' machinery if need be to gain that end.

• • •

When the United States presented its rambling and confused series of legal quibbles to the Security Council we called it promptly exactly what it was—betrayal.

If confirmation were needed then for some who were mislead by the deliberate effort to confuse, none can conceivably remain after the United States demand to the Security Council last night.

The United States now seeks to kill the plan outright. Listen to the words of betrayal:

"My government believes a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council . . ."

"This would require an immediate special session of the General Assembly, which the Security Council might call under the terms of the charter.

" . . . We believe that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its efforts to implement the proposed partition plan."

Could the conspiracy to kill solution rather than enforce it be more clear than these words, read by Senator Austin but ordered by President Truman?

• • •

How much faith can be placed in the assurance that the trusteeship would "be without prejudice to the character of eventual political settlement"? Or in the weasel word "temporary"? Has anyone forgotten that Britain's mandate from the League was also temporary—and the British have not yet relinquished their overlordship?

The United States calls attention to the great powers held by the Security Council, and boldly states that all of them should be used without hesitation "to stop the fighting"; but these are the very powers we refused to invoke to support the Assembly decision.

Further—we are now calling for a new Assembly decision—but we refuse to support the decision of the Assembly already on record: thus we are entitled to ask, Mr. President:

"Will the new decision be enforceable, if it is to our liking; is the old unenforceable just because we reversed our policy?" It won't wash . . . and the new effort deserves to fail.

• • •

The United States recommendation does make it clear that we really believe the General Assembly has the power which we denied it possessed just fifteen days ago.

If it does have the power now claimed for it—and we believe it does—to alter its decision, then the first decision must still be in force, and binding.

• • •

Merely because the United States has made another all-out effort to implement betrayal does not, and must not, end the matter.

The fact is that the United Nations, through the General Assembly, has assumed responsibility already for Palestine, and has authorized the Palestine Commission to carry out its decisions.

The mere fact that the United States now suggests another course—indeed is working actively for another course—does not remove the Palestine Commission's authority or its responsibility.

The Security Council may be blocked in actively working as a security force to back up the Commission, but it has no right and no power to reverse the Assembly's decision, or usurp the Palestine Commission's authority. Only the Assembly itself can do so.

Therefore, the Palestine Commission can, and must, continue to act.

For example, the Commission, having appealed without success to the Security Council for arms to enforce the peace, is still not wholly without power.

The Commission can and should carry out its mandate from the Assembly.

• • •

First, the Commission should organize a provisional government for Palestine, grant that government recognition as a defacto government, and demand in its behalf the right of all nations under the charter to bear arms in its own defense.

If neither the United States nor Great Britain will respond to that plea, there are still the resources of those nations who hold the rights of small nations to defend themselves as a vital right, and will respond.

Indeed, it is difficult to believe that even the present administration of the United States could find enough excuse before the people and the Congress to refuse assistance under such circumstances.

The Palestine Commission's action should, of course, come promptly.

The members of the commission must not let themselves be coerced into abandonment of their duties and responsibilities.

• • •

Furthermore, as President Truman's sorry effort to betray the United Nations into impotency continues its tragic but fumbling course, it becomes increasingly clear that our foreign policy has become so scandalous that a full-dress Congressional investigation will not be much longer delayed.

There are important and pertinent questions which must be asked; the Congress and the people have a right and a duty to know the answers.

• • •

Democratic Sen. Dennis Chavez of New Mexico has already courageously taken the lead in getting at the heart of the scandal.

He has made the flat charge that there is a conspiracy

sponsored by the State Department and the Department of Defense, with the President's approval, to divert short steel supplies to Saudi-Arabia for oil exploitation on the plea of security—while we have refused to permit Mexico to have any steel whatever to develop the vast Mexican oil reserves which are just across the border.

Already 33,000 tons of precious steel has gone to Arabia . . . for the tax-free profits of the American-Arabian oil combine sponsored by friends of Secretary of Defense Forrestal . . . on the excuse that we need the oil vitally: but this is no explanation for our refusal to help develop Mexican oil resources on this continent.

Mexican oil is government controlled.

Saudi-Arabian oil is privately exploited.

This is a first-class scandal, and should be investigated to the full. If Senator Chavez's charges are true, our security is really being seriously imperilled by the very Administration men who have used it as an excuse for scuttling Palestine!

The New York Times

SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1948

THE SWITCH ON PALESTINE

There can be little doubt that the partition of Palestine is being blocked by the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. A land once known for milk and honey now flows with oil, and the homeland of three great religions is having its fate decided by expediency without a sign of the spiritual and ethical considerations which should be determining, at least in that part of the world. Ancient Palestine was once described as "not the land of philosophers but the home of prophets." It would take a prophet sitting on a rapidly spinning turntable to have foreseen the course which our Government has pursued during these last few months.

Three things need to be said, and to be said at once, concerning the present shift of American policy on Palestine. The first is that it comes as a climax to a series of moves which has seldom been matched, for ineptness, in the handling of any international issue by an American Administration. The second is that it is a plain and unmistakable surrender to the threat of force. And the third is that it holds little promise of being able to avoid the very hazards which it is intended to circumvent.

So far as the first point is concerned, it may be said that all of the critical considerations now enumerated by Mr. Austin as reasons for our Government's change of policy—namely, the strength of Arab opposition to the partition plan, the necessity of providing a large international armed force to implement that plan, the reluctance of the small nations and all of the large Powers, with the sole exception of Soviet Russia, which has its own objectives in the Mediterranean, to provide that force—were inherent in the situation when the original decision in favor of partition was made last Nov. 29. Nevertheless, it was primarily on the initiative, and under the pressure, of our Government that the decision for partition was adopted. Somewhere along the line there has been a shocking lack of liaison and of common purposes between the American State Department and the American delegation in the United Nations, with the White House itself apparently utterly at sea. Inept, uncertain and confused, the prestige of American foreign policy has suffered a severe blow in the handling of this issue.

As for the second point — the surrender to the threat of force — it is obviously and admittedly Arab intransigeance that has forced the American Government to change its policy and to bow to Arab threats, and to propose that the whole United Nations retreat with us in the face of Arab scorn and fury. Unfortunately, if this is done, it will not be the first time that the United Nations has had to yield to the threat of force. It has been bludgeoned out of Northern Korea by Soviet Russia and out of the Balkans by Soviet Russia's satellites, but each surrender of this kind is a blow to the authority of the United Nations. Meantime, we have played a shabby trick on the Jewish community in Palestine, which put its faith in our promises.

Finally, where does this new decision leave us? It leaves us still under the inexorable necessity of helping to furnish that international armed force which we have been so reluctant to provide. For to maintain what Mr. Austin describes as a "temporary trusteeship" over the whole of Palestine will certainly require an armed force. It may well require an even larger armed force than would be required for partition, for, as Secretary General Lie notes, the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine drew the conclusion that "a trusteeship for Palestine would be fought by two parties instead of one." This is the prospect with which the whole series of moves now culminating in Mr. Austin's announcement leaves us.

The Boston Globe

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MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1948

Palestine

Mr. Harold Stassen describes the reversal of this nation's policy on partition of Palestine as "outrageous." His views are verified in the gloom which has descended upon the United Nations at Lake Success.

During the better part of the past two years the directors of American policy have repeatedly, publicly, declared that, while willing to make generous concessions, our nation's government would flatly refuse to compromise basic principles in the name of expediency. Yet two fundamental principles of publicly professed American policy have been mutilated by this about-face on partition.

The first principle wrecked—the integrity of solemn pledges maturely given—underlies the whole policy of the United States regarding Palestine these past twenty years—a principle defined and championed by every American President since Woodrow Wilson; a principle enshrined in our treaties; a principle supported even by successive British Governments up to 1939, when Chamberlain abandoned it; a principle backed by the present Labor Government of Britain also—until it took office in 1945.

The second principle demolished by the decision of President Truman (for he, not Secretary Marshall, is responsible for policy decisions) is that this move levels a devastating blow at the U.N., which Mr. Truman was championing only last Wednesday. In the name of expediency, armed defiance of a decision taken by the U.N. Assembly under American leadership is being appeased.

This will not bring peace to the Holy Land. It leaves our nation's prestige in the Middle East low indeed and the stature of the U.N. diminished.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 1948

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

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

By Sumner Welles
Former Under Secretary of State

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

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

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

Jews Seek to Hold Area

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

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

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

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

The legalistic arguments that the American delegate was instructed to deliver to the Security Council represent a flat denial of the responsibility of the United Nation for the preservation of world peace. That denial undermines the very foundations upon which the United Nations was built. The action of the United States in regard to Palestine can be as far-reaching in its results as the refusal by the League of Nations to protect China when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. We are destroying the faith of the peoples of the world in the efficacy and authority of the United Nations.

The U. N. as a "Vital Element"

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

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

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

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

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

War Danger Aggravated

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

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

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

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AT

SILVER EXHORTS US TO BACK PARTITION

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

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

What is needed, he said, is adherence to the partition plan sanctioned by the General Assembly of the United Nations last November, and the organization and equipment of a Jewish militia to support the provisional government scheduled to be set up in Palestine not later than May 16. To this end he urged the removal of all embargoes in the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine.

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

TEXT OF STATEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Militias Provided For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sumner Welles Is Quoted

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Government Set-Up Ready

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acting on U. N. Decision

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

It informed the Security Council that upon the termination of the mandatory administration, and not later than May 16 next, a Provisional Jewish Government will commence to function in Palestine. This decision of the organized Jewish Community of Palestine was taken after the most searching and serious deliberation. It may involve a measure of conflict after May 15. It still hopes that there may be no need for prolonged conflict in Palestine.

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

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

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

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

מיט צער און פֿראָטעסט האָט אידישע ניו יאָרק דורכגעפירט דעם טאָג פון תפילה פאר א"י

דער ייִסוד־התפיסה אין מושב זקנים אויף 12טע סטריט אין מעקאָר עיקעלי, ראבאי בלתארד בעערמאָן בראָוט שיפר.

דער יום התפילה פאריינט לאָנגרישטאָג אין דער סינעגישער שול אויף דיוויזיאָן סטריט, ניו יאָרק. חזן משה איישער אין תפילה

שוהלען איבערנעפאָקט אין טאָג פון תפילה

שמע ישראל

(א רוף צו אלע אידן פון אמעריקע)

עת צרה היא ליעקב. א קריטישער מאָמענט איז איינגעטראטן אין דער געשיכטע פון אידישען פאָלק. די הבטחות, וואס זיינען אונז געמאכט געוואָרן מצד די מלוכות פון דער וועלט, אייניגעריבענט אונזער איינענער ריפובליק פון די פאר־איינigte שטאאטען, וועגען דער אידישער מדינה אין ארץ ישראל אין וואס זיינען באפעסטיגט געוואָרן דורכן באשלוס פון די פאראיינigte נאציעס לעצטען נאָ־וועמבער, זיינען איצטער אין געפאָר פאריואָרפען צו וועלען.

דער ישוב אין ארץ ישראל איז געשטעלט געוואָרן פאר א גרויסער סכנה. א בלוטיגע מלחמה איז אויפגעצווואונגען געוואָרן אויף אים. די העלפישע זין אין טעכטער פון אונזער פאָלק אין ארץ ישראל זיינען נעשטעלט געוואָרן פאר א שוידערליכע לאגע — ארער אויפצוגעבען, חלילה, די רעכט אויף אונזער ארץ אבות, וואס איז אונזערם על־פי התורה, ארער צו פאריטידיגען מיט ג'ס חילף אונזער רעכט אין עקזיסטענץ מיט זייערע אייגענע כוחות.

די אנדערהאלבען מיליאָן אידען אין אייראָפע אין אויך וואס ליגען בשבי ובפה אין קוקען אוים זייערע אויגען אויף דער מינוט וען עס זאָלען געפֿעפֿנט ווערען פאר זיי די טויערען פון אונזער חיילישן לאגר, וואו זיי זאָלען קומען אל המנוחה ואל הנחלה, זיינען איצטער געבליבען מיט פאראיינדעטע הערצער אין וויסען נים מה יולד יום.

די אידען פון אמעריקע קאָנען נים און מארען נים בלייבען גלייכגילטig. זיי קאָנען נים שוויגען. זיי קאָנען נים און מארען נים שטיין פון דער וויטענס, וועו דער ישוב איז מקריב זיינע בעסטע זין אין טעכטער פאר אונזער חיילישן פארן קיום פון אונזער אומה, אין וועו הונדערטער טויזענטער פאראָאנגעלטע בריידער אונזערע שטרעקען אויס צו אונז די הענט פאר הצלה. מיר מוזען אויפשטורעמען אמעריקע אין די נאנצע וועלט. עס איז אוממענליך זיך פארצושטעלען, או אמעריקע וואָס האָט פון די טעג פון וואודראָו ווילסאָן ביז היינט געשטיצט פולהארציג דעם אויפ־בוי פון דער אידישער נאציאָנאלער הים אין וואָס האָט ערשט מיט פיער חדשים צוריק גורם געווען, או דער באשלוס פון די פאראיינigטע נאציעס זאָל זיין פאר אונזער טובה ווענען — מיר קאָנען זיך נים פארשטעלען, או די רעגיערונג אמעריקע זאָל אונז פלוצים פארלאָזן אין אויסליפערן דעם ישוב אין די הענט פון אונזערע גרעסטע שונאים.

דעריבער, צוואמען מיט רעך רבנות תיאשית פון ארץ ישראל, וועגרען מיר זיך מיט א הייסען רוף צו אלע אידען אין אמעריקע: **לך כנום את כל היהודים!** זאָלען אלע אידען פון אמעריקע בכל אתר ואתר זיך צוגרויפקומען אין די שהלען פון לאנד דאָ־נערשטאג, כ"ח אדר ב', ערב ראש חודש ניסן (דעם 8טען אפריל), אין אפֿייכטען תפילות צום בורא עולם, וויל אין לנו לחשען אלא על אבינו שבשמים.

מיר פאָדערן אויף די פרעזידענטען פון אלע שולען צו מאכען אלע נויטיגע הכנות פאר דעם יום־תפילה. די שולען מוזען זיין פול מיט מתפללים.

אידען, לייגט אוועק אייער ארבייט, שליסט אייערע געשעפטען, אנגעשטאָנ פאר־נאכט, כ"ח אדר ב', אין קומט צו מנחה אין אייערע שולען. נעמט מיט אייערע פרויען אין קינדער. דאָס אידישע פאָלק זאָל דאָרט זיין פארזאמלט — אנשים, נשים וטף — אין מתפלל זיין אל ה' הבוחר בציון וירושלים, ער זאָל דערוועקען ישר אין אמת אין די הערצער פון די פעלקער — וזכה במהרה לראות ברחם ה' עמו וארצו — ושבו בנים לגבולם!

אגודת הרבנים דארצות הברית וקנדה

נעוויין און יאמער איז די שוהלען זיי אין יום־כיפור

ספעציעלע תפילות אין דרשה געהאלטן; א גרויסע מאָדע אידש האבן געשאפען ייערע געשעפטען אין משעו מאָג; יונג און אלט, מענער אין פרויע קימען מתפלל זיין פאָרן העלדישען ישוב.

דאָס אמעריקאנער אידנטום האט נעכטען אפגעריכט א מאָל פון תפילות פאר דעם העלדישען אידישען ישוב אין ארץ ישראל.

טויזענטער נעשעפטען און אפֿיסן פון ניו יאָרק און איבער'ן נאנצען לאנד האבען 4 אויקער נאכמיטאָג זיך נעשלאסען, או אלע אידישער און אפֿ נעשטעלטע זאלען זעלבען נעמען אין זיך באטיילינען אין דער דאזיגער דעמאָנ סטראציע, וואס האט אויסנעדריקט אייניקייט אין סאלידאריטעט מיט די אמעריקאנער אידנטום מיט די אידען אין ארץ ישראל.

אין די נרויסע שוהלען און בתי מדרשים אין ניו יאָרק און אין אלע אנדערע שטעט זיינען זיך צוזאמענגע קומען נרויס און קליין. אידען, אידער נעס און קינדער, פרומע און ניט־ פרומע. מען האט נעזאָנט ספעציעלע תפילות, פאסיעט קאפיטלען תהלים, אלטע מלכות און אנדערע תפילות. אי־ דען אין אידענעם האבען נעזאלגט אין נעוויינס וויי יסכיפור.

דער בית המדרש הנדול אויף נאר־ פאלק סטריט, די תפארת ישראל שוהל אויף אימס בראָדוויי, די רבני יעקב ייסף שוהל אויף העוקר סטריט, די רוי מעניטע שוהל אויף ריווינגטאן סטריט אין הונדערטער אנדערע שוהלען אויף דער אימס בארד אין אין אלע אנדערע טיילען ניו יאָרק זיינען נעזינען נעוואָרט מיט מלעשען.

נאר די תפילות, וואס מיהאט נעזאָנט צו מחת האבען די רבנים נעדרעט יונגען דער אידישער לאנד אין ארץ ישראל אין וו אויך די נייטיגע בריוכת זין דער וועלט האבען אפגענאָמען די אידישע האפענונגען.

נאר אידען וועלען איבערלעבען די אלע אנטישענגען האבען די רבנים נעזאָנט, אידען בארפן נים פארלירען מיער האפענונג. אויב די תילה וועט נים קומען היינט, וועט זי קומען מארנ נען. וויל קומען מיט זי ראה.

נאר די תפילות האט מען אין די שוהלען אונטערנעשריבען פעטיציע, וואס ווערען אויפנעשיקט צום פרעזי דענט, צו קאנגרעס און האלטען אידי צוזאג און מ'זאל דורכפירהרן דעם צוי טיילינגס־פלאן.

אלע אידיש נעשעפטען אין אימס ניו יארק נעשלאסען

די אידיש נעשעפטען אין די נאכ־ פון בראָנוויל אין אימס ניו יארק, וויליאמסבורג, בארא פארק אין ציטע בית האכען זיך נעשלאסען 4 אויקער נאכמיטאָג אין אידען זיינען אויטש אין די שוהלען תפילה נאר.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

America and Partition

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1948

The Fact of Partition

The report of the Palestine Committee of the United Nations reveals candidly how little has been accomplished by this body in implementing the partition resolution of last Nov. 29. It foresees in Palestine, unless adequate outside help is forthcoming, "administrative chaos, starvation, widespread strife, violence and bloodshed." At the same time, in a solemn declaration, the General Zionist Council has asserted that an independent Jewish state will be established on May 16, the day following Britain's departure. The vacuum left by the Palestine Commission is thus being filled by the Zionists themselves; and partition, which has had its setbacks as a theory, is being transformed into a solid fact.

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

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

On the Other Hand

By Lowell Mellett

THE EVENING STAR, Washington, D. C.

and

NEW YORK POST

TUESDAY APRIL 13 1948

Washington.

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

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

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

* * *

Now, on a change of orders from Washington, the embarrassed Americans must undertake to undo one of the truly constructive jobs thus far accomplished within the U.N. This of itself would contain no cause for humiliation if anything had happened to reveal that the original action was unwise, unfair or in any way improper. But nothing of that kind has happened.

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue — **New York 17, N. Y.**

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
Mon., Apr. 19, 1948

100,000 Hear Attacks on Palestine Action

8,000 March In Protest Here

More than 100,000 persons jammed the Congress st. Plaza and lined Michigan av. Sunday afternoon in a parade and demonstration for a free Jewish state in Palestine.

Leaders of Jewish organizations and Republican officials shared the speaker's platform. They denounced the Truman administration for withdrawing its support of the Palestine partition plan in favor of a U.N. trusteeship.

The parade started north of the Michigan av. bridge and proceeded southward past the Congress st. reviewing stand.

The 8,000 veterans who marched included placard-carrying members of all local posts of the Jewish War Veterans. Individual units of other veteran organizations also participated.

Green Hits Plan

Gov. Green told the rally that President Truman's trusteeship proposal for Palestine 'gives freedom and security to neither Arab nor Jew.' He added:

'Our national administration lacks the capacity and the courage to stand up for the convictions of the American people.'

Dr. Israel Goldstein, chairman of the World Confederation of General Zionists, condemned the 'State Department pro-Arab policy.'

'The Jewish community in Palestine is prepared to fight for its life,' he said.

Scatter Leaflets

Rabbi Morton M. Berman of Temple Isaiah Isreal, chairman of the Chicago Zionist Emergency Council, called for U.S. recognition of the new Jewish state which will be proclaimed May 16.

Other speakers included Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, national commander of the J.W.V., Representative Twyman (Rep., Ill.) and Mrs. Bertha Rissman, head of the Chicago Hadassah, or women's Zionist organization.

As the parade started, leaflets signed by the Stern Group were scattered from an upper window of the Congress Hotel.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

100,000 Urge Free Palestine

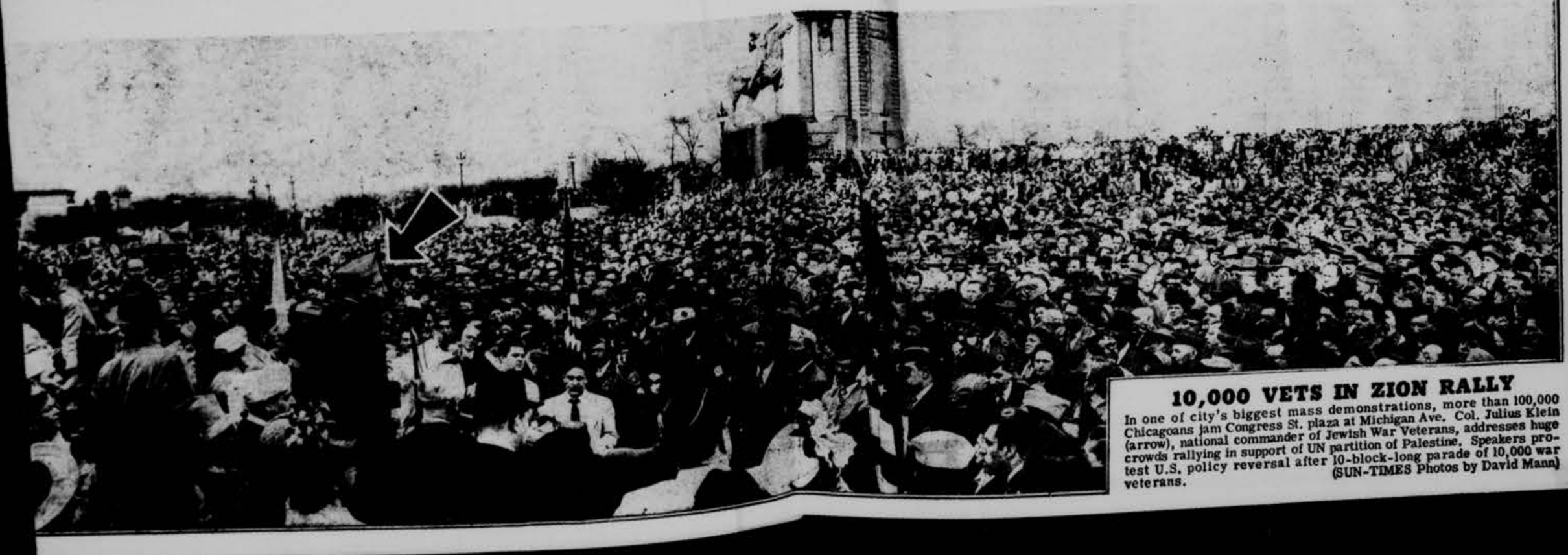
Jewish organization, war veteran and Republican leaders share the platform as 100,000 jam Congress st. Plaza and line Michigan av. Sunday afternoon in parade and demonstration for a free Jewish state in Palestine. Left to right: Senator Abe Marovitz, Col. Edward C. Hayes, Gov. Green, Brig. Gen. Julius Klein and Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the World Confederation of General Zionists.

Chicago Daily Tribune
THE WORLDS GREATEST NEWSPAPER

Several thousand members of the Jewish War Veterans held a memorial and parade in Congress st. plaza and Michigan av. yesterday for comrades who died in World War II. as a protest to the retreat by Truman's administration on the Palestine issue. (Tribune Photo)

Thousands hear Free Palestine speakers at Congress st. Plaza.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES



10,000 VETS IN ZION RALLY

In one of city's biggest mass demonstrations, more than 100,000 Chicagoans jam Congress St. plaza at Michigan Ave. Col. Julius Klein (arrow), national commander of Jewish War Veterans, addresses huge crowds rallying in support of UN partition of Palestine. Speakers protest U.S. policy reversal after 10-block-long parade of 10,000 war veterans. (SUN-TIMES Photos by David Mann)

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

Thursday, April 22, 1948

The Mandate of Events

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

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

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

Thomas Mann Discusses Palestine

Dear Sirs: I have been asked for my opinion of the decision of the United States to withdraw its agreement to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine—a stand which had been initiative of and responsible for the decision of the United Nations.

It is difficult for me, an American citizen of short standing, to say that this reversal, this undignified surrender to brazen Arab threats, is the most humiliating and shocking political event since the democracies betrayed Czechoslovakia in 1938. It is an act of despicable and low expediency, a murder of faith and loyalty. It makes us realize, with considerable alarm, how far the ideals of democracy—truth, liberty, justice—have been degraded, how they have been abused to serve the naked interests, not of a people, for the American people is benevolent and just, but of a group striving ruthlessly for power and profit which has imposed its will upon our government.

Has anyone considered the blow this deplorable decision has dealt the authority of the United Nations and its ability to maintain world peace? One cannot help feeling that the prospective betrayal of a people which has endured boundless suffering and is yearning for justice, the breach of hundreds of official promises, has brought us one step nearer to world disaster.

The small Jewish state in Palestine would have been a democracy of people willing to work and striving for culture. It should have had, as a matter of course, the sympathy of a country with American traditions. Why have we been condemned everywhere to support the bad, the foul reaction, that which the people hate—in this instance the feudalism of Arabian oil magnates—and to ruin democracy while pretending to defend it?

It is a grave responsibility how to advise, how to encourage the Jews. I leave it to others to spur them to a desperate continuation of bloodshed, to the defense of their already established state—under the notorious embargo which gives arms to the Arabs but not to them. Perhaps the indignant outcry of a moral world will lead to a revision of the shameful decision. If not, it proves that the immense disappointment of all hopes for a better, juster world has turned to apathy, to a numbed submission of mankind to the threatening disaster.

As for us intellectuals, we can only protest in the derisive words of Flaubert, that despiser of humnity: *"Ah, le progrès, quelle blague! Et la politique—quelle saleté!"*

THOMAS MANN

Pacific Palisades. Cal., March 25

A letter to the NATION, April 24, 1948

America

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A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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BLUEPRINT FOR A PALESTINE POLICE

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Blueprint for a Palestine police

James F. Twohy Jr., now working for his M.A. in education at New York U., was cited for his work in protecting Settlement property during the Japanese-Chinese fighting in 1937. From 1938 to 1942 he served as an agent of the Treasury Department's Narcotics Bureau.

James F. Twohy Jr.

In the quiet halls of the United Nations building at Lake Success, a few weeks ago, two diplomats were discussing the impending partition of Palestine.

They agreed that partition would certainly precipitate a Jewish-Arab civil war unless a third force—an international police force—were established to suppress disorder as the British Army had done for a generation.

But one diplomat was wary of even this expedient.

"The British are getting out of Palestine," he said. "No great Power wants to see the armies of another in the Middle East. No small nation possesses the manpower or money to police the Holy Land."

"The truth is," he said, "there is no United Nations Police Force. There never has been such an instrument. And, in the little time we have left, we don't even know how to make one."

The diplomat was wrong on two counts. The world has seen international police forces in operation—in Tangier, Shanghai and, in a limited way, in Danzig. And, in the greatest of these multi-national communities, the pre-war International Settlement in Shanghai, there was drawn up a blueprint, confirmed by twenty years of trial and error, for the United Nations Palestine Police.

I was an officer of the International Settlement Police from 1935 to 1938, years when the flames that burst into the Second World War first flickered in the winding streets of Shanghai.

We kept the peace in a city of a million and a half souls—half the population of Palestine—while the Japanese Kwantung divisions and the Chinese Eighth Route Army fought in 1937 the first great battle of World War II a few yards away from our cops on the beat.

We made Shanghai the one city in China where the classic virgin with a sack of gold could hope to travel unmolested from one border to the other.

We maintained order in a community where citizens of twenty nations, many only a few months away from turning upon each other in all-out war, lived and worked in a patchwork array more confusing than the hodgepodge of Jerusalem today.

In the background was a vast region torn by civil war and beset by foreigners avid for its riches, even as they now struggle for the mineral wealth of the Middle East.

The 5,000-man International Settlement Police—one-fourth of the New York City force—became expert in curbing the clash of communal and national passions at one of the earth's sorest points.

Similar conditions in China and Palestine gave rise to the need for a multi-national police force, but the immediate causes that produced the International Settlement Police have no parallel in the Holy Land.

In the waning years of the Manchu Emperors, foreign nations rushed into China to exploit that rich, undeveloped land. Bearers of the white man's burden, they refused to abide by the laws of the "barbaric" Chinese and even staked out private domains at key points on the China coast. Thus was created a characteristic instrument of the colonial era—extraterritoriality.

Hong Kong, exclusively British, and Shanghai, sliced up by four nations, became the beachheads over which Western men, military power and machines poured into China, and raw materials and wealth flowed out.

Sixteen nations claimed extraterritorial rights in Shanghai. The Chinese Government was permitted no authority over their nationals. And four great Powers, Britain, France, Russia and the United States, carved out private sectors where Chinese became the "foreigners."

Financial and military strains of the First World War forced three of the big nations to combine forces and jointly administer an International Settlement. It was an L-shaped segment of downtown Shanghai, nine square miles of splendid skyscrapers and teeming slums supporting 1,500,000 inhabitants, 50,000 of them Europeans. Japan brought in its quarter, Hongkew, but the French Concession remained apart.

