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Reprints issued by the American Zionist Emergency council,
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WILL WAR CRIMINALS DETERMINE PALESTINE'S DESTINY?

The man giving the Nazi salute in this picture is Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem. The troops are those of the Moslem SS Divisions, organized by the ex-Mufti along with the Arab Legion to serve with the German Army. This close collaborator with Adolf Hitler, who engineered the pro-Axis revolt of 1941 in Iraq, is still not listed among the war criminals. He lives comfortably in a villa in France, while his friends and lieutenants clamor for his return to Palestine.

"Germany Was Not Our Enemy"

Another war criminal, Jamal el Husseini, the ex-Mufti's cousin and chief of staff, was released recently by the British and allowed to return to Palestine. The British not only readmitted this active pro-fascist, but gave him complete freedom of action. And last week he was invited to present the Arab case before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine.

Encouraged by this singular forgetfulness of the British as to his pro-Axis record, Jamal el Husseini spoke cockily before the Anglo-American Committee. "Germany was not our enemy, and, therefore, we had not interest in the war," he said.

The ex-Mufti's second-in-command stated only a half-truth. He declared that the Third Reich was not the enemy of the Arabs, but he forgot to mention that both he and his notorious cousin, along with most of the political leaders of the Arab lands, took a very active interest in the war—on the side of the Nazis.

The Arab Rulers Are Neutral on Fascism!

When one of the Committee members reminded Jamal of the hostile role played by Arab leaders in the war, Mr. Husseini replied: "I have read somewhere that it was a Jewish war anyway."

Now we know. The rape of Poland and Czechoslovakia, the brutal subjugation of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, the horrors inflicted on the Balkans and Russia, the Blitz over England—all this was "a Jewish war anyway," in which the Arabs had no interest.

But Jamal el Husseini went one step further. He told the Committee that the Arabs are spiritual^{ly} neutral on the question of fascism.

One cannot be neutral on fascism! One is either for it or against it. The Arab kings and chieftains are for it. Fascism suits perfectly the type of society which they are ruling and trying to preserve.

Why Aren't They In The Dock?

Justice and decency demand that Jamal el Husseini and the ex-Mufti stand trial together with the other war criminals. But instead, British colonial imperialism allows Jamal to make a grandstand play before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Jerusalem. And slowly but surely the way is being cleared for the ex-Mufti to return to Palestine, where he is certain to resume his program of anti-Jewish terror.

It is deplorable that members of the Anglo-American Committee did not bother to interrogate Jamal as to his own shameful deeds before and during the war. He was treated with such consideration that when he was asked "whether in view of the Mufti's record, the Palestine Arab Higher Committee will feel that he enjoyed the confidence of the Arabs," Jamal felt encouraged to answer: "Yes."

Falsifying The Record To Shield The Ex-Mufti

Significantly enough, this portion of Jamal el Husseini's testimony, as well as the statement of another Arab representative, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, admitting that the ex-Mufti had been actively associated with the Axis, were omitted from the stenographic report of the Committee's proceedings. Clifton Daniels in the *New York Times* (March 10, 1946) and other press correspondents reported that this caused a heated discussion among members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, with certain British members seemingly determined to keep this damning evidence off the record, as, in their opinion, the ex-Mufti's wartime activities were irrelevant to the inquiry.

There is as yet no indication that this all-important testimony has been re-incorporated into the text of the official record.



Enemies Supported, Allies Persecuted

Thus we see one of the most brazen imperialistic intrigues develop before our eyes. Hitler's adviser on Arab affairs is tenderly protected. His cousin, who was caught red-handed taking a leading part in the pro-Nazi uprising in Iraq, is now recognized as the chief spokesman of Palestine's Arabs.

But Jews, who gave over one million soldiers to the United Nations and six million victims to Hitler's extermination camps, are barred from Palestine by every device known to Britain's Colonial Office.

The Streichers, Laval, Quislings and Joyces of every nation had to pay the price for their acts of treason. Even Petain, France's foremost hero of World War I, did not escape punishment. But Amin el Husseini and Jamal el Husseini are being treated as "high contracting parties" in the negotiations for the settlement of the Palestine problem.

Why are these war criminals being shielded?

Why are the records of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry being "doctored" to protect Nazi collaborationists?

Americans who fought the War for Freedom and Democracy want to know!

**AMERICAN ZIONIST
EMERGENCY COUNCIL**

342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

How Britain Recruited Pro-Nazis And Spent \$20,000,000 on Jails

By RUTH GRUBER

New York Post Foreign Correspondent

Palestine is a police state. Officially, there is no mail censorship, but nobody dares write honestly in a letter. Officially, there is no wire-tapping, but nobody dares talk freely on the telephone.

Officially, the war is over, but Palestine still has a curfew; no automobile can enter the city gates of Jerusalem after 6 p. m. Each night the jail in Jerusalem fills up with people caught entering the city at three minutes past six or later. If your car gets one flat tire on the road, you are likely to spend the night in jail until your friends learn that you are missing and come to bail you out.

Palestine is a police state. There are 124 huge police stations in this tiny country. The British have spent five million English pounds (20 million dollars) building police stations. They have spent about half a million pounds for education.

One of the problems discussed almost daily before the Anglo-American Committee was Palestine's absorptive capacity. The absorptive capacity for jails never came up.

Jails Everywhere

As you drive through the country past collective farms and villages, where only a few years ago there was nothing but parched land and biblical stones, you see at steady intervals huge concrete buildings dominating the hills. Once you might have thought, as I did, that these buildings were giant hospitals to care for the disease-ridden Arab fellahin, or agricultural centers, or universities spreading the culture of Shakespeare and Einstein to the Jewish and Arab population.

But you learn very soon that money is not spent by the British for culture and education and health; the mandatory government spends its money for police stations and jails. Palestine's most costly architecture, typically enough, is prison architecture.

The most striking parallel between the Ireland of the last war and the Palestine of this one is in the police. The Royal Irish Constabulary, the infamous "Black and Tans," who inflamed the whole world for their outrages against the citizenry, were recruited and sent to Palestine.

Their technique in the Holy Land was the technique they had learned in Eire. Members of the force broke into citizens' homes, raided for arms, confiscated correspondence and generally sub-

stituted a "Hate the Jews" policy for their old "Hate the Irish."

Horst Wessel Heard Again

At the outbreak of the war with Nazi Germany, the British recruited fascists from the Mosley gang. These men, who loathed the idea of fighting their friends, the Nazis, embraced with passion the idea of fighting Jews.

They walked around the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, the city built by Jews, singing the Horst Wessel song. They marched into crowded market places giving the "Heil Hitler" salute. They drove in British police trucks with swastikas chalked on the side. Underneath the swastikas was the familiar slogan—"Kill the Jews."

To be sure, the job of being a policeman in a police state is not easy. The police know they are hated; they never know when they may get a bullet in the back.

It is as impossible for the British to keep morale high among the police force in Palestine as it was to keep morale in Ireland when the Black and Tans looted, drank, wrecked whole towns and shot prominent Sinn Feiners who were often the most respected men in their communities. While the police were alienating the friendship of the world, the Irish patriots and now the Palestine patriots were winning new friends each day.

Some Are Decent

Palestine is a police state—but even some of its policemen are decent human beings. There are some among them who so loathe the tasks the British gave them that they have quit the forces in disgust. I met a former British policeman who told me that the tactics of the forces had made him pro-Zionist and he was now fighting for the Jews.

During the war the Palestine police were conscripted and not permitted to leave to enlist in the Army or the Air Forces to shoot Nazis instead of Jews. Some of them actually committed felonies in order to be locked up and dishonorably fired from the Palestine police force so they could get into an honest war.

Palestine is a police state—and the long arm of the police stretched even to Switzerland, where the Anglo-American Committee was writing its report. A Capt. Ayers came to Lausanne from Jerusalem to "guard" the committee members. When the committee recommended that 100,000 Jews be allowed to enter Palestine, Ayers told several committee members, "You don't know how much easier you've made the job for the Palestine police."

Cops Behind the Wire

The force is as terrified now of the young men and women in the Haganah, the citizens' army, as the Black and Tans were of the young men and women in the Sinn Fein. The joke in Palestine is that the ones who are really behind barbed wires are the policemen, who lock themselves up in terror at night.

Most of the attacks by the three Resistance organizations, the Haganah, an army of Minute Men to which almost every able-bodied Jew belongs, and by the smaller movements, the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang, are directed against the police.

Why? I asked that question every time I spoke to a member of one of the underground armies. The answers were clear—the police are the arm of the British Foreign Office. The police are the special organ, the eyes and ears of the White Paper regime.

The police are the vanguard of the move to suppress Jewish immigration. The police treat, and have treated, the people brutally, using concentration camp methods to get information from political suspects. The police use agents provocateurs. Some of the police are anti-Semitic and almost all of them are anti-colonial. The police are hated because Palestine is a police state.

Jews and Arabs Get Along Well— Until Britain Raises False Issues

By RUTH GRUBER *New York Post Foreign Correspondent*

Since my return to America, almost everyone I meet asks me, "What is the chance of an Arab holy war breaking out if the 100,000 Jews are allowed into Palestine? Can the Arabs and Jews really get along?" Most of my friends in America seem to picture the Arabs and Jews constantly at each other's throats.

Actually, the most extraordinary sight in Palestine is the way the ordinary Arabs and Jews get along.

They sit in buses together; they eat in the same cafes; they drink cocktails at the same tables in the cocktail bar of the King David Hotel; young Arab intellectuals take Jewish girls to dinner.

The majority of the Arabs are no more anti-Semitic than the majority of the Jews are anti-Gentile. Almost every Arab spokesman I met in Egypt, Palestine or Iraq made a point of telling me that the Arabs are cousins of the Jews, they belong to the "Sems" and have a common history and a common heritage.

The bitter truth about Palestine is that it is to the British Foreign Office's interest to sow the seeds of Arab-Jewish hatred. Britain wants to make the world believe that only an army of occupation can keep peace in the Holy Land.

Divide and Rule

These are familiar tactics with the British. They used the same tactics of "divide and rule" in Ireland. There were grave and historic differences between the Catholic South and the Protestant North, but without British intervention, the Irish might have worked out their domestic differences. To this day, almost every Irishman blames the British for aggravating the differences between the North and South, and for causing the partition of Ireland.

In Palestine, the British role is even crasser than it was in Ireland. History did not keep the Jews and Arabs irrevocably apart; but the British are trying their utmost to speed up history and exploit whatever differences there are between the two peoples.

The most flagrant official act of the Foreign Office in fomenting hostility between the Arabs and Jews was in bringing back to

Palestine that leading Nazi fellow-traveler, Jamal Hussein, the cousin of the Grand Mufti and his chief henchman, Jamal's presence in Palestine, his leadership of the Arabs in their testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, were a clear index of the Foreign Office's determination to give oomph and a semblance of unity to the Arab case.

Arabs Are Suspicious, Too

Yet the Arabs lose no love for the British, despite the help they have got from them. The Arabs are as suspicious of the Foreign Office as are the Jews. The British rule the Middle East, and everyone in the Middle East hates them. In Egypt I was told it would be safer not to wear a war correspondent's uniform, for fear the Egyptians would mistake me for an English soldier and make life unpleasant if not actually dangerous.

Friends of the English people—and I count myself among them—are appalled at the betrayal of English principles by the Foreign Office. They were suspicious when the British appointed a commission to act upon President Truman's request that 100,000 refugees be permitted to enter Palestine. Now, when the commission, after four months of study and investigation, recommends unanimously that the 100,000 be admitted, the British Foreign Office seems determined to scuttle the report.

Such tactics are not helping the British make friends and influence people. Not only is the Foreign Office doing almost nothing to end what it calls "Arab-Jewish hostility" but its officials are guilty of deliberate acts of incitement.

One of the nastiest jobs of fomenting trouble that I have heard about concerned American GIs. During the war, some of our soldiers were beaten up by Palestinian Jews for "chasing around" with Jewish girls. The men who did the beating up also dropped some leaflets saying they were members of an organization called "The Sons of Pinchas," Bnai Pinchas, and that they were avenging the sins against Jewish womanhood.

A British Home

Investigation showed that there was no such organization; the small group was made up of paid agents of the British. Apparently, some Colonial Office servant had been reading the Bible, found the Phineas story in Numbers, and decided to introduce a De Maupassant touch to the problems of the Holy Land. In the Bible, Phineas, the grandson of Aaron the priest, extirpates an Israelite who had sinned with a woman from foreign land. Taking a jewel, Phineas "went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through."

An example of how the British fight any effort at co-operation between the Arabs and Jews occurred in 1940, when a group of professors of the Hebrew University, some Arab intellectuals and the Anglican Bishop discussed establishing a society of British, Arabs and Jews to promote better understanding. The Anglican Bishop, after giving the group his blessings, invited some of his Arab friends to join the society. One of them was Dr. Ahmad Samih el-Khalidi, director of the Arab Teachers Training School in Jerusalem and Arab assistant to the Director of Education (an Englishman, of course) in Palestine.

Dr. Khalidi, enthusiastic about such a society, went to the Palestine government to get permission, as a government official, to participate. He was rebuked by the British Director of Education, who told him not to interfere in

"politics" and that British-Arab-Jewish relations would be settled without societies.

about Mr. Chatley

In labor relations, the mandatory government helped establish Arab trade unions in co-operation with Arab employers who were delighted to limit the possibility of Jewish influence upon Arab laborers. Jewish influence might have resulted in demands by the Arab workers for higher wages, better living and better working conditions.

It is significant that one of the government people responsible for this kind of opposition to Arab-Jewish co-operation was a Mr. Chatteley, member of the British Labor Party, and formerly an official of one of the trade unions in England.

Despite the efforts of the Palestine government, the Arab workers and the Jewish workers still go out on strike together.

There is a simple solution to the problem of the Arab versus the Jew. It is not to bring in more British or American troops now demanded by Aithee, but to get the British out of Palestine. The Arabs and Jews will solve their problems, and reach an understanding much sooner alone than they will with hostile troops and police around them.

Each committee sent by the British to "solve" the problem of Palestine creates new friction between the two groups. The Anglo-American Committee helped sharpen that friction by forcing the two protagonists to develop their case like the two Biblical women carrying the baby to Solomon.

Civil War Loans

Certainly today, with the testimony still burning in the minds of the people of Palestine, there is tension, and on the part of the leaders like Jamal Hussein, there is a determination to create some trouble.

But this trouble will be nothing compared to the civil war which may break out this summer if the British succeed in their obvious program to scuttle the report, make the members of the commission look like a group of monkeys, and leave President Truman, having asked Attlee for the 100,000 which the commission gave him, now holding the well known British bag.

THERE IS A LIMIT TO WHAT EVEN JEWS CAN ENDURE

An Appeal to the Conscience of Civilized Mankind

We make this statement because we are outraged by the continued insensitiveness of that portion of the world which we call civilized to the greatest human tragedy of all time.

6,000,000 Jews have met horrible death in Hitler's extermination camps and ghettos.

1,500,000 or less are left alive in Europe today—most of them homeless, unwanted and destitute, kept alive by one aim: to quit the scene of their degradation and emigrate to Palestine.

100,000—at least a fraction of those for whom continued existence in Europe has become impossible—*could be saved immediately*. But at the very moment when action is most sorely needed, there are new delays and further equivocation.

We submit that there can be *no* valid reason for failure to act now! The European war ended a year ago. Dean Earl Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania, was sent by the President of the United States to investigate the condition of the Jewish survivors in Europe. He submitted a report to the President which made it clear that any delay in the transfer of these unfortunate people to Palestine would result in misery and death. President Truman thereupon sent a letter to Prime Minister Attlee on August 31, 1945 requesting that 100,000 of these displaced European Jews be permitted to emigrate to Palestine at once.

The request was rejected by the British Government. Instead, an investigation of the situation—another investigation!—was proposed by Great Britain. The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was set up.

After four months of investigation this committee unanimously recommended what President Truman proposed

in the first place—the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. During all these months of investigation Jews who could be leading useful, happy lives in Palestine, suffered and died.

One would think that not a moment would now be lost in carrying out this act of elemental humanity. But no! "Conditions" which had been considered and rejected by the Committee are now being demanded by Prime Minister Attlee. And our own State Department continues in practice a procedure of "consultations" which may delay indefinitely the attainment of the noble objective to which our Government is fully committed.

Are we to condemn these pitiful Jewish survivors to an indefinite hopeless existence in the internment camps where they now languish? Are they to be left at the mercy of the hostile populations that surround them? Every observer who has recently returned from Europe has warned that there may be mass-suicide among these terribly harassed people who have for so long lived under tension and strain unless they are permitted to leave for Palestine without delay.

America refuses to be an accomplice in such an outrageous act of inhumanity!

These displaced Jews can be moved to Palestine in a matter of weeks. The American people want them saved! We look to President Truman to stand firm on this matter and to direct the State Department to implement what is now the accepted policy of the United States.

We look to the British Government to carry out the unanimous recommendation of its own representatives on the Joint Committee, calling for the immediate transfer of these 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

We demand justice for a tragic people now.

Louis Adamic
Maxwell Anderson
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Roger N. Baldwin
Tallulah Bankhead
Manchester Boddy
Van Wyck Brooks
Henry Seidel Canby
Eddie Cantor
James B. Carey
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Dr. Emmanuel Chapman
Marquis Childs
Dr. George L. Cross
Ely Culbertson
Walter Damrosch
Jonathan Daniels

Prof. John Dewey
Major-General William Donovan
Melvyn Douglas
Dr. Stephen Duggan
Bishop Angus Dun
Prof. Albert Einstein
Major George Fielding Elliot
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Gene Fowler
Frank Gannett
Lewis S. Gannett
James W. Gerard
Frank Gervasi
Dorothy Gish
Samuel Goldwyn
Morton Gould
William Green

Bishop Francis J. Haas
Moss Hart
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. B. J. Hovde
Quincy Howe
Fannie Hurst
Dr. Alvin S. Johnson
Dr. Robert L. Johnson
Rockwell Kent
Serge Koussevitzky
Albert Lasker
Herbert M. Lehman
Dr. Emil Lengyel
Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman
Dr. Walter G. Lowdermilk
Isador Lubin

Henry Luca
Thomas Mann
Prof. Kirtley F. Mather
Prof. Francis E. McMahon
George Meany
Edgar Ansel Mowrer
Paul Muni
Phillip Murray
Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr
Louis Nizer
Dr. Harry A. Overstreet
Dr. Raymond F. Palv
Rev. Norman Vincent Peale
Ferdinand Pecora
Brock Pemberton
Dr. Daniel A. Pelling
Walter P. Reuther

Quentin Reynolds
Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen Rhoads
Arthur M. Schlesinger
Dr. Harlow Shapley
Dr. Guy Emery Shippen
Spyros Skouras
Rev. Ralph W. Sockman
Estelle M. Sternberger
Rex Steel
Nathan Straus
Herbert Bayard Swope
Mark Van Doren
Walter Wanger
Thornton Wilder
Ira Wolfert
Dr. Mary E. Woolley
Darryl Zanuck

MASS DEMONSTRATION

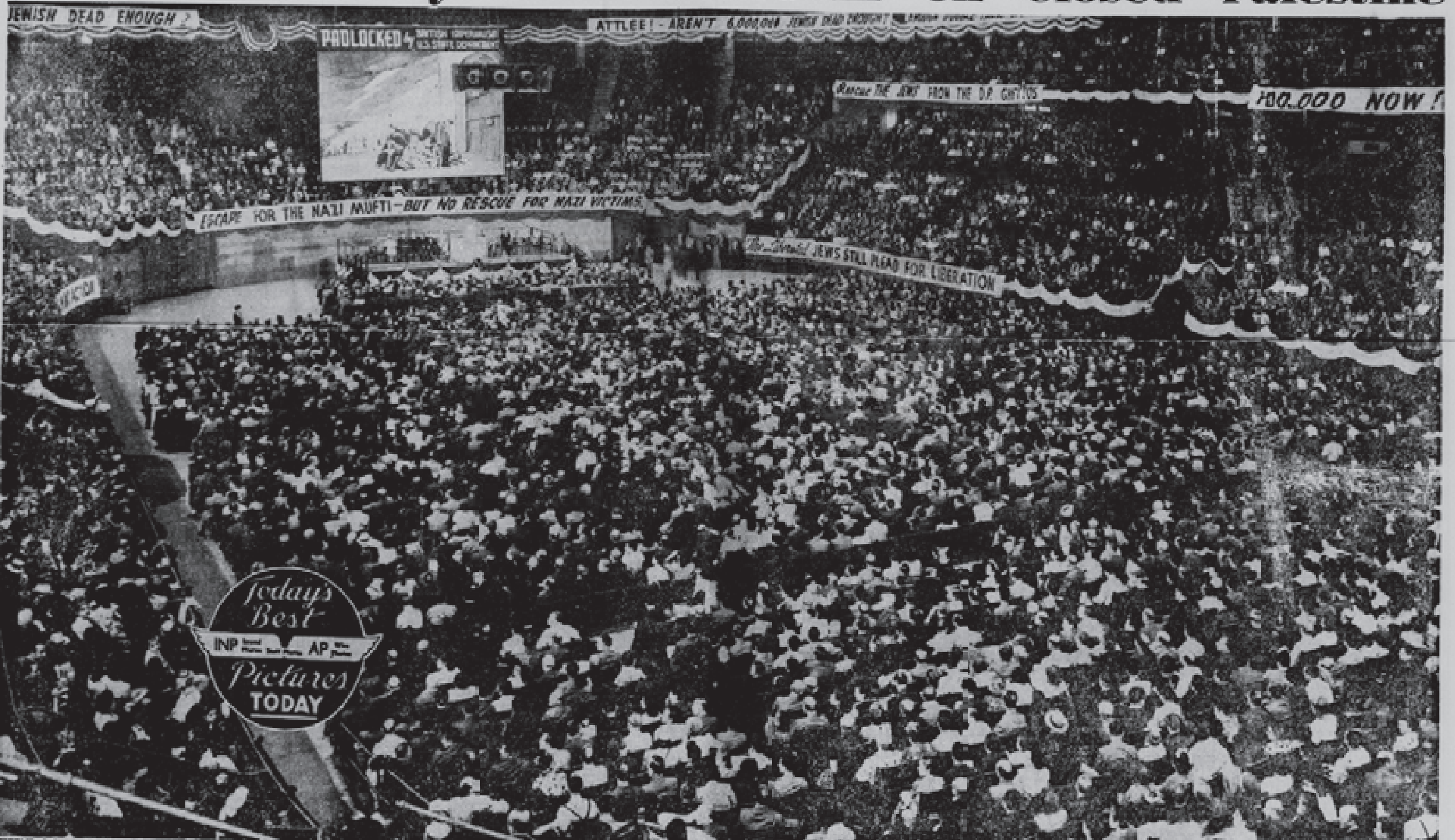
SPONSORED BY AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY

JUNE 12, 1946

New York Journal American - June 13, 1946

As Garden Rally Assailed Bevin on Closed Palestine



JEWISH DEAD ENOUGH? Thousands jam Madison Square Garden in a mass demonstration demanding that Britain give up its mandate of Palestine and open the country to Europe's displaced Jews. The rally, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, came on the heels of British Foreign Secretary Bevin's rejection of such a proposal. Banners lining the auditorium attack Britain in such terms as "Are the Four Freedoms for all but the Jews?" and "Escape for the Nazi Mufti, but no rescue for the Nazi victims." Speakers included Abba Silver, Cleveland rabbi, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

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New York Herald-Tribune - June 13, 1946

Bevin Assailed at Garden Rally, His Speech Is Called Anti-Jewish

Zionist Leaders Blast Foreign Minister's Talk as 'Reminiscent of Nazis at Their Worst'; 'Cheap Slur' Against Americans Also Charged

Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, was accused of anti-Jewish bias and his arguments yesterday for postponing migration of European Jews to Palestine were bitterly denounced last night at a rally of 12,000 persons at Madison Square Garden.

