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Reprints issued by the American Zionist Emergency council,  
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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 400,000 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 De-  
plored 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 whitening 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 Hadasah 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 3,500 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 unshakable 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 Sleyers representative in the United States of General Charles de Gaulles 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 endorsing 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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## JEW S 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 divi-

sion 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 Zion-

ists 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 pleading 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, Iraq 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 in-

sisted upon the rebirth of the very language of the Bible — classical Hebrew. It imposed upon the *Chalutzim*, or pioneers, the incapable 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-

tionless 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 luke-warm 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 of the world today—the problem of the tortured and uprooted Jews of Europe. One such attempt—the Wright-Compton resolution on Palestine (HR 418-419), hearings on which are being resumed today by the Foreign Affairs Committee—has the United States resolve its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the Jews of Palestine may be given the full opportunity for their rehabilitation as a free and democratic nation so that the Jewish people may ultimately be able to live here at last in a declaration of independence over the brutality practiced upon the Jews by the Nazis. By demanding free entry of Jews into Palestine, it calls for the abolition 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 equal rights wherever they may live, the immediate problem is to save as many of them as is possible by opening the doors to Palestine. 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 distracted by irrelevant theories as to whether or not the Jews will set up a Theocratic State in Palestine. It appears that Representative E. A. Tamm wasn't sure that the recommendation 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. But 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.

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

Reprinted from  
THE NEW YORK POST  
February 15, 1944

# Journal

Sunday

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## OUR PATH

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## Palestine

THERE ARE pending in Congress joint res-  
olutions, supported by the majority and  
minority leaders in the House and the Sen-  
ate, 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 re-  
constitute 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 Balfour Declaration, de-  
claring that it "viewed with favor the es-  
tablishment 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 Con-  
gress adopted a joint resolution, which Pres-  
ident Harding signed, to the effect that "the  
United States of America favors the estab-  
lishment in Palestine of a national home for  
the Jewish people." The country was man-  
dated to Great Britain by the League of  
Nations, and in the ensuing years enjoyed  
a remarkable growth in agriculture, indus-  
try 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 ominous thing oc-  
curred. The British Government issued the  
so-called Palestine White Paper, restricting  
future land purchases and providing that  
after March, 1944, there should be a com-  
plete stoppage of Jewish immigration into  
Palestine. This act was plainly in contra-  
vention of the Balfour pledge, and was de-  
nounced in the House of Commons by Win-  
ston Churchill as "a breach and a repudia-  
tion." 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 Pales-  
tine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to  
that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, per-  
secuted, wandering Jews whose intense, un-  
changing, 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 ag-  
gressors; nor did it have its designed ef-  
fect 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  
irdefensible.

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 au-  
thentic 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 ad-  
vantageous 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 recla-  
mation 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 mil-  
lion 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."

## THE DEVIL

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THE *Nation* Hymn to Free Enterprise

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March 18, 1944

**Palestine Run-Around**

*Was General Marshall Duped?*

BY I. F. STONE

**Does Europe Need Germany?**

BY LOUIS FISCHER

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

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# Palestine Run-Around

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 10

**M**R. 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 1923, 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 1923 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-

March 18, 1944

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 eagerness, 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 Eakley 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 non-committal, 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 politicians 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: hands 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 Declaration, 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 farm-

ing 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 city-folk 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-deserts 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 war-time, 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 com-

parable 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 making 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 empire 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 Nubas Pasha's political machine? No spokesmen? What about Ibn Saud, master of Saudi Arabia; or Nubas Pasha, premier of Egypt, or the Iraqi 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 Bellin 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 landlords 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 5500 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 boots. 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 harping on 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 Palestinians 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 \$65,000

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 \$65,000 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. 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 Aron Ben-Eliezer, Theodore Bennahum, Prof. Pinhas Delougaz, Capt. Jeremiah Halpern, 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 "tempo-

rary trustee of the Hebrew Nation's interest," and "to take the first step to re-establish Hebrew self-determination in 1,800 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.—An 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.