Possessed of a rich, crowded city whose most powerful citizens recognized no authority outside their own consulates, the four big nations had to work out an administration to guarantee essential services and public order.

And, despite their dubious moral position, the occupiers did establish a system that made Shanghai one of the best governed cities in the Orient.

They established a fourteen-man International Settlement Council consisting of five British representatives, five Chinese, two Americans and two Japanese. This body administered six municipal departments—Schools, Public Health, Public Works, Revenue, Fire and Police.

The police force itself was organized along conventional lines, but with significant variations that will bear study when and if the United Nations begins the task of blueprinting the Palestine Police Force.

The bulk of the force made up the uniformed division—constables, station personnel and their officers. The plainclothes section, the Criminal Investigation Division, numbered about 500 men. Most labored at routine detective chores, although Shanghai's blend of international intrigue and a native genius for crime made them among the busiest—and least secure—men in their profession.

In the CID, however, there was also a small, inconspicuous group that worked behind a door labeled "Political Division, I.S.P." These astute detectives had the task of observing and retarding the political axe-grinding that was so much a part of Shanghai life in those years. Dissident Chinese, passionate Korean patriots, impecunious war-lords, patient citizens of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich and a dozen other such conspira-

torial factions met, schemed and sometimes fought in Shanghai streets.

Many an assassination, gun-running plot and transfer of illicit gold was thwarted by betrayal to the sensitive ears of the Political Division agents. An incident at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War dramatically illustrated their role.

In November, 1937, the Japanese had just expanded the Manchuria unpleasantness into the "China Incident" by driving Nationalist forces from the Shanghai area. By way of celebration, they staged a victory parade down the Settlement's Nanking Road. Tension was high all over the city. Chinese feared even to enter the Japanese district, Hongkew. Silent, apprehensive, they lined either side of Shanghai's Fifth Avenue as Japanese Army units swung by.

Suddenly a home-made bomb exploded amid the marching troops, mangling half a dozen. A Settlement policeman's bullet mortally wounded the terrorist almost before the bomb left his hand, but the damage was done.

The parade stopped. A word from a Japanese officer would instantly have turned the celebration into a massacre of helpless Chinese.

But a Political Division agent had rushed to the body of the fallen assassin. He ripped a ring from the dying man's finger and thrust it under the nose of the nearest officer. The Japanese paused, studied the ring, then trotted over to his superior. In a few minutes the parade resumed.

The ring had identified the terrorist as a member of a secret Korean revolutionary society. Koreans then were Japanese subjects. The Army had lost no face to a foreigner. There was no pogrom.

As long as Jew and Arab contest the final status of Palestine and continue to plot fiercely toward their own ends, there is work for a Political Division in the Holy Land.

A potent influence for peace in those years in Shanghai was found in the Force's Reserve Units—riot squads. Twenty-four hours a day one of the units was on duty at central police headquarters, ready for a headlong dash to a trouble spot. A half-dozen times I have seen these thirty-six constables and a sergeant end a street-fight that was only minutes away from involving hundreds of men.

The Reserve Units exemplified a key principle in policing an emotion-charged community. Quick, forceful action by a small group will stifle smoldering disorder. A delay of a few minutes can multiply casualties by dozens and require fifty times as many police. Prevention, not suppression, is the policeman's role.

The quality of speed and mobility is all-important to the police of an internationalized area. In Shanghai all but the top officers lived in centrally located barracks. Lower ranks were forbidden to marry during the first five years on the force. Precinct stations were liberally scattered over the city, averaging almost two for each square mile of the Settlement. Imperfect communications in Shanghai—and Palestine—sharpen the need for such fire-engine preparedness.

One important requirement for efficient policing we thoroughly appreciated, perhaps because we could never fulfill it. There was no central police authority in metropolitan Shanghai, nor even close liaison among the Settlement Police and the French, Chinese and River Police that, respectively, patrolled their own sectors.

One day when patrolling the Bund, a spectacular riverfront avenue, I spotted a suspicious object half concealed in the flowing sleeves of a passing Chinese. When I approached him, he bolted down the Bund. With me in close pursuit, he suddenly darted onto a jetty and skipped nimbly aboard a junk that lay a few feet out in the Whangpoo River.

I was helpless to make the arrest. The shrewd gunman was now under River Police jurisdiction.

Divided authority impedes solution of even minor annoyances. We had the perpetual and noisome "beggar problem." Thousands of professional beggars congregated in the Settlement, Shanghai's wealthiest district, to ply their ugly trade. When their interference with normal city life became intolerable, we would round up a few van-loads and haul them to the edge of the Settlement. Chinese officials refused responsibility, and we had no authority to dispose of them further. Sometimes the beggars beat the police back to the heart of the Settlement.

In Palestine there is already a tendency to cede to Arabs and Jews authority over certain areas—autonomous sectors where the Palestine Government has virtually abdicated in favor of extra-legal forces. If that trend is permitted to continue in areas eventually to be internationalized, the task of the Palestine Police will be multiplied manifold.

On a quiet Sunday morning last February two closed trucks drew up before the Atlantic Hotel on Ben Yehuda Street in a Jewish quarter of Jerusalem. Several unidentified men jumped out and fled down the street. A few minutes later an earthquake-like explosion shook the city. The Atlantic Hotel and several other buildings were devastated. More than fifty persons died in the explosion, and twice that number were injured.

The aftermath was no less tragic. Within twenty-four hours Jews, convinced that anti-Semitic British soldiers were responsible, assassinated nine Britons and wounded a score throughout Palestine. Nor have the reprisals ceased. Every day brings new threats and attacks on British security troops.

That unhappy event symbolizes the British failure in Palestine. And it points a moral the UN cannot ignore.

Palestine has become the arena of a three-cornered struggle among Jews, Arabs and British. Zionist and Arab groups vie in charging the mandatory Power with supporting the enemy. Rightly or wrongly, Palestinians no longer believe that the prime mission of the British is keeping the peace in the Holy Land.

Peace may some day come to that embittered country under the aegis of a United Nations Police Force. But it must be a force that makes unmistakably clear that it is apart from the complex moral, legal and political issues that beset Palestine, that its only mission is to guarantee to every Jew and Arab the right to a normal life free from sudden bullets or hidden bombs.

The Settlement Council faced a similar problem. It solved it successfully with a Police Force so cosmopolitan that it was patently impossible to identify it with any of Shanghai's contending factions.

During my training period, seven nations were represented in the barracks I lived in. Hungarian bunked with Englishman. Black-eyed Italians sat at the same table with blond Russians. I spent a holiday with a recruit who claimed to be Portuguese—and maybe he was. A few of us could lay no legal claim to any nationality.

Most of the 500 sergeants were former soldiers or police, and the recruiting authorities asked only incidentally where our homes were. Physical vigor, intelligence and know-how were the qualities that admitted a man to the Settlement Police.

Equally important was the need clearly to set apart the Constabulary, the rank-and-file cops, from local issues that divided Shanghai. So 3,000 "foreign" Chinese, big country lads from distant Shantung Province, were sworn in as constables. A thousand Sikhs came from India to round out the Force.

These tall, rugged constables were admirably fitted for their task. They came from remote regions whose local prejudices and enthusiasms did not reach so far as Shanghai. Most were politically unsophisticated and took little personal interest in the clashes of nations and peoples. And they were countrymen who did not take easily to the blandishments of city slickers.

Every Shanghai citizen knew that a Settlement cop would view a situation first in terms of the municipal laws he was required to memorize—that is, in terms of peace and order. Armed only with a baton, I once dragged a Chinese suspected of spying for the Japs from the hands of a lynch mob. I failed to join the culprit in his fate, I am sure, only because those angry Chinese realized that the Settlement Police had as little enthusiasm for such illegal activities as they did.

The problem of partiality is much more acute in Palestine. The mustering of a homogeneous group, such as Sikhs or Shantungese, would be politically difficult in the Holy Land. But a truly uniform force, responsible in fact and in spirit only to the UN, is possible and essential.

A force patched together from segments of the great Powers' armies will founder; one need only consider the unhappily internationalized city of Trieste.

A police authentically derived from the United Nations —that is, recruited individually from citizens of many countries—is the best long-term hope for peace in internationalized Palestine.

One day soon a group of United Nations experts is expected to sit down to blueprint the military force whose mission will be to keep the peace in the Holy Land. I recommend to them four principles that were tried and proved during some anxious years by Shanghai's ISP.

First, the United Nations Palestine Force must be a closely knit organization, intensively trained and thoroughly professional. It must use a common language—probably English. Individually and collectively, its members must know every trick of an ancient and complex trade. An Intelligence section should be created to keep it a jump ahead of disruptive elements. The closer it adheres to a strictly military discipline, at least in its early stages, the better its chances of success.

Second, it must be deprived of all power of making policy. The basic decisions charting Palestine's future should be made in the council rooms of Lake Success and by such governing units as are established in the Holy Land. Let the partisan battles be fought out in diplomatic salons, lecture rooms and the press, not in the ranks of a semi-military organization unequipped for the task.

The third principle derives from the second. The Palestine Force must be stonily impartial. If it is led by politicians, if its officers belong to interested parties, if its ranks are split by pro-Arab or pro-Jew cliques, it will only aggravate already violent dissensions.

Finally, it must establish a precedent of quick, firm, predictable action both as daily routine and in any emergency. All sorts of pressures from Jews, Arabs, Christians and a dozen peripheral interests would beset such an organization. Unsuccessful parties would charge it with favoritism or enmity. A time-honored tactic of disruptive groups is to exploit a single unfortunate incident to support a general condemnation. Hence, police policies must be clear-cut, unchanging, understandable. When contending factions learn that an authority cannot be manipulated or driven, its gravest problem is solved.

This is the blueprint for a Palestine Police. Poorly organized or weakly administered, it could become just one more uncertain force in Middle Eastern chaos. But it also could become a powerful influence for unity and stability—perhaps the only such influence for years to come—in a sadly divided land.

Proclamation of the New Jewish State

TEL AVIV, Palestine, May 14 (AP)—Following is the text of the Declaration of Independence of the Jewish state:

The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish People.

Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from Palestine, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and restoration of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain statehood. In recent decades they returned in their masses. They reclaimed a wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages and established a vigorous and ever growing community, with its own economic and cultural life. They sought peace, yet were ever prepared to defend themselves. They brought blessings of progress to all inhabitants of the country.

In the year 1897 the First Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl's vision of a Jewish state, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to a national revival in their own country.

Balfour Declaration Cited

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917, and reaffirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their national home.

The Nazi holocaust which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe proved anew the urgency of the re-establishment of the Jewish state, which would solve the problem of Jewish homelessness by opening the gates to all Jews and lifting the Jewish people to equality in the family of nations.

Survivors of the European catastrophe, as well as Jews from other lands, claiming their right to a life of dignity, freedom and labor, and undeterred by hazards, hardships and obstacles, have tried unceasingly to enter Palestine.

In the second World War, the Jewish people in Palestine made a full contribution in the struggle of freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and efforts of their workers gained them title to rank with the people who founded the United Nations. On Nov. 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution for re-establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine and called upon inhabitants of the country to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put the plan into effect.

This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent state may not be revoked. It is, moreover, the self-evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation, as all other nations, in its own sovereign state.

Accordingly we, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement of the world, met together in solemn assembly by virtue of the natural and historic right of Jewish people and of resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, hereby proclaim the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine, to be called Israel.

We hereby declare that as from the termination of the mandate at midnight this night of the 14th to 15th of May, 1948, and until the setting up of duly elected bodies of the state in accordance with a Constitution to be drawn up by a Constituent Assembly not later than the first day of October, 1948, the present National Council shall act as the Provisional State Council and its executive organ, the National Administration, shall constitute the Provisional Government of the State of Israel.

Equality to All Promised

The State of Israel will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of shrines and holy places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The State of Israel will be ready to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementations of the resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about an economic union over the whole of Palestine.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building of its state and to admit Israel into the family of nations.

In the midst of wanton aggression we call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the state, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions, provisional or permanent.

We offer peace and amity to all neighborhing states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all. The State of Israel is ready to contribute its full share to the peaceful progress and reconstitution of the Middle East.

Our call goes out to the Jewish people all over the world to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development and to stand by us in the great struggle for the fulfilment of the dream of generations—the redemption of Israel.

BEHIND THE PALESTINE REVERSAL

BY JORGE GARCIA-GRANADOS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Jury without Self-Interest

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

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

"Would this not be an answer to the problem?" he asked David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Bedouin listened for a few moments, then suddenly replied in a torrent of rapid Arabic, now and then pointing angrily off into the distance. Then, his tirade finished, he flung his scarf across his face and over one shoulder and indignantly stalked off.

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

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

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

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

Later, the Lebanese opposition leader spoke to me privately.

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

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

What, we asked, would be the status of the Jews in such a state? Hamid Frangie, Lebanese foreign minister, and Emir Adel Arslan of Syria replied in effect that all Jews who had come to Palestine after the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917—which the Arabs consider illegal—would have their citizenship re-examined.

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

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

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

Days of Debate in Geneva

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

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

This concluded, we flew to Lake Success, where the partition vote itself is a matter of history. It has been said that this vote (33 to 13 with 11 abstentions) was the result of improper pressures, but I should like to make it clear that the Arabs, who have been especially vehement in such accusations, were actively working behind the scenes to procure anti-partition votes.

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

(OVER)

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 1948

U.S. and Britain Urged to Arrest Their 'Reversion to Nationalism'

Welles Says the Need Is for a Getting Together, Not Between Washington and Moscow, but Between Washington and London

By Sumner Welles

Former Under Secretary of State

An identity of purpose on the part of the United States and Great Britain is essential if the English-speaking peoples are ever to see that kind of a world order for which they have fought in two world wars.

Notwithstanding Prime Minister Attlee's summary denial, the relations between the two countries have suffered serious damage.

What needs searching inquiry on both sides of the Atlantic is whether Palestine is not a symptom rather than a cause of this deterioration in Anglo-American understanding.

Both countries continue to assert that their policies are primarily directed toward the growth of the United Nations so that it may afford security, freedom and prosperity to all peoples.

In reality both countries are reverting to nationalism. They have sought increasingly to use the United Nations as an instrument to serve their individual interests rather than the interests of the international community. The policies of Britain and the United States, like those of Russia, are contributing to the breakdown of the United Nations. All three governments are following the example set by the major powers after the first world war, when their shortsighted selfishness destroyed the League of Nations.

Disruption of Economy

The $3 billions credit and the help now being given under the European Recovery Program have been granted Britain because we know that the British economy must be bolstered for the sake of world recovery. Yet during this same critical period the United States disrupted Britain's economic planning by canceling lend-lease without notice; attached conditions to the original credit which nullified many of its benefits, and is now inclined to employ E. R. P. as a means of influencing Britain to shape her economic policies to suit American prejudices. To cap the climax, the House of Representatives has emasculated the trade agreements act.

If Smoot-Hawley isolationism dictates American tariff policy, neither Britain nor any other democracy will recover.

At the same time that we are appropriating billions of dollars in order to further British recovery, we are simultaneously insisting upon a series of narrowly selfish measures which threaten to make our help of little, if any, lasting benefit. While we are paying lip service to the cause of economic and financial co-operation under the United Nations, in our bilateral relations with other countries we are frequently taking action which impedes international co-operation and stifles world recovery.

Britain's Contribution

Although the nature of the harm which British policy has done to the United Nations is distinct, its extent is even greater. Mr. Bevin seems to be convinced that British interests will be better served by the re-establishment of a balance of power than by the construction of a world order that can guarantee collective security.

For this reason that close-knit federation of the sixteen nations of western Europe which could be the most salutary of the results of the European Recovery Program has been blocked by British opposition.

In order to insure British domination of the Middle East, Mr. Bevin is determined that Cyprus must be kept from Greece and that the former Italian colonies of North Africa must not be returned to Italian administration, however much this might conduce to Mediterranean stability and world peace. These territories are to be British bastions.

For the same reason neither justice to the Jews nor the welfare of Palestine has had any weight with Mr. Bevin.

There is no sorrier chapter in the history of American foreign policy than the record of this country's policy toward Palestine. But British policy, impregnated as it has been by Mr. Bevin's bitter prejudices, has dealt the greatest blow yet struck at the structure of the United Nations. By the financial and military support she has given to the Arab states, by her efforts within the Security Council to condone their aggression and their defiance of the authority of the United Nations, the Britain of Mr. Bevin has done as much to lessen humanity's chances of attaining collective security as did the Britain of Sir John Simon a generation ago when she prevented the League of Nations from halting Japan's aggression against China.

Make a Split Possible

By persisting in policies that they so shortsightedly regard as being to their individual advantage, both Britain and the United States are undermining the foundations of the United Nations. They are also thereby preparing the way for conflicts of interest between them which would soon make impossible any enlightened form of co-operation.

Palestine is primarily a dramatic warning that the English-speaking nations are failing to put first things first.

There is a loud demand that Moscow and Washington get together. Is it not even more urgent that London and Washington get together upon a common policy which will make their acts correspond to their oft-reiterated assertions that the success of the United Nations is their first objective?

Unless such an identity of purpose determines the policies of the English-speaking powers that ideal of a United Nations capable of maintaining peace under law, upon which the hopes of all free peoples have been fixed, will once more become increasingly remote.

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

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

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

"I tell you it is impossible."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Power Politics Like Football

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

Once we were alone, I began:

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

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

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

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

I replied with great indignation:

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

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

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

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

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

THE END

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(Complete Contents Inside)

Liberty to Destroy Liberty ***Isaac Don Levine***

Oil Diplomacy in Zion

By ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

AS IF out of nowhere, Arab princes in picturesque robes and headgear stepped into the royal suite of the Waldorf Astoria in New York about three years ago, stepped into the conference rooms of the United Nations, walked as honored guests into the White House, relaxed in the seats of the "Sacred Cow" obligingly placed at their disposal by the President of the United States. Just a short while before, they had been aligned with Hitler in a war against mankind and against America. Suddenly they had become the favorites of the United States, the much-courted allies whose desires and whims must be satisfied.

What is the story behind this? What is the story behind the hazardous fluctuations of American policy on Palestine, the deep American involvement in the Middle East?

Middle East oil has grown almost into a legend. Its sinister influence is seen behind every clash, conflict and controversy in that strategically crucial area between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. And time and again, Middle East oil appears as a factor in world issues.

By now, most people know that the Persian Gulf area is rich in oil deposits, but the actual extent of these deposits remains anybody's guess. Only five years ago the Petroleum Administrator in Washington estimated the Middle East reserves at fifteen and one-half billions of barrels, out of an estimated world total of about 50 billion barrels. A year later, however, an American oil mission dispatched to the Middle East stated upon its return that the reserves there amount without question to about 27 billion barrels. Off the record, they added that they would not be surprised if it were proved that the Middle East reserves amount to between 50 and 100 billion barrels.

In other words, the Middle East may possess more oil than all the oil-producing countries in the world put together (United States reserves are around 20 billion). For the possession or control of incomparably smaller oil resources, governments have been overthrown and revolutions have been staged. Is there a limit to what people would do in order to command the richest source of petroleum in the world?

AMERICAN oil companies went to the Middle East in the legitimate quest for business, and they are still there on that legitimate mission. Petroleum *is* their business, and they cannot possibly remain indifferent to any place on earth which contains considerable oil deposits. This is natural, and there is no mystery about it. The mystery begins at a much later stage, when the United States Government, in the days of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, actively stepped into the picture.

American interest in Middle East oil dates back to the first World War. When the Mosul district of the late Ottoman Empire was incorporated in the newly-founded state of Iraq, two of the largest American companies—

Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum—succeeded in getting a share in the Iraq Petroleum Company. Their share was and still is only 23.75 percent, and even that was obtained through pressure of the State Department. Great Britain, which was politically, economically and militarily predominant in that area, was not eager to give the American competitor a foothold on the Persian Gulf.

Only with the gradual decline of British power in the world and in the Middle East, did American oil interests manage to penetrate more and more into that vital region. The Gulf Company obtained half of the Kuwait Concession (in partnership with the Anglo-Iranian), and then two American companies—Standard Oil of California and Texaco—bought the Bahrein concession and received an exclusive concession in Saudi Arabia. The latter concession was something of a gamble. The British, who had done some prospecting in Saudi Arabia, were skeptical about it. This explains their agreeing to an American concession, granted by King Ibn Saud who was in the pay of the British and under their thumb.

However, the main reason for a gradual change of heart on the part of Britain is to be found in her weakness in the years immediately preceding World War II and in her fear of Russian expansion. Britain knew that sooner or later she was bound to have an encounter with the Russian bear somewhere in the Arabian desert, and she could not visualize it as a pleasant *tête à tête*. Encouragement of increased United States oil holdings seemed to provide the best guarantee for American backing of Britain against Soviet penetration into the Middle East.

With the subsequent discovery of large deposits in the wholly American-owned concession in Saudi Arabia, the United States was transformed from a junior partner in the Iraq Petroleum Company into one of the two major partners in Middle East oil. This was not welcome news to Britain. If Saudi Arabia was to become a major producer of oil, it would conceivably hurt the interests of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British Government holds the controlling interest. Britain had refrained from developing numerous Iraqi oil fields near the Persian Gulf, fearing that their oil would challenge the place held by her own company's products in the markets of eastern Asia.

FDR's Secret Deal

THIS WAS the state of affairs when President Roosevelt appeared on the Saudi-Arabian stage. This he did, of course, in a truly Rooseveltian, dramatic manner. On his way from the Yalta Conference, FDR made a little trip to the Suez Canal. While his cruiser was waiting in Great Bitter Lake on the Suez, another U. S. cruiser was dispatched to Jidda, to fetch King Ibn Saud, the ruler of Saudi Arabia. On February 14, 1945, less than two months before Roosevelt's death, Ibn Saud came aboard the President's cruiser.

What exactly took place during this parley between the head of the greatest democracy on earth and the despotic chieftain of a medieval desert principality is still veiled in secrecy. All that was duly publicized was the exchange of pleasantries in the most

pompous oriental manner and the royal trimmings of Ibn Saud's trip, the twelve sheep the king brought with him, the coffee he drank, the handshakes he bestowed on the officers of the cruiser and the presents he gave them.

King Ibn Saud's "angle" in these negotiations is apparent. This ruler of a desert country, which has no industry, no agriculture, no commerce and no income, was virtually *in extremis* at that time. Because of the war, the main source of Saudi Arabia's national income—the yearly pilgrimage of Moslems to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina—was completely dry. The other source of income—a yearly "political" subvention from the British Treasury—was both inadequate and insecure, in view of Britain's impoverishment and the deterioration of her power. The discovery of oil by an American company and a solid tie-up with the richest and most powerful nation was a virtual godsend to Ibn Saud. He was eager to make a deal with America and get the money which he needed for his government, and—what was even more important—for his personal luxuries and those of his 160 wives and their progeny.

Long before the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud rendezvous, emissaries of Ibn Saud had been in Washington soliciting an American subsidy. In April, 1941, James A. Moffett, who at the time represented the California and Texas companies in the management of the Saudi concession, approached President Roosevelt with the request that Saudi Arabia be granted an annual subsidy of six million dollars—which, together with the British subvention of four million dollars, would cover Ibn Saud's ten million yearly budget. To be exact, what the representatives of the Arabian-American Oil Company (now known as Aramco) offered the U. S. Government, was a commercial transaction. They offered cheap oil for a yearly advance of six million dollars. That they subsequently did not live up to their offer and have overcharged the Navy to the tune of about 38 million dollars, is a story in itself.

Hopkins Had Scruples

ONE EPISODE in the Washington negotiations is worth mentioning, for it throws light on both the moral and financial positions of Ibn Saud. When the Government did not accept the Aramco offer, Mr. Moffett and others continued to plead with the President, with Jesse Jones, with Harry Hopkins, to find some way to pass on some cash to the poor king in Jidda. If the Government was not willing to pay in advance for cheap oil, wouldn't it give some money to Ibn Saud under lend-lease? This request provides us with a piquant quotation from a letter by Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's alter ego, to Jesse H. Jones, at that time Federal Loan Administrator.

In a personal and confidential letter on White House stationery, dated June 14, 1941, Mr. Hopkins stated:

> Dear Jesse,
>
> The President is anxious to find a way to do something about this matter. I am enclosing confidential correspondence from the White House so you can see what goes on. *Will you return it as soon as you have read it.*
>
> I am not sure what techniques

there are for us to use. It occurred to me that some of it might be done in the shipment of food direct under the Lend-Lease Bill, although just how we could call that outfit a "democracy" I don't know. . . .

Despite Mr. Hopkins' scruples, "that outfit" ultimately succeeded in obtaining lend-lease. At first the Government chose to aid Saudi Arabia through indirect subsidies. The United States gave money to Britain and asked the British to pass on some of it to Saudi Arabia. But on February 18, 1943, President Roosevelt issued a directive to Edward Stettinius, Lend-Lease Administrator, asking him to arrange for lend-lease aid to the Government of Saudi Arabia, as "I hereby find that the defense of Saudi Arabia is vital to the defense of the United States." In all, Saudi Arabia received from the United States financial assistance amounting to $99,469,000, of which the Senate Investigation Committee lists $72,469,000 as "Probably Nonrecoverable" and the balance as "Probably Recoverable."

Wooing the Debtor

THUS, when King Ibn Saud ascended the cruiser at Suez, he was already the recipient of considerable amounts of American lend-lease and other financial assistance. He hoped to secure further American support and protection after seeing President Roosevelt.

Seen from the viewpoint of a sound and constructive American foreign policy, President Roosevelt's aims and designs are somewhat enigmatic. It is difficult to explain his trip to Great Bitter Lake in the very midst of the war. If he wanted to see Ibn Saud, the latter could have been summoned to Washington. This inexplicable and exaggerated "courtesy" on the part of President Roosevelt set an unfortunate tone for American-Saudi relations. If the President of the United States considered King Ibn Saud important enough to go all the way to the doorstep of the Arab Peninsula in order to meet him, why should not Ibn Saud and the other potentates of the Arab League consider themselves powerful and important?

When in reply to a letter to Roosevelt, officially, properly and modestly addressed as "Your Excellency," Ibn Saud got a reply from Roosevelt, addressed to "Great and Good Friend," why on earth should Ibn Saud not have considered himself "great" and set his demands as high as possible in talking to the American President?

There are, of course, cases in life when the creditor has to court and woo his debtor. This, however, was by no means such a case. Ibn Saud was not only saved from bankruptcy by American financial support, but his very well-being in the future depended on American protection and backing. Without America, he could neither solve his financial problems, nor develop his oil deposits, nor gain respectability in the world and admission into the United Nations. One could hardly imagine more ideal conditions for FDR to lay down the law to Ibn Saud.

Actually, the reverse happened. For there was a third partner to these negotiations, a silent partner, but a past master in imperialistic and colonial intrigue. When Great Britain agreed to American penetration into

the Middle East, it was to be on Britain's terms. If Britain's foreign policy in that area was solidly orientated on the Arab League, it was imperative to bring about the adoption of a similar orientation by the United States. The Pan-Arabic clique and the individual Arab chieftains had to be built up in the eyes of the world as a great and united force. The Roosevelt-Ibn Saud interview was to clinch this British-American-Arab Alliance in the Middle East. And that is exactly what it did.

Words vs. Deeds

IT WAS after the Suez Canal interview that the zigzags of American policy on Palestine took the form of high acrobatics. Even prior to that a trained eye could have discerned discrepancies between the declared pro-Zionist position of the U. S. Government and the actual line of policy pursued by the Government. As far as verbal expressions of sympathy and declarations of support were concerned, the Zionists could not expect any more than they were continually receiving in pledges, speeches, resolutions, party planks and Presidential statements. But whenever the U. S. Government or the President had to do something tangible to help Zionism in Palestine, this was not forthcoming. On the contrary, the same President Roosevelt who repeatedly declared his endorsement of Zionist aspirations was the man who blocked the adoption of a pro-Zionist Congressional resolution. Expressions of sympathy for Zionism were for public consumption; behind the scenes was nullification of Zionist aims by the White House and the State Department.

In October, 1944—four months before his meeting with Ibn Saud — President Roosevelt sent a message to the annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Atlantic City, in which he said: ". . . We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." Then, FDR met Ibn Saud, and had the following to say on Palestine, in his speech to Congress on March 1, 1945: ". . . Of the problems of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem, the Moslem problem, the Jewish problem, by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes than I could have learned in exchange of two or three dozen letters."

This was, of course, a perplexing statement. One could have queried Roosevelt as to the sources of Ibn Saud's expertness on the Jewish problem. As is well known, there is not one Jew in Saudi Arabia. Ibn Saud has never ventured outside the Arab Peninsula. Nor is he a man of learning, who might have acquired theoretical knowledge of the Jewish problem from books and study. However, this was not important. Obviously this was a far from adroit effort on FDR's part to flatter Ibn Saud. But if one could question Ibn Saud's expertness, there was no room for doubt as to his vicious anti-Zionism. What did Roosevelt "learn" from him in five minutes? . . .

Public opinion in the United States was seriously upset by this passage in Roosevelt's Congressional speech, and the White House political acrobatics came into play again. One of the top

leaders of American Zionism, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, came to see the President on March 16, 1945, and on his emergence from the White House issued a statement, in which he quoted the President as saying: "I made my position on Zionism clear in October. That position I have not changed and shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization." The October declaration to which the President referred was, of course, the above-quoted message to the Zionist Annual Convention in Atlantic City.