The rally, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, was called to protest the delay in admitting to Palestine 100,000 Jews from displaced-persons camps in Germany and Austria, as requested last year by President Truman and recom-

mended unanimously in April by an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

Protests against the return to the Middle East of the pro-Axis Mufti of Jerusalem were overshadowed by the denunciations of the British Foreign Minister and the Labor Government.

By coincidence, the rally came a few hours after Mr. Bevin, address-

ing a Labor party conference in England, rejected the plan for a mass migration to Palestine this year and ascribed the agitation for it in the United States, "and particularly in New York," to a desire to keep most of the 100,000 out of New York.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland rabbi and president of the Zionist Organization of America, called the latter remark a "cheap slur on the American people and a so-called bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst."

Asserting that Mr. Bevin had given his word to the Anglo-American committee that its recommendations, if unanimous, would be carried out, Dr. Silver said that "American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in Congress, who are discussing a loan to Britain," and inquire

whether the United States can afford to make a loan to a government whose pledged word seems worthless."

He charged that the British Foreign Minister "has repeatedly given evidence of virulent anti-Jewish bias" and questioned whether Mr. Bevin's attitude is that of the British people.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman with Dr. Silver of the Zionist Emergency Council, branded Mr. Bevin's remark as "gratuitously and vulgarly insulting" and, addressing himself to President Truman, added: "Mr. President, it is you who are being flouted as you are being insulted by the British government."

He spoke bitterly, too, of Mr. Bevin's statement that additional British troops would be needed in Palestine if the Jewish population was increased. He called the statement "utterly misleading."

and declared:

"The British troops are there in order to resist the insistence of the Government of Egypt that British troops get out of Egypt."

There now appears little hope that the recommendations of the Anglo-American committee will be carried out unless Mr. Truman speaks sharply and acts decisively," Dr. Wise said.

Bartley C. Crum, one of the American representatives on the twelve-man committee of inquiry, asserted that the committee received conclusive evidence from British experts in Palestine that the 100,000 could be moved in without trouble from the Arabs and said that the movement could be accomplished in two months if the British would issue passports.

This was in answer to Mr. Bevin's statement that he would have to move another British army division to Palestine, which he was not prepared to do. Mr. Bevin's contention that secret

armies of Jews and Arabs ought to be disarmed beforehand was dismissed as impossible by Mr. Crum.

"Palestinian Jewry is well able to take care of itself," Mr. Crum said. He is a youthful looking San Francisco attorney of Irish ancestry. "Let the British remove their 100,000 troops from Palestine and there will be room for the 100,000 refugees."

In a secret balloting conducted by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration he continued: the homeless Jews overwhelmingly chose Palestine for haven. "They did not want to come to New York or to go to England," he asserted, "because they had heard ominous reports of growing anti-Semitism in these two countries. They did not want to go through it again."

That Haj Amin el-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, should be returned to power in the Middle

East, Mr. Crum said, would be "one of the most shameful affronts ever given to public decency."

"I charge," he continued, "that the Mufti is now using funds given him by Hitler to carry on Hitler's work. He is the Fuehrer's spiritual successor and as such is a menace not only to the Jews, but to all of us. In my opinion this country should demand the immediate arrest of the Mufti and his trial as a war criminal."

Senator Edwin C. Johnson, Democrat, of Colorado, another speaker, accused Britain of unwillingness and inability to "carry out her responsibility with respect to the Palestine mandate" and called for the reviving of that mandate to the United States. "She is pressing us to assume all of the responsibilities," he said. "We should assume also the decisions."

He said that the issue of the need for American troops in Palestine "is being trumped up for the

sole purpose of scaring off this country so that they (the British) may be left to continue in Palestine their nefarious and shameful policies of playing one group against another for selfish purposes." Prime Minister Attlee, he asserted, "desired still more time for the Arab chiefs to organize their political resistance."

"I wonder," Senator Johnson speculated, "what the President will think of Mr. Bevin's speech. I can't believe he will take it lying down. Why, when I read it I thought I could hear the voice of Herr Goebbels." At the end of his speech he received an ovation.

Other speakers included Henry Moskowitz, chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, who presided; Magistrate Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, president of Hadassah; Moshe Shapiro and Berl Frymer.

Sen. Johnston Tells Britain: Yield Palestine Rule to U. S.

Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D., Cal.), in a Palestine rally speech at Madison Square Garden last night, called for Britain to turn over her Palestine mandate to the U. S. A. and Zionist leadership demanded that the U. S. A. withhold the British loan unless she lives up to her pledges to Jewry.

"Britain has proved she is unwilling and unable to carry out her responsibility with respect to the Palestine mandate," Johnson said at the meeting sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Johnson referred to a British query as to what the U. S. A. would be willing to contribute to keep order if Palestine were to be opened to increased Jewish immigration.

The demand for holding the loan was made by the co-chairmen of the

American Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the ZOA (Zionist Organization of America), and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Johnson declared "this entire issue of the need for American troops is being trumped up for the sole purpose of scaring off this nation so they (the British) may be left to continue in Palestine their selfish and shameful policies of playing one group against another for selfish purposes."

He expressed belief that British Prime Minister Attlee "desired all more time for the Arab chiefs to organize their political resistance."

Johnson accused the State Dept. of playing a game of delay, and hit at President Truman's appointment of a cabinet committee of

three to formulate Palestine decisions.

"To say this is disconcerting," he said of the President's action, "is the gross understatement."

The name of British Foreign Minister Bevin was repeatedly and heartily booed by the 9,000 persons who attended the mass demonstration to support Jewish immigration to Palestine. (See story on Page 7.)

The boom sounded repeatedly during an address by Dr. Wise. Referring to the statement of Bevin about the propaganda for Jewish immigration to Palestine being in London in New York, Dr. Wise termed the Minister's speech before the Labor Party in England "one of the most pitiable speeches in English history."

Dr. Wise said he had been assured by the French ambassador

that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem would not be permitted to leave France. (See story, p. 7.)

Dr. Wise said that Americans have the right to say to the President of the U. S. A. that he is being "bought" by the British Government's attitude in denying the immediate admission of 100,000 displaced Jewish persons to Palestine.

"I say to you that unless the British Government now grants the 100,000 certificates of admission to Palestine, no promise of England is worthy of trust. We have no reason to believe that any pledge of a British Government will be kept."

After reviewing the pledges of both the Churchill and Attlee Governments, Dr. Silver declared:

"We, as American citizens, have

the right to inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a Government whose pledged word seems to be worthless."

The assertion was met by tremendous cheers and boos and shouts of "Boycott England!" Dr. Silver also said the British people should "repudiate" this "malicious and cheap vulgarism," who yesterday in a speech before the British Labor Party in England rejected the proposal that 100,000 Jews be immediately admitted to Palestine.

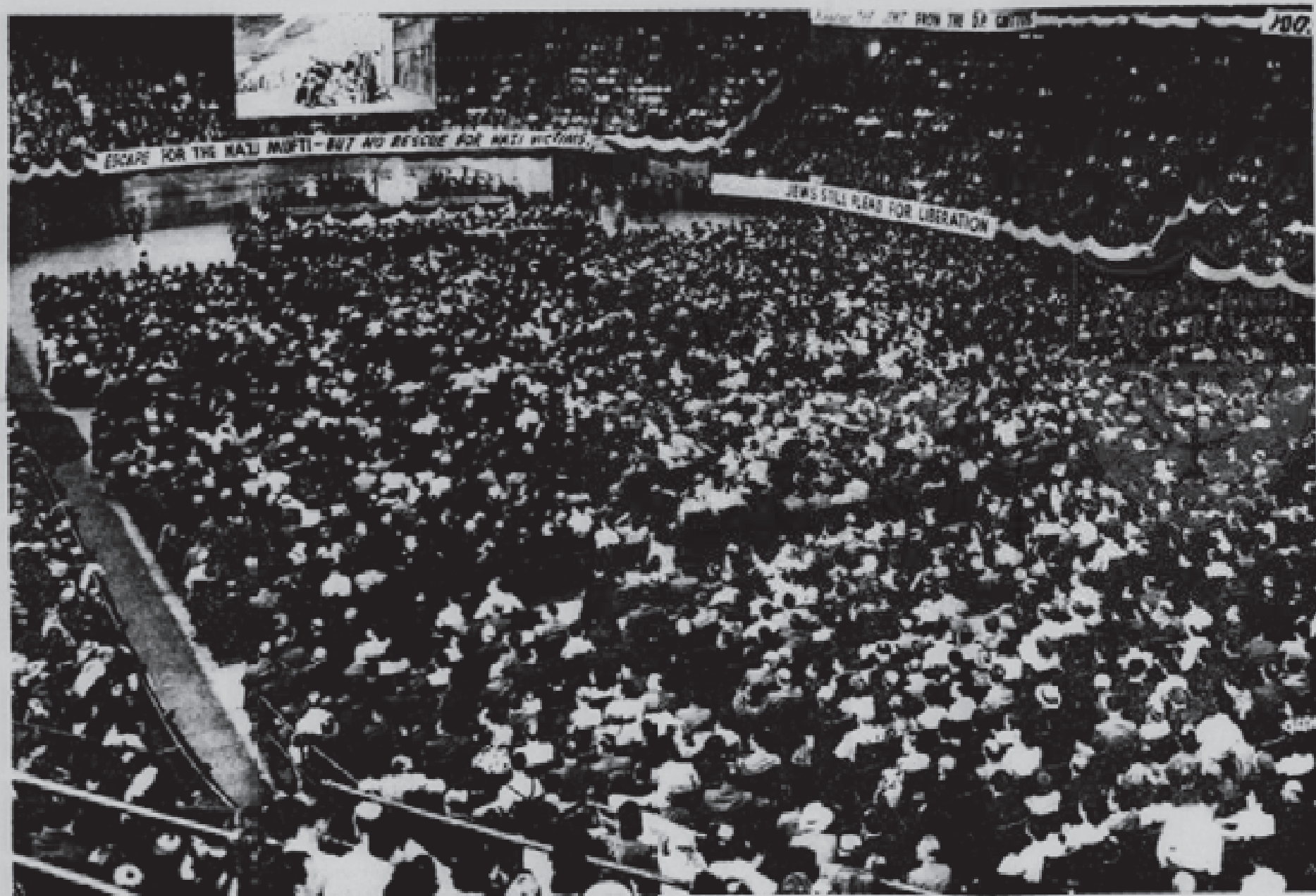
Bartley C. Crum, U. S. member of the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission repeated that Bevin "made it clear to us in London that the British Government would put our recommendations into effect if they were unanimous."



Bartley C. Crum (left), U. S. member of Anglo-American Inquiry Commission on Palestine, and Berl Frymer, spokesman for Labor Zionist Movement. PH Photo by Leo Loh



These intent listeners heard speakers assail Britain for broken pledges last night at Madison Square Zionist rally. PH Photo by Bernie Anshel



Zionists, at a rally in Madison Square Garden last night, booed and hissed the name of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin who yesterday bolted Palestine's door against the 100,000 European Jews for whom President Truman asks haven there. Photo by Alexander Archer

RALLY ASKS SHIFT OF MANDATE TO U. N.

Britain Should Be Forced to Give Up Palestine Control, Speakers Here Declare

BEVIN STAND DENOUNCED

Senator Johnson and B. C. Crum Also Propose That U. S. Assume Charge

Demand that the entire question of the loan to Britain be re-examined and that Britain be forced to give up immediately its mandate in Palestine were voiced last night at a mass demonstration in Madison Square Garden sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference.

Coming on the heels of Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's rejection of the proposal to admit 100,000 Jews into Palestine, the meeting, which was called a week ago to protest the "stalling" tactics of the British Government, turned instead to a bitter denunciation of the entire policy of the British Government on the issue of Palestine. The meeting was attended by 12,000 persons.

The principal speakers at the rally, including Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the Emergency Council; Bartley C. Crum, San Francisco lawyer and member of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine, and Senator Edwin C. Johnson, Democrat, of Colorado, interpreted Mr. Bevin's remarks as an affront to President Truman, who personally had advocated the admission of the 100,000.

The demand that Britain surrender the mandate was made by Mr. Crum and Senator Johnson. Mr. Crum, along with five other Americans and six Britons, had served on a commission that had made an exhaustive four-month study before submitting its unanimous recommendations on Palestine.

Change of Mandate Asked

Mr. Crum asked that the mandate be turned over to the United Nations; called for immediate withdrawal of all British troops; and suggested that the United States Senate examine the feasibility of having this country assume the mandate.

He also declared that Mr. Bevin's statements had made it possible "for the first time" for the Soviet Union to ask that it be made one of the trustees of Palestine under the United Nations, and said the current policy constituted a violation of the British-American agreement of 1924, whereby the United States became a party to the mandate to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of Jews in Palestine.

Mr. Crum also said the return of the Grand Mufti to the Middle East, "apparently with the help of the British at this particular moment, is a consideration, one of the most shameful affronts ever given to public decency."

He said he had seen in Germany an agreement dated twenty-four hours before the German surrender signed by the Nazi government and a representative of the Grand Mufti under which large sums of money were paid in gold for his activities up to that day and as payment in advance "for his promise to lead an all-Arab attack against the 'common enemy'."

"I charge," he said, "that the Grand Mufti is now using funds given him by Hitler to carry on Hitler's work where Hitler left off. He is the most dangerous advocate of Hitler fascism in the Middle East."

Dr. Silver accused Mr. Bevin of "a course full of anti-Semitic vulgarities reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst," and declared:

"In view of this shocking record of broken pledges and the repeated violation of solemn obligations, American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in the Congress of the United States, who are discussing the granting of a loan to Great Britain, and inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a Government whose pledged word seems to be worthless."

Dr. Wise declared that only a week ago Henri Bonnet, the French Ambassador, had assured him that the Grand Mufti would not be permitted to leave France.

He said the purpose of British troops in Palestine was not, as asserted by Mr. Bevin, to protect the Jews, but rather to safeguard British interests in Egypt and other parts of the Middle East.

Dr. Wise declared he was not bothered by the "offensive vulgarity" of Mr. Bevin's remark that American Jews did not want European Jews in New York City, but that he was "troubled because it indicates that, even though President Truman appointed the whole Cabinet, with himself included, as a commission to deal with Palestine, there will be no hope of fulfilling the unanimous recommendation of the Anglo-American Commission unless President Truman speaks sharply and acts decisively in relation to the British Government."

Dr. Wise added that he spoke as a lifelong admirer of the English people, but that unless the 100,000 certificates of admission were issued immediately, "we have no reason to believe that any pledge of Britain will be kept."

Senator Johnson reviewed a long history of British refusal to carry out explicit commitments on Palestine and the obligations inherent in the mandate and also endorsed a move to force Britain to relinquish the mandate and turn it over to the United Nations.

"She is pressing us to assume all of the responsibilities," he said. "We should also assume the decisions."

Henry Monack, chairman of the American Jewish Conference, presided.

Posters filling the interior of the garden attacked the British in such terms as "Are the Four Freedoms for all but the Jews?" and "Escape for the Nazi Mufti, but no rescue for Nazi victims."

New York Sun - June 13, 1946

BEVIN CALLED ANTI-JEWISH

Rally Hears Senator Cry Insult at Briton.

Re-examination of the proposed British loan and a demand that Britain be forced to give up immediately its mandate in Palestine were urged last night at a rally of 12,000 in Madison Square Garden, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference. The mass demonstration was called to protest the purported "stalling" tactics of the British Government toward the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, also was denounced because of his speech earlier in the day in which he rejected the proposal for the mass migration plan.

"Britain has proved that she is unwilling and unable to carry out her responsibility with respect to the Palestine mandate," Senator Edwin C. Johnson (D., Cal.) declared. "She is pressing us to assume all of the responsibilities. We should assume also the decisions."

Johnson said that Bevin's speech was a "gratuitous insult to the President and the people of the United States. I don't think the President will take it lying down."

Silver Cites Promise.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, asserted that Bevin had given his word to the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the Palestinian situation and that its recommendations, if unanimous, would be carried out. The committee recommended the admission of 100,000 Jews immediately.

"In view of this shocking record of broken pledges and the repeated violation of solemn obligations," Silver said, "American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in Congress who are discussing the granting of a loan to Great Britain, and inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a Government

whose pledged word seems to be worthless.

Cheers, boos and shouts of "Boycott England" were voiced. Silver then said that the British people should "repudiate" this "malicious and cheap vulgarism." He characterized Bevin's remarks as a "course full of anti-Semitic vulgarities" and asserted that "it very well might be that the British loan will be held in abeyance until this slur is clarified."

Bartley C. Crum, a San Francisco lawyer and a member of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine, also demanded that Britain surrender its mandate and that it be turned over to the United Nations. He called for immediate withdrawal from Palestine of all British troops and suggested that the United States Senate examine the feasibility of having this country assume the mandate.

Sees Fiat With Mufti.

Crum declared that Bevin's statements had, "for the first time," made it possible for the Soviet Union to ask that it be made one of the trustees of Palestine under the United Nations. He asserted that the return of the Grand Mufti to the Middle East "apparently with the help of the British at this particular moment, is, I consider, one of the most shameful affronts ever given to public decency."

"The Grand Mufti is now using funds given him by Hitler to carry on Hitler's work where Hitler left off. He is the most dangerous advocate of Hitler fascism in the Middle East."

Crum expressed the opinion that the United States State Department is "far from blameless" in the matter of delaying the entry of Jews into Palestine. Concerning Bevin's statement that more Jews are not wanted in New York, Crum declared "I brand that a lie, and he knows it's a lie."

Bevin Blasted At Garden for Jewish 'Slur'

British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin was denounced as a "cheap vulgarism" at a Madison Square Garden rally last night for telling a British Labor Party conference in London earlier yesterday that the U. S. wants to send 100,000 Jews to Palestine because it doesn't want too many of them in New York.

The Garden blast, heard by 3,000 persons who booed Bevin's name whenever it was mentioned, was focused by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America. He termed Bevin's remarks "a course full of anti-Semitic vulgarities reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst" and asked the British people to repudiate "this malinger."

Hints at Loan Repraisal.

"It very well might be that the British loan will be held in abeyance" until the slur is clarified, Dr. Silver added. He urged Jews to exercise their political influence and force the U. S. government to protest Britain's delay in admitting

Jews to Palestine.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, said American Jews—all Americans—had the right to resent and fling back "the vulgarly insulting remark of Mr. Bevin."

He characterized the Bevin address as "one of the most pitiable speeches in English history." Bevin's statement that additional British troops would be needed in Palestine if the Jewish population was increased was "utterly misleading," Wise said.

He declared that "the British troops are there in order to resist the insistence of the Government of Egypt that British troops get out of Egypt."

Protest Palestine Delay.

The Garden blast, heard by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, was called to protest delay in admitting to Palestine 100,000 Jews from displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria as requested last year by President Truman and unanimously recommended in April by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

There were protests, too, against the return to the Middle East of the Mufti of Jerusalem. But these were overshadowed by denunciations of Bevin and the Labor Government.

Senator Edwin C. Johnson (D., Cal.), another speaker said he wondered what President Truman thought after hearing the Bevin speech. "It was a gratuitous insult to the President and the people of the United States," he said. "I don't think the President will take it lying down." He and Bartley C. Crum, U. S. member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, urged that the British Government relinquish its Palestine mandate.

Dr. Silver termed Bevin's remarks "a course full of anti-Semitic vulgarities" and questioned the presence of a U. S. loan to a nation "whose pledged word

seemed to be worthless."

"It very well might be that the British loan will be held in

New York Daily Mirror - June 13, 1946

Boo Bevin at Zionist Rally



Sen. Edwin Johnson London acting "nefariously" on Palestine problem, he declares.

seemed to be worthless."

"It very well might be that the British loan will be held in

abeyance until the slur is withdrawn," he said.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the chairman declared "that unless the British Government now grants the 100,000 certificates of admission to Palestine, no promise of England is worthy of trust."

He termed Bevin's address yesterday to the Labor Party "one of the most pitiable speeches in English history."

To a British proposal that the U. S. share in Palestine's responsibilities, U. S. Sen. Johnson (D., Cal.) suggested the U. S. relieve Britain completely of the Palestine mandate because "Britain has proved she is unwilling and unable to carry out her responsibility."

And since "she is pressing us to assume all of the responsibilities, we should assume also the decisions," he added.

He charged the British demand for U. S. troops in Palestine "is being trumped up for the sole purpose of scaring off this country, so that they (British) may be left to continue in Palestine their nefarious policies of playing one group against another for selfish purposes."

Is Britain Prepared to Accept Responsibility for the Mufti's New Murders?

THE ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Amin el Husseini—murderer, war criminal, friend and supporter of Adolf Hitler—is reported back in the Near East. He is undoubtedly preparing to organize riots and pogroms, and to instigate acts of terror.

Why has the Mufti been helped to "escape" and who engineered his plane journey to Damascus? We are shocked to read reports that the British Colonial Office has re-imported this killer. Even more astounding are newspaper accounts indicating that France and reportedly also the U. S. State Department* were participants in this intrigue.