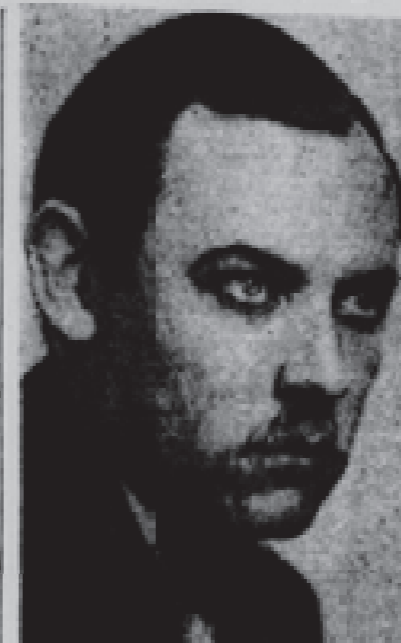
Bergson disclosed the formation of the "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation" at a press conference in a newly acquired building on Washington's "Embassy Row" which Bergson referred to as the committee's "embassy." A Jewish and an American flag flew over the entrance of the building, which is as yet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

eration" were linked with an "extremist clique" which had been outlawed in Palestine because of its "anti-democratic and terrorist 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 A.J.C. Interim Committee are Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Wise and Henry Monsky of Omaha.

Seek Seat at Peace Table

Undisturbed by the furor 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 Aron Ben Elizer, Theodore Bennahum, Pinhas Delougaz, Jeremiah Halpern, Eri Jabotinsky and Samuel Merlin. Jabotinsky is the son of Vladimir Jabotinsky, one of the early pioneers of Zionism.

DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1944

## Seek Nation Status for Jews

Washington, D. C., May 18 (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.

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 18 (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 \$65,000 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. 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."

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 Con-

ference, 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 unscrupulous 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.

# Zionists Assail Committee for Hebrew Nation

Liberation Group Opens 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 Ely Kook, who became a leading Palestinian rabbi, emphasized that the committee does 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 Palestinian. They are Arieh Ben Eliezer, born in Poland; Theodor Benna-haum, born in Russia; Professor Pinhas Delougaz, born in Poland; Captain Jeremiah Helporn, born in Palestine; Eri Jabotzky, 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" 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 "rebirth 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 or 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 Mediterranean 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 project, 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.

## 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.

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 90,000 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 value.

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-Jordan, 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 800,000 acre feet.

"A major feature of the overall 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 Huleh 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 1,280 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.

# The Washington Post

'For Liberation of Jews'

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

By Gloria Lubar and  
Edward F. van der Veer

OCT 3 1944

From his \$63,000 residence at 2315 Massachusetts ave. n.w., 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 posing 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 I-A

Upon receiving this letter, the British turned the matter over to the American Selective Service, where he was immediately classified I-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 "indispensability."

"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. Bergson'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 permit.

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 23, 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 Passen, 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 Federations 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 com-patriot 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 2313 Massachusetts ave., w., a highly restricted residential area, without an occupancy permit.

Police said they told Bergson when he moved into the quarter-ment that if he wished to conduct a busi-

ness 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. n.w., 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," Senator 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 103 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 Williamsowsky, 4402 15th st. n.w.—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 Williamsowsky 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 neglected 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 Forath, 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. Lesia, 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.

### Withdraw 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. Kliezsky, 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.

## 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 endorsed by the principal Allied powers. It was given specific American endorsement 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 Bogr 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 direct 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 irrevocable contracts in matters of government, in religion and in culture prevailing in the different Arab lands are eliminated, an impossible task, of course, which will take many years 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 bogey 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. YASUDA,

Professor, New School for Social Research.

New York, Dec. 27, 1944.

# Reader's Scope

December

25¢

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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, none of them Jews, to present a short, factual report on the whole question.*

## **The White Paper**

Johannes Steel

**T**HE 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 Pales-

tine 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*.

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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. These 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 Nations 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, Jeru-

salem 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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Dr. Daniel L. Marsh is President of Boston University and Chairman of the Executive Council of the American-Palestine Committee.

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

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

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democratic Jewish commonwealth."

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 Claf Lowdermilk

**I**N 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

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Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, one of the foremost soil conservation experts in the world, is Assistant Chairman of the Soil Conservation Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

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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 most 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

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 1300 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 crystal-line 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 GIs 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 Ameri-

can 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  
Professor of Social Philosophy, New  
York School of Social Work

**T**HERE 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 is-

sue when, as a matter of fact, it is at bottom one of educational and social dimensions. Small groups of landowners, the "effendis," 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 reunions 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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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."

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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.

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 co-operatives, 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 33,000 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 250,000 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

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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 holds: "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 *talk* 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-

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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 thou-

sands 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 ideas 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 1938, 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 Muslim 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 co-operation 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

## THE NEW YORK TIMES

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1945.