The Truth Comes Out

IT WAS NOT until October, 1945, six months after President Roosevelt had passed away, that the true content of the "lesson" learned by Roosevelt from Ibn Saud became known. When President Truman started advocating the immediate immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, the Arabs accused him and the U. S. Government of breaking President Roosevelt's promises to King Ibn Saud, and demanded the publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence on the subject. To this Washington answered that there was no record of any such promises by Roosevelt to Ibn Saud. Only after Ibn Saud threatened to release the letters, did Washington find the "record," and, on October 18, 1945, the full text of Ibn Saud's letter to Roosevelt, dated March 10, 1945, and of Roosevelt's reply, dated April 5 (one week before his death), were published.

What Ibn Saud had to say in his lengthy letter is easy to guess. It was a repetition of the usual line of Arab propaganda, although it contained a few unique "pearls." Thus, according to Ibn Saud, the Jews in Palestine "are preparing to create a form of Nazi-fascism." The Arab Middle East, on the other hand, "has proved itself loyal to the Allied cause in these critical times. . . ." Altogether, Ibn Saud's dissertation on Jewish and Palestinian history was valuable from one viewpoint only. After reading it, one could know exactly what President Roosevelt had learned from him on Great Bitter Lake.

Precisely what was the promise given by Roosevelt to Ibn Saud? The answer to this question is contained in Roosevelt's reply: ". . . Your Majesty will recall that on previous occasions I communicated to you the attitude of the American Government toward Palestine and made clear our desire that no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. . . ."

President Roosevelt, by the way, did not find it necessary to react in any way to the insinuations against the Jews contained in Ibn Saud's letter. He seemed to have swallowed the king's "interpretation" of Jewish history and of Zionist plans hook, line and sinker. His letter to Ibn Saud was not intended for publication. . . .

This then was the deal made by Roosevelt in his interview with Ibn Saud, when FDR sold Zionism down the river. Only twenty days after authorizing Dr. Wise to state that the President will "seek to bring about the earliest realization in Palestine of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth," Roosevelt reiterated in his letter to Ibn Saud his secret Suez Canal pledge not to decide anything basic on Palestine without consulting

the Arabs and the Jews. Translated from double talk into straight talk, this can only mean that Roosevelt undertook indefinitely to frustrate all efforts for the realization of Zionist aspirations in Palestine.

The picture of the Anglo-American-Arab alliance in the Middle East is now complete. The United States was to have oil. Britain was to retain its political control over this strategic area, plus oil, plus American backing against Soviet penetration. Ibn Saud and the Arab chieftains were to receive financial assistance and oil royalties, sponsorship in the United Nations, a new prominence in the world and the preservation of a feudalistic setup in the Middle East under an underwritten British-American protectorate. If this alliance has not worked out exactly the way it was planned, the blame or the credit for this failure is not to be attributed to Britain's Foreign Office or America's State Department, and certainly not to Ibn Saud and the other oil barons of Arabia.

Time and again, Americans have been told that Ibn Saud would cancel the American concession; that Soviet Russia would take America's place in the affections of the Arabs; that America is running short of oil and is vitally dependent on Arabian oil for its domestic requirements; that in case of a new world war, it is simply vital for the United States to have Middle East oil.

Is the United States vitally dependent on oil supplies from the Arab lands? Or are the Arab lands much more dependent on American capital, industry and skill, in general, and specifically for the profitable development of their petroleum deposits? Would Middle East oil be a major factor in American security in case of a new world war? In the light of the best national interests of the United States, should large quantities of steel —so scarce at home—be sent for the construction of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline? Or should this steel be saved for the increase of oil boring and production in the United States and elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere? What is the plain truth about the role played by oil companies with interests in Arabia in shaping American policies in Palestine and in the Middle East?

These questions will be discussed in a second article in an early issue of PLAIN TALK.

THE EDITORS

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* * * The sordid story of our *Oil Diplomacy in Zion* is recited in full by an expert on the subject, a veteran and outstanding journalist, ELIAHU BEN-HORIN, whose work, *The Middle East*, gained for him wide recognition. He lived in the Middle East for sixteen years.

THE EDITORS

Bartley Crum: Israel Turns Anarchy Into Solvency

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TEL AVIV, Sept. 15 — Four months ago, the State of Israel was proclaimed. Today its budget is balanced. Its affairs are in order.

The importance of this achievement cannot be underestimated in view of the Herculean three-fold task the Israelis face:

¶ Building a state.

¶ Fighting a war.

¶ Bringing in 120,000 immigrants a year — equivalent to the U. S. A. absorbing 17,000,000 annually.

How Israel has met its problems so far and its economic blueprint for the future was told to me in detail by Israel's Finance Minister, Eliezer Kaplan, and David Horowitz, economic adviser to the Israeli government.

Fulfills Dream

The blueprint not only fulfills the dreams of American businessmen, but, in view of the astounding development here of the trade union movement, gives equal satisfaction to Israel's industrial and agricultural workers.

"We believe in paying our own way," began Kaplan, a heavy-set, slow-speaking man, who might well be the chairman of the board of any large American enterprise.

"Since the republic was established four months ago, I have been able also to balance our budget, save only for the extraordinary and non-recurring expenses of war and immigration.

"Our outgo doesn't exceed our income. We propose to keep the budget balanced."

"How do you do it?" I asked.

Tough Job

"It has been hard," he replied. "We had to curtail services and increase local taxation. We will have to go into rationing. There has been a tremendous increase in the cost of living. Since we set up the state four months ago it has gone up 15 per cent. But it must be remembered that in the six months preceding it went up a similar percentage under the British mandate.

"I don't like it. We see the danger, but nevertheless we have kept our economy going and sound. If anything, this war has proved that we are a going concern fiscally and economically, and this under the most difficult conditions."

Both Kaplan and Horowitz made clear that the official policy of the Israeli government will be to encourage and promote private investment of capital—and to extend special privileges in the way of taxes and rebates to attract and keep this capital.

Horowitz, who has an enormous command of facts and figures, added:

"You can't realize what Israel is capable of doing in the future unless you know precisely what we were up against when the British left this country on May 14. They literally walked off with the cash-box. They left the country in a state of total anarchy.

Paralyzed Exchange

"They paralyzed monetary exchange, for example, by taking away all small change and currency. They left us with no telephone or telegraph system, no communications, no inland railway, no local administration.

"They burned the postal stamps, they cancelled our international postal union agreement. They left us cut off from communications from abroad.

"We have had to re-establish all this in the middle of a war—to restore postal services, internal and foreign communications, and monetary circulation.

"The British believed that 10 days after their evacuation of Haifa we would be militarily defeated—and if not defeated militarily, then defeated economically, forced into bankruptcy within a month.

Remove Currency

"They left the country without any foreign currency, and without foreign currency you can't buy goods from abroad. Our shipments from overseas were confiscated by Egypt, Lebanon and others. Lloyd's wouldn't insure us and we had to introduce our own insurance.

"We were faced simultaneously with a sharp drop in imports and a tremendous upsurge in the demand for services and food because of incoming immigrants and a large soldier population which consumes three times as much food as the civilians.

"All this came simultaneously."

He paused.

"But we met it. That's why we have confidence in the future."

Kaplan pointed out that Israel, would use private capital wherever possible, using public and semi-public funds only in enterprises where the profit "isn't sufficiently great to attract private capital."

Horowitz explained:

"For example you can't make a great profit out of mixed farming, but since we must have eggs, milk, etc., we jump into the breach with public capital and extend loans to groups and individuals for a period of 20 to 40 years at two to four per cent interest.

"We discriminate in no way between Arab and Jew. We have granted a loan to the township of Nazareth, an all-Arab community, for them to establish a modern water supply. For 30 years the mandatory government refused to do it.

"Our loan record has been good; our loans have been repaid to us. Where we have borrowed ourselves, we have repaid promptly with interest."

We moved on to discuss the economic blueprint for the future.

"We see Israel as the center of a great trading area," Kaplan said. "We are a small country and we must have intensive foreign trade.

"We have a general three-point plan:

"First, we will develop enormously our citrus industry, which represents more than 50 per cent of our exports. This means selling to world markets, untouched by your California, Texas and Florida industries, such citrus products as pectin, jams, marmalades, fruit-juice concentrates, and so forth.

Dead Sea's Resources

"Second, we will utilize fully the vast resources of the Dead Sea, which means selling bromides, magnesium and badly needed potash fertilizer, which we are able to export because our soil is rich in potash and we need none for ourselves.

"Third, the development of all industries will be based not so much on availability of raw materials as upon ingenuity, skill and intelligence."

He cited the manufacture of precision and scientific instruments; textiles and leather goods; furs, which are imported from Iran and other countries and processed in Israel; and particularly the polishing of gem diamonds, which represents an annual $15,000,000 in exports to the U. S. A. alone.

DPs a Big Factor

"An important industrial factor," Horowitz pointed out, "is the displaced persons arriving here. While absorbing them at a tremendous rate places a huge financial burden on us, we have discovered that they are fitting into our economy more rapidly even than expected.

"You see, Hitler kept alive only those Jews who possessed skills useful to him — builders, metal and textile workers, artisans — and their labor is precisely what we need in this pioneer country. So when we take in DPs, we are not only relieving the American taxpayer of the tremendous cost of maintaining them in European camps, but we are bringing into Israel human assets for the future.

Human Values, Too

"This does not take into consideration the human values that are saved by rehabilitating men and women and making them into self-supporting human beings again."

As these two experts see the economic promise of Israel, they divide the uses of public and private funds as follows:

¶ First, the development of Israel's harbors, any of which could become the "New York of the Middle East."

¶ Second, public works, including road-building, schools, hospitals, community centers and vast public housing.

The latter would mean enormous orders to the U. S. A. for building materials such as steel, iron bars, pipe and timber.

¶ Third, the development of communications, including railroads and airplanes.

Private capital will go into the expected tremendous tourist trade, the establishment of hotels and resorts along Israel's Mediterranean coast, where the climate is the same as the Riviera, Florida and California.

"The Tiberias area, with its natural hot springs, literally cries out for development," Horowitz said.

"It is a natural spa area. You can build a hotel high above the springs. You would have snow-capped Mt. Hemon above you. The Lake of Tiberias spreads out at your feet, with the ancient hot springs where Roman emperors took their cures below."

Many Climates

Kaplan added that Israel has a wide variety of climate over a small area.

There is semi-tropical Tel Aviv, at sea level, and within an hour's auto ride, either Jerusalem, 2000 feet above sea level, or tropical resorts by the Dead Sea 1300 below sea level. You can choose your own climate at any time of day or year.

Private capital is also going into investments and government securities, which are likely to bear a higher interest than those in the U. S. A., as well as in every kind of private industry.

While painting this picture of the future, both Kaplan and Horowitz did not underestimate the tremendous initiative and energy needed to turn their blueprint into reality.

I said it would not be easy, that it was quite literally a pioneering life, complicated by Levantine intrigue, power politics, and the fact that Israel is at the military crossroads of the world.

Kaplan nodded, saying:

"We are confident. Everybody thought we would be defeated militarily; now our enemies hope we will collapse through the economic warfare being waged during the truce.

"It is a vain hope. We Jews had little military experience in the past, but we proved we could handle ourselves militarily.

"Economically, the Jews have been known by their ability; certainly, Israel will not fail."

Bartley Crum:

Israel Safeguards Christian Shrines

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NAZARETH, Sept. 18

Here in Nazareth, where 16 Christian churches and scores of holy places have attracted pilgrims through the centuries, all remain as before — unchanged, unmolested, under the most scrupulous protection the Israeli government can provide.

Spoke With Priests

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

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

All through Israel today one finds tacked on doors of church property, Protestant and Catholic alike, such warnings as "Holy Site—Entrance Forbidden" or "Holy Place—Out of Bounds." At the village of Ein Karem, where a Roman Catholic Church stands at the site of the birth of John the Baptist, Father Ferdinand, a Spanish Franciscan priest, showed me priceless relics so delicate, a mere touch would destroy them.

'Relations Excellent'

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

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

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

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

Women, dressed very much the same as 2000 years ago, filled clay and copper water containers, and chatted animatedly in the noon day sun.

Here I spoke first with a bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church who had been appointed to represent the Latin, Greek and Protestant churches in their relationships with the military governor of Nazareth, Elish Salz.

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

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

Just Two Requests

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

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

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

"The sooner that time arrives, the happier I will be," he said. He showed me the written terms of surrender signed two months ago when Israeli armies drove out Iraqi troops who had occupied the city. These terms granted to all inhabitants of Nazareth and the surrounding territory full Israeli citizenship. Nazareth today is run by Arabs, with an Arab mayor and judge and an Arab council.

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

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

¶ Are installing a modern water system for the first time in 2000 years through a loan given by the Israeli government to the town of Nazareth.

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

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

A pleasant and personable Sicilian priest, Father Guiseppe explained that, of course, the final decision of the Vatican regarding the protection needed by the churches must as yet be made. He added: "If I may speak personally, I would like to say our relations are excellent. We had a few complaints at the beginning but within an hour after Israeli occupation, the Israeli commander, showing great deference to the religious and holy places, made all arrangements for their protection here.

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

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

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

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE
41 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

High Mass in Last Supper Room Probably First Since Year 1552

National Edition

THE REGISTER

National Edition

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Jews Allow What Moslems Forbade

By Bro. Anthony Bruya, O.F.M.

Jerusalem. — For the first time in centuries, probably since 1552, a High Mass was sung in the Cenacle, place of the Last Supper.

This great event came about as an unexpected happy result of the present conflict in the Holy Land —a paradox that only God could fashion.

It happened in this way:

The Jewish forces captured the Mount Sion area of Jerusalem. In this section of the city are located the Apostolic Delegation, the Benedictine Dormition abbey, the Franciscan Chapel of the Cenacle, and the actual room of the Last Supper.

Monks, Friar Get Offer

Interned in the Dormition shrine were three Benedictines and one Franciscan priest. When the Jews took over, they offered the four religious the opportunity to hold services in the Moslem "Tomb of David," as the non-Christians called the place that witnessed the institution of the Blessed Sacrament.

The religious quickly availed themselves of this opportunity. One morning shortly thereafter, a portable altar, candlesticks, and all the necessary articles for the celebration of Mass were carried into the Cenacle.

While the Benedictine priest celebrated a High Mass, the Franciscan and two Benedictine Brothers sang the sacred chant. Afterwards, the Franciscan, who a few days later reached the 50th jubilee of his ordination, was celebrant of a Low Mass of Thanksgiving.

Low Mass had been offered in the Cenacle on rare occasions by visiting prelates and others but it had then been celebrated furtively. Always costly "arrangements" had to be made with Moslem custodians of this venerable shrine, the very center of Catholic faith. The Franciscans were expelled from the shrine in 1552. [NCWC Radio and Wire]

Inside Story of Our Soviet Underworld

Isaac Don Levine

Stalin's Jazz Artist

Jury Jelagin

The Arabian Oil Rush

Eliahu Ben-Horin

Laski: The Planners' Ordeal

John Chamberlain

(Complete Contents Inside)

Our Diplomacy in Zion

THE ARABIAN OIL RUSH

By ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

Here is the second article by Mr. Ben-Horin on our oil diplomacy in Zion. The first appeared in the July issue. The author of this informative and authoritative article misses, it seems to us, the crucial point in his discussion of America's interests in Middle Eastern oil in relation to our national defense in time of war. Assuming that no oil shortage threatened the United States in an emergency, it is still vital to our security to prevent a potential enemy from seizing and exploiting the rich Arabian oil fields.
THE EDITORS

WHEN ONE starts digging below the surface of the story of Middle East oil and its farflung political influences, one finds a set of facts and figures which have the makings of a thriller. To begin with, there is the case of two of the largest oil companies which did the United States Treasury out of over one hundred million dollars. The two companies in question are the Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company, the original owners of Aramco—the Arabian-American Oil Company—as well as of the Bahrein concession. This concession is operated by them through the Bahrein Company (a Canadian corporation) and the Cal-Tex (a Bahama corporation).

The joint earnings of Cal-Tex and Bahrein have amounted to $117,000,000 on a total joint capital of only $1,000,000. According to the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, "as much as ninety percent of the earnings of $117,000,000 would have been paid into the United States Treasury by way of taxes had these corporations been subject to United States corporation taxes." Ninety percent of $117,000,000 is $105,300,000.

No wonder the Chairman of the Senate Committee commented on this phenomenon as follows:

> It is a liberal education on how corporations organized under foreign flags yet seek the shelter of the American flag, and were constantly coming here seeking the United States to take an interest in and to protect your investments over there. Meanwhile through the device of these two corporations over $100,000,000 of your earnings were escaping entirely taxation in the United States. I am sure that the American people will be very much interested to acquire an increasing knowledge of methods by which these things are carried on, and particularly when you found it necessary in 1945, when we were still at war, to raise the price to the American Navy over the price you had been previously charging. . . .

Or let us take the case of Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Congresswoman from Cleveland, Ohio, who is an ardent admirer of Ibn Saud and of the Arab cause. In September, 1945, Rep. Bolton, after having been received by Ibn Saud in his kingdom, told the

United Press: "He's powerful, he's terrific, he sees everything. I was deeply impressed with his appearance, sense of humor and knowledge of world affairs. The king gave his version of the Arab problems which seemed very reasonable and sound and full of good sense." Time and again, Rep. Bolton has arisen in Congress, on Congressional committees and on public platforms to voice the pro-Arab viewpoint concerning Palestine. On November 14, 1947, she told the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on foreign aid that it was the responsibility of the United States to take note of the Arab attitude, which, she asserted, had had little airing in this country. She said the Mufti was growing in popularity and power, and that xenophobia was "very much on the increase" in all countries of the Near and Middle East.

Is this attitude due solely to her convictions on the subject? According to Volume 14A of the Temporary National Economics Committee Report, the United States Trust Company, New York, as of December 31, 1938, held in trust for the benefit of Frances P. Bolton, stocks of the following oil companies: Standard Oil of Indiana, Standard Oil of Ohio, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Atlantic Refining Company and Socony-Vacuum Company. The value of these holdings amounted, as of March 26, 1948, to a total of $6,604,344. The dividends for 1947 on Mrs. Bolton's oil stocks amounted in all to $353,505, for $264,715 of which Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum were responsible. By way of a memo to the uninformed: Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum are now partners in the Aramco concession.

This information on Mrs. Bolton's oil holdings is not intended to cast doubt in any way on the character, integrity or personality of the Congresswoman from Ohio. However, we are all only human. It merely shows that Mrs. Bolton has a vested interest in oil in general, and in Middle East oil in particular.

I REMEMBER the hush which fell over the room and the smiles which appeared on many faces, when certain disclosures were made at a session of the Senate Investigation Committee in Washington. A representative of the U. S. Navy was on the witness stand. In answer to questions by Senator Owen Brewster, the chairman, he had to admit that some of the key men in charge of Navy oil purchases during the war were now either in the direct or indirect employ of the big oil companies.

Here is what the report of the Brewster Committee has to say on this subject:

> The following persons are mentioned who were affiliated with the Government and who also were connected with the companies involved. . . . James Terry Duce, vice-president of Aramco since 1940, and formerly associated with its parent company, the Texas Company, for 25 years, was at one time Director of the Foreign Division of the Petroleum Administration. D. E. Bodenschatz, assistant manager of the Export Department of the General Petroleum Products of Los Angeles, California, a subsidiary of Socony-Vacuum, was the naval officer who wrote the justification for the purchase of Aramco crude oil at $1.05 a barrel. [This refers to the

excessive price paid by the Navy for Aramco oil, resulting in an overcharge by Aramco to the tune of about $38,000,000, as mentioned in my first article. E.B.H.] J. J. Walsh, one of the naval procurement officers who worked on the Aramco contracts, is now associated with Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Admiral Andrew Carter, recently president of the Overseas Tank Ship Company, a Texas Co., and Socal subsidiary, was formerly executive officer of the Army-Navy Petroleum Board. Ralph K. Davies, formerly an officer of the Standard Oil Company of California, was formerly the executive petroleum administrator for war. Max Thornburg, a vice-president of Bahrein Petroleum Company, Ltd., was special assistant to the Under Secretary of State.

Of all these people mentioned, the Brewster report has a good word to say only about Ralph K. Davies. Although he too received remuneration from his company during his government service, he made a full disclosure of this fact to all concerned and disqualified himself from all negotiations involving his company. Max Thornburg, on the other hand, while serving in the high position of Special Adviser on Oil to the Department of State, continued to receive a larger salary from the oil companies than that paid to him by the government. Furthermore, this fact was kept secret. Dr. Herbert Feis, economic adviser to the State Department from 1931 to 1943, testified that although he had participated in the appointment of Max Thornburg, he was unaware of the fact that Thornburg was receiving compensation of any significance from the oil companies during his government service. Certain letters introduced in the record of the Senate investigation indicated that Thornburg continued his interest in the oil companies while in government service.

The stand adopted by Aramco and its agents, as well as by private investors in Arabian oil, on political issues in the Middle East and on Palestine partition in particular, is simple and understandable. The only criterion which the owners of the Saudi Arabia concession apply to any Middle East issue or development is its possible affect on the companies' business interests and profits. This is the narrow though natural approach of the businessman, and is understandable, particularly when one remembers that Saudi Arabian oil has already provided many millions of net profit to Aramco and is likely to supply many more millions.

Applying its yardstick of business and profits to the Palestine problem, Aramco soon arrived at the conclusion that, as far as it was concerned, Jewish need and hope for national rebirth in their restored homeland were of no help and might possibly prove disturbing. But American big business behind Aramco went much further. Over a number of years, our policy makers in Washington had been skillfully impressed with the idea that America's national interests are necessarily and always identical with Aramco's business interests. Was this supposed identity of interests present when Aramco made the American Navy pay excessive prices for petroleum supplies, or when some of the oil companies manipulated affairs so as to deprive the United States Treasury of large sums in corporation taxes?

The technique employed by the oil companies was to plant Aramco's

own men in key government positions where they could promote the company's interpretation of American national interest in the Middle East. It was the job of the Aramco men in Washington to present and interpret events in the Middle East in such manner as to secure the fullest backing of the Government for Aramco and its Arab protegés. As we shall see, they have not been overly discriminating in their choice of arguments to achieve this end.

THE FIRST THREAT promulgated in the interests of Aramco was the alleged shortage of oil in America. Is there any substance to this threat?

Many authorities on oil can be quoted to the effect that the United States possesses enough domestic oil resources and has access to enough oil deposits in geographically close areas to supply all our peacetime requirements for a long time to come. To quote one authority among many, Joseph E. Pogue, vice-president of the Chase National Bank of New York, and member of the National Petroleum Council, in addressing the Economic Club of Detroit on November 17, 1947, stated:

> The United States will face a shortage of oil only if we create it out of a shortage of understanding and imagination. . . . The current short supply of oil is linked to our industrial expansion, but there is more smoke than fire in any interpretation of this as an indication of rapid failure of oil resources. . . .
>
> Estimates of proved underground oil reserves for the entire world now stand at 73 billion barrels, distributed as follows: In the United States, 24 billion; Caribbean Basin, 9 billion; Russia, 8 billion; Middle East, 30 billion; and the rest of the world, 2 billion. The oil of the Middle East is not primarily required in the United States, and no large quantities of it in the foreseeable future need come here. . . . Most of that oil will be consumed in the Eastern Hemisphere, gradually relieving the dependence of that area upon the oil of the United States and the Caribbean and increasing the availability of the latter for consumption in this country.

Mr. Pogue should know. His connections with one of America's leading banks and with the National Petroleum Council, place him in a good position to judge the requirements of our industrial expansion and the extent of our oil reserves. The figures which Mr. Pogue quotes speak for themselves. Of an estimated world total of 73 billion barrels, the United States has in its own territory and at its doorstep (in the Caribbean Basin) 33 billion barrels which represent over 45 percent of all the oil on the globe.

Eugene Holman, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, is no less emphatic in his evaluation of the situation. In a letter to the editor of *The New York Times* of February 4, 1948, he says:

> That future discoveries in the United States will be large is generally agreed. One estimate is that as much oil remains to be discovered in the land area of continental United States as has been discovered since the beginning of the industry. . . . Thus, the nation's oil "resources" are much larger than its "reserves." Clearly, we have far more than —at least several times—ten years to count on for very large-scale domestic oil production.

Mr. Holman goes on to evaluate optimistically the large quantities of petroleum to be found under offshore areas, as well as the prospects of synthetic oil production.

While the magnitude of Middle East oil resources is undeniable, the sober truth emerges that the United States is not threatened by an oil shortage at present or in the foreseeable future, and that America does not need Middle Eastern oil for its domestic requirements.

America has, as a matter of fact, at no time been dependent on Middle Eastern oil. On the other hand, the Arab potentates in the Middle East are in no position to threaten America with oil sanctions. Ibn Saud and the Sheikh of Bahrein are dependent on American capital, industry, oil royalties and various other subventions. Nor do they have anyone else to turn to to take the place of the American concessionaires. Britain, as we have seen, acquiesced in America's penetration of the Middle East, and for obvious reasons would not now compete with the United States in case of a political conflict between America and the Moslem potentates. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, is absolutely unacceptable to the Arab chieftains on political and social grounds, even if Russia were in a position to outbid America in commercial terms. There is an old saying that "The cow is more eager to be milked than the calf to have the milk." The figure of speech may be a rather homely one, but it applies perfectly to the relationship between American oil interests and the Arab potentates.

AFTER the failure of the attempt to create an oil panic in the United States and thus stampede the government into unconditional acceptance of the political dictates of Ibn Saud and the other Arab potentates, a new argument was put forward: the possession of Middle East oil was described as imperative for U. S. security in case of a new world war.

This claim has as little substance as the first. The map will tell us what our military experts must know by heart—that Russia is the only great power whose home territory is directly adjacent to the Middle East. The United States is about 6,000 miles away. Even Great Britain has the whole length of the Mediterranean and a slice of the Atlantic to cover before its ships reach the oil on the Persian Gulf.

Experience has shown that formal ownership of oil fields, pipelines and refineries is of no account in time of war. Accessibility is what matters. The Rumanian oil fields in Ploesti were owned mainly by American and British companies, but in World War II Ploesti was accessible to the *Wehrmacht* and not to the Western Powers. It was Hitler who used the oil of Rumania. Similarly, for many crucial months in the last war the oil of Iran, Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries was inaccessible to Allied tankers, and American and Caribbean reserves were drawn upon disproportionately. In the first World War, the British Fleet succeeded in defeating the German Fleet, not because Winston Churchill had acquired 51 percent of the stock of the Anglo-Persian Company for the British Government, but because British control of the seas enabled the oil tankers to reach Scapa Flow from the Persian Gulf.

In sum, should there be a new world war our strategists would be prudent to realize that we should not

count on the oil reserves of the Middle East. In fact, both Congress and the general staff realize this simple truth. When the U. S. Commerce Department recently cancelled Aramco's export permit for the large quantities of steel required for the construction of the trans-Arabian pipeline, it was stated that "U. S. military chiefs were said not to be confident that the pipeline could be defended in a war with Russia." The well-informed *Wall Street Journal* arrives at the same conclusion:

> Military men count oil supplies from the Middle East, where about 40 percent of the world's known crude oil reserves are located, as lost to the United States in a major war.

Such are the plain and irrefutable facts of the situation. The United States has more than enough oil for its peacetime needs right here at home and at its doorstep: in the Caribbean and Latin America. In case of a war against Russia, Middle East oil will be inaccessible to the Western Powers. Ibn Saud and the other Moslem potentates are entirely dependent on the United States politically, industrially and financially, and are in no position to employ sanctions against America.

In the light of these facts, one is entitled to wonder at the considerable diplomatic successes attained by the Aramco-Arab-British front in their determined attempt to prevent the creation of the Republic of Israel and to place as many obstacles as possible in the way of the full-fledged recognition of Israel by the nations of the world. In this the Aramco lobbyists have been aided by pro-Arab U. S. Government "experts" in Washington whose background in Middle Eastern affairs has made them willing receptacles for Aramco's propaganda.

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

Friday, October 1, 1948

EDITORIAL

The Bernadotte Report

When Count Bernadotte's posthumous report on Palestine was published, this newspaper approved Secretary Marshall's support of its general principles. We print on this page today a sampling of the correspondence we have received from readers taking issue with our stand and with the substance of what is now referred to as the Bernadotte plan. These letters oppose violently what their writers consider further concessions to the Arabs. At the same time they overlook the fact that support of the general principles of this plan is not the same thing as indorsement of every suggestion contained therein, and certainly does not mean underwriting specific boundaries. Indeed, Bernadotte himself submitted his suggestions in a tentative manner, evidently intending them as a basis for further discussion by the United Nations.

Bernadotte's proposals were based on recognition that "a Jewish state called Israel exists in Palestine and there are no sound reasons for assuming that it will not continue to do so." The fact that this has been set down as the basis of policy and has now been accepted as such by the British government is of extreme importance. Bernadotte proceeded to suggest a modification of the original partition boundaries, his criterion being in general a recognition of the existing military situation. Thus, Western Galilee, a large part of which has been occupied by the Israeli Army, was to go to Israel.

The Arabs are to be "compensated" by getting the Negeb—the wedge-shaped desert area of southern Palestine. This has been condemned as grossly unfair by friends of Israel who point to the great difference in the respective areas of the two territories. While size is not a true measure of their importance, we agree that the plan should be modified to give a part of the Negeb to Israel, since it offers the best posibilities for development and for the accommodation of new settlers. The Jews should be allowed to keep a northern strip, where they have already established settlements, and they should not be deprived of the land at the southern end of the Dead Sea, where one of Palestine's two large potash plants is situated. The other plant is already in Arab territory.

Another objection raised is to the internationalization of Jerusalem, although this was included in the original United Nations partition plan and was accepted by the Israeli leaders. While their changed attitude may be accounted for by the bitter experience of the Jews during the Jerusalem fighting, an international status for the city must still be considered the only fair solution and the only one the United Nations can in good conscience attempt to enforce. The Jews do have a right to expect that it should be effectively enforced and that the Jewish population of the Holy City should not run the risk of being submitted again to blockade and the threat of starvation.