Has all this been done to make it possible for Britain to claim that "the Arab world will go up in flames" if 100,000 homeless Jews are admitted into Palestine immediately, as requested by President Truman and recommended by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry?

Will we be asked to believe that England is helpless before the papier-mache' swords of Arab puppets?

The American people have had enough of imperialist treachery! *The helpless Jewish remnants in Europe must not be sacrificed to appease democracy's mortal enemies.*

- Join** with us in demanding an end to this immoral game of power politics.
- Insist** that 100,000 displaced European Jews be admitted into Palestine at once.
- Fight** the tactics of Great Britain and the U. S. State Department.

COME TO THE GREAT MASS DEMONSTRATION

Tomorrow, Wednesday, 8 P.M. Madison Square Garden

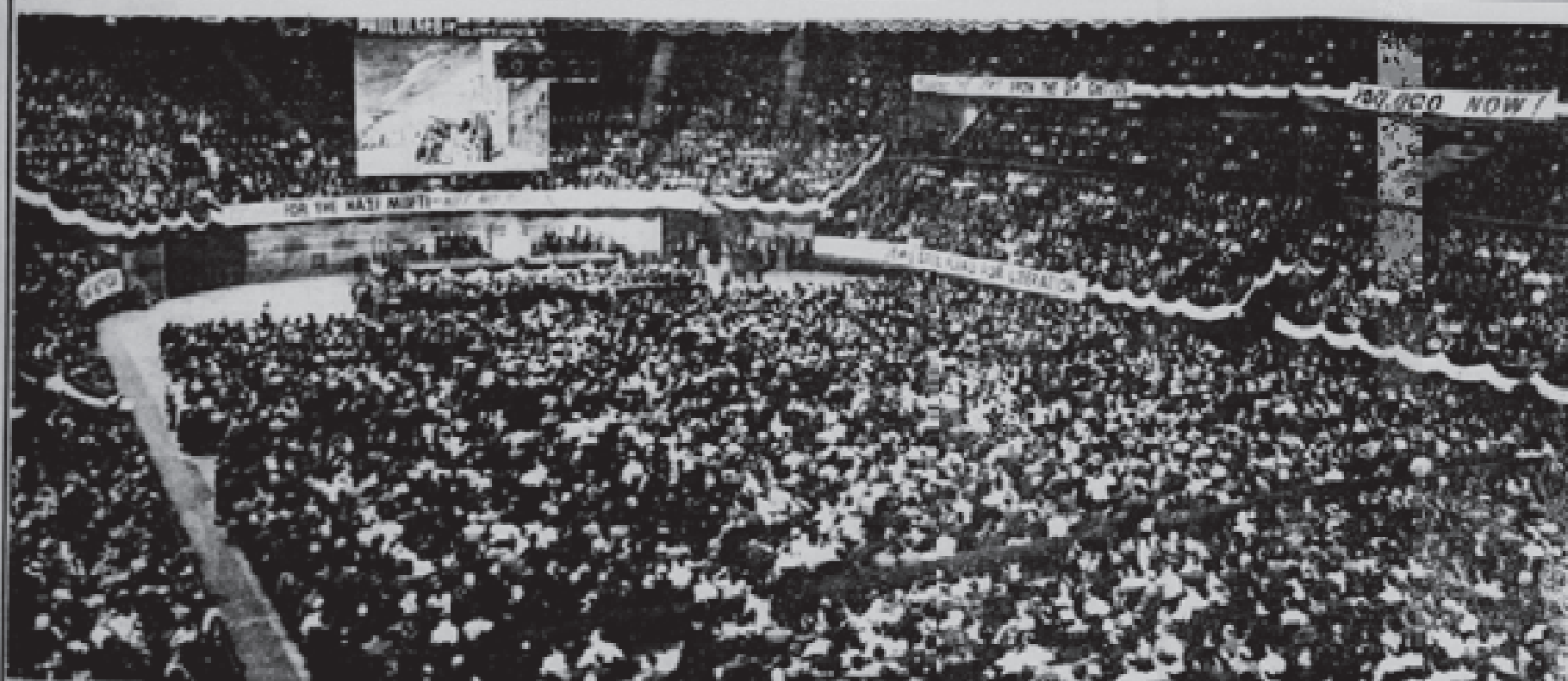
SPEAKERS: BARTLEY C. CRUM
SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
HENRY MONSKY, Chairman

**Admission Free
Come Early**

**Doors Open
at 6:30 P. M.**

**SPONSORED BY
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE**

*PARIS, June 9 (UP)—Diplomatic circles said today that they believed that the Mufti had obtained an American air priority with French help, left Wednesday by a United States Air Transport Command plane for Cairo under an assumed name and changed there to a British plane.



PART OF GREAT CROWD at last night's Madison Sq. Garden rally which scored Foreign Minister Bevin's Palestine policy.

Throw Open Palestine's Doors to Helpless Jews NOW

By HARRY H. SCHLACHT

TONIGHT in Madison Square Garden thousands will assemble to voice their thunderous protest against the unconscionable procrastination of the British Government and our State Department to admit 100,000 European Jews into Palestine.

It was unanimously recommended by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

It was approved by President Truman, with the recommendation that the "100,000 Jews be transferred to Palestine with the greatest dispatch."

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SEEKS INDEFINITELY TO DELAY THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS NOBLE OBJECTIVE TO WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT IS FULLY COMMITTED.

This great demonstration is held under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Co-Chairmen, warn that delays will produce an unprecedented catastrophe in the displaced persons' camps unless the doors of Palestine are opened at once to these helpless Jews.

They appeal to the conscience of humanity

to aid these stricken people. Let the world remember that more than six million innocent Jews have been ruthlessly murdered and that the surviving remnants have been forced to wander aimlessly and helplessly over the face of the earth.

Let the world remember that so-called civilization has witnessed the unmerciful annihilation of a race without precedent in recorded history.

From the woes and sorrows of the concentration camps and the death chambers comes the wailing of the dead that will not be silenced—to save the Jews that still can be saved.

We cannot fail them. We must not fail them. We must make our voice the voice of justice for the oppressed.

Let America take the leadership. America is the light and hope of the world. Let us demand justice for a tragic people now. Let us demand justice with action.

ATTEND THIS GREAT RALLY TONIGHT!

New York Post - June 13, 1946

Rally Hits Bevin, Asks U.N. Rule Palestine

By ALVIN ROSENFELD

A huge Madison Square Garden Zionist rally sent a wrathful answer back to Foreign Minister Bevin today for rejecting the Palestine immigration plan and demanded immediate United Nations control of the Holy Land and a recommendation of the British.

Bevin himself was under the heaviest attack for saying that American agitation for the immigration of 100,000 homeless European Jews to Palestine was due to the belief that "some Jews aren't wanted in New York."

Speaker after speaker denounced the British Foreign Minister as an "anti-Semite," a "vulgar" and a traitor to the cause of liberalism and labor.

Asks Mandate Transfer

Bartley C. Crum, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine which recommended the immigration plan that Bevin rejected, led in the assault at the mass meeting last night.

Crum demanded that the Palestine mandate be wrenched from British control and turned over to the United Nations, called for immediate withdrawal of British troops there and called upon the U. S. Senate to review the British loan.

Crum assailed British connections with the "escape" of the Mufti of Jerusalem from France to the Middle East, charging that the Mufti now is using money given him by Hitler to carry on the fight against the Jews. The Mufti, Crum declared, is "Hitler's spiritual successor."

The youthful-looking San Francisco attorney spoke before a huge poster which showed emaciated, careworn refugees cowering in a scorched countryside, but close to a gate of hope labeled "Palestine Jewish National Home." That gate of hope was shown barred by a sign: "Padlocked by British Imperialism, U. S. State Dept."

Against this somber backdrop Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, strongly indicated that so-called illegal immigration to Palestine will be intensified, saying: "We are going to move into Palestine from every direction despite every closed door."

The Protest Mounts

Against this backdrop Sen. Johnson (D-Colo.) charged that the State Dept. had ordered 30 days' delay in acting on the Inquiry Committee's recommendation to "in the hope that more and bigger protests will be forthcoming."

Against this backdrop Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman with Silver of the American Zionist Emergency Council, told President Truman that "it is you who are being insulted" by Britain's refusal to open Palestine's gates.

Against this backdrop Mrs. Morris F. Epstein warned that unless immediate immigration was granted, there would be mass suicides in displaced persons camps.

Against this backdrop Judge Morris Rottenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund, daily declared that "Palestine is the only solution to the problem of Jewish homelessness."

Bevin Stuns Them

Three speakers and others at-

POST READY TO OFFER REWARD FOR BRINGING MUFTI TO TRIAL

The New York Post is prepared to offer a \$5,000 reward for the Mufti of Jerusalem if he can be found and placed on trial as a war criminal. Bartley C. Crum, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, told last night's Madison Square Garden protest rally.

Crum said the reward depended on whether Justice Jackson at Nuremberg could give assurance the Mufti would be tried and added that Post Columnist Edgar Ansel Mower was ready to fly to Nuremberg with documents proving the Mufti's war guilt.

T. O. Thackrey, editor and general manager of the New York Post, commenting on Crum's statement, said today it was questionable whether any of the powers involved in the Palestine question would find the Mufti of Jerusalem.

The Post's editor explained that if the Mufti were indicted a series of rewards, from \$5,000 up, would be offered by this newspaper to find the Arab fugitive and bring him to trial as a war criminal. He pointed out, however, that the real trouble was not finding the Mufti, but in locating an official agency that really wanted to try him.

tacked Bevin's speech yesterday, in which he refused to adopt the Inquiry Committee's recommendation for admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine and charged that American agitation for Palestine immigration was due to the fact that more Jews are not wanted in New York.

Crum termed Bevin's statement a "lie" and pointed out that a secret poll of displaced Jews showed a great majority wanted to go to Palestine and not to the U. S. or Britain.

The men and women of all ages and income groups who streamed into the Garden seemed stunned by the Bevin statement. But, as the meeting proceeded, they seemed to regain hope.

They roared approval when Johnson asked Britain to give up the Palestine mandate on the grounds that she is unwilling to carry out the mandate's provisions for establishment of a Jewish National Home.

They cheered and booed when Crum disclosed that "it took great persuasion by the President to convince" a reluctant State Dept. that the Inquiry Committee's recommendation on immigration was to be official U. S. policy.

Bills New Yorkers Act

They stamped their feet in agreement when Silver, after accusing Britain of successive betrayals on the Palestine issue, said U. S. citizens have a right to ask whether their government "can afford to make a loan to a government whose pledged word seems to be worthless."

The audience applauded vigorously when Silver urged New York's Jews to exercise their political influence to demand large-scale immigration, pointing out that several Arab states have been set up in the Near East in recent years but that establishment of a Jewish state has been delayed repeatedly.

And, when Silver expressed apprehension over what Palestine's Jews would do when they heard

the news of the Bevin statement, there were scattered cries of "fight! fight!"

Both Crum and Johnson assured the rally, which was sponsored by the Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, that Palestine's Jews could defend themselves.

Ridder's British Allies

Johnson quoted the British commanding general in Palestine as saying that, even if British troops were to withdraw, the Jewish self-defense formations there could hold the land against any combination of Arab forces for several years without any outside support. Johnson disclosed that this hitherto secret statement was made before a hearing of the Inquiry Committee in Jerusalem.

The Senator also braced without basis the British assertion that large-scale immigration would require use of American troops to keep order, and said this issue was humped up "for the sole purpose of scaring off this country" and to give Britain a free hand.

The Jewish self-defense organization Hagana can withstand "any onslaught," Crum said, and that actually there was no anti-Semitism in Palestine.

The Arab masses are not anti-Jewish, he said, and the reactionary Arab rulers are opposed not so much to the Jews as to the Western democratic civilization brought by the Jews.

Escape "a Trick"

Angered by Bevin's statements, Crum virtually tore up his prepared speech and delivered a blistering attack on the Foreign Minister and on the "bankrupt policies of British imperialism."

Crum also decried the Mufti's arrival in the Middle East as a "disposable trick."

In Nuremberg and Vienna, Crum said, "we saw proof that convinced me as a lawyer that this war criminal... was himself largely responsible for mass slaughter of Jews."

The "Liberated" Jews of Europe Still Plead for Liberation

The fate of 100,000 tortured men, women and children is in your hands citizens of America!

Unless the Jews in the Displaced Persons Camps of Europe are permitted to enter Palestine immediately, they are doomed to a hopeless existence which may end in mass-suicide.

The President of the United States and the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine have called for the immediate admission of 100,000 homeless Jews into Palestine. At least a frac-

tion of the Jewish remnants could thus be saved.

But the British Government and our own State Department would not have it so! They employ delaying tactics, when action is long overdue. They create new issues which have no validity, when the real issue has long been altogether clear. As for the homeless Jews---well, Jews are used to suffering . . .

But the gentlemen are wrong. *The Jews of Europe have passed the limits of endurance, and the Jews of America have reached the end of their patience!*

We demand action, not mere sympathy

If you want these tragic people saved now . . .

If you want an end to the delaying tactics of Great Britain and the U. S. State Department . . .

Join

THE GREAT MASS DEMONSTRATION

Tomorrow Night—Madison Square Garden—8 P. M.

SPEAKERS: BARTLEY C. CRUM, SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON, DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER,
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, HENRY MONSKY, Chairman

Sponsored by

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

ADMISSION FREE
COME EARLY

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

DOORS OPEN
AT 6:30 P.M.

New York World-Telegram - June 13, 1946

Bevin Hit as Anti-Jewish At Garden Zionist Rally

Twelve thousand persons at a Madison Square Garden rally last night heard speakers accuse Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, of anti-Jewish bias for his proposal to postpone Jewish migration to Palestine.

The rally, under the sponsorship of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference, was called to protest the delay in admitting to Palestine 100,000 Jews from displaced person camps in Germany and Austria, as recommended unanimously in April by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

Link to Loan Seen

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, said the Jews would ask the President of the United States "to stand firm this time, for God's sake," in his support of the Jewish move to open the doors of Palestine.

Dr. Silver accused Mr. Bevin of "a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst," for his rejection in a speech yesterday of the proposal that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine immediately.

"In view of this shocking record of broken pledges and the repeated violation of solemn obligations," he said, "American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in the Congress of the

United States who are discussing the granting of a loan to Great Britain and inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a government whose pledged word seems to be worthless.

Move to Palestine Seen

"We are going to move into Palestine from every direction, in spite of any obstacles. Soon we will be sending hundreds of thousands of young American Jews into Palestine. The Jews have had enough. We want a national home for our people."

Bartley C. Crum, a San Francisco attorney and member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry into Palestine, said of Mr. Bevin's statement that more Jews are not wanted in New York:

"I brand that a lie, and he knows it's a lie."

Insult to Truman

Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, (Dem. Colo.), urged that the British government give up its Palestine mandate and turn it over to the U. S. to administer.

He added that he wondered what President Truman thought after hearing Mr. Bevin's speech. "It was a disgusting insult to the President and the people of the United States," he said. "I don't think he will take it lying down."

New York Journal-American - June 13, 1946

Rally Blasts Bevin For Slur on Jews

Rabbis Wise and Silver Assail British
Refusal to Open Palestine Door

(Photo in Today's Picture Section.)

British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin's declaration that "New York doesn't want any more Jews" was assailed here today as "a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity" and one of the "most pitiable speeches in English history."

The replies were given by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland rabbi and president of the Zionist Organization of America, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Bevin told the British Labor Party's annual conference that agitation in this country, particularly in New York, for immigration of 100,000 displaced European Jews into Palestine "is because they don't want too many of them in New York."

Bevin told the British Labor Party's annual conference that agitation in this country, particularly in New York, for immigration of 100,000 displaced European Jews into Palestine "is because they don't want too many of them in New York."

MASS DEMONSTRATION

Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise were principal speakers at a mass demonstration in Madison Square Garden to support Jewish immigration into Palestine. The rally was sponsored jointly by the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference.

Labelling Bevin "a malignant and cheap vulgarian," Dr. Silver attacked Britain's failure to open the door to Palestine to Jewish immigrants.

"We are going to move into Palestine from every direction," he told the audience of 8,000, "in spite of any obstacles. Soon we will be sending hundreds of thousands of young American

Jews into Palestine. "We Jews have had enough. We want a national home for our people."

He called upon American Jews to ask Congress to protest Britain's policy in Palestine, and "inquire whether the Government can afford to make a loan to a nation whose pledged word seems to be worthless."

JOHNSON'S VIEW

Dr. Wise stated British troops in Palestine were not there to "protect the Jews," as Bevin said, "but to safeguard British interests in Egypt and other parts of the Middle East."

Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D-Colo.) called upon Britain to surrender her mandate over Palestine to the United States.

"Britain has proved she is unwilling and unable to carry out her responsibility with respect to the Palestine mandate," he said. "She is pressing us to assume all the responsibilities, so we should also assume the decisions."

He added Britain committed herself to make Palestine a national home for the Jews when she accepted the mandate, and called her failure to do so "faithless."

Palestine and Bevin

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

Cairo, June 15

I HAVE seen no report of the American reaction to the Palestine remarks made by Bevin at Bournemouth, but read here in the context of events in the Levant, in Egypt, and in Palestine itself, they seemed most ominous. For a Foreign Minister to say that "the agitation in the United States . . . for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine is because they do not want too many of them in New York" is to offer an unjust and untrue simplification of a complex problem; it is hard to believe that Bevin would have ventured it if he were not casting about for an alibi to cover his own failure to meet the issue. Also when he says, "If you have to raise the Arabs' life to the standard of the Jews, you cannot do it if you take away their land," he is distorting both the recommendations of the Inquiry Committee and the intentions of the Jews. But more significant and disturbing was Bevin's assertion that "if we put 100,000 Jews in Palestine tomorrow I would have to put another division of troops there," coupled with the demand for the Jews and Arabs to lay down their arms. Reading this, one realizes how little Bevin has learned from the inquiry, indeed from the long record of British colonial policy: he still believes that order is a prerequisite to policy, an idea easily converted into the theory that order is a substitute for policy. This mistake was responsible for the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, for the Amritsar massacre, and for a dozen other bloody events easy to recall. If persisted in, it will have the same ugly results in Palestine.

For almost five weeks I have been watching developments and talking to informed people—Jews, Christians, Moslems—in Palestine, Lebanon, and Egypt, and I am sure that if real trouble starts it will not be because 100,000 Jews are brought to Palestine but because of the stalling and hedging of the British government, its painful reluctance to apply any clear-cut policy, and the behavior of many of its agents, military and civilian, who do everything but openly invite an Arab revolt. As days pass without a decision on Palestine, the Moslem world becomes more and more convinced that blackmail pays and that the Western powers can be frightened into sacrificing the Jews just as they have already abandoned the Christians in Lebanon. One country the Arabs are uneasy about is the United States. They believe that if 100,000 Jews come to Palestine it will be because Truman insists they come. They know that an uncompromising stand in Washington, backed by solid promises of material help, would go far to offset the Arab threats and the warnings of Bevin's advisers out here.

If our government takes such a stand, it will alter in a most salutary way the balance of forces in the eastern Mediterranean. But I wonder whether we can be counted on to do it. We are not accustomed to following an independent line, and we depend heavily on the British for the defense of our interests. Nor are we immune to Arab propaganda. Today at Payne Field, a huge airport outside of Cairo which our government has just sold to

Egypt, I encountered several American oil men on their way home from Arabia. They agreed that Ibn Saud was an old fox and had scared Standard Oil to death by threatening to destroy installations in the oil fields and to end concessions if we did not quit supporting the Jews. "Would he do it?" I asked. They didn't know but thought he figured he wouldn't have to; he counted on threats to turn the trick. "He could wreck the whole works in three hours," one of them said. "But then of course he wouldn't get the money." Concessions are the lifeblood of Oriental absolutism, and Ibn Saud is perhaps more fox than fanatic.

I have been much disappointed by the recent words of another Britisher, R. H. S. Crossman, a good writer and a member of the Inquiry Committee who is supposed to have been working hard—with indifferent success, one must conclude—to convert Messrs. Attlee and Bevin to the report. In Palestine Crossman was generally regarded as the ablest member of the committee. This being the case, I wonder why he should have taken particular pains, in a talk the other day at the London School of Economics, to ridicule the American role in relation to Palestine. When he rejected the idea of British-American condominium—proposed by nobody so far as I know—by saying that "it is difficult enough to run the country under the Colonial Office, but it would be quite impossible under a Tammany regime," I could not help recalling somewhat cynically the massive rolls of barbed wire I saw festooning every British official building in Palestine, and the iron censorship, and the political prisoners, also behind barbed wire. Against this backdrop Tammany seemed by contrast quite like the benevolent society it was originally supposed to be. But what I found more gratuitous and politically rather questionable was Crossman's remark, greeted with "laughter," that "poor Truman was neatly caught when he demanded the entry of 100,000 and was asked by Bevin to send American commissioners," and his further ironic comment on the anxiety of Americans, including the American Jews, to deflect Jewish immigration toward Palestine.

I do not intend to dispute these points; I want only to suggest that Bevin's speech indicates the political use to which such remarks are bound to be put. Assuming that Crossman was honest in his desire to win Cabinet approval for the report, his chances were hardly improved by a deliberate attempt to discredit American influence. If Truman was tricked by Bevin, it would seem good strategy in a political fight to welcome the support of Washington rather than undermine it, especially since the most encouraging note in Bevin's discussion of Jewish immigration to Palestine was the suggestion that Britain and the United States should together consider implementation of the report.

But the Foreign Minister's statements at Bournemouth demand examination on their merits. Is it true that the

arrival of 100,000 Jewish D. P.'s would necessitate another division of British troops? To a recent visitor in Palestine the assertion sounds like convention oratory. I do not know how many divisions are already there or, indeed, whether the entire British and American armies combined could prevent guerrilla attacks by armed and bitter citizens. The German army could not do it in France. But I know that Palestine is an occupied country from end to end. The Jews and Arabs alike live under military rule while civilian officials take shelter behind sandbags and armed guards. In Barclay's Bank in Jerusalem a Tommy armed with a machine-gun is prominently posted on the balcony overlooking the main room. Press censorship is complete. No explanation need be given for suspensions or prohibitions. The following item, printed while I was in Jerusalem, shows how it is done:

Haifa, Saturday. The editor of the local afternoon paper, *Zoharajim*, was informed that "the High Commissioner in Council, being of the opinion that matter appearing in said paper is likely to endanger the public peace," has ordered its suspension for a fortnight.