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. WISK,  
Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council.

JUDITH G. EPSTEIN,  
President, Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America.

RABBI LEON GELMAN,  
Chairman, Mizrahi 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 Aasel 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 gleaming 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 derive 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.

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 holds 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 hardest 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."

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 endorsements 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.

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.



## 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 1933 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 Iraqi 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 Iraqi leaders fought on the side of our enemies. The Syrians and Lebanese first gave us little or no help, then helped Vichy. Transjordan 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 non-dilemma blot 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 indomitable 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 Christian 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 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—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.

# 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 Nathan*  
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 estab-  
lishment of a Jewish common-  
wealth 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 Fifth 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 limitation 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—we do better 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 in 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 cat-calls 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 Monks, 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 appraising 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 as the 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. Abba Hillel Silver declared: "From here on, every Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish Liberation."



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

## Jews Told to 'Mobilize' to Win Homeland in Palestine

50,000  
Overflow Garden  
At Zionist Rally

By BARNETT BOLDEN  
"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 redeemed. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the other joint chairman of the council, gave unqualified endorsement to the call.

### Yom Kippur

For years we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great Britain's pledge 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 injustice 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 reestablished.

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, awaited 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 Gar-

den on 49th and 50th Sts., and Eighth Ave.  
Speakers described the mass demonstration as the most militant since 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 im-

patience 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 crime to believe that this implies only passive resistance."

On the other hand, Bernard Joseph, political head of the Jewish Agency, declared the "Zionist" but is beginning to contract with bitter-

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 violence 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—whom were held responsible for blocking full immigration or fulfillment of the Zionist pledge.

These included Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, and Lord Halifax.

Again the crowd roared 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 pecked with the blue and black 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 Rep. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald*, who declared himself a Zionist, "not because I am a Jew, but because I am a Christian."

Twice, La Guardia had in panic for long ovations. Once when he exclaimed: "I say to the State Dept., we demand some display of statesmanship and not of schism (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 looking hope of escaping. One, from Elrich Neillman, 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 Gov. Eisenhower on the problem of Jewish displaced persons. Maj. Nadich called:

### Peril to Friendship

"After survey visits all Jewish displaced persons camps American people, find overwhelming majority desire immigration. Even

Yisroel (Palestine). . . estimate eighty percent want European Jewry. . . day Palestine doors open."

Besides the mass press, Halifax, telegrams were the rally to President La Guardia and British Prime Minister Attlee.

The message to the President was: "If the present policy regarding Palestine is continued, it will not only delay the Jewish tragedy, but it will also damage the peace in the world."

Unreserved support in the United States of the decision to establish a Jewish Commonwealth was concluded:

As in the past, be friends in Europe want our youth in Palestine to regard you as men who act quickly and do not let damage be done. . . . thus, we speak for the number of European and all walked the

Photos by Wilbert H. Blancher and Arthur Loeb, PH

# 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 blockaded 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 unredempted 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 schismoz (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.

## "Attlee a Chamberlain?"

Inside, Mr. 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.