Whatever changes may be desirable and necessary in the details of the Bernadotte plan, it provides the basis for a solution behind which the United Nations can and should throw the whole weight of its moral authority.

Reader Response to Prior Editorial

In Opposition to Bernadotte Report

Readers Take Issue With Editorial Supporting Principles of Slain Mediator's Plan

To the New York Herald Tribune:

The Herald Tribune's editorial, "A Palestine Policy," of Sept. 23, 1948, expresses the opinion that the adoption of the Bernadotte report "is the most hopeful course which now opens," and "should now be followed with all firmness and consistency." I must respectfully but vigorously dissent.

The posthumous report destroys with one stroke the painstakingly built partition plan as adopted by the United Nations on Nov. 29, 1947. Although the report favors recognition of the new State of Israel, it proposes crippling amendments to the original United Nations decision, a decision arrived at only after bitter debate and extended compromise.

The most glaring inequity is the recommendation that the Jews give to the Arabs the Negeb in exchange for Western Galilee. For it is the Negeb where the Jewish "skill and tenacity," which so impressed the Mediator, worked its greatest miracle. For here, in three million acres of desert, out of the sea of lifeless sand, the Jews have brought forth the green of vegetation and fertility. They have dug water from its arid depths, peopled its loneliness with more than 300 agricultural villages, discovered vast, untapped mineral beds. Here, on the Negeb, the Jews worked, and are working (the job for them is only begun) with a fever that is almost beyond belief. As many as fourteen points were settled in one night. Because the reclamation of the Negeb means place and provision for the reclamation of their brethren, suffering and homeless in the concentration camps of Europe. It is in the Negeb that they are working with the passion of men and women who know they are their brother's keeper. They are working with a love of the land born out of 2,000 years of yearning.

The Bernadotte proposals come after months of a truce which is no truce. It is a bloodless, dangerously effective offensive in an Anglo-Arab war of attrition. The truce holds intact the Arab sword poised over Israel's heart. Enemy armies still ring her borders with the steel of death and devastation. The truce is draining Israel's economic strength, compelling her to mobilize her man power for defense and her industry for armaments. While our government procrastinates and delays, Israel's foes have been working overtime to wither her economy, to wring from her weakness the political and territorial concessions they could not win on the field of battle. And now they are distorting the memory of Bernadotte by seeking to perpetuate the inequities of his report under cover of world sorrow at his death.

Israel must be granted the measures necessary to implement her statehood so she can negotiate directly with the Arabs as an equal and sovereign state. To make this a reality these measures are necessary:

1. Partition as voted by the United Nations must be upheld.
2. The United States extend immediate de jure recognition to the Israeli government.
3. The United States lift the unneutral arms embargo, which works solely to the advantage of the aggressor.
4. The Export-Import Bank grant Israel the $100,000,000 loan to enable her to strengthen her economy and rebuild her devastated areas.
5. The United States sponsor the admission of Israel into the United Nations at the Paris session of the General Assembly.

These are the factors that must be recognized by the United Nations in determining a just solution for Palestine. If there is to be justice in the Middle East, the rule of equity must win.

JULES J. JUSTIN,
Republican Candidate for Congress, 20th Congress District.
New York, Sept. 28, 1948.

To the New York Herald Tribune:

When the "Balfour declaration" was issued in 1917 all of Palestine, from Dan to Beersheba, about 40,000 square miles was supposed to constitute the future Jewish national home. In 1922 Winston Churchill, who calls himself the "architect of the Jewish future," issued a white paper and cut off 30,000 square miles of Trans-Jordan, leaving only 10,000 square miles of old Palestine. Recently "the great friend of humanity," Ernest Bevin, suddenly declared Abdullah as the King of Trans-Jordan. The United Nations after exhaustive study of the numerous commissions finally, by a great majority, split up Palestine and gave the Jews 5,500 square miles. Through British connivery and trickery, helped by our State Department, a mediator was suddenly appointed, who again split up the 5,500 square miles and left for the Jews 2,500 square miles, taking away the 3,000 square miles for the Arabs, who did not use it for centuries and will not use it for many centuries to come.

What a mockery of justice and fair dealing to a people who have waited for two thousand years to get back to their ancient homeland—a people who have lost more than six million of their men, women and children through the barbarism of Hitler and indifference of the entire civilized world, a people who were promised 40,000 square miles and now reduced to 2,500 square miles! Millions of unfortunate refugees waiting in every part of the world to come and settle in a country which will have no room, no space and no opportunity to live or do anything in order to grow and prosper.

AARON LEVINSTONE.
Newark, N. J., Sept. 23, 1948.

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Many of your readers, I feel certain, knowing of your sympathetic attitude toward Zionist aspirations, will take exception to several points in the editorial entitled "A Palestine Policy," especially with your advice that they accept what is known as the "Bernadotte plan."

The so-called Balfour Declaration "favored" making Palestine a national homeland for the Jewish people. Later came the mandate of the League of Nations to Great Britain, charging the latter with the obligation to carry out the manifest wish of the fifty-two nations.

Britain soon initiated a totally different policy, on the one hand coddling the Arab nations of the Middle East, helping them in many ways and permitting them to enter Palestine freely so that they were encouraged to make claims to the land and to threaten to deprive Jewish settlers and would-be settlers.

If there is now a State of Israel it is not because Britain has carried out its mandate to help toward such a consummation, but in spite of all hindrances and because the Jewish people had the will and energy, the firm determination, again to become a people.

They agreed, for the sake of peace, to accept a much smaller portion of Palestine than they were entitled to. But now, to appease the Arabs, they are asked to give up the Negeb, the southern portion of the land, just what they need to make room for the many thousands waiting to enter Palestine, and this would leave them without room to grow.

Your suggestion that the foul assassination of Count Bernadotte should lead Israel to accede to the plan will not be accepted.

ISAAC POLACK.
New York, Sept. 23, 1948.

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I read your leading editorial today on Palestine with a deepening sense of shock and bewilderment. You indorse completely Count Bernadotte's final proposals and state that the mediator's report is unacceptable both to the Arabs and to the Jews and therefore, apparently, because both sides reject it, the report must necessarily be endowed with singular virtue. Apart from, and in addition to, this I detect in your attitude a feeling of weariness about the entire situation and a desire to see an end to the Palestine problem regardless of the justice of the solution.

What rules of logic dictate the conclusion that because both the Jews and the Arabs reject the mediator's report, it provides, *ipso facto*, for a necessarily just solution? It has never yet been held that merely because there are two parties to a dispute who both adopt irreconcilable points of view, both points of view are erroneous and therefore some alleged middle position is correct.

The Palestinian mandate of the League of Nations originally encompassed a territory consisting of both the Israeli and the Arab portions of what we commonly recognize as Palestine today and also the territory of Trans-Jordan. The partition report adopted by the United Nations in November, 1947, represented vital and material territorial concessions wrung from the Jews with the promise that now a final solution had been reached. Is Bernadotte's last report, providing for a truncated Israel, to be held up as just and proper because it would attempt to coerce the Jews the more?

I can well understand the desire of all right-thinking people to see an end to the conflict in Palestine. War, with its attendant horrors, is an ugly thing. Peace is, obviously, so much the better state that there can never be an argument against it. But the Jews did not start the war, they did not invade Arab territory.

The people of Israel will not bow now to pressure which will deprive them of what they gained through their blood, even pressure exerted upon them by some people who profess to be their friends.

ALEXANDER E. ROSENTHAL.
New York, Sept. 23, 1948.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1948.

ISRAEL AND THE NEGEB

The Israeli Government has protested, and we believe rightly, against that part of the proposals of the late United Nations mediator, Count Bernadotte, which would give the Negeb—the desert area south of Beersheba—to the Arabs. It is no reflection on the martyred Bernadotte's memory to say that he erred in suggesting this division. He was attempting, to the best of his abilities and with the utmost courage, to suggest a settlement that both parties to the Palestine dispute would ultimately accept. But what he did in this instance was to dash some of Israel's highest hopes.

The Negeb, from one-third to one-half of Palestine, depending on how Palestine is defined, may have supported as many as 300,000 people in ancient times. In modern times it has been largely uninhabited, except for a few thousand Arabs who raised and pastured camels there. Within the past few years Jewish settlers, pushing south, have irrigated a little of this long-sterile land. Like our own Southwest, much of it will produce crops if it can have water; and there is on paper a well-thought-out plan to bring water to it from the upper Jordan. It might support from half a millon to a million or more pioneers, who would enrich the whole country without displacing large Arab populations.

Secretary Marshall has accepted the Bernadotte proposals as "a generally fair basis for settlement" and has urged the General Assembly to "accept them in their entirety." We believe this is one of those times when a bit of inconsistency will do our foreign policy no harm. The development of the Negeb by Zionist pioneers—and they are the only people likely to do it on a large and scientific scale—would enrich the whole Middle East. It would not injure the Arabs, unless they feel that any Israeli prosperity would hurt them.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

OCTOBER 12, 1948

U.S. Support of Bernadotte Plan Is Criticized as Poor Expedient

Welles Says Proposal to Give Negeb to Trans-Jordan Is Scheme to Restore British Power in Levant; Small Nations Urged to Balk Plot in U. N.

By Sumner Welles
Former Under Secretary of State

The British and American attempt to stampede the United Nations into immediate adoption of the Bernadotte plan for Palestine was fortunately blocked. But the narrow margin by which the Assembly's Political Committee defeated this maneuver emphasizes the urgency of the need for a just and final settlement.

The failure of the United Nations to show itself capable of establishing an independent, secure and viable Israeli state diminishes confidence in its authority, increases doubt that justice inspires its proceedings and deprives the survivors of the European mass murders of hope for the future.

So long as uncertainty enshrouds the fate of Palestine the acts of violence that are due to that very uncertainty will help the sowers of hate to stimulate anti-Semitism here and be advanced as reasons why this country should disinterest itself in the fate of Israel.

The present situation can only incite Arab imperialists and Jewish terrorists to renewed aggression. It tempts both the Soviet Union and the Western powers to intervene in Palestine as a strategic move in their contest for control of the Near East.

Count Bernadotte rightly saw that the Palestine problem, as he said, was "a spark capable of setting off a mightier conflagration." By accepting the task of mediator he served the highest interests of humanity.

Israel Called Justified

Yet the British government is disingenuous in claiming that his assassination constitutes any valid reason for the approval by the United Nations of his plan for Palestine.

The government of Israel is wholly warranted in rejecting the Bernadotte recommendations. The insuperable obstacle to their acceptance is the proposal to take the Negeb from Israel, and to reduce the territory of the Jewish state to less than one-half of that allotted to it by the Assembly's partition resolution of a year ago.

Were this proposal to be accepted, a basic feature of the original partition resolution would be nullified, for Israel would then be unable to provide new homes for more than a handful of refugees.

If a Palestine solution is to prove lasting, Israel must become a prosperous and a contented nation. With Israel deprived of the agricultural and mineral resources that the Negeb affords, of its port on the Red Sea, and of its opportunities for resettlement and for expanding development, the new state cannot even be viable.

The Negeb proposal represents the latest in the long series of attempts made by Mr. Bevin, with the support of the British Foreign Office and Imperial General Staff, and of the State Department and National Security Council in Washington, to restore British hegemony over the Near East. By the cession of the Negeb to Trans-Jordan, Britain would obtain the use of that territory for her own military and economic purposes.

If any major power is now permitted to monopolize this strategic area, the peoples of Palestine can have no assurance of real freedom and there will be scant likelihood of peace in the Near East.

Secretary Marshall's indorsement of the Bernadotte plan affords further cause for dissension between the Soviet Union and the United States. It provides new and powerful motives for the growth of anti-American sentiment in Israel.

American Policy Criticized

The United States was chiefly responsible for the Assembly's approval of the partition resolution of last November. Time and experience have demonstrated that this government was wholly justified in the official statement it then made, "that this partition plan . . . offers the most practicable and most just present solution of the Palestine problem." They have confirmed the wisdom of its further declaration that this partition plan represented "a decision which comes very close to being law."

Yet, in line with its sorry record of the past eleven months, the United States now again ignores what it so recently considered "the most practicable and most just present solution" for Palestine. It spurns a resolution which less than a year ago it termed a "decision which comes very close to being law." And under the guidance of those military influences now primarily responsible for American foreign policy, the United States supports Mr. Bevin in his insistence that Israel's boundaries be revised not for the sake of economic stability, not for the sake of justice, not for the sake of peace, but solely to suit Britain's strategic plans.

We are witnessing the same tragic spectacle as that seen in the League of Nations in the early thirties, when Britain and France placed momentary expediency above collective security by refusing to repress aggression. That subordination of the permanent interests of all peoples to what were so mistakenly considered national interests destroyed the League of Nations and made the second world war inevitable.

There is presented a great challenge to some courageous and far-sighted spokesman for the lesser powers, like Herbert Evatt, to arouse the smaller countries in the United Nations to the need of making their impartial judgment prevail over all efforts of the great powers to further their selfish interests at the expense of the long-term interests of humanity.

By demanding both in the Political Committee, as well as in the Assembly, that the original partition resolution be upheld, and by insisting upon its enforcement by the Security Council, the lesser powers can strike a mighty blow for the United Nations and for future peace.

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Religious Freedom in Nazareth

Conquest by Israeli Leaves Christian Shrines and Worship Unmolested

By Ruth Gruber

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

NOVEMBER 16, 1948

Basic Principles in Palestine

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

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

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

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

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

NOVEMBER 17, 1948

The Latest U. N. Order

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

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

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

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

NOVEMBER 29, 1948

Haifa Refugees

Arab Broadcasts Blamed for Exodus of Natives

To the New York Herald Tribune:

On the question of the Arab refugees, there has been much confusion of thought and a general tendency to blame the Israelis for the plight of the refugees. The opposite is nearer the truth. I point out "The London Economist" recently printed an article "to ascertain how much of the present plight of the refugees is of Jewish and how much of Arab making and whether it could have been avoided." "The Economist," whose standing is of the highest, says:

"The events of the first exodus are described as follows by a British eye witness:

" 'During the subsequent days the Israeli authorities who were now in complete control of Haifa . . . urged all Arabs to remain in Haifa, and guaranteed them protection and security. So far as I know, most of the British civilian residents whose advice was asked by Arab friends told the latter that they would be wise to stay.

" 'Various factors influenced their decision to seek safety in flight. There is but little doubt that for the most potent of these factors was the announcements made over the air by the Arab Higher Executive, urging all Arabs in Haifa to quit. The reason given was that upon the final withdrawal of the British the combined armies of the Arab States would invade Palestine and drive the Jews into the sea, and it was clearly intimated that those Arabs who remained in Haifa and accepted Israeli protection would be regarded as renegades. At that time the Palestinian Arabs still had some confidence in the ability of the Arab League to implement the promises of its spokesmen.' "

At a meeting of the Security Council on April 23, Jamal Bey Husseini for the Arab Higher Committee said, "The Arabs would not submit to a truce . . . but they rather preferred to leave their homes in the town . . . and leave the town, which they did. We have never concealed the fact that we began the fighting."

Again, Emil El-Ghory, representative of the Arab Higher Committee at the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in a press interview published on Sept. 6, 1948, in the Arabic newspaper "Telegraph" of Beirut, said, "The problem of these refugees is the direct result of the policy of resistance to partition and to the establishment of the Israeli State. This policy was unanimously adopted by the Arab governments, and it is they who have to bear responsibility for the solution of the refugees problem."

These reports have not been stressed or published here. They should remove the misconception that the Israelis are the cause of the Arab refugee plight.

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE.

New York, Nov. 26, 1948.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

SEC. 562, P. L. & R.

NEW YORK POST HOME NEWS on "COMMON SENSE"

to

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Jersey Hate Sheet Shipped to Arabs For Use in U.N.

By IRVING LIEBERMAN AND MALCOLM LOGAN

Benjamin H. Freedman, the pro-Arab publicist, was directly connected today, by information obtained by the Post Home News, with an attempt to spread among United Nations delegates in Paris the blatantly anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist propaganda published by "Common Sense."

This semi-monthly paper put out in Union, N. J., by Conde McGinley has been disseminating racial and religious hatred for three years. As this newspaper has revealed in previous articles, it has begun concentrating on anti-Zionism since Freedman became interested in it recently.

While Freedman has remained in the background, his interest in "Common Sense" coincided with an enormous increase in its unpaid circulation. Issues of Oct. 3 and 31 were sent by the hundreds of thousands to influential persons and organizations in all parts of the country.

Most of these were mailed from McGinleey's office, but on Nov. 29, the day that Israel applied for admission to the U. N., Freedman himself took a hand in the distribution of the Oct. 31 issue which described the Palestine Jews' fight against the Arab invasion as "an armed insurrection . . . by U. S. A. financed immigrant revolutionist Jews from eastern Europe."

On that day, Freedman went to the Benart Mail Sales Service, Inc., 235 E. 45th St. with 500 copies of the issue. Max Swank, a shipping clerk there, said that Freedman had him make them up into two packages and send them on a TWA plane to Faris El Kouri, Hotel Continental, Rue Rivoli, Paris.

El Khouri is the Syrian delegate to the U.N., the representative of the Arab bloc on the Security Council, and the elder statesman of the Arab League.

This venture of Freedman's indicates that he has found Mc Ginley's hate sheet a handy weapon in his bitter fight against recognition of Israel, now that Freedman's own League for Peace and Justice in Palestine has been discredited because of its founder's close connections with Arab League representatives.

Prior to his connection with Freedman, McGinley had a long record of publication of anti-Semitic and pro-fascist material.

A native of Oklahoma, McGinley worked in a Union war plant during World War II. When he lost his job there on Aug. 24, 1945, he began publishing a small paper "Think Weekly" which later became "Common Sense." In it he consistently used an anti-Communist approach to preach racial and religious hatred.

When it was known as "Think Weekly,' the executive committee of the American Legion, Dept. of Illinois, had this to say about it:

"This publication pretends to have as its principal purpose the combatting of Communism. However, a careful reading of its issues and the lists of its contributors gives abundant evidence that it is not so much interested in the legitimate fight against Communism in America, but is 'grinding an axe' for Fascism instead of democracy."

Almost every topic dealt with in the columns of "Common Sense" is used as a weapon against racial and religious minorities.

5¢ COMMON SENSE

To Educate People to the Science of Government — In Plain Words for Plain People

FOR CHRISTIANITY AS OPPOSED TO MARXISM

Invisible Government

WE SHOULD TELL THOMAS AND RANKIN WE SUPPORT THEIR FIGHT FOR AMERICA

THE POWER BEHIND COMMUNISM — THE MASTER-MINDS WHO RULED ROOSEVELT AND RULE THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION — THE POWER WHICH PREVENTS THE REMOVAL OF THOUSANDS OF MARXISTS FROM GOVERNMENT JOBS.

HON. J. PARNELL THOMAS

ISSUE OF "COMMON SENSE" lauding Reps. Thomas and Rankin and attacking the publication's favorite fantasy, the "Invisible Government" of Jews and Communists.

Last Mar. 31, it published an article called "The FEPC Menace," a reprint of a newsletter by Merwin K. Hart, the pro-Franco head of the National Economic Council, Inc., containing open appeals to the prejudices of Negro-haters.

In 1935, Hart wrote, the Communist Party published a pamphlet urging Southern Negroes "to rise in bloody revolt."

"This is the source of the FEPC," he said, and later in the article he said that President Truman appointed his Committee on Civil Rights "in an obvious bid for the Negro and Jewish vote."

In a subsequent issue dated Apr. 25, Hart wrote, "In our opinion, the demand for FEPC and other similar legislation has been largely stirred up by left-wing Jews."

Hart also got a generous amount of space in which to attack the admission of displaced persons to this country. He asserted that in immigration "the preference has invariably been in favor of left-wing D.P.'s, especially if they are Jews." He also charged that millions of illegal immigrants, "an overwhelming proportion of them Jewish," have come into the country in recent years.

But the quality of McGinley's brand of "Americanism" is best illustrated by his relations with Robert H. Best, now serving a life sentence for treason.

Best, an American newspaper man, deserted to the Nazis during the war and broadcast from Berlin for them. Common Sense not only published some rambling and almost incoherent articles by Best but defended hmi and his treasonable activity.

A preface to the first of his articles describes him as "an idealist" and a "Christian American" who was being persecuted "because he has committed acts of patriotism in defense of his country."

"The Invisible Government is the power behind the persecution of Mr. Best," the introduction said. The "Invisible Government" is, according to McGinley, a "super-government' of the Jews which controls the U. S. government and is the motivating force behind Communism.

In another issue, "Common Sense" said that Best had "exposed and corrected several flagrant abuses by which the Moscow-mimicking termites who disgrace the Dept. of Justice from those indicted by war-hysterical rubber-stamp Grand Jurors."

The jury which heard the evidence in Federal Court in Boston did not agree with McGinlay that Best was a persecuted patriot. It convicted him last Apr. 16, on his 32d birthday. When his attorney pleaded that Best was a fanatic "doing what he thought best for his country," Federal Judge Ford replied:

"He knew what he was doing. When a man intends to betray his country, his motive is immaterial."

DEC. 9, 1948

Pro-German Group Linked To Hate Sheet

By IRVING LIEBERMAN and MALCOLM LOGAN

Conde McGinley, who has become the foremost merchant of hatred and reaction in the East, has behind him an organization as well as his bi-monthly newspaper, "Common Sense," to spread his propaganda.

The organization bears the usual patriotic label affected by American pro-Fascist outfits—the Loyal American Group.

Its "director" is William O'Brien, but the real moving spirit is McGinley, who uses it not only to promote "Common Sense" but also to give circulation to some of the most vicious anti-Semitic and pro-German propaganda published in this country.

The headquarters of the Loyal American Group is at 2003 Pleasant Parkway, Union, N. J. This address is part of the office at 2001-2005 Pleasant Parkway from which McGinley puts out his newspaper.

As The Post Home News has shown in previous articles, this hate sheet's unpaid circulation has suddenly jumped into the hundreds of thousands, coincidentally with the appearance as an associate of McGinley of Benjamin H. Freedman, the anti-Zionist propagandist and admirer of the infamous Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

The Loyal American Group, in a membership application circulated to persons attending its meetings in various parts of New Jersey, represents itself as an organization devoted to fighting Communism and "organized atheism," and persons who join are asked to contribute a dollar every three months.

A note at the bottom of the application says, "We urge you to subscribe and ask your friends to subscribe to the anti-communist paper "Common Sense"—at a cost of $2 for a year's subscription or $3.50 for two years. "Common Sense" returns the compliment by carrying large notices of meetings of the Loyal American Group.

The featured speaker at one meeting this year, attended by almost 500 persons, was John Howland Snow, managing editor of former Rep. Hamilton Fish's monthly, "Today's World." Snow is also the author of "The Case of Tyler Kent," a defense of the American Embassy code clerk in London who was imprisoned by the British for disclosing wartime communications.

Snow attacked the Marshall Plan and asserted that Christian Germans were the only Europeans entitled to American aid "because the Germans kept their churches open and were the cleanest people in Europe." The anti-Semitic tone of his speech was illustrated by a statement that President Truman "got where he is by Jewish wire-pulling." Nothing is offered to substantiate this statement.

The pro-German bias of the Loyal American Group has been evident not only at its meetings but in announcements printed in "Common Sense." The advertisement of the meeting at which Snow spoke, contained this statement:

"The Christian Relief Committee has been instrumental in sending many bundles to cold and starving families in Europe. If you would like to help, bring food or clothing to the above meeting."

A report on this committee subsequently published in "Common Sense" makes it clear that this aid was given entirely to Germans. Lisbeth Horn of Union, N. J., the committee director, said that letters from Germany "seem to be more pitiful all the time" and called these ex-Nazi supplicants "victims of the Morgenthau plan."

Fascist Pamphlets on Hand

Another speaker at Loyal American Group meetings is John J. Hennihan, a war veteran who at one meeting opposed the draft, attacked Gen. Eisenhower and belabored both President Truman and Gov. Dewey as bipartisan "internationalists."

At these meetings a wide variety of publications are offered for sale, ranging from the restrained "Facts About Communism," by the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, former Eastern representative of Father Coughlin, to violent attacks upon American policy in Germany by A. O. Tittmann, a Germanophile pamphleteer of Middlebury, Vt.

In one of his pamphlets on "The Nuremberg Trials," Tittmann asserts that the object of the trial of Goering and other leading Nazis was "through the arrest and elimination of the legal German government to enable the victors to usurp its functions, dress themselves in its garb and make of the military government its pretended successor in order to legalize all of their usurping acts and especially the criminal acts of stealing German investments and assets in Germany itself and in the rest of the world."

"It is not surprising that the idea of 'trying' the leaders of the vanquished nations," he went on, "should have stemmed from a Jew, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, the unofficial 'adviser' of Roosevelt and later of Truman, himself in close liaison with Bernard Baruch, multimillionaire and famous 'park-bench politician,' according to Henry Klein, well-known New York attorney and defense lawyer in the notorious Washington 'sedition trial,' chief agent of the Sanhedrin and dominating both the executive and law-making part of our government. . . ."

Urged 'Sicilian Vespers'

This anti-Semitic defender of the Nazis in 1947 wrote to a New York City woman, "Within Germany the only hope, in my opinion, is for them to start a Sicilian Vespers and bring their tormenters down with them."

The "Sicilian Vespers" occurred on Easter Monday, Mar. 30, 1282, when, at the first stroke of the vesper bell, the people of Palermo, Sicily, rose up and wiped out the entire French garrison established there by Charles of Anjou. The equivalent of the French garrison in present-day Germany is the occupation forces, including those of this country. Accordingly, Tittmann would appear to be advocating the massacre of soldiers of the occupying armies, including American soldiers.

This is the kind of company that Conde McGinley keeps.

It is quite understandable that Freedman, the pro-Arab intriguer, has found McGinley an ideal collaborator in spreading anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish propaganda.

DEC. 10, 1948

GROUPS ON "COMMON SENSE"

Legion Organ Warns Posts on Hate Sheet

Members and branches of the American Legion in New York State today had been officially warned by the parent organization to have nothing to do with "Common Sense," the Union, N. J., hate sheet published by Conde McGinley.

The warning was issued in Legionnaire, official publication of the Legion's Dept. of New York. It came after publication in The Post Home News of a series of articles by Irving Lieberman and Malcolm Logan exposing "Common Sense."

One of The Post Home News articles reported that McGinley had obtained the backing of the president of the New York Dept. Auxiliary for one of his money-raising sidelines and that the endorsement was revealed. The sideline was the sale for $10 of 5,000 stickers denouncing Communism.

Called Hate Sheet

The Legion publication referred to "Common Sense" as "a hate sheet" and to the sticker sale as "a racket." The paper said that "Common Sense" is "violently anti-Semitic and in direct conflict with the principles of the American Legion."

The woman who recommended purchase of the stickers, Mrs. Mae E. Matthews, was criticized for not having first consulted the Legion about the character of the organization she was backing.

The Legionnaire went on:

"It might be well for the Auxiliary to know that the American Legion is the parent organization and should be accorded the courtesy of consultation in matters of this kind. If that had been done, they would not have fallen into this trap."

JAN. 10, 1949

Catholics in Bronx Denounce Hate Sheet

"Common Sense," the anti-Semitic hate sheet which was recently exposed by this newspaper, has been condemned by the Third District of the Holy Name Society, representing nine Bronx Roman Catholic parishes.

"Although the paper does not directly attack Catholicism, it is anti-Semitic,' said the Rev. William M. Daly, moderator of the district organization. "If it would attack one religion, it would attack all."

The publication, a semi-monthly, is published in Union, N. J., by Conde McGinley. Under the pretext of fighting Communism, it has consistently attacked Jews and has recently been used by Benjamin Freedman, the pro-Arab propagandist, to spread anti-Zionism.

"A delegate, James A. Gerns, found a copy on the Third Avenel," Father Daly said. "Although it was the first copy we have seen, we wanted to warm our people against it. Such doctrines have no place in America and we hope to see no more in The Bronx.

"I recommended the censure, and it was unanimously approved."

This action, which took place at the meeting of delegates last Tuesday, was the latest of a series of public protests. Recently the New York State America Legion warned its members that it was a "hate sheet."

JAN. 16, 1949

PROPER

Mystery Funds Make N.J. Hate Sheet Mouthpiece of Anti-Jewish Groups

Story on Page 5

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NEW YORK POST HOME NEWS

NIGHT EXTRA

COMPLETE NEWS—MAGAZINE SECTION—COMIC FEATURES

Mystery Funds Make N.J. Hate Sheet Mouthpiece of Anti-Jewish Groups

By IRVING LIEBERMAN and MALCOLM LOGAN

During recent weeks the country has been flooded with copies of "Common Sense," a four page semi-monthly published in Union, N. J., which uses an anti-communist approach to spread virulent anti-Semitic and anti-liberal propaganda.

A sudden, mysterious prosperity has transformed it abruptly from an obscure and struggling tabloid into the most widely circulated mouthpiece of racial and religious hatred in the East and very likely in the entire nation.

["Common Sense" has no connection with any other past or present publication of the same name."—Ed.]

This success has promoted Conde McGinley, owner and publisher of "Common Sense," into the front ranks of the purveyors of bigotry and promises to make his locked and curtained office in Union the center of their activity in this region.

McGinley's sheet, which lists as its "The Nation's Anti-Communist Newspaper", had only about 7,000 paid subscribers during the year ending last October, according to McGinley's sworn statement.

Huge Free Distribution

But somewhere McGinley has found the funds to print and circulate huge quantities of the last two issues of "Common Sense"—so many that as late as Nov. 30 he was still mailing out free copies of the Oct. 31 issue.