Arrests are frequently made under similar emergency decrees.

Though I had read about the concentration of military and police forces in Palestine, I had no idea until I went there how overpowering it had become. Convoys of British tanks and trucks move along the roads holding up civilian traffic. The public barracks, located at strategic points only a few miles apart, are really forts, concrete structures formidable in size and solidity, and everywhere one sees contingents of the Transjordan Frontier Force, Arab troops originally recruited for the purpose the name implies, policing towns and highways; nothing could be better calculated to provoke Jewish resentment.

But if Bevin really needs that extra division, one might remind him that he is pledged to the withdrawal of the whole naval and military establishment now stationed here in Egypt. The size of these forces is not public property, but the British-owned *Egyptian Gazette* today gives 50,000 as "near the mark"—surely a conservative figure. When negotiations with Egypt are happily ended, Bevin will have two or three extra divisions to send to Palestine, which Britain obviously intends to make its chief stronghold in the Middle East. In the light of these facts I think we need not take too seriously Bevin's military worries.

The real question is the one asked at the beginning: can the British government achieve order in Palestine by continuing to pile up force, while encouraging the Arabs to resist even the recommendations of its own Committee of Inquiry? If a peaceful Palestine is what Bevin wants, it is hard to explain the behavior, for example, of Glubb Pasha—a man who seems to have been clipped, name and all, right out of Kipling. Glubb Pasha is the British brigadier commanding the Arab Legion in Transjordan and is besides Deputy Inspector General of Police for Palestine. In a recent interview Glubb announced flatly that if the committee report is implemented, "British will be at war with the Arab League." "I doubt," said the Pasha, "whether the British forces available are adequate to enforce the committee's recommendations. . . . Palestine would become the scene of murder, sabotage, severed communications, and convoy attacks. In Arab countries outside of Palestine dis-

turbances would take the form of pogroms, attacks on British subjects and premises, and sabotage of Anglo-American oil concerns." Glubb Pasha concluded by calling for twelve to fifteen divisions to handle the situation.

This sort of "warning" is, of course, an open invitation to Arab extremists to launch a holy war. As the *Palestine Post* put it, his statement was "an incitement to mass pillage and murder . . . and to war against his own country."

Glubb's is only a flamboyant example of a point of view which largely dominates the British ruling group in Palestine. Little as Arab leaders like British control, it is none the less heavily weighted on their side. Today this is more than ever true, since the bitter events in Europe and the restrictions of the White Paper have combined to drive the Jews to acts of resistance which are entirely alien to their tradition. Terrorism is still regarded with profound disapproval by official Jewish opinion, but the effort to build and equip a strong defense force and to smuggle refugees through the immigration barriers is universally applauded. A Zionist would no more oppose illegal immigration or Haganah than a patriotic Frenchman would have opposed the F. F. I. during the Nazi occupation. Terrorist acts will increase as long as the present state of suspense continues. And the tactics used by jittery police officials and the military have the effect of creating sympathy for the terrorists—still only a handful—and weakening the authority of responsible leaders.

I could multiply the instances of bias against Jews displayed by British officials. One which came to a climax while I was in Jerusalem will serve as an illustration. On May 1 a government communiqué reported that a kitbag packed with explosives had been found over the magazine of H. M. S. *Chevron* in Haifa harbor, with detonators fitted, and that "thirteen Palestinian naval ratings" had been arrested, explosives being found on several of them. The story was dressed up with colorful details: one of the arrested men was described as "a well-known terrorist" and the ship as having been engaged in intercepting illegal immigrants. In London the *Daily Telegraph* headed the story "Attempt to Blow up Destroyer" and converted the thirteen Palestinians into thirteen Jewish ratings. It appeared on the day the inquiry recommendations were published. By the time I reached Palestine the accused had faced court-martial and one Jewish sailor had been found guilty of illegal possession of explosives. What was interesting was the collapse of the story put out by the Palestine Information Office. The detonators were not fitted; the position of the kitbag was found to have been accidental; the "Palestinian ratings" were Cypriot, Arab, Armenian, and Jewish; the "several" with explosives became one; no attempt to blow up the warship was found. The offender is in prison. But the P. I. O. official who doctored the story is presumably still carrying on as usual. Such tactics, applied day after day and in every relationship, insure the continuance of tension and bitterness in Palestine and make nonsense of Bevin's demand that the Jews and Arabs disarm.

[In her next article, based on interviews with Arab and Jewish leaders in Palestine, Miss Kirchwey will deal with the possibility of Arab revolt and the views of Arab leaders, particularly their attitude toward the United States.]

A B U M D E A L -- By FRANK C. WALDROP

From within the United States Treasury comes news of official discovery that the British have kidded us again, and about big money.

A PERSON WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THEN SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY VINSON'S ORIGINAL STAFF FOR HANDLING THE BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR A \$4,400,000,000 "LOAN" DISCLOSES THAT BRITAIN'S CLAIMS OF POVERTY ARE FALSE, AND RECOMMENDS THE LOAN BE CUT BACK, ACCORDINGLY.

This analysis has been furnished to top governmental authorities. It is so important that we reprint it here in full without attempting to translate. It's plain enough, anyhow. Here it is, dated June 19:

"The British loan should be re-examined and cut down to size.

"ACTUAL TRADE DEVELOPMENTS SINCE VE-DAY - AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE GUESSTIMATES MADE BY THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR NEGOTIATING THE LOAN--NOW DEMONSTRATE THAT THE BRITISH DO NOT NEED ANYTHING LIKE THE SUM AGREED ON BY THE NEGOTIATORS.

"As of last August the British claimed that in the first year following VE-Day they would incur a balance of payments deficit of three billions and in the next two years a further deficit of two billions.

"The British estimate for the balance of payments in the crucial first year of transition was as follows (Mr. Clayton's testimony, Senate hearings, SJ Res. 138P118): (In billions of dollars.)

	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
MINIMUM IMPORTS,		
AUSTERITY LEVEL	5.2	
COMMERCIAL EXPORTS		2.6
NET BALANCE ON WAR		
EXPENDITURES	1.3	
NET BALANCE ON		
INVISIBLE ITEMS		.6
	6.5	3.2

Deficit : 3.3 (billions of dollars).

"Ten months have now elapsed since VE-Day and actual export and import figures are available against which to check the estimates made last August.

"BRITISH IMPORTS ARE ACTUALLY RUNNING AT A RATE ONE BILLION DOLLARS LESS THAN THEY ESTIMATED. ON THE OTHER HAND, BRITISH EXPORTS ARE RUNNING AT A RATE ONE BILLION DOLLARS MORE THAN THEY ESTIMATED, THUS REDUCING THEIR ESTIMATED BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT BY TWO BILLION DOLLARS.

"No information is currently available as to the actual developments with respect to the net war expenditures or the net balance on invisible items, but both these are very probably more favorable than was estimated last August.

"Taking into account the actual flow of commodities it is perfectly clear that the balance of payments deficit in the first year after VE-Day will amount not to the 3.3 billions assumed in August of last year, but to no more than and probably much less than 1.3 billions.

"This conclusion is confirmed by the British holdings of gold and dollar balances. During the last 10 months when the British expected a deficit in their balance of payments to cut sharply into their holdings of gold and dollar balances, nothing of that sort has occurred.

"According to British figures, their net holdings of gold and dollar balances at the end of the war amounted to \$1,840,000,000. The latest figures supplied by the British show that nine months later their net holdings were still \$1,750,000,000.

"The decrease is accounted for by settlement of a Canadian account.

"It may be noted that as of April, 1941 the British reported a net balance of gold and dollar exchange of zero.

"DURING THE WAR AND BY REASON OF LEND-LEASE AND TROOP PAYMENTS MADE TO AMERICANS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE THEIR NET BALANCE OF GOLD AND DOLLAR EXCHANGE INCREASED TO A LEVEL OF APPROXIMATELY 1.9 BILLION.

"There can be no doubt that during the war this country made a very powerful contribution to the improvement in the British gold and dollar balance position.

"THE LOAN SHOULD BE REFERRED BACK TO COMMITTEE AND CUT DOWN IN SIZE.

"The figures cited above demonstrate the British balance of payments is actually very much more favorable than assumed by the Administration when it negotiated the loan. If the loan was proper on the basis of the estimates made in August, it is obviously too large in the light of actual developments.

"THE ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO SUPPLY THE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS WITH INFORMATION SHOWING THE ACTUAL COURSE OF TRADE DEVELOPMENTS. THIS WAS NOT THE ONLY ITEM ON WHICH THEY HAVE FAILED TO TELL THE WHOLE STORY.

"They did not point out that empire countries during the war enormously increased their holdings of gold and dollar balances. South Africa alone holds 900 millions, three times her prewar holdings. Nor did the Administration indicate what it knew to be true, that the British liabilities to empire countries would be substantially reduced.

"The British owe India 4.5 billion, Egypt 1.5 billion and Palestine 550 million. These sums, the Administration has been informed will be settled just as lend-lease was settled, at a small fraction of the nominal indebtedness.

"In the light of these considerations a cut in the British loan is clearly indicated. Indeed, there is reason to believe that quite apart from any loan or gift the British can receive all the assistance they may need in their balance of payment problem through the international fund.

"Through that fund, it may be recalled, the British can get without any struggle at all 350 million every year to total 1.3 billion. If necessary they can, of course, receive much more than that."

There it is. Nobody in his right mind can misunderstand that memorandum. Nobody with the best interest of the United States at heart will ignore it.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THIS WEEK BEGINS FINAL CONSIDERATION OF THAT SO-CALLED "LOAN" TO BRITAIN. THE MEMORANDUM QUOTED IN FULL ABOVE SHOWS AS PLAIN AS DAY WHY THAT "LOAN" IS A BUM DEAL FOR THE U. S. A.

Instead of merely cutting it down, Congress will throw the "loan" out entirely if it wants to serve America first. At any rate, just remember what you read here. If the "loan" goes through there will be big trouble to follow--and never let it be said that "we didn't know."

Will the Arabs Revolt?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE FEROCITY of the British military attack on the Jewish establishments in Palestine can be explained only by panic or by a desire to prove that the situation is too tense and unstable to permit the admission of 100,000 new immigrants. Perhaps both emotions are involved.

When I was in Palestine last month, panic was plainly observable in British reactions. Official alarm seemed out of proportion even then to the isolated acts of violence committed by Jewish extremists. And the authorities were unwilling to acknowledge any distinction between terrorist acts, condemned by all but a small minority of Jews, and those other illegal operations, such as the smuggling of immigrants and the organization of defense forces, which had the support and approval of the whole Jewish community. The British in Palestine behaved as if they went in deadly fear of the Jews; the provocative warnings of Glubb Pasha mentioned in my last article,* although more hysterical in tone than the comments of ordinary officials, were otherwise typical. Their composite attitude was something like this: "We must at all costs put an end to Jewish resistance and if possible prevent any new immigration; otherwise we shall have war arising out of the justified resentment of the Arab majority."

How realistic are these fears? Would the admission of more Jews into Palestine actually touch off civil war or, even more terrifying, start a general Islamic revolt? Such questions must be answered before one passes final judgment on British behavior.

From the day the Joint Inquiry Committee's report was issued, Arab leaders and the Arab press have carried on a steady campaign of threats and protests. They have promised everything from local acts of terror to a Holy War. A collection of newspaper headlines over the last three months indicates that the city room of an Arab newspaper has no lessons to learn from Mr. Hearst. One of the most imaginative appeared above the story of Truman's first statement on the Palestine report: "Hitler Has Been Found Alive—In The White House!"

It is instructive, however, to contrast the fury of the

* "Palestine and Berlin," June 22, 1946

FREDA KIRCHWEY has just returned from a two-months trip to Europe and the Middle East. Her analysis of Arab strength, organization and intentions is particularly timely in view of current developments in Palestine and throughout the Moslem world.

press, and of leaders aiming their words at public opinion, with the reserve displayed in private conversation as well as in the decisions reached at the recent Arab conferences at Inchass and Bludan. In Jerusalem I talked to the two most influential Arab leaders then in the country. The first, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, is a man whose volcanic flood of oratory conceals genuine patriotic feeling. He is an old hand at the nationalist game, having attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 with Feisal and participated in various subsequent negotiations with the British. He knows the documents by heart and lays the pertinent passages before you. The mandate Auni Bey does not recognize; it was illegal, since the Arabs were promised independence. But even granting the validity of the mandate, its execution by the British has been in violation of the League Covenant. Whereas Iraq and later Transjordan had their own governments under Britain, and Syria and Lebanon theirs under France, Palestine has been ruled directly by the British like a crown colony. "This, of course, is because the Jews were colonized in our country for Britain's imperialist purposes and they had to be protected by British arms."

But Britain is the old adversary, accepted and almost tolerated—like Satan in the Christian theology. The whole explosive fury of Auni Bey's invective was aimed at the United States. He shook his finger under my nose and asked what business the United States had coming into Palestine and running its affairs, installing a plan that would "kill the Arabs?" "Kill?" I asked. "Will 100,000 additional Jews kill the Arabs?" He did not stop to explain but from the general direction of his talk I gathered that more Jewish immigration would, in his opinion, squeeze the Arabs off their land, create a non-Arab life in Palestine, and end age-long established customs and relationships. "You can do this," he said. "With money, with the atom bomb, America can kill every Arab who protests because the promises have all been broken and the foreigners have been forced into this country. Is that what you wish?" I could not have offered a defense of the Committee's report or of America's role if I had tried, for Auni Bey's questions were strictly rhetorical. I only asked, because this was what I had hoped to hear from him, whether he and the other Arab leaders had agreed on a specific plan of action in case the Committee's report was accepted in London. I got no real reply but only deflected a little the direction of the flow. "What can we do? You can kill us, We can die. What else? We are not prepared to wage war against Britain and the United States and the Jews. But in time, we will be vindicated. If it takes a thousand years, justice

will finally be done." And then, a little abruptly he mentioned Russia. "We don't wish to call upon Stalin for help. But if necessary we can do so." "What about the United Nations?" I asked. "Will the Arab League lay the Palestine issue before the Council or the Assembly?" To this question Auni Bey gave no answer. What was evident from his conversation was the uncertainty that lay behind his genuine indignation.

From one of the other leaders, a very different man, I got the same impression. Dr. Hussein Khalidi, formerly Mayor of Jerusalem, is a successful lawyer and a member of the Arab Higher Executive. He is as quiet and smooth as Auni Bey is violent. He talks with you, meets objections, appears to weigh arguments. He, too, leans heavily on documents, and uses them well. He showed me the verbatim testimony, never published, taken at the London Conference in 1939 which resulted in the White Paper. He was there as one of the Palestine Arab delegates. At this meeting Malcolm MacDonald promised, without the slightest equivocation, in answer to detailed questions by himself and another delegate, that the Arabs would have permanent and final control over Jewish immigration after five years; during that period 75,000 Jews would be admitted under the British plan. If the quota were not filled during the allotted time, the remainder would not be admitted after the period ended. It was there, black on white, question and promise. On the record the Arabs have an unanswerable case. (And so, of course, have the Jews; and the issue therefore cannot be decided on the record at all, but must be dealt with, as the Joint Committee honestly attempted to do, on its political and human merits.)

Khalidi, like Auni Bey, having proved his point and expressed his profound distaste for American interference, became vague as to Arab policy. He predicted trouble—but how much and what sort, he didn't say. Would the other Arab states help the Palestinian Arabs?, I asked. He wouldn't commit himself on that either. Both leaders were restrained by their knowledge that the meeting at Inchass of the Arab kings and chiefs of state, then in progress, was debating his very problem, and by the more intimate fact that the Palestinian Arab parties had just split into two "higher" committees over the question of appealing to the United Nations.

The decisions reached at Inchass were never fully disclosed, but when the Arab League met in extraordinary session at Bludan on June 8 to consider the Palestine issue, the press announced that it was acting, not as an independent policy-making body, but under directives from the Arab rulers. In fact, the secretary-general of the Arab League, Abdul Rahman Azzam, himself declared that the League had become the "executive agent" of the Arab chiefs of state. After a series of defiant and deafening speeches, the League went into closed session and at last emerged with a program which must have disappointed the pan-Arab fire-eaters. Talk of a Holy War had disappeared altogether; so had the expected demand

for Palestine independence. No mention was made of an appeal to the United Nations for action against the Committee's report. The resolutions adopted merely called for the creation of a committee representing all the Arab states to "supervise all questions concerning Palestine"; the setting up in Palestine of a new Arab Higher Executive to supersede or unite the two competing "higher" committees; the demobilization and disarming of all Jewish troops (no mention of Arab military organizations); and various proposals to end land sales to Jews and strengthen the boycott of Jewish goods.

Arab nationalism is a real force. No one who has been in Egypt and the Levant can deny it. It does not go as deep as its leaders want you to think but it has enough popular backing so that foreigners, and non-Moslems, foreign or native, face growing hostility in Moslem countries. The poor masses in the villages are probably almost unaware of the issue; in the cities there is plenty of explosive material for the politicians to use. Nationalist feeling backed up and inflamed by religious fanaticism is unquestionably growing.

Will it explode in Palestine? This is the question raised in acute form by British action there. To me the answer seems so obvious that I find it hard to take seriously the feverish warnings of British officials and Arab propagandists. The caution displayed by the Arab leaders when they sit down to consider policy is far more convincing. Unless all political signs fail, no general rising of Arabs would result from the application of the Committee's proposals. Doubtless there would be sporadic attacks and local disorders, though even these would, I am convinced, be reduced by the general respect in which the Jewish defense organization is held. But no Holy War, no invasion from neighboring countries, not even civil war in Palestine.

Britain may be executing a slow retreat in the Middle East: its economic hold may be threatened by American competition, its ultimate political control by Russian penetration. But the Empire has enormous staying power and up to the present time it has been able to manipulate the ambitions of Arab leaders, and especially the divisions among them, to buttress its strategic positions.

No Arab state or combination of states can start a war in Palestine without British connivance. The Arab leaders know this well; they may bark loudly, but they have very few teeth to bite with. Egypt will never endanger its present negotiations with Britain by seriously involving itself in Palestine. King Farouk has huge ambitions, encompassing the whole Arab world. But his present need is to win a diplomatic triumph through the withdrawal, on favorable terms, of British forces from Egypt. Farouk is playing a cage game and doing everything politically possible to minimize—while using—the growing Xenophobia of opposition parties and fanatic organizations like the Moslem Brotherhood. No Holy War will start in Egypt in the early future.

Transjordan's newly crowned king, Abdullah, is in Britain's pocket—not only because the whole independence farce was staged and run off by the British; not only because the treaty with Britain secures that power's predominant interest; but above all because Transjordan's army is officered by Britishers and is in fact an integral part of Britain's armed forces in the Middle East. To imagine an incursion from Transjordan into Palestine without Britain's consent is a little difficult. In Iraq, British control is only a little less overt. Since the overthrow of Rashid Ali in 1941, the Iraqi government and army have operated under strict British supervision.

There remain Syria and Lebanon. Ostensibly independent since the French were evicted, these countries might possibly cause trouble across the border. Syria is now militantly pan-Arab and has taken the lead in boycotting Jewish goods from Palestine. Lebanon, torn between Arab propaganda and the fears of the Christian population, is more inhibited. But both are deeply beholden to the British. The liquidation of French control was accomplished by a series of maneuvers which have never been fully exposed. In the process, local politicians, bought and paid for, were established in power by their new overlords. The financial by-products of office are great in the Levant and it will be some time, I imagine, before these officials will think it discreet to kick over the traces. If they did, their ability to make trouble in Palestine would be severely restricted by the almost complete collapse of the Levantine armies since the French moved out.

Apart from direct British influence, however, there are all sorts of minor pressures at work to prevent united Arab action in Palestine. The Arab states may adopt a common attitude on Jewish immigration, but they can never stage a general revolt as long as they continue to be split by cross-currents of interest and feeling. King Farouk's ambition to dominate an inclusive Arab union—even to revive the Caliphate—is in direct conflict with King Abdullah's ambition to rule over a Greater Syria comprising Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan, a plan supposedly encouraged by the British. Both projects are opposed by Ibn Saud, absolute monarch of Arabia, who looks upon himself as the legitimate leader of the Moslem world and nourishes an ancient feud with the Hashimite family, to which Abdullah belongs. Even within the Greater Syria orbit, the interests of Abdullah clash with those of many Syrian politicians who benefit from their country's role as an "independent" republic with a seat in the United Nations.

If an Arab revolt on a big scale is out of the question, as I believe these facts indicate, how can one explain the fears of British officials in Palestine and the ugly events of the past week? The answer is to be found in the history of Arab blackmail and British appeasement. During the years before the outbreak of war, Nazi agents in every Arab country spread the charge that the British intended

to subject the Moslems to Jewish domination. Arab attacks on Jewish settlements in the late '30's were largely the product of this untiring propaganda, and by the end of 1938 the Colonial Office had pretty well convinced the government that the loyalty of Jewish Palestine would be more than offset, in case of war, by the hostility of the Arab chieftains. Quite abruptly, and without regard for past commitments, the British instituted a sweeping program of appeasement. For the first time Arab notables were invited to join in discussions of the Palestine problem. Then the whole policy based on the Balfour declaration and embodied in the Mandate was reversed by the provisions of the White Paper. Through these moves the British hoped to counter Axis propaganda and insure the loyalty of the Arabs.

The results of this maneuver are well remembered. With very few exceptions Arab leaders in Palestine and outside were either openly pro-Axis or unreliable and shifting in their allegiance. The behavior of the Mufti—today again at large and ready to resume his dominant role in the Middle East—was only a dramatic expression of the general Arab attitude.

But the failure of appeasement during the war did not discourage the engineers of Britain's colonial policy. Victory wiped out the power of the Axis; it did not guarantee the security of the Empire. In the offing they see the looming threat of Soviet power pressing toward the warm-water ports and oil resources of the Middle East. A bloc of Arab states linked to Britain by concessions, favors, and a well-grounded fear of communism still seems to the conventional colonial mind the best available bulwark against Russia's penetration.