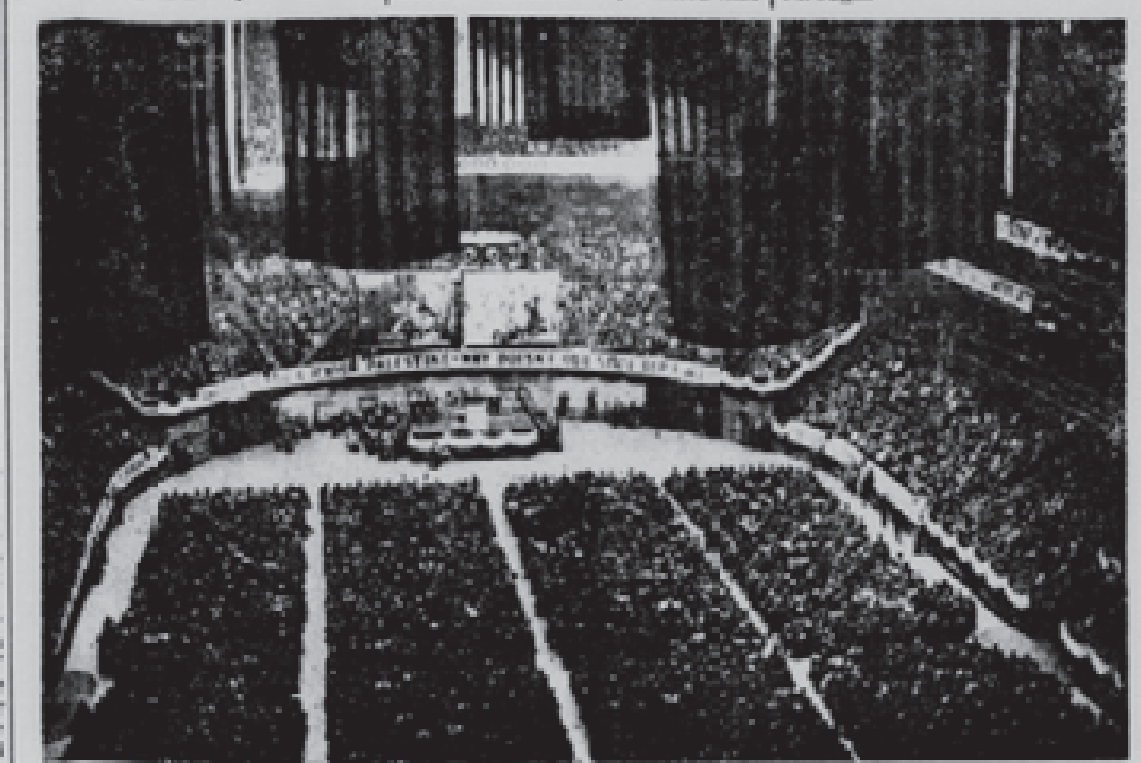
The audience was, for the most part, solemn and stern. But it hissed and booed when mention was made of the "few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews" who oppose Zionism. And it cheered mention of President Truman and of Jewish hopes in Palestine.

## 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 75 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 a ter ter 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."



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.

New York Daily Mirror - October 1, 1945

## 22,000 at Garden Rally Hear Dewey Ask Open Palestine

War-time 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 22,000 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 22,000 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 expression."

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 American 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 declared 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 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 Fifth and Fifth Streets at 25,000 to 40,000.

## Mayor Gets Ovation

Mayor F. H. La Guardia made an unscheduled 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, endorsed 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 these 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 of 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 effort 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 bitter 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 involved 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."

## Nazis 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 admission 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 Menckley, 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.

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.

## 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.

# 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 Bagdadi 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 Transjordan, 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. Pacans 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



Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz

Viceroy of the Hejaz and Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia

on the very eve of his escape to Rommel's headquarters. Ibn Saud and King Yabba 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."

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 impos-

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 (3,700,000 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 *Sa'at-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, 1943, 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 Mufid'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.

# 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 bogey?

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 desir-

able 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 when 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

# 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 endorsed 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 which 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 22 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."

# 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 politicians 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, Brit-

ain 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 Pal-

estine 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 Abdel 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.

(From Alliance, Inc.)

## British Policy Breaks Down

BY FRED KIECHWEY

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 subverted—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 For-

eign 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 guarantees 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 1923, 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.

# 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 justi-

fied. 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 Staatsbürger 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. 29.

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 in 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 endorsed 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 unflinching 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 28 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."



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

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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 Myster, 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-Muslim 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 Muter, 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 more 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]

**BEITAN TROOPS ARREST JEWISH LEADERS IN BELSEN CAMP FOR PROTEST ON PALESTINE POLICY**

PAISE, 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 manhandled 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, O. 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 50 feet from the office.

**JEWISH CAMP OFFICE BURNED—TYPENRITERS 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 chauluzim 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 ARMSING 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 Khail el Shothk, commander of a Hebron gang which played a prominent role in the disturbances of 1936. Abdulla Khail had been hiding since 1938, 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 magnificent 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 dreams and other equipment necessary would be forthcoming.

**ARAB VILLAGERS RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE IN RIOTS: FEAR CONSEQUENCES**

It is reported reliably that Abdulla Khail 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 Kilaia, which is near Hebron 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

VOLUME  
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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*

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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 con-

sumption 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 — potent medicines, serums, vaccines, cosmetics, vitamins, salves and even penicillin — are found on drug-gists' 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 Beer-sheba 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 *khamisin* — 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 \$640,000,000 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 \$515,000,000 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 (land-owning 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 Histadruth, 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 *jellah*, 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 615 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.

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.



DR. POLING

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 Kinche

(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 Azam 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 Ilah 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 "Azertaijan" 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 Egypt 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.