McGinley himself would not say how many he has mailed, but it is estimated that 300,000 copies of the Oct. 3 issue and perhaps 500,000 of the Oct. 31 issue went out to influential persons and organizations in all parts of the country.

This would put the circulation of "Common Sense" at a figure considerably higher than Father Charles Coughlin's now defunct "Social Justice" had at the peak of its prosperity. And according to McGinley's own figures, the overwhelming bulk of this circulation represented a dead loss in publication costs and postage.

The sudden improvement in McGinley's fortunes coincided with a departure in the content of "Common Sense"—a complete preoccupation with anti-Zionism, which McGinley represents as a Communist and Jewish conspiracy against the U.S. and its great and good friends, the Arabs.

McGinley founded his sheet about three years ago under the name of "Think Weekly." From the beginning the publication paralleled the usual line of the native hate-mongers by charging that Communism was one phase of a world-wide Jewish "plot" and conjuring up the shadowy menace of an "invisible government" (run of course by Jews) which dominates the present American government.

"Common Sense" defended the American deserter to Hitler, Robert H. Best, who is now serving a life sentence for treason, and published some of Best's almost incoherent outpourings.

It has promoted fear and hatred of Negroes by charging a Communist plot to create a "Black republic" in the South and by violent attacks upon the FEPC, which it labeled as another Jewish-Communist scheme.

Fought Admission of DPs

It has been assiduous in promoting sympathy for Germany. It has fought the admission of displaced persons, particularly the surviving Jews of Europe.

In addition to Best, its contributors have included:

Merwin K. Hart, apologist for Gen. Franco who has recently become increasingly bold in his attacks upon Jews.

Rep. William Lemke of North Dakota, who ran for President in 1936 as the candidate of the Union party with the support of Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith.

Hallam K. Richardson, counsel for pro-Arab propagandists and and Joe McWilliams the pro-Nazi rabble rouser.

Samuel B. Pettengill a leader of Frank E. Gannett's reactionary Committee for Constitutional Government.

Rev. Edward Lodge Curran of Brooklyn, once Father Coughlin's representative in the east.

Soon after McGinley established himself as a publisher, he formed an organization called the Loyal American Group to promote his paper. This organization has held numerous meetings in New Jersey at which the sponsors have offered for sale some of the most poisonous hate literature published here. The meetings have also been used to solicit funds for food and clothing for Germans.

Concentrates on Zionism

After "Common Sense" abandoned its other anti-Semitic approaches for a concentrated attack upon Zionism as a Jewish-Communist plot, McGinley devoted every line of the Oct. 3 and the Oct. 31 issues to this theme.

"Zionism Threatens Nation's Security," screamed the huge black headline of the Oct. 3 issue. The headline on Oct. 31 said "Communist and Zionist hyphenated Americans corrupting loyalty of important U.S.A. groups, endangering Nation's security and world peace."

This sudden policy change may be explained by statements made to The Post Home News by persons in a position to know that Benjamin H. Freedman, the well-heeled pro-Arab propagandist, took an active interest in publication of these two issues.

Freedman is the founder of the League for Peace and Justice in Palestine who spent money lavishly in 1946 for a series of full-page advertisements in newspapers here supporting Arab claims to all of Palestine. He was subsequently revealed by his own testimony as a close associate and co-worker of Arab League propagandists and lobbyists and as a fervent admirer of Hitler's collaborator, the "Grand Mufti" of Jerusalem.

DEC. 6, 1948

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PAPER

All the News Kept Out of Print

COMMON SENSE

"The first defense against communism is to understand it"

FIVE CENTS

ZIONISM THREATENS NATION'S SECURITY

The powerful political and economic Zionist group inside U.S.A. forcing our government to aid an armed insurrection in Palestine by the U. S. A.-financed immigrant revolutionist Jews from eastern Europe

The un-American, Zionist-dictated U. S. A. effort to effect the partition of Palestine

WHAT THE OCT. 3 edition of "Common Sense" looked like.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

SEC. 562, P. L. & R.

NEW YORK POST HOME NEWS on "COMMON SENSE"

to

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Freedman, Mufti's Admirer, Named Backer of New Jersey Hate Sheet

By IRVING LIEBERMAN and MALCOLM LOGAN

Several months ago Conde McGinley, owner and publisher of the semi-monthly, "Common Sense," began outgrowing the office in Union, N. J., where he puts out his anti-Semitic and anti-liberal publication.

For almost three years he had occupied a one-story building at 2001 Pleasant Parkway. Then he took over the two adjoining one-story offices at 2003 and 2005 and had passage ways cut through to make the three buildings into a single office.

During the same period, according to Mrs. Jule Douglas, the Union Postmistress, there was a tremendous increase in the number of copies of "Common Sense" sent through the mails. Mrs. Douglas described his present postoffice business as "terrific."

Since early this year, McGinley has had second-class mailing privileges which he uses for sending "Common Sense" to his subscribers. These, according to McGinley's sworn circulation statement in the issue of Oct. 17, averaged 7,072 during the preceding year.

But this class of mailings constitutes only a fraction of McGinley's present postal business. Hundreds of thousands of copies have been sent free to influential persons and organizations in all parts of the country on a postal meter permit at third-class rates, which are higher than second-class.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, free copies of the Oct. 3 and Oct. 31 issues, both devoted entirely to violent attacks upon Zionism and upon Jews, have been received by members of Congress, United Nations delegates, parent-teacher organizations, Kiwanis and Rotary clubs, American Legion posts, college librarians, newspapers, radio stations and business organizations.

It is estimated that McGinley may have mailed out as many as 300,000 copies of the Oct. 3 issue and that his present circulation, nearly all of it unpaid, may be close to half a million.

Taking an average of 400,000 free copies, the cost of this flood of propaganda would run into thousands of dollars for each issue. Printing costs for 400,000 copies of the four-page paper would be about $1,200, exclusive of delivery costs, and at one-cent a copy the mailing would be $4,000.

This indicated that McGinley had found new financial support far exceeding any he had received in his previous three-year experience as an obscure purveyor of racial and religious hatred.

The first hint concerning the source of this backing came when persons on the mailing list of Benjamin H. Freedman, anti-Zionist propagandist began receiving copies of "Common Sense" through the mail.

FOR NEARLY THREE years, the semi-monthly "Common Sense" struggled along in a one-story building at 2001 Pleasant Parkway, Union, N. J. More recently, the publication took over the two adjoining one-story offices at 2003 and 2005 with passageways to make the three buildings into one single office.

Freedman founded the League for Peace with Justice in Palestine in 1946 and bought several full-page advertisements in New York newspapers attacking Zionism and upholding the Arab claims to all of Palestine.

In testimony in a libel trial before Magistrate Bushel last May 3, he admitted sending a cable to an agent of the Arab League in which he said he was giving "fullest cooperation" to Hitler's friend, the infamous "Grand Mufti" of Jerusalem.

In an attempt to learn whether Freedman had financed the enormous expansion in the circulation of "Common Sense," a Post Home News reporter went to McGinley's office in Union on Nov. 24.

The glass doors and all the windows of the three adjoining buildings were covered by shades, venetian blinds and cardboard screens so that no one passing by could see inside. All the doors were locked.

The reporter knocked at the door of 2001 Pleasant Parkway and was admitted by a girl. Four other girls were pasting mailing labels on stacks of the issue of the Oct. 31 issue, the headline of which accused "Communist and Zionist hyphenated-Americans" of endangering the nation's security and world peace.

McGinley, a stocky, gray-haired man of 58 with a ruddy complexion and sharp blue eyes, entered in a moment. When the reporter identified himself, McGinley said, "I know what the Post is. You people are out to hurt us, and I know what kind of a story you're after."

When he was asked if Freedman was associated with him, he replied, "This paper has been operating for three years before I ever heard of Ben Freedman."

To further questions, he said, "I'm not answering any questions about the people who are working with me." He then showed the reporter out.

A telephone call to Frederic Nelson Phillips, Inc., of 305 E. 45th St., which set the type for Freedman's full-page advertisements of the League for Peace with Justice in Palestine, was more productive.

Phillips, asked if he was printing "Common Sense," replied that he had done some typesetting for the paper—"just little odds and ends." He was doing this work, he added, for Freedman.

Walter Sykes, assistant manager of the New York City plant of the Western Newspaper Union, 304 E. 45th St., said that his firm had printed the Oct. 31 issue of McGinley's sheet. The type had been set elsewhere, he said, but his firm had put it into forms, made mats and printed the paper from the mats at its Pittsburgh plant.

"It was a job we did for Mr. Freedman," he said.

Jack Lowry, manager of this company's Pittsburgh plant, told the reporter in a long-distance telephone conversation that the Oct. 31 issue was printed for "Freedman and McGinley and others in that group."

Asked how many copies he had printed, he replied, "Even if I knew offhand, I wouldn't tell you because that is confidential information. Why don't you talk to Freedman? He'll be able to tell you how many copies we printed for him."

DEC. 7, 1948

Text of Proposed Constitution for State of Israel

Following is the text of the proposed Constitution for the State of Israel, made available here yesterday:

Preamble

WE, THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL,

Humbly giving thanks to Almighty God for having delivered us from the burden of exile and brought us back to our ancient land;

Recalling the tenacious endurance of the generations of the Exile and their heroic sacrifices for the survival of our People and the preservation of its spiritual heritage;

Gratefully remembering the faithful remnant who maintained the continuity of Jewish settlement in Palestine throughout the centuries, and the inspired efforts of the pioneers of the national revival;

Resolved to rebuild our Commonwealth in accordance with the ideals of peace and righteousness of the Prophets of Israel, to welcome home every Jew who seeks entry, and to promote the security and well-being of all who dwell within our gates,

HAVE ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING CONSTITUTION:

I. General Provisions

ARTICLE 1

The name of the State is ISRAEL.

ARTICLE 2

The State of Israel is a sovereign, independent, democratic republic.

ARTICLE 3

The State of Israel is designed to be the National Home of the Jewish People and shall admit every Jew who desires to settle within its territory subject to such regulative provisions as may from time to time be enacted by the Chamber of Deputies.

ARTICLE 4

(1) All persons within the jurisdiction of the State of Israel shall be entitled in equal measure to the protection of the law. No discrimination of any kind shall be made by the State between the inhabitants of the State on the grounds of race, religion, language or sex.

(2) All citizens of the State shall enjoy equal civic and political rights. No citizen shall be at a disadvantage as a candidate for public office or employment or in the matter of promotion, on account of his race, religion, language or sex.

(3) No land, buildings or other property may be expropriated except for public purposes. In all cases of expropriation full compensation, as prescribed by law, shall be paid.

ARTICLE 5

The official language of the State of Israel is Hebrew. Adequate facilities shall be given to Arabic-speaking citizens for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, in the legislature, before the courts and before the executive and administrative authorities.

ARTICLE 6

(1) The following persons shall be citizens of Israel and shall enjoy the rights and privileges and be subject to the obligations of such citizenship:

(a) All Jews who were resident in the area of the State at the time of the enactment of this Constitution.

(b) All Jews over the age of 18 years resident in that part of Palestine which is not included in the State of Israel who, within one year, opt for citizenship of Israel. The exercise of this right of option shall include the wife and children under 18 years of age of the person so opting.

(c) All residents of Israel other that Jews who were citizens of Palestine at the time of the termination of the Mandate, provided that any such person being over the age of 18 may, within one year, elect not to accept the citizenship of Israel. The exercise of this right of option includes the wife and children under 18 years of age of the persons so opting.

(2) The conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the State of Israel shall be determined by a Nationality Law.

ARTICLE 7

The flag of the State of Israel is a white banner with two horizontal blue stripes and the Shield of David in the centre.

ARTICLE 8

All natural resources within the jurisdiction of the State of Israel shall belong to the State subject to any rights therein vested in any person or body, and shall be controlled and administered by the Government of Israel in accordance with such regulations and provisions as shall from time to time be approved by legislation.

ARTICLE 9

The State shall enact legislation to ensure the proper conservation and economic utilization of the soil and water for the benefit of the people.

ARTICLE 10

The Antiquities in Israel, being a precious heritage of the past, shall be considered as a trust to be conserved by the State for future generations, and the State shall enact legislation to this end.

ARTICLE 11

The State of Israel shall seek to settle all international disputes of whatever nature or origin in which it may be involved by pacific means only. The generally recognized rules of international law shall form part of the municipal law of Israel.

II. Fundamental Rights

ARTICLE 12

The State shall ensure the sanctity of human life and uphold the dignity of man. There shall be no penalty of death, nor shall anyone be subjected to torture, flogging or humiliating punishment. The application of moral pressure or physical violence in the course of police interrogations is prohibited; evidence obtained by such methods shall not be admissible in Court.

ARTICLE 13

(1) The liberty of the person is inviolable. No one shall be detained except pursuant to an order or judgment of a Court of Law, or when apprehended in flagrante delicto, or for the purpose of bringing him before a Court on a charge of having committed a crime.

(2) Preventive detention by executive order shall be unlawful except when authorized by specific legislation in time of war or national emergency and subject to continuous parliamentary control.

(3) Any person arrested shall be informed in writing within twenty-four hours by what authority and on what grounds he is being detained, and shall be brought up for trial not later than two days from the date of his arrest. Upon complaint being lodged by or on behalf of any person to the High Court or any Judge thereof, that any such person is being unlawfully detained, the High Court or the Judge to whom such complaint is made shall require the officer in whose custody such person is detained, to produce him without delay and certify in writing the grounds of his detention. If satisfied that the detention is not in accordance with the law, the Judge shall order the immediate release of the detainee.

(4) No person under arrest shall be held incomunicado.

(5) No person shall be deprived of his liberty on account of a debt or other contractual obligation except for fraud.

(6) No one shall be tried save by due process of law. Extraordinary courts shall not be established. No person other than members of the Armed Forces of the State on active service, shall, at any time, be subjected to the jurisdiction of military tribunals.

(7) No one shall be convicted of any infringement of the law which did not constitute an offense when it was committed, nor shall any amendment of the law increasing the penalty for any offense or altering the rules of evidence to the detriment of the accused, have retroactive effect.

(8) Anyone wrongfully arrested, convicted or punished shall have an enforceable claim for compensation against the State.

ARTICLE 14

The dwelling of every person is inviolable and shall not be entered or searched except in accordance with the law and in the manner therein prescribed. Private correspondence as well as telegraphic and telephonic communications shall not be intercepted. Any temporary suspension of these guarantees in time of war or national emergency shall require specific legislative authorization and shall be subject to parliamentary control.

ARTICLE 15

(1) Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, shall be insured to all.

(2) Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired. The liberty of access, visit and transit to Holy Places shall be guaranteed, in conformity with existing rights, to all without distinction, subject to the requirements of national security, public order and decorum.

(3) No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the establishment of the State. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed prior to the establishment of the State.

(4) The Sabbath and the Jewish Holy Days shall be days of rest and spiritual elevation and shall be recognised as such in the laws of the country. The Holy Days of other religious denominations shall equally be recognised as legal days of rest for the members of such denominations.

ARTICLE 16

Freedom of speech and the free expression of opinion in writing or in any other form, are guaranteed. This constitutional guarantee shall not extend to utterances or publications which are libellous, slanderous or obscene, or which are designed to stir up racial or religious hatred, or to incite to violence or crime, or which advocate the suppression of human rights, or of the democratic system of government, or which reveal secrets of national defence. The institution of a preventive censorship shall be unlawful save in time of war or national emergency and shall require specific legislative authorisation and be subject to continuous parliamentary control and review.

ARTICLE 17

All citizens of the State of Israel shall have the right to assemble peaceably without arms and to form associations, subject to such regulative provisions as may be enacted from time to time by the Chamber of Deputies. Such enactments shall contain no discrimination on grounds of race, religion, language or political belief.

This constitutional guarantee shall not extend to assemblies or associations aiming at the suppression of human rights or of the democratic form of government.

ARTICLE 18

Any officer of the State of Israel who, contrary to the provisions of this Constitution, knowingly violates the rights and liberties of any person shall be liable to proceedings under the civil and criminal law.

ARTICLE 19

Every citizen of the State of Israel has the right, either individually or in association with others, to petition the President, the Government, the Chamber of Deputies, or any other public authority for the redress of grievances or for the enactment of legislation.

ARTICLE 20

No one may be extradited to any foreign country where he is liable to be deprived of such fundamental personal and political rights as are guaranteed by this Constitution. The Government of Israel may in its absolute discretion refuse to deliver up any of its subjects to a foreign government for prosecution or punishment.

ARTICLE 21

The economic order of the State of Israel shall be based on the principles of social justice. Every citizen shall have an equitable share in the national income and a right to social security. The State shall encourage and aid every form of cooperative effort.

ARTICLE 22

Every one has the right to work. The State of Israel shall endeavor to ensure to all its citizens without distinction a decent standard of living and a fair and equal opportunity of earning a livelihood. Legislation shall be enacted making provision for reasonable wages, working hours and conditions of work and for the provision of state insurance against the risks of accident, sickness, disablement, unemployment, old age and other causes of undeserved want. Special protective measures shall be enacted for the benefit of working mothers and children, and of widows and orphans.

ARTICLE 23

The right of workers to form trade union associations, to enter into collective bargaining contracts and to strike in defense of their economic rights and interests is guaranteed by the Constitution. Any provision embodied in a contract of employment which involves renunciation or diminution of these rights shall be null and void.

ARTICLE 24

Care for the health of the population is a primary duty of the State. Legislation shall be enacted providing for the establishment of a national health service, protection of motherhood and child life, the promotion of public and personal hygiene, and the grant of state aid towards the construction of hygienic workers' dwellings.

ARTICLE 25

(1) The State shall provide adequate facilities for primary and secondary education to be given to Jews and Arabs in their own language and cultural traditions.

(2) The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the State may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

(3) Foreign educational establishments shall be allowed to continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

III. The Legislature

ARTICLE 26

The legislative power in the State of Israel shall be vested in the Chamber of Deputies.

ARTICLE 27

All citizens of the State who have reached the age of twenty-one and are not subject to any legal disability or incapacity under the electoral law shall be entitled to vote in the elections to the Chamber.

ARTICLE 28

All citizens of the State who have reached the age of twenty-five and are not subject to any legal disability or incapacity under the electoral law, shall be eligible to the Chamber. Judges, civil servants, members of the Armed Forces of the State of Israel serving with the colours, and persons who are also citizens of a foreign state shall not be eligible.

ARTICLE 29

The Chamber of Deputies shall be elected by equal, direct and universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation. The mode of election shall be determined by an electoral law. The country shall be divided into a number of electoral districts, each 10,000 of the population approximately to be represented by one deputy. The electoral districts shall be revised once in three years, having regard to intervening changes in the numbers and distribution of the population. Vacancies caused by the death, resignation, of disqualification of any deputy shall be filled in accordance with the provisions of the electoral law.

ARTICLE 30

Elections shall be held within two months from the expiration of the term or the dissolution of the preceding Chamber. They shall be held on the same date throughout the country.

ARTICLE 31

The Chamber shall meet within one month of its election. It shall hold two sessions every year, beginning in the first week of Cheshvan and Iyar, resepectively. The sessions shall be convened by the Chairman on the day fixed by the Chamber upon its adjournment. At the request of one-third of the deputies, an extraordinary session shall be called.

ARTICLE 32

On taking their seats, deputies shall make the following solemn declaration: "I pledge myself to be faithful to the State of Israel and to uphold its Constitution and its laws."

ARTICLE 33

The Chamber shall be elected for a period of four years, but it may extend its term in case of war or emergency, but for not more than one additional term.

ARTICLE 34

The President of the Republic may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies prior to the expiration of its term if the Executive Council in office has resigned and no alternative Executive Council can be formed commanding the support of a stable majority in the Chamber.

ARTICLE 35

No legal action shall be taken against any deputy in respect of any statements made or votes taken in the Chamber or in respect of any opinions expressed by him outside the Chamber in his official capacity. No deputy may be required, even after having ceased to be a deputy, to give evidence in any court of law in regard to matters confided to him in that capacity. This provision shall not apply to any investigation conducted by a committee of enquiry appointed by the Chamber.

ARTICLE 36

No criminal proceedings may be taken against any deputy except with the consent of the Chamber. No deputy may be arrested except if apprehended in flagrante delicto. If any deputy is so arrested, the chairman shall be immediately informed and shall bring the matter to the notice of the Chamber. Unless the Chamber within a fortnight approves of the detention and authorizes the institution of legal proceedings against the deputy, he shall be released.

ARTICLE 37

Deputies shall receive a remuneration to be fixed by the Chamber.

ARTICLE 38

Official reports of proceedings in the Chamber and its Committees, as well as true reports of such proceedings wherever published, shall be privileged.

ARTICLE 39

The Chamber shall adopt Standing Orders for regulating its procedure, maintaining internal discipline and protecting its members from any molestation, interference or attempt at corruption. It shall elect a Chairman and Vice Chairmen and fix their powers and remuneration.

ARTICLE 40

The proceedings of the Chamber shall be held in public. Upon a motion supported by two-thirds of the deputies present, the public may be excluded.

ARTICLE 41

Save as otherwise prescribed in this Constitution or in the Standing Orders, decisions shall be by a majority of those present. In case of any equality of votes the presiding officer shall exercise a casting vote.

ARTICLE 42

The initiative in introducing legislation shall rest with the Executive Council. Deputies may propose legislative measures, but such proposals shall be referred to a Select Committee of the Chamber. They shall be introduced by the Executive Council if recommended by a majority of the Select Committee and in the form recommended by that Committee.

ARTICLE 43

All revenues of the State, from whatever source arising, shall form one Consolidated Revenue Fund and shall be appropriated by the Chamber of Deputies for the purposes of the State in the manner and subject to the charges and liabilities imposed by this Constitution.

ARTICLE 44

The Chamber shall consider the estimates of income and expenditure for the current financial year submitted to it by the Executive Council, and shall enact the Finance Act prior to the end of the financial year. No resolution for the appropriation of funds or for the increase of any grant or charge may be moved except by a member of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE 45

After a Bill has been passed by the Chamber, two copies of it shall be transmitted by the Chairman to the President of the Republic for his signature. One copy shall be deposited in the Record Office of the Chamber and the other shall be transmitted to the Registrar of the High Court to be enrolled for record in his office. It shall come into force upon its publication in the Official Gazette.

ARTICLE 46

The recruiting and maintenance of the Armed Forces shall be subject to the control of the Chamber of Deputies.

ARTICLE 47

Treaties and other agreements with foreign countries shall not be binding on the State unless approved by the Chamber of Deputies. By such approval these treaties and agreements shall become part of the municipal law of Israel. All such treaties and agreements shall be published in the Official Gazette.

IV. The Executive Power

ARTICLE 48

The executive power in the State of Israel shall be vested in the President of the Republic and in the Executive Council.

(1) THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

ARTICLE 49

Any citizen of Israel, who is eligible to the Chamber of Deputies and has reached the age of 35, may be elected to the office of President.

ARTICLE 50

The President of the Republic shall be elected by the Chamber of Deputies by secret ballot. If, in two successive ballots, no candidate receives an absolute majority of votes, the candidate for whom, in the third ballot, a relative majority of votes is cast, shall be deemed to have been elected.

ARTICLE 51

The term of office of the President shall be five years. He may be re-elected on the expiry of his term or at any subsequent election, but only for one additional term of office.

ARTICLE 52

The election of the President shall take place not later than one month prior to the expiration of the term of the President in office. If the latter dies, resigns, is removed from office or becomes permanently incapacitated, such incapacity being established by a decision of the Supreme Court, the election of a new President shall take place within one month therefrom.

ARTICLE 53

If the office of the President becomes vacant as a result of the death, resignation, removal, or permanent incapacity of the holder, the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies shall exercise the functions of the President until the election of a new President.

ARTICLE 54

The President, upon entering his office, shall make the following declaration in the presence of members of the Executive Council, the Chamber of Deputies and the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Court: "I solemnly promise that I will maintain the Constitution and the laws of Israel, that I will dedicate myself to the service and welfare of the People of Israel and that I will act justly and rightly to all citizens of Israel."

ARTICLE 55

Every official act of the President shall be countersigned by the Prime Minister or a member of the Executive Council who shall thereby assume responsibility for it.

ARTICLE 56

The President shall, after consultation with the leaders of the parliamentary parties, appoint the Prime Minister and upon his advice, the other members of the Executive Council. The President shall appoint the ambassadors and ministers of the State of Israel. The President shall appoint the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of Israel and issue commissions to the officers of these Forces.

ARTICLE 57

The President shall receive the diplomatic envoys accredited to the State of Israel and shall issue exequaturs to foreign consuls.

ARTICLE 58

The President shall promulgate the laws enacted by the Chamber within ten days from the date of such enactment. If the law was enacted as an urgent measure it shall be promulgated within three days.

ARTICLE 59

The President shall exercise the prerogative of mercy.

ARTICLE 60

The President shall, upon the advice of the Executive Council and with the assent of the Chamber of Deputies, conclude treaties with foreign states.

ARTICLE 61

The President shall be removed from office on impeachment by two-thirds of the Chamber of Deputies and on conviction by the Supreme Court of high treason, bribery or culpable violation of the Constitution.

(2) THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

ARTICLE 62

The Executive Council shall consist of the Prime Minister, the heads of the Departments of State and such Ministers without Portfolio as may from time to time be appointed. The total number of Ministers shall not exceed fifteen. All Ministers shall be members of the Chamber of Deputies and shall be appointed in the manner prescribed in Article 56.

ARTICLE 63

The Prime Minister shall preside over the meetings of the Executive Council. He shall be responsible for the coordination of activities of the Executive Council and for the execution by the Departments of State of the policies adopted by the Executive Council. He shall keep the President of the Republic informed on all major questions of domestic and foreign policy.

ARTICLE 64

The Executive Council shall be collectively responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. It shall resign if it ceases to retain the support of a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, but shall continue in office until its successors have been appointed. The resignation of the Prime Minister shall entail that of the Executive Council as a whole. Individual Ministers may resign from office by placing their resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister for submission to the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE 65

No Minister may be a member of the Board of Directors of any Joint Stock or Limited Liability Company carrying on business for profit.

ARTICLE 66

The organization of the Departments of State, the designation of Ministers and their remuneration shall be regulated by law.

ARTICLE 67

The organization of and admission to the Civil Service shall be regulated by law. After the enactment of this Constitution, all appointments to the Civil Service shall be by examination to be conducted by a Civil Service Commission. In exceptional cases the Civil Service Commission may authorize the appointment of senior officers without examination.

ARTICLE 68

The Executive Council and any of its members shall have power to make orders and regulations within the framework of existing laws. Such orders and regulations shall be tabled in the Chamber of Deputies and shall become inoperative if a motion to that effect is adopted by the Chamber within two weeks therefrom.

(3) COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR GENERAL

ARTICLE 69

There shall be a Comptroller and Auditor General to control, on behalf of the State, all payments and to audit all accounts of monies administered by or under the authority of the Chamber of Deputies. He shall not be a member of the Chamber of Deputies nor hold any other office or position of emolument. The manner of his appointment and the length and conditions of his tenure of office shall be fixed by law.

V. The Judicial Power

ARTICLE 70

The judicial power shall be vested in and exercised by the Courts of Law established under this Constitution. They shall comprise:

(a) Magistrates' Courts;

(b) District Courts;

(c) A High Court with original and appellate jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, and with exclusive original jurisdiction in all questions relating to the validity of any law having regard to the terms of the Constitution;

(d) A court of final appeal to be called the Supreme Court;

(e) Religious courts of the Jewish, Moslem and Christian communities exercising jurisdiction in matters of personal status and of religious foundations and endowments.

ARTICLE 71

The organization and jurisdiction of the courts, the remuneration, pensions and age of retirement of the judges, and all matters of procedure shall be regulated by law.

ARTICLE 72

All judges, other than the members of the Religious Courts, shall be appointed by the President of the Republic on the advice of the Minister of Justice who, in tendering such advice, shall be guided by the recommendations of a Selection Board consisting of a member of the Supreme Court, a High Court judge, two senior officers of the Department of Justice, three deputies chosen by the Chamber and three representatives of the Bar Association. The Selection Board shall be reconstituted annually. The judges of the Religious Courts shall be appointed by the President of the Republic acting on the advice of the Minister for Religious Affairs who, in tendering such advice, shall be guided by the recommendations of the Supreme Religious Council of the community concerned.

ARTICLE 73

No judge of the Civil Courts shall be removed from office except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity upon a resolution supported by two-thirds of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. No judge of the Religious Courts shall be removed from office except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity upon a motion of the Supreme Religious Council of the community concerned and upon a resolution supported by two-thirds of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. The removal shall be effected by an order of the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE 74

Where any action of personal status involves persons of different religious communities, the President of the Supreme Court shall decide which court shall exercise jurisdiction. In deciding such issue, he shall invite the assistance of assessors from the Religious Courts of the communities concerned. Whenever the question arises as to whether or not a case is one of personal status within the exclusive jurisdiction of a religious court, the matter shall be referred to a special tribunal, the constitution of which shall be prescribed by law.

VI. Amendment of the Constitution

ARTICLE 75

The Chamber of Deputies shall have power to amend the Constitution, but every such amendment shall require the assent of two-thirds of the total membership of the Chamber and shall not come into force unless passed by that majority in two successive sessions of the Chamber, and unless not less than six months have elapsed between the two successive enactments.

VII. Constitution and Legislation

ARTICLE 76

No law shall be enacted which is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of this Constitution. If the Courts pronounce any law or any provision thereof to be repugnant to the Constitution, such law or provision shall, to the extent of such repugnancy, be thenceforth absolutely void and inoperative.