Such hopes would be frustrated by the growth of Jewish strength in Palestine. For the energy and progressive social program of the Jews menace, far more imminently than does Russia, the hierarchic feudalism of the Moslem world from which the Arab ruling class derives its wealth and power. To encourage the Jews would be to plant dynamite under that decadent system. It would make further appeasement impossible. If the Arab leaders cannot stage a revolt, they can make plenty of trouble of other sorts. They might even, as a maneuver in power politics, carry out their threat and call upon Russia for help. The frightened colonial official sees these possibilities crowding in on him, and his single impulse is to step on the Jews. Heaven knows he does not want social change any more than the Arabs; he wants the old system and men on top with whom he can make satisfactory deals. If military force can do it, and if Mr. Bevin continues to back him up, he will wipe out the Jewish defense forces while there is still time and stop the smuggling of D. P.'s from Europe. And with his last breath he will oppose the recommendations of the Joint Committee of Inquiry.

[Miss Kirby's next article on the Middle East will analyze the Jewish position in the struggle over Palestine.]

THE COCKPIT OF THE MIDDLE EAST

ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

SOME months ago, an office in Washington, interested in news from and about the Middle East, placed an order for such material with a clipping service. At the end of the first month, the man in charge was amazed and greatly perturbed by the size of the bill. It amounted to over ten thousand dollars.

This furnishes a tangible illustration of the place occupied by the Middle East in current world developments. The range extends all the way from a local rebellion by a Kurdish chieftain in Iraq to the fear of a new conflagration over the Soviet-Iranian conflict in the UN's Security Council in New York. Or does it end there? Is there a single issue among the many perturbing the world today that does not cut across Middle East realities?

Though this may sound like a hyperbolic statement, it is far from that. In some cases, the crucial importance of the Middle East has become clear to everyone. In others, observers at a distance fail to detect the explosive potentialities until the eruption actually takes place. It takes time to see the connection between disturbances in Azerbaijan and two hundred years of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia; between demands presented to Turkey on behalf of the Georgians and Armenians and Russia's need for a free outlet to the warm seas if she is not to remain a landlocked empire;

between anti-French riots in Damascus and British-French disagreement over European issues; between terroristic outbursts in Palestine and Britain's determination to maintain its dominating position in the Middle East; between the sudden declaration of Transjordanian independence and the UN's plans for trusteeships over mandated lands; between an American airfield in Saudi Arabia or an American trans-Arabian oil pipeline and Mr. Byrnes' indignant speeches on Russia's failure to withdraw her forces from Iran.

More than any area on earth, the Middle East is a jigsaw puzzle with enough pieces in it to cause bewilderment even to experts at the game. Yet this puzzle, like all others, has a solution. All the pieces can be made to fit.

SOME of the components of the Middle East puzzle are tangible or visible. Here they lie before us in utter disorder: Arabs and Jews; Christian minorities of all churches, including some whose very existence is unknown to most Americans (Melkites, Nestorians, Chaldeans, etc.); Moslems of a variety of sects; Assyrians and Armenians; Druzes and Kurds and even sun-worshippers; the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf and also the Dardanelles—the latter to be included in the Middle East if we take this term to cover also the

Eliahu Ben-Horin lived for many years in Palestine, where he was editor in chief of the Palestine News Service for four years. He is the author of The Middle East: Crossroads of History, published in 1943.

Near East. There is more oil in the Middle East than in any other single region of the world; its strategic and communications values are unparalleled. This is where the invisible components of our puzzle come into play: the interests of the great powers in whose hands the local factors are no more than pawns. The stake in this game of rival imperialisms is the domination of a region which holds one of the keys to world power.

The ingredients of internal strife, apt to produce worldwide repercussions, are present in the Middle East in great abundance. Azerbaijan was not invented in the Kremlin, and if tomorrow the world is faced with the question of the Kurds and their demand for the formation of an independent Kurdistan, this, too, will not be the invention of some evil mind. There are Kurds in the Middle East, some three million of them, and they were even promised, after World War I, that they would have an independent state of their own. In other words, the pawns have been there all the time, but their moves are timed and directed by world interests.

Because of the Middle East's crucial importance in the world picture, it would be of little use to analyze any single local problem on its limited merits. They are all interwoven in one pattern, the threads of which do not end in the Indian Ocean in the east or in the Dardanelles in the west. The threads go on to London, Moscow, and Washington. It would be futile to try cutting the knot in Cairo, Jerusalem, or Teheran.

There is enough dynamite amassed in the Middle East to explode into a worldwide conflagration. On the other hand, wise statesmanship could use the dynamite as a lever in a great constructive effort on behalf of humanity. Oil moves tanks and bombers, but it also feeds tractors and disck. A diversity of national and religious groups can easily breed trouble, but it can also produce a more colorful civilization.

II

Oil is now on everybody's lips. Oil is seen behind every clash and difficulty in the Middle East. The existence of nearly thirty billion barrels of petroleum

in the ground of the Middle East lands has indeed been established beyond doubt. Fairly competent guesses speak of an additional seventy billion barrels. This is a very respectable amount of oil, far exceeding the total home reserves plus the Caribbean reserves of the United States, and probably equaling the combined known and undiscovered reserves of the Soviet Union. Yet, I venture to say, the importance of the oil factor in Middle Eastern rivalries is both over-emphasized and over-estimated.

On the face of it, it was Russia's desire for oil concessions in northern Iran that was the cause of all the recent agitation in the UN's Security Council. However, a sober analysis of the Soviet-Iranian conflict would prove that oil played but a minor part in the development of events. Does Russia need Persian oil so badly as to risk a serious clash between the Big Three? Is it known with any degree of certainty that there are substantial petroleum reserves in Iran's five northern provinces, and do the Western powers entertain any ambitions of their own with regard to the oil of that area?

The honest answers to all the above questions would be in the negative. Without mentioning her present control over all the oilfields of eastern and central Europe, Russia has enough oil within her own boundaries, not only for her current needs but also to fuel an extensive program of reconstruction and industrialization. To be sure, Russian oil production suffered during the war, and new sources would be welcome. But the need is hardly acute enough to warrant war. Britain and the United States have no reason whatsoever to oppose a Soviet concession in northern Iran, a region which traditionally belongs to the Russian sphere of political and economic influence and which is virtually inaccessible to profitable exploitation by any other power. This region, moreover, is as yet unexplored and its petroleum potentialities have never been established. The British own the rich oilfields of southwest Persia and the Americans have tried to get a concession in the southeastern part of Persia. In addition, Britain and America control all the oil reserves of the Arab lands. No British or American com-

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pany wants concessions in northern Iran, for the simple reason that it would not pay.

A look at the map will show that the five northern provinces of Persia—Chilan, Azerbaijan, Astrabad, Mazanderan, and Khorassan—are so cut off from world markets that an oil industry there could not compete with other producing areas. These provinces lie near the Caspian Sea and Russian developments in that region. The conclusion is indicated that no oil concession to any nation is practical politics in this area, unless it is obtained and worked with Russia's consent.

If it was not oil that caused all this trouble, what was it? The truth of the matter is that none of the great powers was half so interested in obtaining the oil of northern Iran, as in not letting the other fellow have it. Russia does not need the oil, but she would hate to see Britain established so close to her borders and to the Caspian Sea. Britain does not need the oil of northern Iran, but she is determined to prevent or to slow down Russia's thrust toward the Persian Gulf.

THE real crux of the problem is this: who is to control the strategic heights in the Middle East? All the rest is camouflage, not always artistically executed, but widely used by both parties. British-American indignation over Russia's use of Azerbaijan to achieve its aims in Persia or to create a Soviet-dominated puppet state can hardly be taken seriously in the light of Britain's own record. One could recall the case of the Assyrians after World War I. Britain raised the question of the Assyrians, when she demanded that the Mosul district be cut off from Turkey because the Christian Assyrians could not be safely left under Turkish rule. But as soon as Mosul was incorporated in Iraq and the British secured for themselves the oil of Mosul, they forgot the Assyrians completely—even to the extent of condoning their mass massacre by the Arabs of Iraq.

We do not have to go as far back as that. At the very time that the Security Council was preoccupied with the Soviet-Iranian controversy, the British government in London announced the independence of Transjordan. This land lying east of the Jordan, an integral part of the area under

the jurisdiction of the Palestine mandate of the League of Nations, was suddenly transformed into a sovereign kingdom. Who had taken the decision to abolish the League's mandate? Not the League of Nations; not its mandates commission; not the United Nations; not even a conference of the Big Three. It was done unilaterally by Great Britain. It was done, moreover, in great haste, without waiting for the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine or for the decisions of the UN's Trusteeship Council which is supposed to take over the League's mandates.

To be sure, Transjordanian will be no more independent now than before. Granting it the nominal status of "kingdom" and its ruler, Emir Abdullah, the title of "king," will not change the basic conditions of its national existence. There will still be only about 300,000 inhabitants, mostly nomadic illiterate Bedouins, with no industry, little commerce, poor communications, no cultural institutions, no economic development. Transjordanian and its "king" will still be totally dependent on Britain politically, militarily, and financially. If Britain were to stop its subsidy to "King" Abdullah and his Arab Legion of 16,000 (British-officered) men, the king and his soldiers would have to beg for alms.

One is entitled to ask: If Britain may set up a puppet state in Transjordanian, in disregard of international covenants, why should not Russia be allowed to do the same with Azerbaijan today, or Kurdistan tomorrow, or a larger Soviet Armenia the day after?

III

THE sun does not set on the British Empire. Nor, for that matter, does it set on the Russian Empire. A Labor government in Britain and a Soviet regime in Russia cannot change these physical realities. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Stalin are engaged, not in an ideological dispute between Socialism and Communism, but in a clash of two mammoth empires. The main scene of their duel is the Middle East. Nothing happens today in the cockpit of the Middle East without being affected by this over-all rivalry between Britain and

Russia. Its ultimate outcome must be either the most annihilating war in history or peaceful collaboration between the two empires, with America as a third partner and arbiter. There seems to be no middle way.

This is the light in which the various Middle Eastern issues, big and small, must be seen. An American expert who possesses first-hand knowledge of Persia and the Middle East recently tried to take the bull by the horns and offer a solution for the Iranian problem, which, if accepted, would set the pace for a peaceful and constructive settlement of the many complicated problems of the entire Middle East. I refer to the statement issued in April by Dr. Arthur C. Millspaugh, of the Brookings Institution, who served as administrator general of Persia's finances from 1922 to 1927 and again from 1943 to 1945. What Dr. Millspaugh suggested was an American-British-Soviet guardianship over Iran for twenty-five to seventy-five years as the only alternative to competitive concession grabbing and the only way to establish a progressive and enlightened administration in the interests of the masses of the people rather than of a few feudal lords.

Here is how Dr. Millspaugh describes conditions in Iran:

... Discontent and disloyalty are widespread. The government neither represents nor serves the people; and, without outside control, it is, in my opinion, incapable of doing the things that are necessary if Iran is to establish stability at home and command respect abroad. In Iran, neither independence nor self-government is a reality; and neither can become a reality if it is assumed that Iranians are now politically capable of solving their own problems. What Iran needs for a time is more foreign interference, but interference of a new and constructive kind.

If this is true of Iran, an independent and self-governing state for thousands of years and, in the past, a conquering empire, how much truer must it be of the many little states of the Middle East to whom nominal independence was indiscriminately granted after World War II, regardless of their qualifications for statehood in general, and progressive self-government in particular. We have mentioned the case of Transjordan. Syria and Lebanon, as well as Iraq, are in the same category. So is Lybia, where, it seems, a

similar plan for nominal independence and factual dependence on Britain has been set in motion, as a counter-move to the Russian demand for sole trusteeship over that ex-Italian colony. By now it should have been clear to Britain's statesmen that the setting up of satellite-states is a double-edged weapon. Two can play at this game, and in this kind of politics the Kremlin certainly lacks neither ability, nor experience, nor connections, nor appeal to the imagination of the masses.

INDEED, what the dispassionate expert, Dr. Millspaugh, has suggested with regard to Iran, was recently advocated, if not explicitly, by a leading British weekly. In a penetrating analysis of the forces at play in the Middle East, the *New Statesman and Nation* arrives at the conclusion that present British policy is suicidal. After describing the elimination of France from the Middle East with Britain's active support and the erection of the Arab League—once again with active British support—the paper says:

... From the Soviet point of view, the only conclusion that can be drawn from British policy is that it is an effort to organize the Middle East against the USSR. They have plenty of material to justify this view, just as the British can cite much Soviet propaganda and intrigue to prove that Russian policy is to destroy the British Empire. ... In deciding to found their future on a presumably anti-Soviet Arab bloc, British policy appears to us to be founded on sand. The Arab League is of no military account; its economic resources are small; it is beset by internal rivalries; and there is not the slightest reason to believe that it will remain "loyal" to the British Empire. ... In our present bid for Arab support we British can only go a certain distance before we cut our own throats. Anglo-American commitments of all kinds are such that we cannot offer the moon. The Russians can always go one better; the strength of the Russian appeal in the long run is that it offers the miserably poor Arab peasants the hope of a modernized economy and the end of landlord exploitation.

I apologize for this extensive quotation, but the *New Statesman and Nation* has stated so succinctly the relative positions in the Middle East and the dangers inherent in present policies that I have not been able to withstand the temptation of borrowing its description. On the strength of this apology, I should like to reproduce the concluding passages of the article, as well:

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... If the rising tide of pan-Arabism, set in motion by ourselves, but now also fostered from Moscow, submerges the Jewish establishment in Palestine and the Christian Lebanon, the only friends whose loyalty has never wavered will have been sacrificed to the romantic chimera of a great Arab union, resuscitating the glories of the Caliphate, linked to Britain by bonds of gratitude and amity.

This has never been an intelligent dream, and it does not take account of present reality. It would surely have been wiser for both the British and the Russians to maintain the original policy of Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, which was, verbally at least, to accept the facts of each other's power, co-operate on the basis of respect for each other's interest, and work together to improve the living standards of backward peoples.

Thus Dr. Millspaugh's detached American approach and the British weekly's concern for the future of the empire dictate the same conclusion. Anti-Russian intrigue by Britain will produce payment in kind by Russia. If the present clash is allowed to continue, it must lead to a catastrophe. Anglo-Soviet-American co-operation in the Middle East would seem to be a far more "intelligent dream."

IV

UNDER existing conditions, any adjustment in the Middle East can be no more than a temporary expedient liable to break down under the impact of either Soviet or British-American onslaught. As long as mistrust and hostility continue to dominate the relations between the two empires, there cannot be even a minimum of stability in the recently proclaimed independence of Transjordan, in the statehood of Syria and Lebanon, in a new British-Egyptian Treaty, in a British-American decision with regard to Palestine, in a UN-negotiated settlement of Soviet-Persian relations, in an international agreement with regard to the Straits, in any number of other decisions and agreements about Lybia, Greater Soviet Armenia, Azerbaijan, oil, Kurdistan, Georgia, Eritrea, Sudan, the Suez Canal.

Should the Big Three, however, adopt the wiser policy of co-operation, the problems could be solved in a manner which would at once safeguard the legitimate interests of the big powers and assure justice for the small peoples. Analysis of the major problems will substantiate this.

Let us, first of all, formulate the chief legitimate interests of the great powers. Britain's interest in the Middle East has priority from the viewpoint of both oil and communications. Unlike Russia, Britain has no petroleum at home. Unlike Russia, the British Empire is not a compact land-mass but a chain of possessions spread all over the globe. Accordingly, if Britain is to exist as a great power and retain her empire, she must be sure of her oil supplies and line of communications.

Russia has two main concerns in the Middle East: she needs an outlet to the warm seas and fears an anti-Russian or anti-Soviet *cordon sanitaire* in the Near and Middle East. The first consideration is responsible for the Soviet maneuvering in Persia with an eye on the Persian Gulf and for the Russian, Armenian, and Georgian demands on Turkey—demands actually centered on the Straits. The second consideration motivates all Russian intrigues against Britain and the Empire.

Both the United States and France are interested in Middle Eastern oil and other economic resources, and have religious and sentimental attachments to the area.

THESE legitimate aspirations of the great powers are not wholly irreconcilable, while their harmonious co-habitation would benefit the peoples of the Middle East—and I mean the peoples, not the ruling cliques—much more than the present system.

A genuine agreement between the great powers would easily dispose of the three major international assets of the Middle East: oil, the Suez Canal, and the Straits. As far as oil is concerned, if mutual fear and mistrust are eliminated, there should be no difficulty in the division of exploitation areas among the various parties. There is enough oil in the Middle East to satisfy all needs. These natural riches, moreover, could and should contribute to the welfare of the Middle Eastern peoples themselves. As matters stand today, the Arab fellah, the Bedouin, or the Persian peasant derive hardly any benefit at all from the abundance of liquid gold in their soil. The nearly one hundred million dollars paid by the oil companies to Iraq have not improved the lot of that

country's downtrodden masses. The same is true of the oil royalties paid to King Ibn Saud, or to the sheiks of Kuwait and Bahrein. Actually, these Moslem potentates can do nothing with their oil unless it is developed, produced, refined, piped, shipped, and marketed by Western capital and industry. It is well within the capability of the Western world to see to it that the capital invested in Middle East lands be used for a program of development which would elevate the masses from their present misery.

If the questions of the Straits and Suez are treated together rather than separately and the same yardstick is applied to both, a just and logical solution can easily be reached. Each is an international waterway in which one major power is primarily interested. The Suez Canal is the chief artery of Britain's naval communications, while the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles are Russia's only outlet to the Mediterranean. There is a third essential similarity between these two waterways: both lie within the geographic boundaries of small states. In fact, the Suez is probably the main obstacle in Egypt's way to independence and the Straits constitute the main danger to Turkey's national security. These slices of international power are too large to rest safely in the hands of small peoples. The Straits were once internationalized, after World War I, but later were returned to Turkey's jurisdiction. The Suez Canal, now in Britain's hands, should revert, by 1968, to Egypt's possession and full control. The solution lies, of course, in the establishment of international administrations over the two waterways, with a Briton at the head of the Suez administration and a Russian at the head of the Straits administration. Egypt and Turkey should get their revenues from the traffic in the waterways, but neither of them could expect or should desire to be charged with the sole responsibility for strategic positions of such international significance.

V

IF THE same principle of international collaboration could be applied in good faith to the local problems and conflicts

of the Middle East, all of them could be resolved. The former Italian colonies in North Africa, Lybia, and Eritrea, will continue to cause an international headache as long as Britain tries to prevent Russia's penetration into the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Russia had demanded sole trusteeship for herself over Lybia, probably as a bargaining device in the controversy over the Straits. Britain encourages the Arab League to ask for the independence of these territories, which is a mere joke, for these desert countries are utterly incapable of exercising statehood. An American-British-Russian trusteeship, with a possible cession of part of Eritrea, including an outlet to the Red Sea, to Abyssinia, is the only regime which could develop these lands economically, culturally, and politically in the interests of the local populations.

Continuing our examination of local problems from the fringes of the Middle East to the center, we come to the question of the Azerbaijanians, Kurds, Armenians, and Georgians. Today, the demands of these groups for national self-determination or for more *Lebensraum* sound very much like Soviet intrigue. They may be, but there is no way of proving it and certainly no justification for refusing Azerbaijan or Kurdistan what is granted to Lybia or Transjordan. As in Lybia, so in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, condominium administrations by the Big Three would be the best remedy. As to the demands of the Armenian and Georgian Soviet Republics, an international inquiry into the historic background and present conditions should precede any decision. However, it should be remembered that there is only one large group of Armenians outside of Russia: over 100,000 in Lebanon. If the question of Lebanon is solved in such a way as to safeguard the existence and development of its Christian communities, the problem of these hundred thousand Armenians would lose its urgency.

We have still to consider three major Middle East groups: the Moslem Arabs, the Jews, and the Christian minorities other than the Armenians. All three now face a common enemy—fanatical Pan-

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Arabism, promoted by reactionary chieftains, feudalistic landlords, and backward clergy, and sponsored by Great Britain. Pan-Arabism today stands opposed not only to a Jewish Palestine and a Christian Lebanon, but also to the vital interests of the Arab masses. The adverse effects of Pan-Arabism on the relations between the great powers have already been mentioned. Its effects on the progress of the Middle East are no less detrimental. That there is anti-foreignism among the Arabs—as among many other peoples—cannot be denied; but if the Arab League were deprived of the artificial aid given it by the conflict of rival imperialisms, it would remain with very little real power, whether political, military, economic, or religious.

The fear of Pan-Arab reaction is often cited as the main reason for the non-fulfillment of the Balfour pledge to the Jewish people. If it were not for that fear, most people would agree that Palestine was promised to the Jews and that the Jews are entitled to a homeland. The failure of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine to offer a plan for the final solution of the problems, was, once again, due fundamentally to the fact that Soviet Russia was not invited to share in the inquiry and in the responsibility.

Britain shows no inclination to transfer Palestine to the jurisdiction of the UN. Not only the proclamation of Transjordan's independence militates against this, but also the fact that at the liquidation session of the League of Nations in Geneva, in April of this year, Lord Robert Cecil, speaking for the British government, state that while Britain was willing to hand over her mandates in Africa (Tanganyika, the Cameroons, and Togoland) to the UN, the question of the Palestine mandate had to be postponed. Britain, moreover, is busy building extensive military installations in Palestine at the cost of many million dollars, enlarging her garrison there, and showing every sign of

transforming Palestine into her main military and naval base in the eastern Mediterranean. This stands to reason, in the light of the pending withdrawal of Britain's forces from Egypt.

The establishment of a British-American-Russian trusteeship over Palestine and of a French-British-American administration in Lebanon would solve the Jewish and Christian problems in the Middle East, as no other device could. In twenty or thirty years, Palestine would become a predominantly Jewish republic and the Lebanon a Christian state. Both of them would be loyal collaborators with progressive humanity. Both of them could be trusted to respect the legitimate interests of the great powers and take care of the social and economic needs of their working masses. All they need is a chance, and that can be given them only by the great powers acting in concert.

Once the civilizing influences of the great powers and of Jewish Palestine and Christian Lebanon were firmly established, the way would be open for progressive promotion of Arab statehood in Iraq, Syria, and the Arab Peninsula. For in cases such as these, formal concepts of independence are without practical meaning. In the words of Dr. Millspaugh, what these states need is "more foreign interference, but interference of a new and constructive kind." Great power condominiums over the Arab states would make possible not only the utilization of their petroleum resources for the benefit of the Arab masses, but also the inauguration of development programs of historic magnitude. The prerequisites for such development are there; they have been waiting many centuries for intelligent and well-meaning administrators to come and set to work.

The fate of humanity is now being determined in the cockpit of the Middle East. Which is it to be: a new Armageddon or a better world?

The Manchester Guardian
September 7, 1946

(City, London + International Editions)

Letters to the Editor

AMERICAN OPINION AND PALESTINE

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian

Sir.—At this moment the British Government, in its blindness, seems to be transforming the friendly attitude towards the United Kingdom of Americans who used to be traditionally pro-British and who showed their deep-rooted friendship during the first and second world wars, especially during the period when the United States were not yet actively engaged in those wars and when the enemy had facilities to foster Anglophobe sentiments. This applies particularly to the question of Palestine. The effects in the United States of that crisis have for a long time been mistaken by the British Government as propaganda fostered by American Zionists only. This I believe to be a cardinal misinterpretation of what is happening.

The general feeling in the United States, which seems to have escaped the British Government's attention, can be summarised in the statement made by a coloured bootblack who cleaned my shoes this morning outside the Hotel Rice, in Houston, Texas: "Mister, when you is shore from England you all can tell your people they needs a Abraham Lincoln, now." There seems to be one issue upon which the two principal political parties in the United States are united: a deep feeling ranging from regret to outspoken anger about Palestine. And this at a time when an election is pending. It should be remembered that the influence of coloured people on any political issue, whether they are bootblacks or judges, is practically nil—in this case it is the country as a whole.

Of course there is more to it than just public emotion. The Democratic party has steadily lost support in the country and they now stand only an almost equal chance with the Republicans in some important States, especially New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. In these States the powerful and now united Jewish vote will no doubt deter-

mine the issue. No party can ignore this and they are clearly taking account of it.

It is incomprehensible to the most intelligent leaders here that the British Army was ordered in Palestine to play a role which seems to have a faint Hitlerian odour. The explanation given by the British Government is usually dismissed by the word "bunkum"—an eloquent word needing no translation.

This state of affairs has been arrived at without the broadsides of American Zionism, which seem to be presented to the people in Britain by the Labour Government as an explanation of the feeling of the American people. During a recent journey through thirty-two States the writer has not once seen any clear evidence of the existence of American Zionists. But there was not one town which did not discuss the fate of the refugees stopped by the Royal Navy outside Haifa.

The question has often been asked by Americans whether the people in Britain are fully informed by their press of what is happening and whether the press is afraid to report some things which might be uncomfortable to the Government. The imagination of many Americans is already painting the gloom picture of the British press being afraid of the threat of nationalisation by the Labour Government. And it takes hours of fact and argument to convince them of the contrary. In fact, the task of convincing anybody in America of the good faith of the British Government is almost impossible while the Government continues on its present course.

There is a rumour that the Zionists are about to form two regiments of their war veterans, which would volunteer for service in Palestine should the need occur. The significance of that rumour may be seen perhaps in the summary comment made upon it by a Mid-Western newspaper after reporting it: "Good luck to you fellows."—Yours, &c.,
W. E. HART.
Houston, Texas, August 24.

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EGYPT: BRITAIN AND THE ARABS

Pages from a Correspondent's Notebook

HAL LEHRMAN

EGYPT (March-April, 1945)—My fourth visit to Cairo. It's even more depressing than my last station, Naples, where the dirt is caked down in layers. But the current Neapolitan dirt is a by-product of war and wreckage; here it belongs to a system eternal. Entirely apart from the heat, which you can't usefully quarrel with but simply have to endure, the air of Cairo hangs heavy with the odors of Empire, feudalism, and horse manure. The latter perfume only asserts itself vigorously when a puff of breeze stirs the sun-baked, shredded sprinklings from the road and swirls them aloft in a delicate haze. But the smells of Britannia and her native castes hang high on all occasions.

You get irritated by the way the British regulate your life here as if this were a piece of England—two hours for public drinking at noon and four hours in the evening because that's how it's done in London. Or you allow yourself to be annoyed over the impossible working conditions, when every office has its own special hours, the British Embassy from 9 to 1 and 6 to 3, the British Army from 8:15 to 1:15 and 5 to 8, the United States Army from 8 to 12 and 12:30 to 4, and so on,

As war correspondent in Central Europe, the Balkans, and the Near East, HAL LEHRMAN won wide reputation for well-documented and thoughtful analyses of the problems confronting human beings in the most politically-troubled areas of the world. Besides his series on Hungary, Rumania, and Greece in COMMENTARY, articles by him have appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Nation*, *PM*, *Vogue*, and the *British News Chronicle* and *New Statesman*. He has also served as a correspondent for the *Associated Press*, *Newsweek*, the *Havas News Agency*, and the *London Daily Express*. Upon its completion, Mr. Lehrman's book based on his experiences in the Balkans will be published by Appleton. He was born in New York in 1911, and graduated from Cornell in 1935. This is the second section of a series of four sections from Mr. Lehrman's personal travel journal which became available for uncensored publication with his return to the United States.

which keeps the working newspaperman plugging with the mad dogs and Englishmen through the noonday sun and evening torpor.

But what bothers you most is the spirit of this town: the way the British—who are agreeable people elsewhere when they're merely foreigners like the rest of us—turn into the master race the instant they set foot on a segment of Empire, and the way the beggars cluster in front of Shepherd's and the Continentals while the princes and the magnates, British and Arab, recline on the hotel terraces. Close to this magnificence lies the *Wish-el-Birkeh*, native red-light quarter. Over at the Turf Club, waiters in chocolate skins and balloon pants serve you a curious but inspiring cocktail called a "gimlet," and then you go up to the restaurant on the roof where all the delicacies of the East are spread beneath an enormous canopy of Oriental rugs on poles, like the desert camps of Rudolf Valentino, while outside the flies buzz around the blinded eyes of untended "Wog" children. At Gezira, there are hundreds of acres of golf course, polo field, rugby field, swimming pool, and whatnot, for which the British Officers' Club still pays the Egyptian Government only about \$450 monthly rental, fixed by the Khedive in the last century, while nearby the fellah hangers on a few square feet of mud. Lancashire wanted cotton, so the British built dams and canals for which the Egyptian landlords paid from their cotton profits after the Nile coaxed out over the sand, but they forgot to install enough drainage. The snails which carry bilharzia flourished in the puddles, and today make four-fifths of Egypt sick with anemia, hemorrhages, and sundry kidney and bowel diseases—but the cotton gets grown.

Bedfellows

CAIRO in this season is also the Middle East's capital. The city is crowded with delegates from the seven Arab states that are to launch the much-advertised Pan-Arab League. Every day it becomes increasingly clear that the League would never have been conceived, and would fall apart today, without British support. Anthony Eden in the House of Commons pronounced Arab unity inevitable before the Arabs began thinking about it seriously. Even

now, after numerous preliminary conferences, they are still haggling over the final text of the League's proposed constitution. I remember Eliahu ben-Horin quoting a Moslem writer to the effect that the country known as Syria doesn't exist outside the minds of publishers of atlases for children. The idea of Arab federation has been just as nebulous.

The clashing ambitions of the Arab notables, now on display in Cairo, make them as effective as Balkan diplomats trying to get together. Christian Lebanon is worried about Moslem Syria. Syria wants to unite the Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan into something called Greater Syria, which will be a republic centered in Damascus. Transjordan also wants a Greater Syria, but as a kingdom centered in Amman. All the effendis suffer from what the *New York Times*' Joseph Levy describes as the "chair disease"—a yearning for premierships or cabinet seats. Iraq would like a corridor to the Mediterranean. Emir Abdullah fears the ancient enemy of his Hashemite dynasty, Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Ibn Saud, keeper of the Holy Cities, still suspects the pretensions of Farouk of Egypt to the Caliphate. Egypt, as a high Foreign Ministry official refreshingly admits to me, opposes the creation of a Greater Syria because "it would set up a powerful state on our frontiers, next to our rich Sinai peninsula." On the other hand, Egypt's main objection to a Jewish state in Palestine is that "it would cut Egypt off from the Arab world, which we have always led culturally and economically and which we hope to go on leading."

But a non-Moslem educator here, who has spent a lifetime trying to bring light to the Middle East, assures me that "Egyptians are congenitally ignorant of where and what the Arab states are. This ignorance derives from contempt. Remember that Egyptians are not Arabs; most of them are of Pharaonic stock. And the Egyptian upper classes, whose origin is chiefly Turkish, draw a sharp line between themselves and even the Egyptian masses." It seems that old King Fuad was an Albanian and spoke better Turkish than Arabic—indeed, his Arabic was fairly hopeless. He refused to sit down to dinner with Zaghul Pasha, one of his prime ministers, because Zaghul started life as a fellah.

Inscrutable Albion

THE hullabaloo that the embryo League is even now raising against the French in Syria, with British connivance, is a foretaste of what a full-grown League could do against the British as well. This is a prospect which baffles everybody here who is trying to make sense

out of British policy. Azzam Bey, who will be Permanent Secretary to the League, looks me solemnly in the eye and declares: "The Arab unity drive runs parallel to the interests of Britain and the other Great Powers." But there is a shadow of a wink on his leathery face suggesting that he is thinking other things. If so, he agrees with all foreigners here—except the British Embassy and the office of the Resident Minister—that British policy, as usual, doesn't see beyond the next twenty years.

I've gone up as high as Brigadier Clayton, top expert on Arab affairs, and all I get from him is that Arab unity is inevitable anyway, we might as well play along with it, the days of divide and rule are over, you know, there's no need to get excited about this League, really there isn't, these chaps will always manage somehow to be at each other's throats on big decisions. . . . All this when even British newspapermen concede that while the short-term aim of the League may be to get the Zionists out of Palestine, the long-term aim is to get imperialism out of the Middle East. The latter result, at least, does not seem to be what this British government really wants.

Tartar Nightmare

Youssef Samir el-Rifai Pasha, Prime Minister of Transjordan, has confirmed in a diplomatic but frank manner the basic weakness of the Pan-Arab movement. "Until now, each state has been living in isolation, working in its own interest. We've not been able to present a united front. I feel the constitution we've produced for the League could have been much stronger. But considering, for example, the gulf which divides a cultured Christian republic like the Lebanon from a feudal Moslem monarchy like Saudi Arabia, it is a great accomplishment to have been able to get them into any kind of organization. And the door has been left open for greater and greater agreement. . . ."

Samir Pasha went on to talk with sweet reasonableness about Palestine. He is, incidentally, milder on the subject than any other potentate I've met here. All he wants is rigid application of the 1939 White Paper! He admits that the Arabs, as well as the Jews, were opposed to it at the start, "but the Arabs now demand its enforcement." They've decided that 75,000 more Jews in annual quota dribbles is fair enough, with reduced land sales, and with an eventual Palestine state in which Jews will be a permanent minority. The Pasha concedes that "Jewish legal immigration, as scheduled in the White Paper, was interrupted by the war. We're willing to have that number of Jews come in even now." But during the

war many Jews entered illegally or as refugees. These must either be withdrawn from Palestine or else their number must be subtracted from the total permitted by the White Paper. . . ."

Any American attempt to force a Jewish state on the Arabs, Samir warns, would "lead to bloodshed and to Arab loss of confidence in the Anglo-American democracies." Then he added darkly: "It would compel the Arabs to look for support from another direction. I'm sure you know what I mean. And I can tell you that the government to which I refer has already begun to play its cards very skillfully in the Middle East. . . ."

Here the Pasha touches on the only British motivation for support of an Arab League that makes sense. Talk of appealing to the Russians on Palestine, of course, is just bluff. The last thing the effendis want is further Soviet penetration here. They already are worried enough about the Communist movement in the Lebanon and the amount of Soviet-inspired literature circulating above and below the counter in Egyptian bookshops. Radio Moscow is lifting its voice in Arabic gutturals with a chant of land reform, industrial development, "share-the-wealth"—a Russian tocsin to the paupered fellah, a Tartar nightmare to his masters.

It has been noted with appropriate alarm that the Soviet Ambassador was the only diplomat present last week at the opening of an Armenian art exhibit in Cairo. Too many local Armenians—for lack of passports or other documents establishing their Egyptian nationality—have been mysteriously acquiring Soviet citizenship lately.

Individually, each isolated Arab state might more easily be picked off one by one through Russian maneuvering. A firm Arab federation, on the other hand, will make each Arab politician that much more immune to uprising from below and menace from abroad. Since Britain hitherto has given few signs of concern for the Arab masses as against their effendis, she emerges as the natural ally of the ruling caste. Feudal class-interest and British security-interest dovetail neatly here. That's why the perpetual grumbling of the politicians against the British isn't taken seriously, not even by the British. The politicians grumble because it's clever to be patriotic, and helps beguile the sincerely nationalist elements, which want not only the British but the native feudalists to get out, but haven't been able to organize themselves effectively as a movement independent of the effendis. The oldsters, choosing between Britain and Russia,

say: "Better the devil we know than the devil unknown."

The flaw in British reasoning is its confidence that the younger generation of Arab nationalists will inevitably grow up to the age of bribery and that the older generation will remain forever loyal. Arab behavior when Rommel was outside Alexandria is hardly a guarantee on which to build Arab unity in preparation for the next crisis of empire.

Courtesy call on Egypt's new Foreign Minister, Abdel Hamid Badoui. He indulged in a bit of whimsy about the term "Middle East," suggesting it was probably coined by the British. They locate everything with London as a starting-point, "which would make the 'Near East' begin somewhere in France, no?" The United Nations will not be a failure if it merely succeeds in establishing the United States as the new focal point, he suggested. "That would make Britain the first landfall in the Near East, and maybe induce her to be more cooperative on oriental problems. . . ."

When I asked him if Britain was backing the League because of the Russian situation, the Foreign Minister confirmed only that Britain was backing the League, and blinked knowingly behind his rimless spectacles. After a reflective silence, he ventured: "There is not much tangible danger from the Russians yet, although it is advisable always to be prudent by taking advance precautions. But isn't it odd that the strongest penetration of Communist ideas into the Middle East should be in Palestine, a mandated territory, where safeguards presumably are the strictest?" He saw I was a bit startled by this new facet of the many-sided Moslem rebuttal of Zionism. "Oh yes," he said, "the small experiments up there in collective communities are very interesting. Opening of the territory to all currents of thought from Europe has permitted the entry of many strange philosophies. . . ."

Cloak and Dagger

Russia isn't the only bull in Britain's china closet here. There are the French, too, who are on their way out, and the Americans, who are on their way in. Many a cynical Arab dignitary, in the two weeks since I reached Cairo, has stressed to me the League's potential as an instrument of British consolidation against the USSR and the United States. The Arabs may be playing along with the British, but they are hardly being taken in. They detect the discrepancy between General Spears' demand for the independence of Syria and his call, in the next breath, for British leadership over the Moslem world. They observe with relish the systematic British campaign to shift

the blame for Palestine to us. Pro-Zionist statements by American politicians get full publicity, but similar declarations in the House of Commons are heavily censored.

A sample of this sort of attrition is the studied attempt recently to trip up American informational activities in the Middle East. One day the Arab News Agency, a British-controlled outfit, announced out of nowhere that Arab papers in Palestine had begun boycotting the American Office of War Information. They were allegedly refusing, as a matter of policy, to publish OWI news, features, and photographs. The OWI's alarmed Cairo office telephoned to Jerusalem. American Consul Pinkerton assured them the boycott report was bogus. Meanwhile, however, the original dispatch had already been relayed from Cairo to Beirut, from which point Reuters, another British agency, telegraphed back to Cairo that the Lebanese and Syrian press had decided to join the "boycott." Another phone call demonstrated that this report was similarly untrue. But it was widely published in the Egyptian press just the same. All this was calculated to persuade the Arabs that Islam was rising; one Cairo paper, *Wafd-al-Misri*, rushed to announce that it too would boycott the American news releases. Here at last was the first tangible evidence that the boycott, which had until then existed only in manufactured dispatches, was actually on. BBC in Cairo cabled the *Wafd-al-Misri* story to London, where the item was broadcast three times that same evening on BBC's Arabic news shows! Our Cairo Embassy cabled a protest to Washington. There the State Department made representations to the British Embassy. The campaign was dropped as easily as it had started.

At supper in the Hotel Metropolitan, a booted, crew-haircutted young American infantry major zig-zagged to our table and asked for a dance with Hassan's *Syrienne*, who resembles one of the more interesting illustrations in a de luxe edition of Omar Khayyam. Instead of a Viennese waltz with the lady from Beirut, the unlucky major got a chair, a few moments of conversation, and then a date for today—with me.

The major was waiting for me outside AMET headquarters, and nervously took me off to a quiet corner at the Little Groppi's. "Hope I didn't gab too much last night," he worried. "I was celebrating my transfer to Italy—to the front."—"Is that good? Where've you been?"—"Christ, will I be glad to get some place where I can fight Germans! All I've been doing lately is scheming against the British and laying up trouble for the Jews." He squinted at me:

"You Jewish?" I grunted. "Well, I hope you fellows are wise to what's cooking in Saudi Arabia. I've just come up. Been down there eight months. You won't print my name, will you? You know what I've been doing in that goddam desert? Teaching the Arabs how to play soldier."

"It's part of the 'lend-lease' deal on oil. You gimme concession, you gettee training and supplies. Already we've handed Ibn Saud 10,000 rifles, 150 jeeps, and all kinds of equipment. He's crazy about the machine-guns, air- and water-cooled, and the tanks." I recalled that Ibn seemed to fancy himself a pioneer in mechanized warfare for the desert. Way back in 1934, when he fought Yemen, he sent Bedouin fighters into battle on camels alongside armored cars. "Yeah," mused the major. "the old guy reminds me of that Arab proverb: 'The fish eats the bait and spits on the hook.' He's got the British coaxing him too. The Americans have a lot of personnel down there, and more coming. We take these Arabs a couple hundred at a time and give them a few months of fundamentals with the mechanized stuff. The British get them for more drill when they leave us. Guess we've turned out a few thousand that way. Now what the hell has that got to do with the war? We pull valuable line officers out of action and stick them down in the middle of Arabia. We get a nasty hate worked up between the British and us, because we're in competition, see—and the Arabs stir things up by carrying tales between the two sides. And finally we're training a lot of Arabs to make war on the Jews. Because that's what this soldier stuff is about, mister. They're making themselves a cute little army, with our brains and our matériel, just in case a small holy war up Palestine way ever gets fashionable."

It develops, however, that it's the Arabs who need protection from the Jews. So I hear from Col. T—, an American ex-professor—of archaeology, I think. This good man's heart is heavy over the Arab's helplessness before Jewish organizational skill. "The Jews are positively brilliant," he confesses. "Last week they hired two British deserters, paid them £1,000 apiece, gave them regular army trucks and sent them to a police arsenal in North Palestine. The soldiers showed the police a couple of signed official requisitions for two truckloads of rifles to be delivered to a British garrison post in the south. The abandoned trucks, very empty, have just been found in the hills of Judea. . . ."

"Now, how can the Arabs beat that? Sure there are more Arabs than Jews. But if the

Jews aren't restrained they'll drive the Arabs clear out of Palestine. With the Arabs, arms-smuggling is another racket, for profit. It's slipshod, bungling, wasteful of materials and men. But the Jews, why, they have a mission. They go about it with top efficiency. That's why the British aren't really being unjust in giving the Jewish gun-runners heavier penalties. The Jews are much more dangerous. . . ." The objective colonel, in his academic, scientific way, mentions Jewish smuggling of refugees in the same sentence with Arab smuggling of hasheesh. The colonel, in conclusion, is a pillar of the United States military intelligence service in the Middle East. . . .

"We Are Against Them . . ."

WHETHER or not British nursing of pan-Arabism will end in grief for the Empire, it clearly is storing up grief for the Jews. The League may even remain forever poor and feeble, its internal stresses keeping it impotent against its British masters, but it is sure to be a noisy agent for unified baiting of a Jewish home in Palestine. In this respect, the League is already working full-time even before its formal inauguration. Passionate antagonism to Jewish aspirations is the one theme that all delegates to this Cairo Congress can chorus with conviction. The unanimity is too complete to be dismissed as merely the product of anti-Semitic indoctrination from Axis sources, an explanation favored by some of my British friends. A decade ago, the average Syrian didn't know where Palestine began, and the Iraq tribesman had never even heard of the place. Today both act as if Palestine were the issue most vital to them of all issues this side of Allah's paradise. Such a re-education is a tribute to the British genius for getting a point of view across with gentility and self-effacement.

At the Saudi Arabian Legation, a few streets beyond the American University, I had a dark glimpse into the antique past, and into the future, too, if the Arabs ever get their way completely. Sheikh Yusef Yassin, chief of the Jidda delegation to the Pan-Arab Congress, is a throwback to the heathen princes of the Biblical desert. Spadebearded and magnificent in his rich black galabiah and golden-edged snowy silk turban, he sits on a regal couch and gives audiences by appointment to white-faced infidels from the West. Ibn Saud's personal counselor, the Sheikh reached that eminence from distant beginnings. From his birthplace in Syrian Latakia, he traveled the road to puritanical Wahhabism via profane studies in Cairo, a political newspaper editorship in Jerusalem, a spell as a soldier with Ibn's rival,

Feisal, in the war against the Turks, and a secretariat in the administration of another enemy of his present master, Emir Abdullah of Transjordan.

I lost count of the quantities of special Jidda coffee we sipped from tiny thimble cups, which a cringing retainer hastened to refill after each gulp, always adding a pinch of spice. The Sheikh crossed and uncrossed his ankle-high, black leather slippers and looked bored as he expounded his country's democratic mysteries, where "the Koran is the constitution, and nothing but the Koran; the King is like a father unto his people: he reads what is written and governs as it is written, because priests and even cardinals speak what is in their minds but the Koran speaks only what is in the mind of God." He twinkled slightly on the subject of oil, "of which we have more than even you or the British suspect."

But his voice turned stony and his small black eyes glinted down his sharp eagle's nose when he spoke of the Jews. "We desire every Arab, every Moslem, to be happy in his own land, and not a slave," said the Sheikh. "We are free, and we shall help to make our brothers free. Our attitude toward the Jews is ~~not~~ ^{as} Europe's attitude. Ask any European what he thinks of the Jews. He is against them; and so are we. The Jews do not have a shadow of a claim to Palestine. They ruled in Palestine intermittently for only 380 years, and that was 2,000 years ago. When Britain entered Palestine, the land had scarcely 80,000 Jews. By what right have more than a half-million Jews come in since then? Palestine is not big enough for Jew and Arab. What should the Jews go? The Sheikh smiled. "They settled down in Persia when Nebuchadnezzar brought them from Palestine two millenia ago. Let them now go to Persia. The Nazis have killed four million Jews in Poland. If the Jews of Palestine want room, there is plenty in Poland now. We will never compromise on this. They cannot remain in Palestine. Only a small number who lived there before Balfour's Declaration may stay. The others—the hundreds of thousands of them—must go!"