VIII. The Law

ARTICLE 77

The laws in force in the State of Israel at the time of the enactment of this Constitution shall continue in force to the extent to which they are not inconsistent with the terms of this Constitution until the same or any of them shall have been repealed or amended by the Chamber of Deputies or under its authority. Future legislation in Israel shall be guided by the basic principles of Jewish Law. Wherever the existing law does not provide adequate guidance, the Courts-of-Law shall have recourse to these basic principles.

IX. Promulgation

ARTICLE 78

This Constitution shall come into force on the day of its publication in the Official Gazette.

NEW YORK TIMES
DECEMBER 10, 1948.

THIS STATEMENT APPEARED IN A FEW LEADING NEWSPAPERS

Another Open Letter To Prime Minister Attlee

WE TAKE the liberty of addressing this, our second open letter, to you at this time so that you may have the benefit of the views of an overwhelming majority of Americans on a matter of life or death for an entire people. We refer to the question of Palestine, which will surely figure in your conversations with our President.

We assume that your officials in this country have informed you of America's reaction to the reports that your Government plans to continue with slight modification the Chamberlain Government's inhuman White Paper policy on Palestine. If you were presented with an accurate picture, you must know that the voices of millions—Jewish and non-Jewish voices—are today raised in angry protest.

We trust that you have been reading the cables, letters and resolutions which leaders of American public opinion have been sending to 10 Downing Street during the past weeks; that the British Embassy in Washington has kept you posted on the communications sent to your Government recently by countless thousands of American citizens, and that you have seen accounts of the unprecedented mass demonstrations held throughout America—all of them demanding that your Government now fulfill its oft-repeated pledge of a Jewish Palestine.

If all this be known to you, there should be no doubt in your mind that the American people will continue to insist that justice be done to the Jews, and will not be deluded by devices which repudiate your country's solemn obligations in order to appease feudal Arab rulers.

We Have a Right to Speak Plainly

It is ironic and tragic that these words must be addressed to you—a Prime Minister who was swept into office on a platform which endorsed all Jewish aspirations in Palestine without qualification or equivocation. We recall with what forthrightness and courage the leaders of the Labor Government once denounced the very policy which is today being implemented in Palestine. And we believe that the horrible death of almost six million Jewish men, women and children, as well as the suffering of the remnants of European Jewry, entitle us to speak as plainly as we do here.

A great responsibility rests upon you today, Mr. Prime Minister. The decisions you make now will influence the course of human events for generations to come. If all our hopes for a world of peace and security, all our plans for democratic progress and economic prosperity are not to be shattered once again, we must build today on the solid foundation of justice. For without justice there can be no peace. ***And unless the remnants of the Jewish people are given the opportunity to live a normal life in their own land, free from the horrors of persecution and homelessness—there will be no justice, and there can be no peace.***

The Choice Is Yours

You must choose now, Mr. Attlee. You can try to build Britain's power and prestige along the lines laid down by Tory Colonial Imperialism. In the Middle East that would mean continuing Britain's present unreliable alliance with Hitler's supporters and sympathizers—the potentates, tyrants and desert chiefs who have been made to seem respectable by officials of your Colonial Office and our State Department. You can serve the enemies of progress and democracy, who keep their unfortunate subjects enslaved in a feudal society and who fight the very ideals proclaimed in England by your Party and practiced in Palestine by the Jewish people. The British Colonial Office, which, alas, sponsored the Arab League as an instrument to block Zionist progress, can continue to bolster this reactionary group to power and influence. That would undoubtedly please men like Ibn Saud and the pro-Nazi Mufti.

But we submit, Mr. Prime Minister, that the results of such a course will be tragic in the extreme—not only for the Jewish people, but for Britain as well. We hope you noticed that the mobs which rioted in Cairo, Alexandria, other cities of Egypt and Tripoli—mobs incited to violence by the Arab League—began by shouting and attacking Jews alone; later, however, as their fury increased, the rioters attacked Christian churches and shouted for the withdrawal of British forces from Egypt . . . And so, the Arab League, though a product of the 18th century mentality of the British Colonial Office, may prove to be something of a Frankenstein monster.

What, then, shall it be, Mr. Attlee? A free and democratic Jewish State, in which all men regardless of race, color or creed shall enjoy equal civil and religious rights—which will provide a permanent solution for the Jewish problem—which will bring democratic practices and a richer, fuller life to all the peoples of the Middle East?

Or the old imperialistic method of power politics—callously disregarding international commitments—trading blood for oil—first nurturing, then appeasing, and finally suppressing pro-fascist Arab chieftains?

And if the latter course is followed, will Britain's honor survive?

The American people can understand and sympathize with your Government's request for help in the solution of Britain's economic problems. But many Americans are now asking themselves whether this country is not being called upon to support a bankrupt imperialist policy at variance with everything your Party stands for. It is to be regretted that recent events in the Middle East have not served to allay such fears.

Proposed Investigation Is a Mockery

Americans are also disturbed by recent reports that it is now proposed to create a Joint Anglo-American Commission to "study" the situation of the Jews in Europe and their emigration needs. What facts do you suppose will emerge from such an inquiry that have not been fully established at the various international conferences on refugees or by the Harrison Report —other than the information that additional numbers of Jews have died because the Western Democracies have decided to "study" once more, rather than act.

What is urgently needed, Mr. Attlee, is not another roving expedition or a further time-consuming investigation, but immediate concrete measures in conformity with a policy long established and clearly defined by valid international agreements.

A Constructive Program

What is called for is:

1. The immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine as requested by President Truman, as a first step.

2. The abandonment or revocation forthwith by the British Government of the White Paper of 1939.

3. A joint reaffirmation by the British and American Governments of their intention to pursue a Palestine policy in keeping with the original purpose and intent of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate.

4. Following such a joint pronouncement, it would be most fitting to constitute a Joint Commission to explore ways and means by which both countries may cooperate in the implementation of the announced policy in the light of their respective responsibilities and interests. We hope, too, that the United States may find it possible to cooperate in such economic projects as would be of benefit not only to the people of Palestine and to the possibilities of Jewish settlement there, but to the peoples of the entire Middle East, whose countries are poverty-stricken and under-developed.

We ask, Mr. Prime Minister, that you act now. We pray that common sense, decency and honor will prevail.

Abba Hillel Silver, Stephen S. Wise

Joint Chairmen

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Constituent Organizations: Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America; Mizrachi Organization of America; Poale Zion of America; Zionist Organization of America.

THIS ADVERTISEMENT APPEARED IN A NUMBER OF LEADING NEWSPAPERS

KEEP AT IT, MR. PRESIDENT!

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

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

But they still wait for liberation in the DP Camps. Their hope has turned to bitter disillusionment. They have been "investigated" and "studied." Voluminous reports on their condition gather dust in the archives of the victorious powers. A seemingly endless series of "conferences" and "negotiations" has been sponsored by the British Government—all of them having one objective: to delay the action so desperately needed by the Jewish people and to evade Great Britain's obligations under the Palestine Mandate to encourage and facilitate Jewish immigration and development.

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

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

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

Isidor Achron
June Allyson
Maxwell Anderson
Dana Andrews
William Auerbach-Levy
Lloyd Bacon
S. M. L. Barlow
Will Barnet
Mari Barova
Richmond Barthe
Marion Bauer
William Rose Benet
Stanley Bergerman
Elisabeth Bergner
Leonard Bernstein
George Biddle
Max Brand
Irving Brecher
Carl Bricken
Arthur Caesar
Taylor Caldwell
Eddie Cantor
Vera Caspary
Jerome Chodorov
Will Cowan
Jean Darling
Anton Dolin
Melvyn Douglas
Paul Douglas
Katherine Dunham
Julius Ehrlich
Lehman Engel
Betty Field
Carl Gaertner
Rudolph Ganz
John Garfield
John Gart
Ruth Gordon
Morton Gould
Barry Gray
Charles Grayson
E. Y. Harburg
George Heller
Judy Holliday
Arthur Hornblow
John Huston
Sam Jaffe
Victor Jory
Garson Kanin
Paul Katz
Gene Kelly
Charles Kingsford
Alexander Kipnis
Charles Korvin
Michael Kraike
John Latouche
Richard E. Lauterbach
Sol Lesser
William Ludwig
Bela Lugosi
Mana-Zucca
Thomas Mann
Wendy Barrie Meyer
Jo Mielziner
Nathan Milstein
Pierre Monteux
Mrs. Pierre Monteux
Marianne Moore
Henry Morgan
Zero Mostel
Paul Muni
Dudley Nichols
Arch Oboler
Paul Osborn
Irving Pichel
Willy Pogany
Dick Powell
Rosa Raisa
Gottfried Reinhardt
Lionel Reiss
Anne Revere
Vernon Rice
Robert Riskin
Allen Rivkin
Edward G. Robinson
Casey Robinson
William N. Robson
Bernard Rogers
Harold J. Rome
Daniel Saidenberg
William Saroyan
Maurice Schwartz
Elie Siegmeister
Mary Small
Alexander Smallens
Izler Solomon
Kenneth Spencer
Leonard Spiegelgass
Donald Ogden Stewart
Helen Traubel
Mark Van Doren
Jerry Wald
Franz Waxman
Max Weber
Cornel Wilde
Billy Wilder
S. J. Woolf
William Wyler

(Incomplete List)

AMERICAN ARTS COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

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

Britain's "HONOR" — !

PLATFORM OF BRITISH LABOR PARTY — APRIL, 1945.

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now."

BUT today British warships, tanks and guns are used to bar the pitiful Jewish survivors of the European holocaust from their National Home. How brave, how noble Britannia!

ARTHUR CREECH JONES, UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES — JANUARY, 1945.

"It will be for American friends of Zionism to go on building up opinion, strengthening the cause, closing their ranks, being more insistent in the days to come, so that the National Home may flourish. It will be for us in London to carry on our work in Parliament and elsewhere so that there is no misadventure, so that the White Paper policy is reversed, so that the Jews can be sure that at last their National Home is being established firmly and securely and they can realize their own Commonwealth . . ."

BUT because the American people are resolved to achieve these noble objectives, Foreign Secretary Bevin uses cheap, anti-Semitic slander to mislead us: "Regarding the agitation in the United States, and particularly New York, for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine . . . that was because they did not want too many of them in New York."

CLEMENT R. ATTLEE — NOVEMBER, 1945.

"The British Labor Party recalls with pride that in the dark days of the Great War they associated themselves with the ideal of a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people, and that, ever since, the annual conferences of the Party have repeatedly affirmed their enthusiastic support of the effort toward its realization. They have never faltered, and will never falter, in their active and sympathetic cooperation with the work of political and economic reconstruction now going forward in Palestine."

BUT today Mr. Attlee's "active and sympathetic cooperation" consists of a shameful war against Jewish Palestine—arrest of distinguished leaders of the Jewish people in true Nazi fashion—terror and intimidation against the only truly democratic community in the Middle East—a rule of brutal force in which the machine-gun, the censor's gag and the concentration camp are the law of the land.

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

America must not consent to Another British Delaying Device

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

"In fact, the British seem determined to reserve their position all along the line and . . . they point out that the General Assembly can make only recommendations, not decisions.

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

—Herbert L. Matthews, *New York Times*

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

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

—Kenyon Kilbon, *New York Herald-Tribune*

BRITISH offical spokesmen have thus themselves laid bare the tactics of His Majesty's Government.

Should the findings of the United Nations prove acceptable to Great Britain—that is to say, should the British Government be permitted to evade its obligations to the Jewish people under the Palestine Mandate—it will lose no time in putting such recommendations into effect.

However, should the United Nations declare that Great Britain has failed to facilitate Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine in accordance with the clear provisions of the Mandate, has violated international and moral law by imposing the notorious White Paper policy on the country, and should it summon Great Britain to remove all barriers to the continued development of the Jewish National Home—then the British Government will reserve to itself the right to reject these recommendations.

This maneuver is part of a well-established British technique. The most recent example was the cynical disregard of the unanimous recommendations for immediate action by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. This Committee was proposed by Great Britain in lieu of President Truman's request which was made more than a year and a half ago, that 100,000 homeless Jews be permitted forthwith to enter Palestine. Through it, Great Britain sought to create an impression of impartiality and fair-mindedness. Foreign Secretary Bevin assured the Committee that if its recommendations would be unanimous they would be implemented immediately.

It is now more than a year since this Committee, composed of six Britishers and six Americans, unanimously recommended that 100,000 Jewish refugees be admitted into Palestine at once and that the outrageous racial land laws which Great Britain has imposed upon that country be abolished. These recommendations have been completely ignored and Mr. Bevin's pledge lies unhonored.

Great Britain has now brought about another inquiry as a substitute for action. It has achieved another investigation of a problem which has been studied and investigated innumerable times. While these investigations and discussions will go on—probably for months—in the United Nations, hundreds of thousands of weary, suffering men, women and children, the pitiful survivors of a people which suffered most during the war, must continue to languish in DP Camps.

And for what? So that the British Government may be given more time to try to break their morale, scatter their numbers or force the Jewish people to accept the outrageous solution which Mr. Bevin is resolved to impose?

Should not the first act of the United Nations when it meets in Special Session be to demand that, pending its final decisions, the Mandatory Government of Palestine be required to abrogate its illegal immigration and land laws and to fulfill its original obligations under the Mandate?

The tragic situation brooks no delay. The deliberations of the United Nations may drag out indefinitely. There is no guarantee of a decisive solution, even at the end of these deliberations. In the meantime a terrible human tragedy is mounting to a disastrous climax in the Displaced Persons Camps of Europe.

Will not our own Government now take a vigorous stand on this pressing issue and on the permanent solution, in accordance with America's traditional policy?

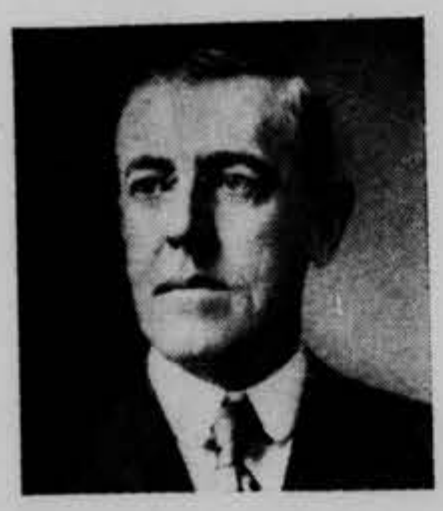
Is the human problem involved in the plight of these myriad victims of the war of little concern to mankind? Is the explosive political situation in Palestine of less urgency than that of Greece and Turkey, which has called forth such vigorous, determined and quick action on the part of our State Department and of all the agencies of our Government?

The American people, who have time and again indicated their profound and sympathetic interest in this problem, have a right to expect that their Government, whose Executive and Legislative Branches have committed themselves repeatedly to a policy of free Jewish immigration into Palestine and the continued development of the Jewish National Home, now take the initiative in the United Nations, and that it speak and act with forthrightness, earnestness and determination.

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

Appearing in a number of leading American newspapers

THE TESTIMONY OF OUR NATION



"I have before this expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

—President Woodrow Wilson

"It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home and there enter on a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity."

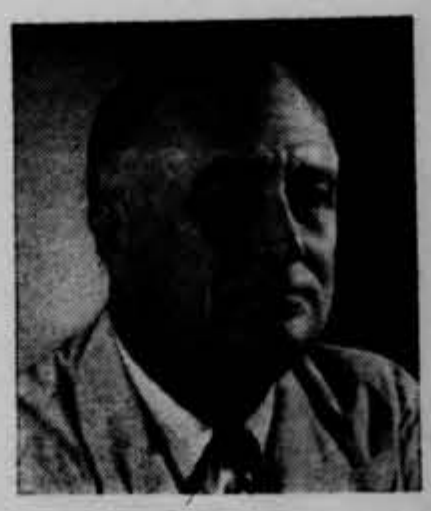
—President Warren G. Harding

"I...express again my sympathy with the deep and intense longing which finds such fine expression in the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. The proposed plan furnishes to the Jewish people an opportunity to devote their great qualities to the upbuilding and preservation of their own homeland and in their own sphere, and I feel sure that the people of the United States will not fail to give that earnest and substantial aid which will be necessary if it is to meet with a full measure of success."

—President Calvin Coolidge

"I...add my expression to the sentiment among our people in favor of the realization of the age-old aspirations of the Jewish people for the restoration of their national homeland."

—President Herbert Hoover



"I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt

"The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of a Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations. The United States, which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of, or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these peoples should be prepared for self-government and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine. I am happy to note that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed.

"It is only natural, therefore, that this Government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish national home."

—President Harry S. Truman

American Zionist Emergency Council

342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Labor Zionist Organization of America—Poale Zion, Mizrachi, United Zionists-Revisionists of America, Zionist Organization of America

THIS ADVERTISEMENT APPEARED IN A NUMBER OF LEADING NEWSPAPERS

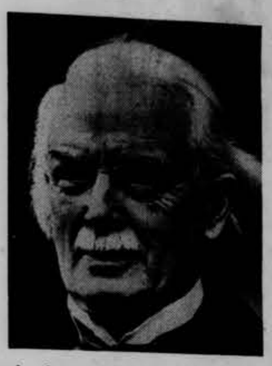
Testimony of the British Nation

"Dear Lord Rothschild,

"I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

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

—Arthur James Balfour
(The Then Foreign Secretary)
November 2, 1917

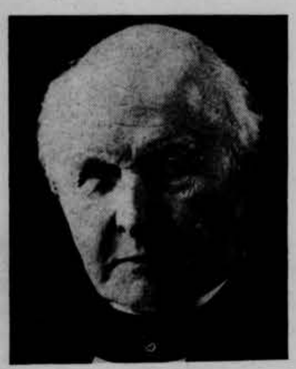


"There has been a good deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine... It was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

—David Lloyd George (Former Prime Minister)
The Truth About The Peace Treaties

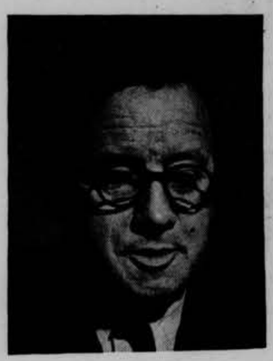
"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our own life-time by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

—Winston Churchill (Later Prime Minister)
February 8, 1920



"If immigration for the next five years is confined to the limits of the White Paper... the position is that the Jews are reduced to the status of a permanent minority in a preponderatingly Arab State. After all their hopes, they shall return in their National Home to that minority status which has been their lot through long centuries in every part of the world! I venture to think that it was precisely from this permanent minority status that they had hoped to escape."

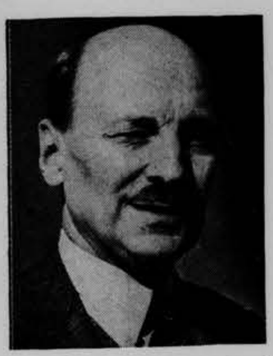
—The Late Rev. Cosmo Gordon Lang,
Archbishop of Canterbury—May 23, 1939



"We regard this White Paper and the policy in it as a cynical breach of pledges given to the Jews and the world, including America... If we do this thing today we shall have done a thing which is dishonorable to our good name, which is discreditable to our capacity to govern and which is dangerous to British security, to peace and to the economic interest of the world in general and of our own country. Moreover, it will not work...

"I do not know what Government will be in power in ten years, and it would certainly be wrong for me to indicate what such a Government would do in circumstances that we cannot foresee and cannot know, but I think it ought to be known by the House that this breach of faith, which we regret, this breach of British honour, with its policy, with which we have no sympathy, is such that the least that can be said is that the Government must not expect that this is going to be automatically binding upon their successors. They must not expect that. I will go no further than that, but they must understand that this document will not be automatically binding upon their successors in office, whatever the circumstances of the time may be."

—Herbert Stanley Morrison
(Now Lord President of the Council)
May 23, 1939



"The British Labor Party recalls with pride that in the dark days of the Great War they associated themselves with the ideal of a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people, and that, ever since, the annual conferences of the Party have repeatedly affirmed their enthusiastic support of the effort toward its realization.

"They have never faltered, and will never falter, in their active and sympathetic cooperation with the work of political and economic reconstruction now going forward in Palestine."

—Clement R. Attlee (Now Prime Minister)
November, 1935

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe... Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land, and their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they should not seek to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, which is less than the size of Wales."

—Platform of the British Labor Party—December, 1944

American Zionist Emergency Council

342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS: Hadassah, Labor Zionist Organization of America—Poale Zion, Mizrachi, United Zionists-Revisionists of America, Zionist Organization of America

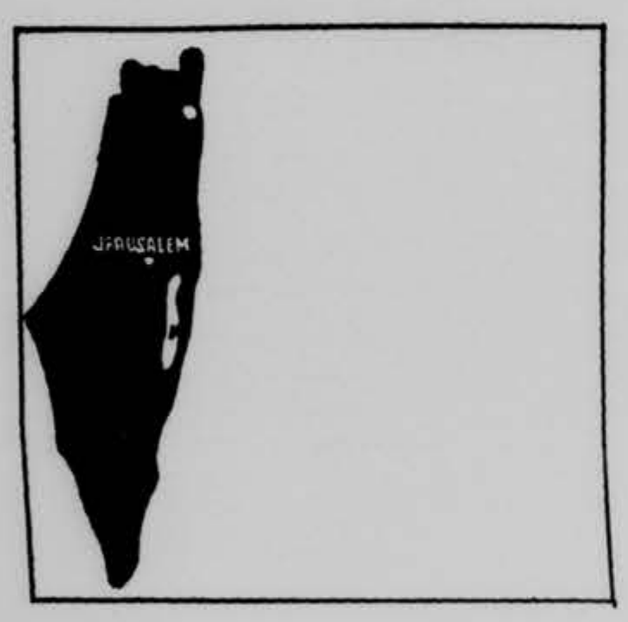
MR. TRUMAN:

WHERE DO *YOU* STAND ON THIS ISSUE?

1917

Area originally designated as the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

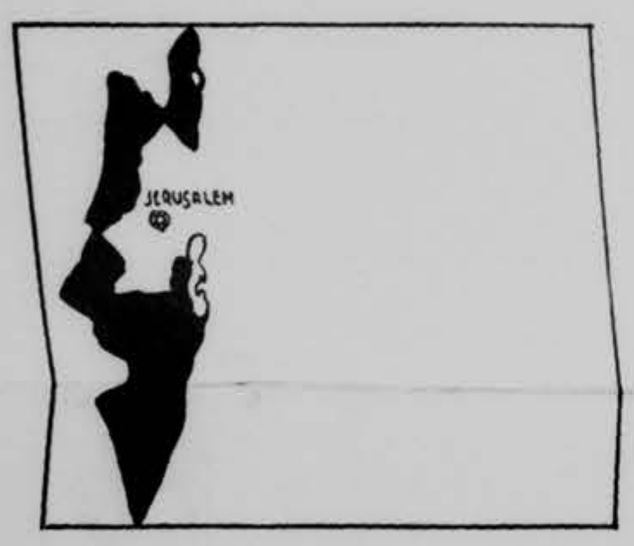
45,000 square miles



1922

Area of Palestine following the amputation of Transjordan by Great Britain.

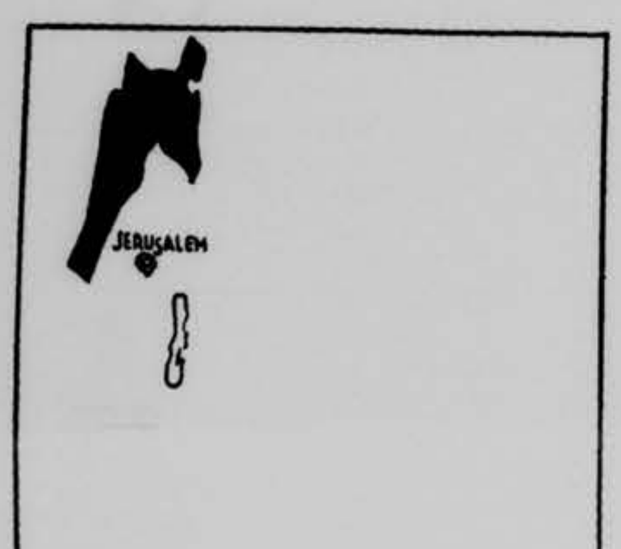
10,000 square miles



1947

Area of the State of Israel as set up by the partition decision of the United Nations.

5,678 square miles



1948

Area of the State of Israel under the proposed Bernadotte plan.

2,180 square miles

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

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

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

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

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

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

We respectfully await your answer.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue **New York 17, N. Y.**

Zionist Victory Traced to Will Power

Political Scientist Says Jews Escaped Defeatism Now Infecting West

By HEDLEY V. COOKE.
Asst. Professor of Political Science, University of Wyoming.

A Guest Editorial

JUST four years ago, when I was still one of the American consuls at Jerusalem, it seemed to me that Zionism was a dead cause. I found it difficult to understand that the Jews of Palestine could not see this.

Cooke.

Having this conviction, I thought it pitiable that the fine community spirit which had developed was soon to be dissipated in the general grief and bitterness of the ailing world. Miracles had been wrought in the way of converting the Palestinian land from desert to garden, in creating a new and worthy culture, and in doing away with the fears and morbidity of the ghetto.

Utopias, however, must often yield to unpleasant facts. And, in late 1944, the facts were these:

The British government was determined to unite the various rival Arab leaders; and there was no conceivable basis upon which to unite them, other than opposition to Zionism. Large numbers of Arabs, meanwhile, had been brought by Axis propaganda to the point of wishing for the extermination of all Jews. Most other Asiatics, interpreting the Arab-Jew conflict as a conflict between Asiatic and European, were strongly inclined to support their Asiatic brethren.

The Soviet government was vitriolic in its denunciation of Zionism as "bourgeois nationalism." France, seeing her north African colonies as the main bases of her future security, could not afford to dissent from the pro-Arab standpoint of the other leading powers.

As for the United States, our state department was adamant as to the necessity of allowing the British to determine the future of Palestine. There was much pro-Zionist sentiment among Christians in this country, but it was at the same time certain that American public opinion would never support the use of American armed force for protection of Jews. The state department knew this, and therefore was not afraid to challenge pro-Zionist declarations by presidents and congressmen.

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HOW could the Jews possibly survive without armed assistance from outside? As for the international experts, such as Sumner Welles and James MacDonald, who demanded American support of Zionism as a moral obligation and a practical necessity, these men were looked upon by the state department as harmless has-beens. Finally, the American Christians living in the near east were, almost to the last man, stanch opponents of Zionism.

What followed should provide an object lesson for all those Americans who are now ridiculing, and branding as "impracticable" all constructive solutions for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of our civilization. For, surely, our present problem does not offer nearly so many seemingly hopeless obstacles as did the Zionist problem of 1944.

Indeed, from the viewpoint of "objective political science," the Zionist task was an impossible one. The Zionists, however, approached the question with that same spirit which had transformed the barren soil. To them it was not a question of possibility or impossibility, but of absolute necessity. And, in this spirit, the job which had to be done was done.

•

AS time went on after 1944, the situation did not improve for the Jews. Favorable developments in international politics were invariably canceled out by subsequent events. Finally the inevitable happened. The united Arabs of the near east, outnumbering the Jews by fifty to one and equipped with modern British armament, made an all-out attack on the Jewish position in Palestine. This constituted defiance of the United Nations, but the great powers were unable or unwilling to stop the Arabs. The Jews, however, did stop them, thereby becoming the first victims of aggression to prove to their opponents that the course of wisdom would have been to heed the world organization.

Because they had managed to escape the defeatism which now infects the western world and paralyzes us as we contemplate the "forces of wickedness and stupidity" arrayed against us, the Jews won their victory in short order. The walls of Jericho have once more yielded to the blast of a trumpet.

Perhaps the main lesson is that forces which truly emanate from wickedness and stupidity often prove amazingly weak in a real showdown. It is only when they operate against defeatism, escapism, and greed, that they seem invincible.

The Denver Post
January 3, 1949

Minorities in Israel

For These the New State Exhibits a Spirit of Good Will and Equality

By Eliahu Ben-Horin

HAIFA, Israel.—I once heard a story about a man who claimed that he visited four countries, without ever having stepped out of the city limits of his home town. This sounded unlikely, until the man explained that he was born and lived all his life in Chernovitz, Bucovina. True enough, Bucovina has been in succession part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of Poland, Romania and Russia—and all these transformations have taken place within three decades.

Many a man in Israel today could claim almost a similar record. Thirty-odd years ago Palestine was still a province in the Ottoman Empire. Then, for over a quarter of a century, it was a League of Nations territory under a British administration. Now, it is no longer Palestine but Israel.

THIS is most certainly not a change in name alone. The changes are tremendous and you see them wherever you turn. This time, however, I want to point to one radical change which amounts to a veritable revolution in the entire structure of the land. I refer to the ethnic composition of Israel and the overwhelming Jewish majority created almost over night, mainly through the flight of the bulk of the Arab population.

Only one year ago, when the United Nations was shaping its partition plan for Palestine, its deliberations were greatly affected by the desire to prevent the existence of a large Arab minority in the Jewish state. This consideration exercised considerable influence on the carving up of the country and the delimitation of frontiers in the original partition plan. Still, under the partition resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, about 400,000 Arabs were to remain in the Jewish state. Who could believe then that one year later Israel would have a seven-to-one Jewish majority of population?

It was not planned this way and it still sounds unbelievable, but it is true all the same. In round figures, Israel's population today consists of 700,000 Jews and 100,000 non-Jews. The large-scale Jewish immigration will further augment the Jewish majority of the land. On the other hand, constant infiltration of Arab refugees into Israel is taking place even now, despite strict war-time border control. When the Arab-Jewish war ends, the final settlement of the Palestine problem will undoubtedly provide for the return of a certain amount of Arab refugees.