CENTURIES remote from Sheikh Yusef Yassin in manner and mentality stand the young Arabs, men of Western training, proud nationalism, and devotion to the economic reform of Arab society. This is the type of leadership with which the Jews may some day be able to collaborate in the common task of industrializing and democratizing the Holy Land. But right now, so far as I can see, they are using up their energy in supporting their less idealistic feudal overlords against vague enemies

called imperialism and Zionism, and letting democracy mark time.

When I spoke in French to Sheikh Faris el-Khoury, Syrian Prime Minister, his young aide burst out in irritation: "Why don't you use English? His Excellency speaks it extremely well! [He doesn't.] We do not wish to be regarded as French!" Which sounded to me like wasting time burning books instead of persuading the anti-French notables of the Levant to give their deposed subjects cause to enjoy emancipation from the French.

As for the Jewish problem, I've heard nothing yet to indicate that the new Arabs are any more enlightened than the old. They give you as reliable history the discredited fable that the Balfour Declaration was handed to Chaim Weizmann in payment for his recipe for explosives. They deny that Jewish colonization has done the Arabs any good. "The Arab lands," I am advised, "were sold to the Jews by absentee landlords living in Beirut and Cairo. The fellahin were immediately thrown out and Jewish colonists brought in. The exchange simply pauperized the Arab peasantry. The only Arabs who prospered from the Jewish influx were the landowners." They shrug when you point out that precisely these landowners now spearhead the anti-Jewish movement.

Some of the younger Arabs take the plaintive line: "Before the first World War, the Jews in Palestine spoke Arabic, wore the turban, had the same rights and obligations as the Arabs. Jews persecuted in Europe always found shelter with the Arabs. Why not? After all, Jews and Arabs were first cousins, originally. But now the Zionists say that Palestine is their country. We Arabs were in Spain for eight centuries. Do we say Spain is our country? Do the American Indians say America is their country?" For Arabs like young Izzedin, the Lebanese Consul-General here, the desire for the liberation of Palestine is indeed a passionate social conviction and not a convenient device for obtaining ministerial titles and retaining economic power.

Negotiating with such men might make an equitable solution a more practical possibility. But Izzedin doesn't see the Jews as a progressive island surrounded by the Arab millions. Instead, he sees the power of a worldwide Jewish alliance bearing down on a tiny group of Arabs, scarcely two million, struggling to hold their immemorial home. He was immediately suspicious when he heard I was correspondent for a New York newspaper. In my innocence, I assured him that my paper was a liberal one and always favored the causes of little people. "Even of the Arabs in Palestine?" he inquired.

Democracy on the Nile

IN VIEW of the perpetual clamor by the Arab effendis—both in and out of power—against imperialism, I find it instructive to hear what many enlightened Egyptians themselves say about their own government and political parties. King Farouk, who has added a special balcony to his white Abidine Palace on which to appear for popular nationalist demonstrations, cooperates heartily with the British by a system of quiet back-scratching. "The subservience to the British of his ministers, who keep popping in and out of their jobs, is a tradition inherited from Turkish rule," according to one disillusioned nationalist. "The budding revolutionary elite was jailed or exiled years ago. The British operate through politicians who are publicly belligerent but privately docile."

I can testify that the British habit of hiding behind the Egyptian skirt is standard order of procedure. As a correspondent, you see it in the censorship. There are three kinds of controls here. The first two, British and American military censorship, are mild, restricting themselves to military matters. But there is a third hurdle over which every piece of copy must go, something known as the Anglo-Egyptian censorship, and that one's a terror. It has a representative (a British officer) in the central censorship office. His only function is to hold up "political" copy and send it for unhurried "review" to the Egyptian Interior Ministry. When my first stories received this treatment, I tried arguing with the officer, a Captain Kyle. But I found him like a dish of dough. You push your finger into him. The finger leaves its rounded, softened impression. Then you see the space slowly rise up and fill out. His last word always is: "I'm frightfully sorry, but the Egyptians insist on it, you know." Through artful methods I finally obtained the telephone number of the Interior Ministry's press office. When I called its chief, the name was British and the voice was British. Each of my dispatches on the Pan-Arab League has been delayed for hours or overnight, and several have had to be "revised" before they were allowed to go.

Leaving aside external policy and relations with Britain, the Egyptians—the effendis, at least—do have a considerable degree of self-government. This country is closer to Europe and has had more opportunity to test European ideas of government, in fact, than any other Arab-speaking state. The democracy and independence which the Arabs are demanding in Palestine and elsewhere can therefore be partially tested by the Egyptian record of self-

rule. The preview is not encouraging. "It's incorrect to say," a newspaper editor admitted over the third drink last night, "that we Egyptians aren't ready for a Western form of government. The truth is that we're incapable of such a form. Introduction of parliamentarianism wasn't premature—it was futile. Politics here operate by sentiment rather than reason. We follow leaders, slogans, instead of programs. We have no direction, no purpose. When we are in the opposition, we automatically attack everything the government does, and when we get into power, we do exactly the things which we have condemned previously—and we get denounced for it by the new opposition which was the old government."

None of the present-day politicians has a genuine social outlook. Before 1922, each Egyptian ministry had its British adviser, who was in reality the master of that ministry. This system favored British interests, but the administration was nevertheless reasonably honest and efficient. The British began leaving these front-office Egyptian jobs in 1922, when the country ostensibly became independent. As the Egyptians took over, the public services promptly started to deteriorate. In this part of the world, loyalty to one's family, clan, and friends takes first place. A steady procession of claimants and favor-seekers files into the office of every Egyptian public servant. This is the perpetual pressure, the dominant motif of Moslem politics.

Israel in Egypt

THE Jews and the other minorities here look with contempt on the Egyptian as he is today, and with alarm on what he may become if he drinks the strong wine of full "independence." A German-Jewish physician who has lived here for thirty years complains that the "Egyptians have a large conceit based on their own brand of racial supremacy doctrine. They really believe they are better than everybody else. Incidentally, the best Arabic in Egypt is spoken not by the Egyptians but by the Copts, the Syrians, and the Jews. Unfortunately for the Copts, who were established in Egypt centuries before the Arabs, they're Christians, so they get pushed around with the rest of us."

According to D—, a prominent member of Alexandria's Greek colony: "One of the original excuses for the British getting into Egypt in the first place was that the minorities had to be protected. And one of the original Egyptian arguments to keep the British out was that no discrimination existed here, all persons being equal, and equally treated. Well, both sides have forgotten their positions. The

Egyptian constitution itself stipulates that the Egyptian state is Moslem, with a Moslem king and a Moslem prime minister. After the 1922 treaty, and especially after Zaghlul, Egypt's great rebel, the usual discriminations began to crop up. Zaghlul was a real democrat, a nationalist of the Mazzini kind, demanding liberty for all. But after him, nationalism, as in Europe, degenerated into xenophobia. The Egyptians began talking about the foreigners 'coming in and getting rich.'

"The worst sufferers, as always, were the Jews. There are 80,000 of them here. Forty thousand are stateless émigrés from European countries which cancelled their nationality. In the old days, only a royal decree could make such persons Egyptian citizens; otherwise they held the vague grade of 'local subjects.' But we had a system of consular 'protégés' which provided such Jews with a formalized status. The French and Italian authorities, for instance, gave them documents and they couldn't be molested without the consulate being advised.

"But the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 changed this, supposedly in the name of liberty. The Egyptians made out that they were using their new freedom to bring freedom to those even more oppressed than they. This was accomplished by scrapping the 'protégé' idea and writing a resonantly-worded naturalization law. Thousands of applications came in, and the Egyptian bureaucracy sat down to study them. The applications are still being studied.

"A few, a very few Jews, were granted citizenship, through special intervention and much *baksheesh*. A few more obtained intermediate status; these can get a *laissez-passer* with the Egyptian seal on it. It's good for traveling, and nothing else. The rest live in a sort of continual crouch, trying to make themselves as small as possible so they won't be noticed.

"Well, they are noticed. After the 1936 treaty, quotas began to be introduced for various types of work. The increasing number of graduates from Egyptian schools was one of the official reasons. Privately, it was suggested that Jews are not of Egyptian 'race.' The trend increased until now 75 per cent of the personnel in all foreign companies are supposed to be Moslem Egyptians. This causes Jewish unemployment, but not as much as you might think. Many firms find it cheaper to pay the Egyptian his salary and have a Jew do the work anyway.

"Jews in foreign trade don't come easily by export and import licenses. The usual procedure is for an Egyptian to get the license and

Palestine Hungers for U.S. Goods Blocked by Britain

By GEORGE L. CASSIDY

N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent
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Tel Aviv, Nov. 29—Palestinians are hungry for American goods, from toothbrushes to tractors, but the Colonial Office is forcibly feeding them British products.

That is one of the most striking results of the administration of Palestine not as a mandate, but as a colony.

I have just completed a round of visits with local agents of American firms. Their stories all are the same. They have orders running into many thousands of dollars, but they cannot provide American products.

The local government "controllers" refuse to grant import licenses for American goods. The reasons vary, the most usual being that dollar credits are not available, that goods are not essential, or frankly, that American goods cannot be imported if British goods—even if inferior or dearer—can be obtained.

Have to Buy British

As a result, Palestinian housewives buy British refrigerators at prices far higher than American makes which they like better or they do without; they listen to British radios which cost three times similar American models, and they long for sturdy American electric appliances which nobody asks for sale.

Palestine trucking firms are buying wornout American trucks from British Army surplus stocks at prices higher than the original Lend-Lease cost, because import licenses for new and more suitable American trucks are not forthcoming.

Businessmen travel over the mountainous roads in pigmy British automobiles for which they pay as much as a full-sized American car.

Even American pumps cannot be brought in, except rarely, despite the importance of utilizing every trickle of water. Auto tires and tubes have been allowed in at a ratio of one to every four British.

Plenty of Dollar Credits

The contention that Palestine has insufficient dollar exchange seems strange to importers. Palestinian commodities sold in the U. S. during the first six months of this year averaged \$2,300,000 per month. That does not include more than \$1,500,000 monthly given by Americans to Jewish organizations.

Imports from the U. S. have been less than a third of dollar credits earned by Palestine. The explanation is that Palestinian dollar credits are dumped into Britain's dollar pool, and used for other British-dominated countries and dependencies for the United Kingdom itself.

The dismay of American business men has been mounting and the anger of the public has kept pace. Government officials ride around in American cars while ordinary citizens must buy British. One big importer who did get licenses for cars was required to sell 82 per cent to government agencies or officials.

The last straw was the request from the controller of heavy industries for estimates within seven days of what vehicles American factories could ship by Mar. 31, with a warning that licenses would be cancelled if vehicles were not actually loaded by that date.

Agents say the request cannot be met because the time is too short. They are particularly annoyed because the demand comes after months of representations by the American Consul-General

in local officials. The League of Nations mandate and the provisions of the U. S. loan to Britain forbid discrimination against American products.

Contrast to Arab States

Public opinion has had no effect upon the government because there is no way to bring pressure. The contrast with surrounding Arab states is striking.

The newly created Kingdom of Trans-Jordan imports American products lavishly. Radios enter freely, although electric current is available in only a few places and many of the radios can operate only on voltage supplied in Palestine. Sometimes Trans-Jor-

dan buyers take them by camel across the Jordan and re-sell them in Palestine, as they do cars, refrigerators and lipsticks.

The insistence of many Jews upon the creation of an independent Jewish state is based partly upon such economic considerations.



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Zionists Hold Their Congress

With Zest and Determination, Delegates Fight Battles of Ideology

By John Chabot Smith

BASEL, Switzerland, Dec. 14. —

Watching the endlessly deadlocked tug-of-war over Palestine in the slow-moving foggy atmosphere of London, it has sometimes seemed that Jews are Jews, Arabs are Arabs, British are British and nothing can ever be done about it. Here in Basel the picture is entirely different. The climate is more stimulating and so is the climate of opinion.

The first and most striking discovery is how many different points of view are represented in the Zionist movement. Jews do not all have the same conception of what Zionism is, of what they want to achieve or how best to go about it.

They fight their ideological battles with as much zest and determination as any members of Congress or delegates to political conventions—in fact, more so. Yet they are united in their basic ideal as profoundly and unquestionably as Congressmen uphold the Constitution.

To a complete outsider—who is neither Revisionist, Mizrachi, Mapai, General Zionist, nor a Zionist at all, and who is not a Jew and has done his best to cultivate an impartial viewpoint toward Jews, Arabs and British—the proceedings of the twenty-second Zionist Congress have a quality of impersonal, emotional involvement somewhat analogous to that of a powerful drama played by skilful and skilful actors.

Any opinions derived from this experience necessarily involving the Jewish viewpoint only and can have little relation to what the British and Arabs have in mind. The British are ever present in the minds of every one here, but they are present only as an external factor in the situation—a factor which at times has been helpful to Zionism but now appears as an obstacle to be overcome. It is impossible to think of the British viewpoint in any other terms in this atmosphere.

As for the Arabs, they are wholly disregarded by every one except the Hashomem Hatzair, a small fraction of the Mapai (Labor party), which believes in uniting Jews and Arabs in a bi-national state with a Jewish majority.

The Hashomem Hatzair have twenty-five delegates out of a total of 350, and they are tolerantly regarded as a sort of extremist fringe, influenced by the Communist idea of the brotherhood of the world proletariat, but powerless to harm the Zionist movement. They are the least ardent in their support of Zionism as an end in itself. They believe the main thing to do now is to save as many Jews from Europe as possible, bring them to Palestine and set up a peaceful regime there with all possible speed.

At the other extreme are the Revisionists, who claim not only the area now known as Palestine but Trans-Jordan as well. They believe in "direct action" and do not object to terrorism, although they do not openly support the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern group. They are intensely and aggressively nationalistic. Other Zionists often accuse them of being Fascist.

Between the extremes are the Mapai, who are Socialists and have a majority of the Palestine delegation; the General Zionists, who are the largest group in the American delegation and pin their faith on America's power to determine British foreign policy, and the Mizrachi, whose primary interest is preserving the orthodox Jewish faith.

Out of these elements and the smaller groups which revolve around them, the political life of the Jewish state in Palestine, if and when there is one, will be formed. These are the groups which between them hammer out the policy the Jewish Agency must follow in its relations with Britain and the strategy the World

Zionist Organization must use in trying to achieve the Zionist ideal.

whether by diplomatic negotiations with Britain, pressure on the American government, armed rebellion in Palestine or all of these and other methods.

The Zionists have no doubt their aim will be achieved at least in its main essentials. They have been working at it in this organized fashion for nearly fifty years, and none of them seems to consider the possibility of failure. The type of Jewish state which will emerge and the role it will play in the world will depend largely on the manner and degree of their success and the interplay of their political parties as represented in the congress.

The General Zionists are in the saddle at the present congress, with a program of using armed force in Palestine and the pressure of American public opinion to force Britain into granting the Jews an independent state. The present executive, headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann and David Ben Gurion, has been following a less ambitious policy of negotiating with Britain in the hope of compromising on "an adequate area of Palestine" instead of the whole of it.

Dr. Weizmann and Ben Gurion are fighting to remain in office. If they succeed, they will resume negotiations with the British, but they will be forced to take their terms and, at least, ask for the whole of Palestine, even though they may ultimately settle for the "adequate area."

The difference between Weizmann and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, champion of the General Zionists, is more a difference of method than of aim. Weizmann is a diplomat of the old school. He has dealt with the British for thirty years, and he helped negotiate the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandate. Rabbi Silver and his delegation are full of a sense of the power of America and fearful of diplomatic methods which may enable the British to get the better of the aging Weizmann. Weizmann thinks he knows the British; Rabbi Silver thinks he knows Americans.

Rabbi Silver's followers argue the whole trend of Anglo-American discussions about Palestine shows an effort on Britain's part to commit the United States to an active share in the defense of the British Empire and of Britain's position in world politics. They argue it is in America's national interest to give Britain that support, since Britain's bargaining position is so weak. America can make the full Zionist program the price of her support.

Rabbi Silver's followers also argue that since Palestine is of paramount strategic importance in the Middle East, it is in America's national interest to place Palestine in the hands of people who would forever be friendly to America, namely the Jews. They add that the Arabs could easily be consoled by the investment of American capital in the economic improvement in the Arab countries and that this would be to America's commercial advantage.

Admittedly, political, social and economic strains would follow throughout the Middle East if Great Britain and then the Arab countries went in for economic expansion of a more or less Socialistic type. The dangerous question mark of Russia would be involved. The feudal regimes of the Arab states would be undermined. But it can be argued that problems of this sort would have to be faced in any case.

More pertinent is the question of what sort of political development would take place in Palestine itself and what would happen to the chan-

acter and temperament of the Jewish people.

The Zionists hope that if the Jews have a nation of their own they will settle down and "be like other people," and the peculiar circumstances which have caused Jews to be persecuted at various times and places will disappear. They believe that if the Jews live in their own country at peace with themselves and other nations, Jewish culture will flower in a new renaissance and will be welcomed by the rest of the world.

The realization of this aim will depend largely on whether the trend of Jewish politics, once the Jewish state is established, is toward Hashomem Hatzair or toward Revisionism and the Irgun—toward living at peace with the Arabs or toward trying to reconquer the wide territories which at one time or another were ruled by the House of Israel.

Some General Zionists recognize Hashomem Hatzair as containing the ultimate in Zionist idealism, and it is perhaps significant that at this congress the Revisionists are definitely unpopular while the delegates of Hashomem Hatzair get a more sympathetic hearing.

The first and best speech made to the congress by a Hashomem Hatzair delegate came from Jacob Hazan, an earnest young Palestinian with a Russian cast of features. Hazan spoke in Hebrew, a language beloved of all the delegates but understood by less than half of them and spoken by even fewer.

Hebrew is a beautiful tongue, with an intricate rhythm more stately than that of Greek and a paucity of vowel sounds that turns prose into a constant succession of rhymes. Those who cannot understand Hebrew are the more powerfully moved by the esthetic appeal of the sounds because they are not distracted by the meaning of the words.

To all Jews, Hebrew has the appeal of tradition and religion because it is the language of the Old Testament and the synagogues, a language which had passed entirely out of profane use until it was revived in Palestine by the Zionists. Now it is the natural tongue of Palestine Jewry.

Yiddish is the language of the wandering Jew of modern times, the language of suffering and the common denominator of Jews of many nations. It is used at this congress for routine business and argument. English is the language of the American delegation and is used in speeches of critical importance in the debate because the American delegates have the balance of power. Hebrew is the language of noble emotion and of the ultimate Jewish ideal.

Jacob Hazan spoke in Hebrew to 2,000 people, most of whom violently disagreed with everything he had to say, but he spoke beautifully. When he finished, some of his opponents said anything about his arguments, but the rest of that day wherever they met they said to each other: "What a beautiful speech Hazan made! What beautiful Hebrew!"

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1946

If Arabs' Revolt, Blame Britain

By RICHARD MOWBRAY

N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent

(Copyright, 1946 New York Post)



Cairo, Apr. 30—Many people predict an Arab uprising in Palestine. It is a practical certainty, they reason, that the British and American governments shortly will authorize large-scale immigration of displaced Jews to Palestine.

Arab leaders testifying before the committee in Cairo and Jerusalem repeatedly threatened violence should the "rights" of Arabs—as conceived by these leaders—be violated.

Personally, I don't think the issue is as cut and dried as that. An Arab revolt is possible, but can only occur if encouraged by the British. Here's why I think so:

You have to distinguish between Arab leaders and the Arab masses in Palestine. The leaders resent and fear the westernization of the Arabs, for which Jewish development in Palestine is largely responsible. More and more Arabs are beginning to slip away from the stranglehold of the feudal system and are getting ideas of social and economic emancipation. Their labor unions recently went on a general strike alongside Jews, seeking better working conditions for both. What's more, the Arab-Jewish strike was successful, and they found that by standing together they gained.

Arabs Have Benefited

The Arab masses in Palestine instinctively feel there is no clash between themselves and the Jews. Arabs may regret the changing character of Palestine resulting from Jewish immigration. But the compensation they derive from this change is such that they are reluctant to put their lives in balance. Moreover, Palestine Arabs are impressed by the power and organization of Jewish military organizations, and by the trouble these have been giving the British.

They know, too, that in the event of an Arab movement against the Jews, the Jews will not revert to the policy of self-restraint which obtained in the revolts of 1936 and 1939. Unless Arabs in Palestine can be made to believe that the Jews are out to destroy the Moslems holy

places; unless they are convinced the British will lend at least passive support to an Arab revolt against the Jews, Arabs won't open the attack.

The question arises: Is the Palestine administration encouraging reactionary Arab leaders to promote trouble? It looks that way. For one thing, the British have permitted the return to Palestine of Arab leaders whom they exiled at the beginning of the war. Back from Rhodesia is Jamal el Hussein, the former Grand Mufti's relative and right-hand man. They are permitting him to tour Arab towns and villages in Palestine, to make inflammatory speeches attacking Jews and urging a tightening of the anti-Zionist boycott.

A Violation of Treaties

The anti-Zionist boycott, technically an embargo on exports of Jewish manufacture, is a violation of Arab League trade treaties with Palestine—a British mandate. The British government could retaliate. But it hasn't even protested, and you have the spectacle of Arab states—members of the United Nations—establishing a boycott on a racial basis, and making laws fining people who dare trade with Palestine Jews—a state of affairs possible only because of British acquiescence.

Arabs of Palestine can only suppose that the anti-Zionist boycott goes on because the British want it that way, and don't care what the Arabs do to the Jews.

Then there's the question of the ex-Mufti. The British government has announced that Amin el Hussein, former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, is not a war criminal.

So the French, who captured him in their occupation zone in Germany, have released him, or are about to. The rumor is that the Mufti will soon return to Lebanon, Syria or Egypt, if not Palestine.

The Mufti's war record as an ally of Hitler is well known. But what's important to the Arabs is his power in Palestine and his record there. Arabs in Palestine are no fools. They've noted that the British have abstained from naming a new Mufti to fill the vacant post in Jerusalem. The implication is that the ex-Mufti will be allowed to return. Therefore, if the Mufti is to regain his power tomorrow, the Arabs reason it is better not to do or say anything now that he wouldn't like.

Power of the Mufti

The Mufti wields tremendous power over the Arab community. He's head of the Supreme Moslems Council, and thus is in charge of all Moslem religious institutions. An Arab cannot be married or buried without the Mufti's approval. Moreover, the Mufti can get rough. Palestine Arabs recall the assassination by the Mufti's agents in 1941 of Fakhri Nashashibi, who opposed the Mufti during the Arab revolts of 1936 and 1939, and assassination of Hassan Sidky Dajani, another important leader of opposition to Mufti.