THE census of the Israeli population, recently taken, is not yet entirely completed. The situation still being fluid, even governmental offices are in no position to quote exact figures. Approximately, there live in Israel at present about 110,000 non-Jews, divided as follows: 15,000 Druzes, 6,000 Circassians, 10,000 Bedouins and about 80,000 Arabs. Of the latter, there are about 50,000 Christians and the rest Moslems. The Druzes have a religion of their own, Islamic in origin but still different. The Bedouins, of course, are Moslems, and so are the Circassians. One may therefore say that the minorities in Israel are about equally divided between the Cross and the Crescent.

The Druzes and Circassians are about the only non-Jewish communities of former Palestine whose numbers and positions remained completely intact. They refused to submit to the panic of Arab flight from Palestine. They stayed on in their villages, attending to their fields and flocks, and eventually they became an integral part of Israel. The Druze villages in the vicinity of Haifa and Acre and the Circassian villages in Galilee underwent no changes. For them, Israel is the same old land in which they lived for so long under a variety of regimes.

Judging by all indications, the Druzes and Circassians have no reason to regret their decision. Instead of being today part of a mass of homeless, hungry and bewildered humanity, unwanted and neglected wherever they are—whether in Lebanon, Syria, Trans-Jordan or Egypt—they with their wives and children are at home, enjoying as much safety as their Jewish "conquerors." In fact, the two communities, the Druzes and Circassians, have their own units in the Israeli Army and fight together with the Jews.

It is no accident that, in proportion, incomparably more Christian Arabs than Moslem Arabs have chosen to remain in Israel. This is primarily a war of Pan-Islam against the Jews. It is true that Christian Arabs, especially of the educated class, have participated prominently all through the years in the committees of the Jerusalem ex-Mufti and have served in the diplomatic facade of the various Arab kings and chieftains. But they could never be sure of their own future. Pan-Islam is equally hostile to Jew and Christian, and the day of its victory might have been the day of doom for Christianity in the Middle East. It is not in vain that the Christian leaders of Lebanon have time and again declared themselves in favor of a Jewish state in Palestine, for the existence of Israel spells security for Christian Lebanon. It is therefore understandable why the Christians of Palestine, although overwhelmingly Arabs, were less inclined to flight than their Moslem brothers. One may also predict that, if and when the hour of return comes for the Arab refugees, the Christians among them will come back to Israel in proportionately larger numbers than the Mohammedans.

THE non-Jewish population of Israel does not enjoy freedom of movement in the country, because the war is still on and the Israeli authorities have no way of knowing who among the Arabs is a peaceful friend and who is a potential fifth columnist. This seems to be the only discriminatory restriction against the non-Jews. Otherwise, the minorities enjoy the same rights as the Jewish majority. They are recognized as full-fledged citizens and they can elect and be elected in the forthcoming elections to the Israeli Parliament. Whether they will exercise this right to any considerable extent remains to be seen. Because of the novelty of the situation, the non-Jewish participation in the first elections might be slight.

According to an internal report not yet published, which I had a chance to read, by the end of December, 1948, thirty-one schools for Arab children were established in twenty-nine towns and villages by the Government of Israel. Four thousand two hundred and fifty Arab children are attending these schools, which engage 120 teachers. The financial burden of this education program, which runs already into hundreds of thousands of dollars, lies on the shoulders of the Israeli government. Yet, the educational program for the Arabs is in the process of gradual expansion, which in turn would mean greater expenditure for the state budget. In light of the present, very acute financial difficulties of Israel, this may be considered a sincere expression of the spirit prevailing here with regard to the minorities.

Nor is this the only testimony. The wages of the Arab workers, in the past, far below those paid to the Jews, are being raised to the same level. Arab laborers are being organized into unions and co-operative groups, for better protection of their rights and interests. The old and the infirm of the Christian communities in Jerusalem and in other places are being fed at the expense of the government—and this under conditions of shortage of food in the country and of severe rationing of the entire population.

ON CHRISTMAS DAY I visited the largest prisoners-of-war camp. Among the visitors were also Monsignor Botros Fakhoury, head of the Greek Catholic Church in Haifa, and Victor Khayat, a wealthy Christian Arab from Haifa who serves also as the Spanish Consul for Northern Israel. We attended a nice Christmas party arranged for the 100 Christians among the 1,200 prisoners in that camp. The Monsignor, Mr. Khayat and speakers from among the prisoners have spoken very praisingly of the treatment accorded to them in that camp. Even if one refuses to be impressed by speeches of prisoners made in the presence of their jailers, one could see there enough signs of humane and considerate attitude toward the inmates. Mr. Khayat did not hesitate to state that the Arab P. O. W. are treated by the Israeli authorities with much more generosity and fairness than Jewish and Arab prisoners used to be treated by the British. It was on my way back to Haifa that I heard the news that the night before, on Christmas Eve, Egyptian planes scored a direct hit at the Children's House in a Jewish settlement not far from Atlit, killing four and wounding four. Still, Arab prisoners of war were given their Christmas party.

There is of course a great deal of overlapping in government machinery. There is a Ministry of Religions and a separate Ministry of Minorities, whereas many functions still fall under the jurisdiction of the military authorities. But the State of Israel is still young, and is still fighting a grim war. The spirit of good will, of democratic equality and freedom for the minorities is there. And this is what counts.

NEW YORK
HERALD TRIBUNE

January 5, 1949

Control of Negeb

Suggestions Offered for Prevention of Further Large-Scale Fighting

To the Editor of The New York Times:

I respectfully submit that the steps most urgently needed to prevent further large-scale fighting in Palestine are the following:

1. The immediate dispatch—in line with Dr. Bunche's recent announcement—of an adequate number of U. N. observers to the area between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba, there to be permanently stationed both on the Trans-Jordanian and the Israeli sides of the border.

2. The request by the United States Government on the one hand, and by the Security Council on the other, of formal and public assurances from the British Government that no British forces will be used in "repelling the invasion of Trans-Jordan by Israelis" unless and until the fact of such invasion has been publicly confirmed by the U. N. observers.

The reason why the above steps appear to be the most important requirements of the moment is that ever since early September, 1947, the British Government has made clear that, while the Jewish State as a whole was unpalatable to it and its liquidation if conditions were propitious would be welcomed, British control over the Negeb is the principal objective of Britain in the Palestine controversy. Throughout the past year, this objective has remained unaltered. Only the methods of achieving it have changed from time to time. In October, 1947, and in July, 1948, the British hoped to obtain voluntary Jewish renunciation of the Negeb through the discreet influence of the United States. In September, 1948, Britain expected to gain the same end by means of a United Nations resolution. For a time Britain hoped that Trans-Jordanian military prowess would wrest the Negeb from Israel—a contingency quite satisfactory to Great Britain, since Trans-Jordan is controlled by Britain in all but name. In recent months Britain was prepared to see Egypt get all or part of the Negeb on the assumption that the Egyptians would acquiesce in the military control and economic exploitation o. the area by the British.

None of these stratagems worked. Only recently Britain, hinting at its readiness to come to the aid of Egypt under a defunct treaty, was rebuffed by the Egyptians who made it clear that, after having tried for decades to get rid of British troops, they would not like to see them return. The logic of events makes it more than probable that the next attempt by Britain to secure for herself the control of the Negeb will come by way of invading that area in the course of repelling an Israeli attack on Trans-Jordan somewhere between Aqaba and the Dead Sea.

Since an incident of that kind would provide the only foreseeable excuse for British invasion of the Negeb, the temptation to announce to the world that the incident has occurred, even though it has not occurred in fact, or, alternatively, to provoke such an incident by sending Trans-Jordanian forces across the border and engaging Israeli troops in the course of any counter-attack on their part, might be too great. The recent reports of British land and air reinforcements sent to Trans-Jordan lend further credence to this fear. In view of the British tendency to state facts and interpret her rights and duties on the basis of unilateral findings, and haughtily to dismiss any challenge of the accuracy of the British position (the continued detention of Jewish refugees of military age on Cyprus, allegedly on the ground that the United Nations Security Council and mediator have sanctioned such detention, in brazen disregard of the true state of facts, is a good example of this tendency), it would be far too dangerous to rely on British information services as the sole source of news regarding that area.

Dr. Bunche's announcement that U. N. observers are being sent to the area fulfills part of the program.

Surely, if Britain does not wish to resort to the means suggested above in order to gain control of the Negeb she can have no objection to giving binding assurances that no action will be taken by Britain except on the basis of those observers' findings. And surely, the Government of the United States could take no action more correct in substance and in form than to ask for the sending of such observers and for corresponding assurances from Great Britain.

BENJAMIN AKZIN.

Forest Hills, N. Y., Jan. 10, 1949.

The Mighty British Empire vs. Struggling Israel

It must be regarded as a singularly strange development, surely, in the tragic course of events in Palestine, that the great British Empire should find it necessary to marshal its military strength in opposition to a tiny new State that is struggling for its right to live.

Just why, it must be asked, should Great Britain at this juncture send powerful forces to the Israeli borders? Why the landing of troops at Aqaba, the port of the Negeb? Why the filling of the Israeli-Egyptian borderland's skies with fighting and reconnaissance planes? Why the dispatch of an aircraft carrier, cruisers and other warships to the eastern Mediterranean?

Is all this show of force intended as a warning against Israel and its hopes for peaceful existence as a sovereign state?

It is unfortunate that five British planes should have been shot down by Israeli fighters. But it will be much more regrettable if this incident should be permitted to interfere with the negotiations about to start between Egypt and Israel for settlement of the peace.

What were the planes doing in that region in the first place? It is said they were assigned to seek information on Israeli forces. For whom were they seeking the information? The Egyptians, badly defeated, had consented to discuss terms. And the Egyptians further stated that they had not called on Britain for aid under the mutual assistance pact. It is evident that the British forces in that territory are not there to safeguard Egyptian interests, but Britain's.

Great Britain wants to tighten its hold on the Sudan. It wants to maintain and strengthen its bases in the Suez Canal region right up to the Negeb. It wants to secure its controlling position in Trans-Jordan.

Its protests at Israeli's "invasion" of Egyptian and Trans-Jordan territory are transparently hypocritical. When Arab troops invaded Palestine there was no outcry from Britain about breach of the peace. The British helped train and arm the Arab invaders, and they called for a truce only when the Arabs were being chased from the Holy Land.

Hope of settlement of the Palestine issue lies in direct negotiations between the two sides. That is about to happen now on Rhodes —if the British don't succeed in messing it up.

BRITAIN'S NEW WAR AGAINST ISRAEL

THE British Government appears to be preparing for a new war against Israel—even as direct armistice negotiations between Egypt and Israel are getting under way.

The evidence is clear and unmistakable:

Great Britain has admitted that British troops have been sent to the port of Aqaba in Transjordan. A long-standing truce has been in effect between Israel and Transjordan. It would seem that the British Government is concerned lest this truce eventuate into a permanent peace between the two countries. If the British-dominated Transjordan Arab Legion should re-enter the war at any time in the future, it will be clear that Great Britain alone will be responsible.

There are reports that large numbers of British fighters and bombers are being landed at Mafrak, Transjordan, and that British armed strength is being concentrated on the Egyptian-Palestinian frontier. Large units of the British navy are being moved into the area and are maneuvering not far from Israel's shores. In addition, Israeli spokesmen have disclosed that Britain has been training troops in Tripolitania under conditions identical to those to be found in Israel.

British propagandists are trying to make it appear as if current British military moves were "provoked" by the shooting down of R.A.F. planes by the Israelis. It should, therefore, be remembered that the aforementioned British troop movements to Aqaba were first disclosed by Israel almost two weeks ago.

Great Britain has persisted in sending planes into the battlefront areas of the Palestine war, but assumes an air of righteous indignation when the inevitable happens and British aircraft are shot down. It will be recalled that both Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden recently arose in the House of Commons to question the necessity and propriety of sending Royal Air Force planes over such a "dangerous and delicate" area. Nevertheless, Mr. Bevin continued to send British planes into this "dangerous and delicate" area. Why?

Furthermore, it has now been revealed that British arms deliveries to Egypt during the last few months have amounted to £50,000,000 ($200,000,000) and included shipment of the most modern jet fighter planes, naval vessels, heavy artillery tanks, heavy caliber shells and aviation gasoline. All this took place at a time when Great Britain was publicly avowing "strict neutrality" and maintaining that it was not sending arms to the Arab countries.

The Political Offensive

These military moves should be considered in relation to the panic propaganda which British officials had attempted to disseminate in this country on the basis of Israel's so-called "invasion" of Egyptian territory and the consequent "obligation" of Great Britain to come to Egypt's aid under the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Great Britain had obviously hoped to induce the United States to join a renewed British move to bring about the imposition of sanctions against Israel by the Security Council. In order to achieve this, Britain warned that if she failed to bring about the international action she desired, she would be "compelled" to act unilaterally in support of Egypt.

But—to the great embarrassment of the British—Egypt, while confirming that Britain had offered to provide her with military aid if she would invoke the 1936 Treaty, decided to let the British do their own fighting for a change. Instead of invoking the Treaty, Egypt proceeded to reaffirm her earlier denunciation of it and, at the same time, asked for direct armistice negotiations with Israel.

Great Britain has thus been forced into the open and stands revealed before world opinion in her true role—the real enemy of Israel. She can no longer cloak her own selfish ambitions behind the actions of the Arab states whom she had encouraged to make war on Israel. The Arab aggressors have been defeated, and Britain must either become reconciled to a settlement which will keep Israel's political independence and territorial integrity intact, or commit British arms and troops to a new war against Israel.

Britain is seemingly choosing the latter course and is currently distorting the facts about the real situation in the Middle East. We believe, therefore, that the American people would profit from a review of the facts in the war Britain has waged with the primary objective of obtaining the Negev for her own use and exploitation.

This Is The Record:

1. Immediately after the adoption of the partition resolution by the United Nations General Assembly on November 29, 1947, the British authorities in Palestine systematically and deliberately opened the frontiers of that country to armed Arab bands who entered for the express purpose of engaging in a military struggle with the Jews in order to upset the decision of the United Nations by force of arms.

2. Britain also actively participated in this aggression by supplying the Arab states with financial aid, by creating a stockpile of war supplies and equipment for the Arabs, by providing officers and administrative help to the invaders. Simultaneously, Britain made every effort to prevent the Jews from arming for their own defense.

3. When—despite all of these British maneuvers—the Arab attacks did not succeed and the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, Great Britain encouraged the Arab governments to launch full-scale military invasions of Palestine with the declared aim of over-running and subjugating Israel. The attack was led by the Transjordan Arab Legion, a military force completely equipped, financed and officered by Great Britain.

4. In the early days of the war, when the invaders were on the move, Great Britain did nothing to bring hostilities to a halt, but, on the contrary, maneuvered ceaselessly in the Security Council to keep the Arab states from being punished as aggressors. At that time Great Britain saw no violation of the United Nations Charter, although the action of the Arab states in invading Palestine was explicitly denounced as international aggression by United States Delegate Warren Austin (May 22, 1948). Then the British worked indefatigably to induce the Security Council to refrain from taking the action which was clearly indicated.

5. However, when the tide turned and the Israeli Army repelled the aggressors, there were immediate British moves for truces, Israeli troop withdrawals and—finally, the bitterest irony—attempts to impose sanctions against Israel for successfully defending its own territory.

6. After Israel inflicted a series of decisive defeats on the Arab armies and, in the course of one military engagement, attacked legitimate military objectives on Egyptian soil, Great Britain threatened unilateral military action against the Jewish state.

It is against this background that Britain's current moves should be viewed.

America Must Take A Stand

Whether or not Mr. Bevin continues his vendetta against Israel depends largely on the stand which our own Government will now take. The United States, which has accorded recognition to Israel and which has pledged itself to support Israel's claims to territorial integrity, will surely not ignore the latest British efforts to renew the political and military offensive against Israel. Nor can our Government overlook the fact that Great Britain's current moves to frustrate the peace which now seems to be in the making between Israel and the Arab states, along with her threats of unilateral military action, flaunt the United Nations and its efforts to hasten a settlement between the Arab states and Israel.

American interest in peace in the Middle East can best be served by a firm warning to the British Government to desist from its present policy of war and intrigue against Israel.

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

CHIEF PROVISIONS OF ACCORD ON PALESTINE

The New York Times. Feb. 24, 1949.

The Israeli-Egyptian armistice permits Egypt to keep defensive forces in the shaded coastal strip (1) running southward from the Gaza area. In the northern tip of this strip the Israelis are to withdraw from Beit Hanun, but may maintain an outpost at Deir Suneid. Egyptian troops will be evacuated from Faluja (2), while the status of Beersheba (3) is left for later negotiations. The Israelis will withdraw from Bir Asluj (4) and both sides will take their troops out of the shaded area around El Auja (5). This area will be the neutral seat of an armistice commission made up of Egyptians and Israelis.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 4, 1949.

FALUJA REFUGEES SWELL ARAB TOTAL

Tel Aviv Circles Puzzled by Apparent Failure to Advise Its Civilians to Remain

By GENE CURRIVAN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TEL AVIV, Israel, March 3—Inasmuch as Palestine's Arab refugees have already flocked into neighboring countries in barely manageable numbers, many observers here are puzzled that apparently nobody did anything to dissuade the civilian Arabs from evacuating Faluja.

Observers feel that with proper counsel after the Israeli-Egyptian armistice, the Arab population might have advantageously remained. They state that the Israeli Government had given guarantees of security of person and property. However, no effort was made by Egypt, Transjordan or even the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission to advise the Faluja Arabs one way or the other.

The commission has asked all Arab states accommodating the Palestinian refugees to meet in Beirut on March 21 to try to resolve the problem—now made that much more difficult by the evacuation or expected evacuation of about 2,500 of Faluja's 3,000 civilian Arabs.

Transjordan, belatedly and somewhat reluctantly, accepted her share of the newest refugees, and Egypt let them know that they would be well received and adequately housed when they came. Israel did not encourage them to remain as they were otherwise inclined, but in some Tel Aviv circles it is held that the Conciliation Commission should not have left the Arabs totally uninformed as to the possibilities of a livelihood in Israel.

While it is apparent to any observer that the Israelis are not particularly upset over the Arabs' flight, there seems little doubt that if the Faluja Arabs had been informed of what the Israelis have done and plan to do for their Arab fellow-citizens who remained in Beersheba, Jaffa, Ramleh and Lydda, the Arabs would not have been so easily stampeded into leaving the country.

Mosques have been restored, religious courts are again operating and their archives reassembled under a special committee working for the restoration of the holy places. There is a subcommittee for Arab food control, which gives preference to Arab merchants serving Arab areas. In the Beersheba area, at the top of the Negeb desert, where Bedouin tribes have been constricted and prevented from indulging in their seasonal nomadic wanderings, there is another committee that supplies staple foods to them.

Ten consumer cooperatives have been organized in towns as Jaffa, Acre and Lydda. Wages of $4.50 daily are being paid to Arab workers, against the previous scale of $1.60. There are social welfare programs operating now, and hospital clinics set aside for Arabs with Arab and Israeli doctors working side by side. There is an ambulance service to remote Arab sections, and mobile clinics that reach every distant Arab farm. Six thousand Arab children are attending fifty-five schools under a budget of almost $250,000. Jaffa has its own Arabic newspaper and the Israeli radio station transmits Arab news items and programs daily.

The Israeli Government has been too busy to propagandize this Arab program, but many here feel that if Faluja inhabitants had known of it they would not have been so eager to joint the distressed refugees in the neighboring countries.

Iraq Urged as Refuge for Arab Refugees

By Eliahu Ben-Horin
Written for The Christian Science Monitor

A Jewish Answer

The plight of Arabs who have become refugees as the result of the Palestinian war is one of the vexing problems of the Middle East. The following article presents a Jewish assessment of the situation and explores one of the possible solutions.

What has the future in store for the Arab refugees from Israel? Can Israel reabsorb them? Or can they be permanently resettled in a new land?

Perhaps 600,000 Arabs have fled from Palestine to non-Israeli territory. They are not wanted in the lands to which they have fled. Nor are they able to find a place in the economy of their present home.

Whether the Arabs fled from fear of Jewish fighters or whether they were badly advised by Arab leaders who wished to clear the field, the fact remains that they have gone. Except for the 100,000 who stayed behind, the Arabs are no longer in Israel. By the time peace is fully restored, they will have been gone for at least a year.

Homes Taken Over

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

Let us start with the question of Arab homes, whether in the mixed and strictly Arab cities or in the Arab villages. In Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Safed, Tiberias, Acre, Ramleh, Arabs owned many modern houses. As a result of the great onrush of Jewish immigrants during the past nine months, all the houses fit for habitation have been taken over.

Today, Katamon, the Arab quarter of new Jerusalem; Ein Karem, a township outside of Jerusalem; the new city of Acre; the modern sections of Jaffa and Haifa are inhabited by Jews to full capacity.

The slum sections in most of these cities either have been destroyed by warfare or dynamited in order to clear the way for city planning. About 30 blocks of houses in Jaffa, adjoining Tel Aviv, now present a mass of ruins and masonry, while a similar picture is to be seen in the Arab parts of Haifa. In other words, if the Arab refugees should return to Israel, not one could reoccupy his former home. The same is largely true of the bigger and more prosperous Arab villages.

Not only Arab homes but also Arab economic positions either have become nonexistent or nonavailable to the Arabs. Arabs used to form the majority in the lower officialdom of the Palestine government. Thousands of them were in the employ of the railways, the police, or the road repair service. Without suggesting in the least that the Israeli Government will be "Arabless"—in fact, there are already some Arabs in its employ—one must conclude that only a limited number of Arabs can look forward to government posts.

The large decrease in the size of the Arab rural community must cause a decrease in the Arab urban population. The Arab intelligentsia is bound to find a much narrower scope of activity. Arab lawyers, doctors, architects, teachers, or musicians never had a Jewish clientele, though Jewish professional men had many Arab clients. As things now have developed, the prospects of Arab professional workers have shrunk by 90 per cent. The same applies to the Arab café and restaurant, cinema, newspaper, grocery store and the entire spectrum of city life.

The Arabs of Palestine are entitled, of course, to financial compensation for property they have left behind them. This means that Arab refugees from Palestine will have money coming to them from Israel. Whether it will be much or little, it will not be homes, jobs and farms.

It appears from the foregoing that it would be better for them, for the Jews, and for Middle East tranquillity if they used these sums elsewhere.

Refugee Plan Charted

And such a possibility exists. A plan has been devised for a constructive solution of the Arab refugee problem. I mean the Hoover Plan, set forth by Herbert Hoover long before the Palestine war, and before the Arabs of Palestine became refugees. The fact that the remedy Mr. Hoover prescribed predated the problem in no way detracts from the practicability and urgency of his plan. As Mr. Hoover explained in 1945:

". . . In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys supported probably 10,000,000 people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about 3,500,000 people in modern Iraq. . . .

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

Mutual Benefit

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

Many millions of dollars have been spent and many more will be spent for the upkeep of the Palestine refugees. The United States has granted $16,000,000 as its share of the $29,000,000 allocated by the United Nations. All these millions will not solve the problem of the Arab refugees or produce any permanent adjustment. To avoid misunderstanding, let it be stated that I heartily endorse the most generous relief for Arab refugees, but I see no reason to ignore the fact that charity unaccompanied by constructive planning is no remedy for a social ill.

President Truman has proposed large-scale aid to undeveloped and underprivileged areas of the world. One hears of plans for a $1,000,000,000 appropriation for the Middle East alone. The permanent resettlement of 500,000 men, women, and children, who lost their homes, fields, and shops, should be an integral part of these plans.

What Mr. Hoover visualized as a one-sided transfer can be developed into a plan for an exchange of populations. About 250,000 Jews live in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Yemen. An exchange of populations is indicated, and it is seen as a benefit for all concerned.

The formula of Mr. Hoover seeks "a solution by engineering instead of by conflict." Unless it is accepted a bad socio-political irritant is preserved, which would prove to be a serious obstacle on the road to peace and stability in the Middle East.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1949.

'TRUTH' GOAL SET FOR ISRAEL TOUR

Dr. C. H. Voss Asks Study Group to Get Facts to Dispel 'Misinformation' Here

Eleven persons who will visit Israel and neighboring areas on a "study tour" under the sponsorship of the American Christian Palestine Committee were urged yesterday to bring back the truths that would dispel "misinformation and untruths about Israel."

Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, chairman of the group's executive council, spoke at a luncheon at the Barbizon Hotel for the delegates, who will sail today on the Queen Mary.

The delegates, to whose expenses local affiliates of the committee have contributed, include the following:

The Rev. Karl Baehr, executive secretary of the committee; Mayor Stanley W. Church of New Rochelle, N. Y.; Marshall N. Dana, editor of The Oregon Journal, Portland; Mrs. Louise S. Freese, columnist on The Sioux City (Iowa) Journal-Tribune; Judge George E. Holt of Florida's Eleventh Judicial Circuit; Spencer D. Irwin, associate editor of The Cleveland Plain Dealer; Dean Thomas Clark Pollock of the Washington Square College of Arts and Sciences, New York University, and the Rev. Reuben K. Youngdahl, pastor of Mount Olivet Lutheran Church, Minneapolis.

Three others who will make the trip were unable to attend yesterday's "bon voyage luncheon." They are W. W. Edel, president of Dickinson College; the Rev. Harvey W Hollis, executive secretary of the Albany Council of Churches, and the Rev. Dr. John Paul Jones, minister of the Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn.

"You are going with open minds and sensitive spirits, but with no preconceived notions or pre-established conclusions," Dr. Voss said. "We ask you to return with only one requirement fulfilled: come with facts and established truths so that misinformation and untruths about Israel may be dispelled.

"Too often is Israel inaccurately and inadequately interpreted; too many times is Israel unjustly accused of wrong-doing and unfairly described to the general public. By your reports you can right the balance."

President Weizmann on Jerusalem

President Chaim Weizmann, at the dinner given in his honor on Saturday, made clear Israel's position on the problem of Jerusalem, and also indicated that "a harmonious solution can swiftly be secured with international consent."

Dr. Weizmann asked that the international community understand "the direct and inescapable responsibility which Israel bears and exercises in the daily life and administration of Jewish Jerusalem." But he also pledged Israel "to insure full security for religious institutions in the exercise of their functions; to grant the supervision of the holy places by those who hold them sacred; and to encourage and accept the fullest international safeguards and controls for their immunity and protection." This is less than the separate international administration for Jerusalem and its environs, which was projected in the original Palestine plan of the United Nations Assembly, and which was repeated in later directives. There are many who will regret that the U. N. was unable to establish this neutral control at the outset, and so avert the fighting which raged in Jerusalem, the siege and counter-siege of the Holy City. However, the suggestion of Israel's President does offer the elements of a practical compromise.

Religious institutions would be left in the hands of their founders; the holy places in New and Old Jerusalem would be under the immediate control, in Dr. Weizmann's words, "of those who hold them sacred." And some form of U. N. commission, with headquarters in Jerusalem and a sufficient staff, could be made available to see that the rights of all religions were fully maintained. Doubtless, the task of carrying on this system, and co-ordinating it with Israeli and Arab secular administration of the divided city, would be delicate. But it is doubtful whether the complications would be much greater than those involved in full U. N. control of the Jerusalem area. In any case, good will and good sense could make the plan work, and no international arrangements are proof against the lack of these qualities.

New York World-Telegram

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1949.

Arab Refugees

By Eleanor Roosevelt

I was interested to read in one of our metropolitan papers the other day a plea that we insist that the new state of Israel pay for resettlement of the Arab refugees.

Mrs. Roosevelt.

No one who served at the U.N. session in Paris last fall will forget the impassioned plea of the British in behalf of the humanitarian objective of immediate relief for these refugees and their final settlement. This plea met with great sympathy and the United States was among the nations which pledged a great part of the funds to be used for these purposes.

In this newspaper article the writer, who says she has just returned from several months in the Near East, intimates the Arabs were driven from their homes. It is odd that she did not happen to find in Israel the many communities in which the Arabs remained and are quite happy living side by side with the Jews and even taking part in the government of the community. This fact makes some of us wonder why the Arab refugees ran away from a "danger" which was certainly no worse than the danger they took themselves into.

• • •

There was a time when perhaps the best solution would have been for these people to return to Israel. However, now with the great influx of Jewish immigration from Cyprus and central Europe, the Arabs probably will be better off if the funds already in hand are used to resettle them in some of the Arab countries where there are vacant lands that need people to work them.

The article is very hostile to the new state of Israel. It seems regrettable that this whole problem cannot be examind in an entirely objective and calm manner in the same way that the negotiations for the armistices have been carried on. The people in those troubled areas should not be the target of too much criticism; they must make the decisions that seem to them wisest.

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ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

by BENJAMIN AKZIN

(Reprinted from the April, 1949 issue
of AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE)

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ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

by BENJAMIN AKZIN

I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II

The resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews [2] was one

PARTITIONED PALESTINE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V

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

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

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

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

VI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VII

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

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

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From Palestine to Israel

Eliahu Ben-Horin

THE Arch of Titus still stands on the Summa Sacra Via in Rome, on the way from the Roman Forum to the Colosseum. It is the Arch which, like the *Judaea Capta* coins of Titus, commemorated the victory of great Rome over little Judaea nearly nineteen centuries ago.

On a Sunday last December, I was touring the antiquities of Rome, including the Arch of Titus. Two hours later, an altogether different picture arose before my eyes. I was taken to the villa of an Italian nobleman outside of Rome. There and on a nearby airfield, forty Israeli boys were studying aviation in a special school organized by the government of Israel. Twelve instructors, including some Italians—some of them possibly descendents of Titus—were teaching them how to conquer the skies. The clock of history has worked with depressing slowness but its circle is now about to be completed. There on the outskirts of Rome, in the Israeli aviation school, one could hear a voice proclaiming: *Judaea non capta est.*

Nineteen centuries have gone by. The young state of Israel appears as a reality even before one sets foot on its soil. And when one arrives in Israel, goes across the small country, sees what has been achieved through statehood in nine short months, talks to people in the government and to the proverbial "man in the street," listens to proud Israelis and to cautious foreign diplomats—one is driven to the conclusion that Israel is not only very real but that it probably represents the one sound reality in an otherwise extremely unstable Middle East.

If I were to be asked what impressed me most during my first visit to Israel in December 1948 I would answer: "It works!" The Arab-Israeli War was still on. There were casualties on the battlefronts and mourning in the rear. There were—and still are—strict rationing and acute shortages. Even fruit, including locally grown bananas, is rationed and scarce. Life is extremely expensive, the purchasing power of the Israeli pound is small, and the average man's earnings are insufficient. At sunset, the cities, villages and roads were blacked out and one groped in the dark, fell down, murmured under his breath "visibility nil," got up and went on. Somehow, however, all these difficulties do not mar the impression that "it works."

One may say about the State of Israel as a whole that it, too, gropes in the dark, stumbles here and there, but invariably gets up and goes on. For if there was a blackout of light in Israel, and often also a blackout of news from the battlefronts, there was certainly no blackout of spirit and of dynamic vitality in this new republic.

Mr. Ben-Horin had lived for many years in Palestine before it became the new state of Israel, and he was at one time the head of the Palestine News Service.

THE difficulties on the state and governmental levels are in no way easier than those which face the individual Israeli. If the breadwinner in Tel Aviv cannot produce a pay envelope large enough to feed and clothe his family, and if his wife does not know how to make ends meet, the Treasury of Israel has been facing the problem of maintaining a large army and financing a war, out of the very limited resources of a small land and of a population which has not yet reached the million mark. Heavy taxation—and it is very heavy in Israel—and high customs duties can no more solve the Treasurer's problems than an increase in salary can take care of the breadwinner's troubles.

Likewise, if the newly arrived immigrant faces the almost insoluble problem of finding a roof over his and his family's head, the government faces the problem of housing on a much larger scale. The immigration of Jews into Israel is now unrestricted. By the end of the first year of its independence, Israel will have absorbed over 150,000 new immigrants, which amounts to a twenty-five per cent increase of population. That is equivalent to absorption by the United States of thirty-five million immigrants in one year!

The scope of the housing problem can be grasped only when one remembers that all through World War II very few new homes were built, and that thereafter the Arab-Jewish War necessitated total mobilization of all resources for the war effort. There is a terrific housing shortage in the face of a constant and large stream of immigration. Even people in high government positions, who have had to move to Tel Aviv, the present capital, cannot find apartments. A current joke in Israel has it that ownership of a good apartment is one of the main qualifications for an Israeli diplomatic appointment: when a man is sent abroad, his apartment can conveniently be taken over by a high official in the government. As a matter of fact, the Foreign Secretary now lives in the house of the Israeli commercial attaché in Moscow, and one of the Secretary's top assistants occupies the apartment of the Israeli minister to Bucharest.

There are problems and difficulties wherever you turn. Yet, looking back at the past few years of Palestine's tragic history, at the conditions under which the new state was born, and at the obstacles which it had to overcome in the nine months of its existence, there is no escape from the conclusion that Israel is a going concern.

II

THE last time I was in the country—in April 1948—it was still Palestine. It is true that five months earlier the United Nations General Assembly had adopted a plan for the partition of the Holy Land into two independent states, and that the British were scuttling their administration and preparing to evacute their large garrison. But the land was Palestine and its future seemed uncertain.

A reversal had taken place at Lake Success. Some of the very powers which had promoted the partition plan a few months earlier were now advocating an international trusteeship over a unitary Palestine. Whether the lack of an international military force capable of enforcing UN decisions, or systematic opposition on the part of Great Britain to the partition of Palestine, was responsible for the wavering of the United Nations is immaterial. The fact remains that the future of Palestine was cloaked in uncertainty. The day I left Palestine on my way back to the United States—only twenty days before the fateful May 15 on which the British mandate was to end—not even David Ben-Gurion, the future prime minister of Israel and the most dynamic personality in the new nation, could say with certainty that the Republic of Israel would come into being on May 15.

There were too many unknown and unpredictable elements in the situation. What would the policy of the great powers be? Would the six hundred thousand Jews of Palestine be able to stand up against an organized invasion by the armies of seven Arab states with a combined population of over thirty million? Would the Jews be able to set up the machinery of government in a country torn by internal war and threatened by invasion, by an oil blockade, by shortage of arms and shortage of food?

The march of events between April and December 1948 disposed of many of those doubts and uncertainties. But victory over the odds that seemed almost insuperable last

spring was no simple, inevitable matter: many of its aspects can hardly be explained rationally. It is no accident that the word "miracle" appears so often in the accounts one hears about this or that crucial battle in the Arab-Jewish War. There is more of miracle than modern logistics about many of them.

TAKE Negba, for instance. It was a Jewish *Kibbutz*, a collective settlement, on the northern fringe of the Negev, Palestine's southern desert. Some two hundred men, women, and children lived there, working the land, growing apples and plums in their fruit groves, attending to their cows and poultry. On May 14, 1948 the State of Israel was proclaimed; on May 16, in the dark of the night, the children and some of the womenfolk were evacuated northward; next morning, the Egyptian air bombardment of Negba began.

The Egyptian attack developed into a full-fledged siege which lasted for five months. The settlement was cut off from the Jewish hinterland, except for one road, which was well under the fire of Egyptian batteries occupying commanding heights. It has been estimated that nearly thirty thousand aerial bombs and shells from three Egyptian batteries of heavy artillery were dropped on Negba. At times, the defenders, counted from five to ten explosions a minute. Life above ground was absolutely impossible, and the whole population lived in trenches and small underground bunkers all through the five months' siege. Hospital, kitchen, living quarters were all subterranean.

The spirit of the defenders of Negba and the story of their life and suffering would make a great epic. It is charactertistic, for instance, that while shells rained from all directions, houses were destroyed, cattle killed, fruit groves badly damaged, and the whole Kibbutz lived underground, the defenders of Negba published a daily typewritten bulletin of world and Palestinian news. It was called *Kol Negba* (The Voice of Negba).

When I visited Negba last December, an American lady who accompanied me on the tour expressed her amazement at the endurance and heroism of the people. Her effusive admiration was parried by a remark of one of the villagers: ". . . There was nothing exceptional in it. If you had been in the same position, you would have acted in the same way." Half an hour later, when the same man was conducting us across the settlement, showing us the total destruction of the place, he turned round and said: ". . . But I must tell you that before the Arab attacks and the destruction, Negba was one of the finest agricultural settlements in the country . . . ." It was his village's agricultural achievements that he was proud of, not its military prowess.

The crowning miracle took place on June 12, 1948, when the Egyptians opened a concentrated onslaught on Negba, aiming at the occupation of the place. Six thousand shells and bombs were dropped on Negba that day. The Egyptians advanced in three equal columns, with twenty-four tanks and armored cars. All that Negba possessed by way of defensive weapons was one anti-tank gun with ten rounds of ammunition. A Jewish boy from Mexico, who was in charge of the gun, managed to hit seven of the eight armored vehicles in the first column. That proved enough to make the Egyptians change their minds and turn back. They did not know the secret of the ten rounds of ammunition. . . .

A miracle?

THERE were many other incredible episodes; I need cite only one, which concerned the defense of Ramat Naftali in Galilee. This is a young settlement on one of the Galilean hills. It was dangerously exposed and isolated. The invading armies of Lebanon and Syria commanded all approaches to the place. After shelling the village and destroying the wooden barracks and huts of the settlers, the attackers set forth to occupy Ramat Naftali. Several tanks came up the hill, straight to the gate leading into the settlement. Complete silence reigned in the place. The defenders were few, their arms poor and scarce, and, feeling absolutely doomed, they held their fire.

The quiet must have reassured the attackers. When the first tank came up to the gate, the officer in command must have decided that the place was deserted. Under the circumstances, he wanted to do it the easy way. He went out of the tank to unlatch the gate. It was at that moment that one of the defenders —Ada, a twenty-two-year-old girl from Haifa

—said to her comrades in one of the trenches: "I am going to pick off this fellow." She killed the officer with her first shot, and he remained sprawled on the barbed wire of the gate. His crew almost immediately turned round and fled, followed by the entire attacking column. The defenders of Ramat Naftali could not believe their eyes.

III

As we live in an enlightened age which does not readily accept explanation by miracle, we must look for a rational interpretation of the series of miraculous events typified by the episodes here recorded.

It should not be difficult to find the sober reasons underlying the Jewish victories and the Arab defeats. It is true that Palestine Jewry was very inadequately prepared for the war. Neither psychologically, nor militarily, was there readiness to meet the onslaught of the converging armies of all the Arab states. Zionism has always prided itself on being a peaceful, constructive effort aiming at the re-establishment of the Jewish people in their historic homeland and aspiring to harmonious relations with the Arabs in Palestine and in the Middle East. Hence, the psychological unpreparedness of Jews for a war with the Arab peoples.

The military unpreparedness was due only in part to psychological unpreparedness, for, despite their peaceful intentions, the Jews of Palestine during the past three decades had many opportunities to read the handwriting on the wall. But the British were in command in Palestine until May 14, 1948, and they did not allow either the formation of a regular Jewish Army or the importation of weapons. A clandestine army armed by contraband weapons could not attain formidable proportions.

If, despite their unpreparedness, the Jews won the Palestine war against terrific odds, it was mainly for two reasons: the spirit of the Jewish youth and of Palestine Jewry in general, and the low fighting quality, bad organization, and lack of unity in the attacking Arab armies. The Jews of Palestine fought not only for the cause of Zionism, but for their very lives. For them, their *Kibbutzim* were truly the last bastions behind which was only death. The Arabs boasted of pushing the Jews into the sea, and that is what they intended to do. The savagery displayed by the Arabs in the early stages of the war, when they paraded the heads of their Jewish victims on sticks, could leave little doubt in the minds of the Jews as to their fate in case of an Arab victory. I have not the least intention of belittling the natural bravery of Palestine Jewish youth, but their bravery during this war was intensified by desperation. Thus it reached unprecedented heights.

The Arab armies fought without heart; some of them not even half-heartedly. It was not a matter of life and death to them, as it was to the Jews. Nor was there unity of purpose in the direction of the Arab war effort. On the contrary, every Arab king, chieftain, and politician had ambitions of his own, and all acted at cross purposes. In addition, corruption was rampant in all the Arab armies. Less than fifty per cent of the financial allocations and supplies ever reached the armies in the field.

There were a number of other factors which helped the Jews. The industrial possibilities of little Palestine were incomparably greater than those of all the Arab countries put together. The Jewish youth, Western in its education and outlook, many of them with war experience, made first-rate soldiers, capable of using to the best advantage every weapon known in modern warfare. The Syrians, Iraqis, Transjordanians, Egyptians, and Sudanese, being for the most part illiterate, underfed, and underpaid, lacking in discipline and in organization, were no match for the Palestinian Jewish Youth. Furthermore, the Jewish defense forces were bolstered by volunteers, Jewish and non-Jewish, from all over the world.

The exact number of the foreign volunteers is still unknown. The Christians who came to help Israel regain its independence were not too numerous, but some very touching cases are recorded. There was an Australian who was in Suez with the British forces at the time the fighting in Palestine broke out. He joined a British convoy to Jerusalem, then crossed the lines from the Arab to the Jewish part of the Holy City, joined the Jewish forces and later commanded an Israeli battery in crucial battles. There

were Americans who helped to establish the Israeli Air Force. Young Christian lives were lost in the battle for Israel.

The Jewish volunteers came from fifty-two lands, from the four corners of the earth. They came in the hundreds from countries with large Jewish communities, such as South Africa and the United States. Dozens of them came from smaller communities, like those of Finland, Canada, Australia. Even the remotest lands were represented. One found Jewish boys and girls from Greenland, Java, India, New Zealand, Afghanistan. One Jewish girl from Kabul, Afghanistan, started out for Palestine on November 30, 1947, on the morrow of the United Nations partition decision. It took her a few months to reach Tel Aviv and join a detachment of the Israeli Army.

No, it was not a miracle or a series of miracles that determined the outcome of the Palestine war. The outcome could have been foretold and was indeed foretold, by people who knew the realities of the Middle East and the forces at play on both sides.

Nor was this war a picnic for the Jews of Palestine. Their sacrifices and privations were very heavy. They could not achieve victory without total mobilization of all the manpower and resources of the country, strict regimentation of civilian life, and the sacrifice of many of the best of the Palestine youth. Despite the help from abroad, which was essential and very helpful, it was Palestine Jewry and Palestine youth that carried the brunt of the war. There is almost no family in Israel which has not been bereaved. Leaders and rank and file have suffered equally. The former president of the *Vaad Leumi* (the National Council of Palestine Jewry) lost his son. The president of the provisional parliament of Israel lost his son. An outstanding leader in Palestine agriculture lost two sons. The daughter of the military governor of Jerusalem was killed in the Negev. This list could be continued indefinitely. The people of Israel have paid the full price for freedom and independence.

IV

Long before the Arab war, Tel Aviv was overcrowded and had outgrown itself. Its founding fathers never dreamt that in less than four decades their little suburb of Arab Jaffa would grow into a metropolis of a quarter of a million inhabitants. The town's narrow streets cannot hold half the traffic hurrying through Israel's capital today. As compared with Allenby Road in Tel Aviv, Fifth Avenue in New York is a driver's paradise.

The queues for the busses are often a block long. They were even longer during the periods of battle in the Negev, for the municipal busses were used to transport troops to the front. The moment one was told that Line 6 or Line 9 would not operate on a certain day, one knew that a battle in the Negev or elsewhere was imminent. The government's strict blackout on news was thus neatly defeated. Deductions based on bus schedules were invariably correct, which simply goes to show how difficult it is to keep secrets in a small country.

The proud minority who own private cars no longer look so proud, for most of them have lost their cars to the Army. Only those in charge of public utilities and essential services can still travel comfortably under their own power. The rest would not even recognize their limousines if they saw them. Covered with a coat of khaki paint, bearing a huge "Z" on their license plates (*Z* stands for "Zava," *Army*), hundreds of once private cars now carry officers of the Army on hurried missions across the small land.

Army uniforms, still makeshift and not very uniform, are omnipresent. In the streets, in the busses, restaurants, bars, cinemas, one meets the Israeli soldiers, boys and girls. For mobilization in Israel has reached an almost unprecedented totality. Even people over the age of conscription have part-time war duties. The cafés of Tel Aviv are still open until midnight, but behind the blacked-out doors and windows there is less commotion and less light talk and laughter than in the old days. The one all-night café of Tel Aviv, "Kasit," which used to be the hangout of all the Bohemians, is still overcrowded, but even there it is the young soldier on leave from Jerusalem or from the Negev who is more noticeable than the poet or the artist.

The Whitehall of Israel is actually not Tel Aviv itself but a suburb called Kirya. For decades, the place was known as "Sarona"—a flourishing settlement

founded by German Templars. Tel Aviv, in its phenomenal growth, surrounded Sarona from all sides, and was ready to swallow it. Now, with the Germans of Sarona in exile, many of them in Australia, Israel has turned Sarona into the seat of the central government. A case of poetic justice—the Germans of Sarona lent active aid to Hitler's program for the destruction of the Jewish people, and now this German colony houses the offices of the Jewish state.

Although on the roads that have been built throughout the length and breadth of the Kirya, automobiles drive in and out, and people with attaché cases hurry in all directions, the Kirya still looks more like a village than a seat of government. If Mr. Sharet lets you wait too long in his ante-chamber and you get thirsty, you can reach out through the window of the Foreign Office and pick a tangerine straight off a tree.

Inside the small buildings of ex-Sarona, however, a government machine is busily at work. There is already a bureaucracy, red tape, rank, and formality, like those in any other government in the world. Still, the novelty of the situation has not yet worn off. While the Israelis have proved that they are capable of performing all the tricks of statehood, they still feel more at home in an open Russian shirt than in evening dress and top hat. On this subject, an amusing story is told about Ben-Gurion, the prime minister.

Straight from a state reception, Ben-Gurion hastened to a meeting of his Labor party in Tel Aviv. He arrived there in his diplomatic attire, striped trousers and all. In response to the surprised looks and laughter of his colleagues, he solemnly excused himself for coming to the meeting "in his working clothes."

V

ISRAEL's achievement of organized, orderly statehood in the first nine months of its existence is no less surprising than its military victories. An American, born and bred here, in a peaceful, orderly, highly efficient land which has not experienced a revolution or a war within its borders in almost a century, would not comprehend the extent of that accomplishment as quickly as those of us whose past experiences provide them with a wider range of parallels.

Seeing Israel in 1948 took me back thirty years to the days of the Russian Revolution. I recalled the complete disorganization of civilian life in Russia, the disruption of transport, mail, telegraph and telephone communication, the hunger and epidemics which did away with millions of people, the anarchy and lawlessness which ruled supreme for many long months. It took two years and more before the new regime succeeded in establishing its authority. It took five years and more before it could conquer hunger. It took longer before the Soviet government could claim that the new order was firmly established.

It is true that Russia is a vast empire, whereas Israel is a very little country. But this works both ways. Russia has unlimited resources and great natural wealth; Israel has almost none. Russia has practically inexhaustible reserves in manpower.

I could not help remembering the anarchy of Russia when I heard that on May 14, 1948, one opened the tap in Israel and water ran; one lifted the receiver and got his telephone connection; one turned the switch and electricity functioned. The postal service, the harbors, the roads with their repair service, the railroads (except for the parts passing through Arab-held areas); indeed, the entire machinery of government was taken over swiftly and put into operation almost overnight. Not one man died of hunger or exposure, despite the terrific shortages in food and housing.

These achievements are the more formidable when one recalls that the outgoing British administration of Palestine made no effort to hand over an orderly machinery of government to the new regime. On the contrary, because of their determined opposition to the creation of a Jewish state, the British did their utmost to make the job of Israel as difficult as possible. Until the last day of their withdrawal, they tried to prevent the formation of a new authority in the Holy Land. They scuttled the affairs of the various departments of government as if to make sure that with their departure from Palestine orderly government would stop forever.

Yet the British left Israel not only a negative but also a positive legacy. The positive legacy was of no mean proportions, and it has considerably facilitated Israel's speedy achieve-

ment of statehood. Whether the leaders of Israel know it or not, the present forms of government in the Jewish state are largely an imitation and adaptation of the forms established by the British administration. In an Israeli court of justice, the judge, prosecutor, and defense attorney address one another as "my learned friend." They speak in Hebrew, but it is translated from English. Not only the words, but the forms of exchange in the courtroom are English, not Jewish.

This is just one example of the adaptation of British forms, but many could be cited. The three decades of British rule in Palestine have left their imprint. Although the Israeli Government has eliminated English from Israeli passports, which are printed in Hebrew and French (probably as an act of political retaliation against England), the English language is widely used in the Israeli government. Officials trained in the various departments of the old Palestine administration are now active in the corresponding departments of the Israeli government. What could be more natural than to bring with them the forms, habits, routine, and language which they used for years in the same land and in the same work, though under different auspices?

THERE were also other factors which helped Israel to overcome the critical months of early statehood. One of those factors was completely unexpected. I refer to the flight of the bulk of the Arab population of Palestine.

There is not the slightest reason to doubt that, on the day of the British evacuation of Haifa, the Jews did not even dream of the occupation of the entire city. I know it on the best authority that the Jewish defense forces on that day moved to advance positions in order to prevent any Arab invasion of the Jewish parts of the town. Only when they saw that the Arabs were fleeing, deserting their homes, did the Jews move on and occupy the whole city. The same was true in most of the cities with mixed Jewish-Arab population. There were cases, in the early stages of the war, when Jews pleaded with their Arab friends not to submit to the panic of flight, to stay behind and live in the Jewish state as full-fledged citizens.

However, the Arabs fled in their hundreds of thousands. Only about 110,000 stayed behind. The many complications arising from the presence of a very sizable Arab minority in the Jewish state have thus disappeared. The problem of supplying food and all the necessities of life in a time of war and shortages to several hundreds of thousands of Arabs, disappeared by itself. Arab houses in Haifa, Jaffa, Acre, Tiberias, Jerusalem, Safed, Ramle, and other localities have been used to accommodate Jewish immigrants and thus ease, if only in small measure, the grave housing crisis. Keeping one hundred thousand "enemy aliens" under observation during the war was an incomparably easier job than having to watch half a million Arabs.

All this helped, but the achievement must be credited mainly to the people of Israel themselves and to their leaders. The road from Palestine to Israel was not covered with flowers. It was a thorny path, full of dangers and pitfalls. All the greater is the satisfaction of the Israelis today, when they can rightly say, "We have arrived."

Personal and Otherwise. *Mostly about our contributors*

••• The first *Harper's* article by ***Eliahu Ben-Horin***, author of "From Palestine to Israel" (p. 96), appeared in April 1944. That piece, "The Soviet Wooing of Palestine," predicted that after World War II Soviet Russia would shift from violent anti-Zionism to positive support for the Jewish State. In another article in *Harper's* (December 1944) Mr. Ben-Horin advocated a plan which then looked as far-fetched as his prediction in "The Soviet Wooing": that the Arabs of Palestine be transferred to Iraq and resettled there. Now with hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine facing a dismal future, the transfer idea appears to be a likely bet.

Recent news stories of an anti-Zionist campaign in Rumania counsel caution to anyone who ventures an I-told-you-so, but in view of the sound character of Mr. Ben-Horin's earlier judgments and prophecies, we feel we can bank on his word about present-day Israel: "It works." He has lived for many years in Palestine, where he was editor-in-chief of the Palestine News Service, worked the land, and built houses and roads. He is the author of *The Middle East: Crossroads of History*.

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COURIER-POST, Camden, N. J., Thursday, May 5, 1949

Israel's Admission Now To U. N. Is Called For

The United Nations General Assembly has set May 14 as a tentative date for adjournment.

It has also referred Israel's application for membership in the U. N. to another committee from the political committee, which is heavily loaded with other business and probably would not have been able to take up the bid during this session. This decision was taken by a vote of 42 to 12 over vigorous opposition of the Arab states. It should facilitate Israel's admission but even so the time is short for action if the Assembly is to adjourn on the expected date.

Fifty-two nations, including the United States, already have recognized the State of Israel, which has just celebrated the first anniversary of its founding, and it is difficult to understand why U. N. admission has been so long delayed.

The U. N. charter sets forth the right of all "peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the . . . charter and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations" to membership.

On those counts Israel must qualify, more so indeed than a number of states which already are members. For a time the issues of the new government's stability and its unsettled boundaries were raised against it by the Arab nations and their political allies. If the arguments ever had any merit they have none now. Recent agreements have settled the territorial question to all intents and purposes. The government's stability surely is no longer in doubt. Its democratic character also is generally recognized, though of course a democratic regime is not requisite to U. N. admission.

Two months ago the Security Council voted 9 to 1 to recommend Israel's admission to the U. N. Hitherto such action has always been followed by the Assembly's prompt concurrence, but in this case political maneuverings have caused continued delay, and are still going on for that object.

Not all the differences between Israel and the Arab states have yet been solved. The future of Jerusalem and of Arab refugees still must be threshed out. Those things will take time but are not a legitimate reason for denying membership meanwhile.

Israel's admission at the current session of the Assembly is clearly called for as an act of justice. More than that, it will further the cause of stability and peace in the Middle East.

ISRAEL ASSAILS U. S. ON ARAB RE-ENTRY

Spokesman Attacks Reported Pressure to Re-admit Some Who Fled During Fighting

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, June 9 — A spokesman for the Israeli delegation to the United Nations today attacked a reported attempt by the United States to induce Israel to start readmitting some of the Arabs who fled from Israeli territory during the fighting last year.

The spokesman did not go into details, but said that "as long as the Arab states refuse to enter into peaceful relationships with Israel, the return of masses of Arabs to Israel would be a quixotic undertaking, which could not possibly be reconciled with any normal concept of national security."

"Israel's position in this regard," he added, "has always been widely understood and accepted and it is, therefore, suprising to hear suggestions that it may now be ignored and that the actual return of the Arabs may be insisted upon before the over-riding security considerations have been satisfied."

The dispatch to which the spokesman referred said that United States representatives, both in Tel Aviv and in Lausanne, Switzerland, where the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission is now meeting, had expressed "extreme impatience" with Israel's refusal to permit at least some of the Arab refugees to return. The dispatch said that representatives of Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan had said they could not discuss a peace settlement with Israel until the refugee problem had been solved.

According to reports here, the Israeli representatives at Lausanne offered, some weeks ago, to allow the return of some refugees who were close relatives of the Arabs who had remained in Israeli territory. On May 21, it was reported, they offered to permit the return of 230,000 Arabs on condition that Egypt turned over to Israel the Gaza strip, where they now are.

Criticism Held Illogical

The Israeli spokesman here did not confirm these reports, but said that the only "constructive and concrete suggestions" had been made by Israeli representatives and that "we must express our surprise that these proposals have not received the consideration they deserved at the hands of those who have expressed such deep concern with the problem."

"It is obviously inappropriate to refuse to act on such proposals and simultaneously to criticize Israel for alleged inaction and non-cooperation," he added.

According to earlier reports here, the Conciliation Commission is now considering a proposal whereby Egypt would retain the Gaza coastal strip, while King Abdullah of Jordan would receive the Majdal area, north of Gaza, together with other territory now occupied by Israeli forces, which would provide King Abdullah with access to the Mediterranean.

The Israeli spokesman said this was an attempt to revive the Bernadotte plan, and contended that "these plans would involve the mutilation of Israel's territory and the transfer to some or all of the Arab states, which aggressively invaded Palestine, of a substantial part of the land which Israel holds under armistice agreements."

The spokesman said that the General Assembly resolution of last Dec. 11, which established the Conciliation Commission, called for "completely unprejudiced boundary negotiations," and emphasized that "the existing territorial position under the armistice agreement can be altered only by negotiations with the Arab states leading to peace agreements."

"It would be against the basic principle of the Dec. 11 resolution and inimical to the prospects of an early agreement for any outside influence or pressure to be exerted in favor of any preconceived view of what the final boundaries should be," the Israeli spokesman added.

"Israel has made detailed boundary proposals at Lausanne which are based squarely on the resolution of the General Assembly of Dec. 11. Israel will continue to bend all its efforts to achieve a peace settlement by negotiations through the good offices of the United Nations."

Israel Asked to Unbend

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TEL AVIV, Israel, June 9—From sources close to the Israeli Government it was learned today that the United States had requested Israel to unbend and admit a "certain" part of the refugees so that the Lausanne discussions might proceed. It appears that a stalemate has been reached and that someone has to concede to avert failure.

The Arabs refuse to discuss major points on the agenda until the refugees have been handled adequately and the Israelis are unwilling to proceed if they have to make this serious concession before they know what the returns will be.

The Israelis primarily do not admit responsibility for the refugees.

They further insist that while there is still a state of war they cannot very well admit thousands of Arabs who would be a direct threat to Israel's own security, especially when the Arab countries announce daily through the press and the radio that they are only marking time and will take "revenge" as soon as possible.

The Government also has asked just what concessions the United States is asking the Arabs to make. It was pointed out that Jerusalem still is cut off by the main road but manages to continue communications through a circuitous secondary highway; that the Arab controlled water system to Jerusalem still is not working; that the Naharayim power station still is in Arab hands and that all the important potash works at the Dead Sea are made commercially impotent because of the Arab refusal to supply the necessary fresh water and a convenient outlet for products.

In other words, Israel is wondering what the Arabs are supposed to concede under this plan to reaccommodate the refugees.

The net result seems to be that either the Arabs and Israelis will work out their own local problems, as they are now doing in the case of the Jerusalem boundaries, or the entire case must be presented to the World Court for adjudication.

Tel Aviv Offers Plan

By C. L. SULZBERGER
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, June 9 — The Israeli Government has proposed that the pre-war frontiers at the northern and southern extremes of the former mandated territory of Palestine should be accepted as the permanent borders between the new state of Israel and Lebanon and Egypt respectively.

This proposition, it was learned tonight, has been submitted to the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, now meeting with Israeli and Arab delegations in Lausanne in an effort to find a basis for peace in the Middle East.

The Israeli proposals, which have not been accepted by any Arab representative, furthermore suggested that the eastern frontier should be established approximately along the armistice line fixed by mediators when the fighting ceased.

This would be conditional upon the fate of Arab Palestine. The suggestion is based upon the premise that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan would absorb the Arab-occupied and Arab-held territory of the mandated area and that the armistice line — or virtually the same boundary—would become the frontier between Jordan and Israel.

The proposal on the southern frontier is involved directly with the refugee question. At present Egyptian forces are in occupation of a strip around the seaport of Gaza which originally was part of Palestine. There are an estimated 230,000 Arab refugees in that slice of land now.

As previously reported from Lake Success, Israel has offered to take back those refugees if the Gaza area is restored.

Unacceptable to Arabs

This idea has not been accepted by the Arabs. It has been disregarded, not formally rejected. The Arabs do not appear to have any instructions from their Governments to discuss territorial settlements but appear to be limited to seeking an agreement on the refugee question at this time.

It is known that the United States would be delighted if—including a deal on the Gaza strip and the Arabs it contains—Israel agreed to take back enough refugees to give the fledgling country an Arab population of 400,000. However, it is not expected that that many will be returned.

Reports that the United States State Department asked Israel to take back 800,000 are untrue. While about 900,000 Arabs are now being fed in relief centers, it is estimated by officials that not more than 700,000 of these are Palestine refugees. Thus the 800,000 figure, which has been circulated, would put Washington in a position of demanding the return to Israel of more refugees than there are.

Reports from Lausanne tonight indicated that Arabs are very irked by the Israeli occupation of a neutral zone around Jerusalem and are demanding that the conciliation commission force an evacuation.

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