If the British say the Mufti is not a war criminal and enemy of Britain; if they've kept his post vacant; if they permit the Mufti's friends to return from exile and parade the Mufti's picture in Palestine villages, then, reason the Palestine Arabs, Amin el Hussein is going to stage a comeback duly approved by the British. The last time there was a revolt, the war cry of the Arabs was "El Dawla Maana!"—"The government is with us!"

Will it be the same war cry if there is a next time?

Palestine Laws Breed Terrorism

By RICHARD MOWREE

N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent

(Copyright, 1946 New York Post)



Jerusalem, July 7.—The British public is being told, it seems, that the Jews have opened a smear campaign to discredit the British Army. They are being told that reports of looting, wanton destruction and brutality in the course of the recent "operation" are part of this campaign, whereas in actual fact "the greatest restraint" was exercised by British soldiers and "there is no foundation for allegations which have been made in regard to atrocities and looting by His Majesty's forces."

Reports that the settlement of Yagour had been razed were admittedly exaggerated. No neutral observers were permitted to witness the searches and exaggerated reports were for a time uncontrolled. From my personal observations in Tel Aviv, however, there definitely was wanton damage and looting done by the 6th Airborne Division with a dose of anti-Semitism thrown in.

But this recrimination and behavior of the British soldier is beside the point—and perhaps the claim that Jews are attempting to besmirch the honor of the British Army by a smear campaign is, in fact, intended to detract attention from the real issue or to deaden public reaction to contemplated future acts of violence.

Symbol of Despair

The real issue in Palestine is what the British have done, not how they did it. According to Prime Minister Attlee, the British government's purpose in arresting Jewish leaders and cracking down on Hagana is to end terrorism. This is like treating the symptoms and ignoring the illness. For terrorism in Palestine is a symbol of despair.

Since the 1939 White Paper limiting the immigration and sale of land and right up to now, the Palestine Jews have felt unjustly discriminated against. The Arabs got what they wanted by violence and the British Government appeased them by the White Paper—which is still in force. During the war, Jews in Europe who could have been saved had they been permitted to come to Palestine, were not—because of the White Paper.

The Jewish community in Palestine gave much to the Allied war effort. In the black days before El Alamein, Jews of Hagana volunteered for dangerous missions into enemy territory and many never came back. The Arab Trans-Jordan Frontier Force mutinied against the British at the time of a pro-Axis revolt in Iraq, but today they participate in the searches of Jewish settlements.

Delays on Entries

Fascist-minded Arab leaders are permitted to return from Germany and from exile, but Jewish survivors of Hitler's gas chambers are still in barbed-wired camps in Germany. The Anglo-American Committee Inquiry recommended the entry of 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine two and a half months ago, yet delay follows delay while 100,000 Poles under the not democratically-minded Gen. Anders get transportation from Italy to Scotland.

Finally, to visualize the state of mind of the Jews in Palestine, take a look at the laws as they affect the rights of man in this land. Under emergency regulations in effect today you are guilty until proven innocent. There is no habeas corpus. Any policeman, any British soldier of any rank, can arrest you on mere suspicion. You can be detained without a charge being preferred against you and without a trial.

You can be held indefinitely. You can be deported from the country. Emergency regulations as amended Jan. 28 of this year affect Jews more than the Arabs because of the insertion of paragraphs regarding illegal immigra-

tion. By this law if you give shelter to your own mother, knowing she is an illegal immigrant, you are liable to eight years' imprisonment, \$1,000 fine, or both.

In Difficult Position

As far as the immigration laws are concerned, Jews are placed between morality and legality—morality of doing everything they can to assist those who escaped the fate of 6,000,000 Jews murdered in Europe—and the legality of the Palestine laws.

Few if any hesitate. Despite the drastic regulations designed to curb terrorism (you are liable to a death sentence merely for belonging to a group whose members committed an offense against the emergency regulations) Jews are convinced that moral righteousness is on their side. The passive ones acquiesce to terrorism as apparently the only means of attracting the world's attention to the plight of the Jews. Others perpetrate terrorism.

In the case of Hagana, terrorism hasn't been in the line of deliberate killing, but in spectacular sabotage and in operations to assist the entry of illegal immigrants.

Two Measures

Looking back, Palestine Jews see there are two measures: One for them, one for the others. But in the Holy Land vigorous and proud nationalism has developed. "We Jews are not better, but we are not worse than anybody else," they say. So what happens next?

Looking ahead, Jews see the arrest of their leaders and the attempt to disarm Hagana as a direct threat against continuance of the Jewish national home.

A little more of what has been perpetrated already is likely to precipitate violence and open war. Maybe that's the idea.

The Second Exodus of the Jews

By SAMUEL LUBELL

An Important Analysis of the Plight of the Jews of Europe Today

Reprinted by the United Jewish Appeal
from THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1947

British Compel Tel Aviv Jews To Run Gantlet

Soldiers Beat Them, 29 Are Hurt; Anti-Semitism and Hatred of British Grow

By Homer Bigart

By Telephone Via London

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TEL AVIV, Palestine, Jan. 7.—

Two obvious facts—a growing anti-Semitism among British troops and a rising anti-British feeling among all classes of Palestine Jews—dominate all other considerations in the Palestine crisis.

The anti-Semitism has been the inevitable product of terrorist acts, just as terrorism appears to be the inevitable recourse of a people who feel that all legal pressure for achieving security and freedom have failed.

The British troops now in Palestine are certainly no worse than American troops now in Germany. Both forces are composed largely of young recruits who, under strain, are liable to lose their heads. No one could deny that troops here have suffered nagging provocations. But the Sarona incident in Tel Aviv Thursday night was a particularly nasty display of anti-Semitism, and the tragic prospect of further excesses must receive urgent consideration in London.

Shortly after a terrorist attack on the district military headquarters in a citrus house in the heart of Tel Aviv, soldiers and police entered the Montefiore District, on the northeast of the city, rounded up the male population and marched them into Sarona police compound. Some sixty to seventy men were forced to run the gantlet between rows of soldiers and police, who struck them with rifle butts and batons. Twenty-nine were injured, seven seriously enough to require hospitalization.

A brigade commander of the 6th Airborne Division, whose troops were involved, told this correspondent tonight that a closed inquiry would start tomorrow. "As a result of allegations made by certain civilians regarding incidents at Sarona, the whole matter is sub judice," he said. "No officer or other rank is empowered to give any further information, by virtue of this fact."

The inquiry had been demanded by Mayor Israel Rokach. The Mayor was ill today, but the Town Clerk, Yehudah Nedivi, who served four years as a captain in the British Army, said the city administration was convinced the allegations were correct.

I drove to the Montefiore district and talked with several men who had been beaten.

Abraham Klatman, owner of a textile mill, said that police entered the factory after 9 p. m. and ordered Klatman and twelve men of the night shift out into the yard. "I asked them whether I should halt the machines, and they replied, 'You'd better—you won't be back very soon.'"

"I told the girl employees they'd better stay inside the factory. We were lined up in the yard. Some of the workers started smoking, but the cigarettes were struck from their hands by the police.

"Suddenly a policeman fired in the air and I heard a command, 'Run.' We ran to the main road, where we mixed with a crowd of men whom the police and soldiers had removed from a bus. We stood there a few minutes, and then the command 'Run' came again. At Sarona, the main gate was open.

Soldiers and police were lined up on both sides of a lane leading to the center of the compound—a distance of one-sixth of a mile. I heard the cries of men being beaten in the darkness ahead, and then I realized that the shots fired by the police had been a signal to the soldiers to prepare the gantlet.

"I was a prisoner of the Germans at Radom, back in Poland, and I have learned a few things. I kept in the center of the mass of running men and suffered fewer blows than those on the outside. I was clipped once on the head and twice on the arm, but did not fall. Some of the older men fell. I saw a man clubbed with the butt of a rifle as he lay on the ground.

"In the center of the compound we were ordered to sit in a circle on the ground. The soldiers continued to beat those they could reach at the edge of the perimeter. Some of the men became nauseated, others fainted. I heard one soldier cry, 'Give me a machine gun and I'll kill the whole bloody lot.'

Ordered To Go Home

Then we were put into trucks and taken to the British Counter-Intelligence at Jaffa. There was a stretcher case unconscious in my truck, and another man with a broken leg and one with a badly injured arm.

"At Jaffa they simply took our names and ordered us to go home. I overheard an officer saying: 'Who gave orders to arrest these people? Take them back.'"

Similar stories were obtained from Benny Brabda, who had fought with the Jewish Brigade in Belgium and Holland; Joram Danelli, a textile worker, and Joseph Dula, a laborer whose right arm was still in a sling. Dula had fallen during the gantlet run and lost consciousness.

Tel Aviv was quiet tonight, despite the expiration of an "ultimatum" from the underground giving the 6th Airborne Division seventy-two hours to leave town. Meanwhile in Jerusalem there were rumors that the Jewish Agency was attempting to negotiate a truce in terror with the Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern gang. Mrs. Golda Meyerson, now chief of the agency's political division, returned to Palestine this morning and conferred with Sir Henry Curney, chief administrative officer at Government House.

British Compel Jews To Run Gantlet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 13, 1947

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the Record the news story as told in the New York Herald Tribune of January 9, 1947:

BRITISH COMPEL TEL AVIV JEWS TO RUN GANTLET—SOLDIERS BEAT THEM. 29 ARE HURT; ANTI-SEMITISM AND HATE OF BRITISH GROW

(By Homer Bigart)

TEL AVIV, PALESTINE, January 7.—Two obvious facts—a growing anti-Semitism among British troops and a rising anti-British feeling among all classes of Palestine Jews—dominate all other considerations in the Palestine crisis.

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REPORT ON PALESTINE

BY

GEORGE L. CASSIDY



These three articles are reproduced from the *New York Post* of January 14, 15 and 16, 1947. They were written by the *Post*'s foreign correspondent, George L. Cassidy, after he had spent six months in Palestine.

Facts Refute Charge Jews Take Over Country From Arabs

By GEORGE L. CASSIDY
N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent
(Copyright, 1947, New York Post)

London, Jan. 14—This is an attempt to explain a bias, a thing every reporter worth his salt tries to fend off but sooner or later acquires when he has lived too long with a complex of passions and events such as revolve around Palestine and its destiny.

I came to Palestine without bias, but with an inclination toward the belief that there must be found some refuge for the hundreds of thousands of Jews whose pathetic figures I had seen, first as a military government officer and later as a correspondent, streaming across Europe.

They formed a particularly distressing group even among their fellow displaced persons. The Jews whom I had known felt they had no homes to which to return, for almost everywhere in Europe lay memories of pogroms or at least of persecution.

But I did not believe Palestine was the only answer, nor had I prejudged the issue between the Jews and the Arabs.

My Bias Came Slowly

My bias came slowly, and hardened only a few months ago, after I had spent many weeks in Palestine, studied the past of the problem, traveled from one end of that small country to the other, made friends with Jews, Arabs and Britons, listened to endless discussions and learned the conditions of life there.

The Arab argument can be stated in a few words:

The Arabs have inhabited Palestine since Biblical times, whereas the Jews have come there only recently. The country is small. If the Jews buy all the best land the Arabs will soon find that they will have to move out or perish.

Even if that isn't true, then the Jews will gain a majority and the Arabs will become second-class citizens, a subject race in their homeland.

There may be some social and economic progress brought to some Arabs by the westernized Jew, but the Arabs don't want progress at such a cost. They would rather have freedom in their own homeland.

Facts Defeat It

All that had a certain appeal to an American with a natural bent in favor of protecting the minority against attack by the strong. But the Arab argument, so simple and so easily grasped, soon seemed far less convincing in the light of the facts.

Although the Arabs have, indeed, inhabited Palestine since Biblical times, the fact is that during most of modern history they were the exploited subjects of the Turks. The Allies, in the war of 1914-18, freed the Arab lands from the Ottoman Empire.

At that time Britain, only one of the Allies, promised the Arabs to create Arab states and also promised the Jews a National Home in Palestine.

The promises to the Arabs have been kept. There now exist the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Republics of Syria and The Lebanon, the Kingdoms of Iran and Iraq (if Iran and Iraq can be called Arab) and the Kingdom of

Trans-Jordan.

But Jews Were Filled

The promise to the Jews has not been kept, although it seems that the League of Nations, in attempting to set up Palestine as a haven for the Jews, charged the rest of the Arab world very little for independence. Palestine is less than two per cent of the freed area.

There still remained other points to the current Arab argument. But one of the strongest, the notion that the Jewish immigrants were forcing the Arabs out of Palestine, obviously was untrue.

Side by side with Jewish immigration over the past 50 years, the Arab population has increased, partly as a result of Arabs seeking a better living there, partly the result of reduction in infant mortality and improving health standards generally.

So far as I could find, Arabs other than the few political grandees whose workers have begun to copy the independence of Jewish companions have no feeling of political insecurity. There is an exception, perhaps, in the few Christian Arabs, who have to contend with pressure from their neighbors to take part in the periodically stimulated boycotts of Jewish goods.

Better Than Iran

The ordinary Arab in Palestine has little to say about his lot. He is governed, without consultation, by his landlord.

The fact that the denuded mountains and desert lands of Palestine now are supporting nearly twice the population of half a century ago gives the lie to the notion that Jewish immigration has harmed the Arab. Instead, the arrival of the Jew has helped him immeasurably, although it may have hampered the high, wide and handsome exploitation that some wealthy Arab landlords would prefer.

Those were some of the things that I found as I lived and traveled in Palestine. They turned me into that uncomfortable phenomenon, a biased reporter.

Committee's Stopgap Solution Offers Best Hope for Palestine

By GEORGE L. CASSIDY

(Copyright, 1947, New York Post)

N. Y. Post Foreign Correspondent

London, Jan. 16—Palestine's present tragic crisis is the direct result of the British government's insistence upon attempting an immediate and final answer to the political issue between Jews and Arabs rather than adopting the temporary remedies suggested by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry 10 months ago.

The committee, in effect, suggested continuance of the British mandate pending creation of a United Nations trusteeship, thereby avoiding the question of Jewish or Arab statehood, but urged repeal of laws restricting Jewish land purchase and immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish immigrants.

Had the committee's report been made effective, the whole Palestine problem might now have been much closer to a final solution and it is certainly probable that conditions in Palestine would be very much better.

Bitter Over DPs

During nearly six months I watched tension mount and saw the more moderate Jewish leaders lose influence in the community. The basic cause of bitterness among the Jews in Palestine was perfectly clear—the refusal of the government to permit refugees from Europe, most of whom already had relatives in Palestine to enter the country not only before and during the war but afterwards.

To the Palestinian Jew, no matter of what age or condition, it was incomprehensible that this policy could continue. Whenever a new shipload of immigrants arrived, the Jewish community expected that they would be permitted to land, and with each deportation to Cyprus disappointment and rage grew stronger.

If 100,000 immigration certificates had been issued, there is no doubt the Jewish community

would have turned against terrorism.

Failed to Ease Land Laws

Similarly, relaxation of the restrictions on the purchase of land would have given the Jews an opportunity to make up for the war years when their program of settlement and agricultural development came almost to a standstill. A great deal of the energy that was diverted to what amounted to a steady battle against the government might well have gone into healthful economic and social effort.

Arab leaders of the stripe of Jamal Hussein and others under the influence of the Grand Mufti might have been able to stir up some of their followers to violence but the likelihood is that such a reaction would not last long. Unlike 1936 and 1937 the Jews now are well organized and capable of lending much greater aid to their isolated settlements.

The formula proposed by the Anglo-American Committee, in the opinion of most Arabs and Jews who read it, did not offer a permanent settlement because few believe either Zionists or Arabs would give up their desires for establishment of an independent state in Palestine. But the committee's suggestions, in the long run, might make some form of partition easier.

At present, the only formal British offer of partition is wholly unacceptable to the Jewish leaders because it provides for so small an area of Palestine for a

Jewish state that the most optimistic despair of such an organism being able to live. Yet the immediate establishment of a Jewish state in a large area presents the difficulty of including within its borders far more Arabs than Jews.

One of the reasons for this has been that Jewish immigration has been halted or strictly curtailed for many years, while Arabs who wished to enter Palestine have found no barrier and, during the war, were brought into the country by the Allied forces to work in military installations. Thus the Arab population has increased more rapidly than the Jewish. Carrying out the committee's recommendations might help to redress the balance.

Ten months of attempted negotiations toward a final solution have been worse than fruitless. There seems to be little hope for any in future so long as the present policy continues. The first step toward sanity in Palestine lies in making the committee's report effective.

From One Parson to Another

An American Clergyman Writes to a British Clergyman

By Carl Hermann Voss

* Dr. Carl Hermann Voss is extension secretary of the Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. He is chairman of the executive council of the American Christian Palestine Committee.

DEAR . . . Thank you for your interesting letter of December 17 and its enclosures, which came during the Yuletide Season. May I try to be equally sincere and candid in my answer.

Like you, I should consider "some measure of compromise inevitable," but not, I beg you, at the further expense of the Jews who not only have had Transjordan cut off from the "Palestine" envisaged in the Balfour Declaration, but have been confined in a "restricted" Palestine as outlined by the 1939 White Paper.

Like you, I would "strongly recommend a careful study" of the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry; but I deplore the fact that this report was so coldly received in Britain, and I look with despair on the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee and its incredible Morrison-Grady scheme of federalization which violated the basic premises of the Inquiry's Report whose recommendations it was ordered to implement.

In all earnestness, may I say that I see no possibility of "a peaceful solution of this most difficult problem of human relations," as you describe it, as long as our basic misunderstandings prevail.

When the British Council of Christians and Jews adopted the resolution you sent me in which "certain irresponsible Jewish groups" in Palestine were condemned for engaging in terrorist activity, it had, I was relieved to read, the grace to note that the crimes were committed by "a numerically insignificant minority." The resolution, proposed from the chair by the Archbishop of Canterbury, declared the acts of terrorism to be "fundamental violations of the spiritual and ethical principles common to Judaism and Christianity."

But the resolution omitted some things. Are not acts of tyranny of the

British military regime in Palestine also "fundamental violations of the spiritual and ethical principles common to Christianity and Judaism?"

I refer to the way in which refugees, who tried to enter their legitimate national home, were clubbed and gassed; to the arbitrary arrest and the detention of democratically elected leaders of the Jewish community without charge or trial; to the looting and wanton destruction of property by armed troops; and to the unilateral breach of international covenants. Yes, terrorism is reprehensible; but it is no less reprehensible to provoke terrorism by injustice. The bombing of the King David Hotel and the flogging of British soldiers were tragic and deplorable, yet are the logical result of British policy in Palestine. The terrorists in Palestine are not the first to resort to direct action against what they construe to be British misrule. The pattern was set for them by the Sinn Feiners in Ireland, by the resistance movement of the nationalists in India, and by such stalwarts as the Minute Men of Lexington and the instigators of the Boston Tea Party.

IT seems to me that a good deal of over-sensitivity enters into the reaction of some of your people to what is being said and done in America. No reasonable person should expect our people and yours to see eye to eye on everything. Such a situation would have within it a stagnation of clear thought and expression. You may remember that about two months ago *The Manchester Guardian* (Nov. 12, 1946) remarked: "What in fact is the moral basis of our Palestinian policy? We are not carrying out the terms of the original mandate. We are not noticeably approaching the day when Palestine will be independent. And we are not offering to make it a trust territory under the United Nations. It is no use simply feeling aggrieved."

Our British friends should realize that they are largely responsible for the state of mind which prevails in America today. It is not enough to find fault with the results emanating

from a given cause. The cause itself is, I believe, the very core of the problem.

The remarks of Mr. Neville Laski and his expressions of horror and outrage over some of the things that are being said in America about your country and its government are, I would venture to say, in rather bad taste. Lately, some very harsh things have been said about our country and our government in your House of Commons and in your newspapers. But no one here has taken up the sword either in attack or in defense. We take it for granted that, whether you are wrong or right in your evaluation of American policies, we have no right to attempt to take away your privilege of being critical. Any other attitude would spell disaster for our peoples. Likewise we take it for granted that you may not take away our right to be critical of your policies.

IT would be more fitting for Mr. Laski and others of the same mind to look into their own consciences and endeavor to square them with the actuality of Britain's present attitude toward the Jewish people. To claim that the British people have always been "the best friends" of the Jews is to beg the issue. Even the British Labor Party does not deny that it has taken a somersault on the Palestine issue.

It is extremely difficult for us to understand certain aspects of a new British orientation with regard to Jewish affairs generally and with Palestine in particular.

I refer particularly to the gross vulgarities expressed by some of your generals in Palestine and to the anti-Jewish sentiment which has recently been generated by your press and some public officials with regard to the so-called "terror" invasion of Britain by Jews, despite the very clear evidence that this was not based in fact.

How do you expect us to react to the policy which seeks to appease the Arabs at the cost of honor and integrity? We know how much and how willingly the Jews of Palestine sacri-

THE AMERICAN PRESS SPEAKS ON PALESTINE

(SOME EXPRESSIONS FROM LEADING AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS)

The Washington Post
AUG 4 1947

Thursday, February 6, 1947

Palestine Decision

Palestine Decision

To Mr. Bevin, now that both the Anglo-Arab and the Anglo-Jewish conferences have ended in deadlock, goes the responsibility for producing a unilateral policy for Palestine. It is a fateful assignment. Hitherto Mr. Bevin has not been noted for his aptness in handling the situation in Palestine. He is reputed to feel that a delay is in order until the seven-day notice that the British administration in Palestine has served on the Jewish Agency has expired. The due date is next Monday. By then the Jewish Agency is expected to cooperate with the administration in rounding up the terrorists. But, if Mr. Bevin expects this cooperation, he is as lacking in imagination and a sense of realities as the men on the spot in Palestine. The Jewish Agency, no matter how much it condemns the terrorists, will clearly not be put in the position of turning spy and informer. It is too close to the terrorists to do any such thing. The cooperation asked by the British would be equivalent to a sponsorship of civil war by the Jewish Agency itself. Nor is it likely that the counterterrorist organized by the British will browbeat the Jewish Agency into acceptance of the kind of federal state under British administration which goes under Mr. Morrison's name and which Mr. Bevin is said, more or less, to have in mind. Both the Morrison plan and legitimization have run their course, and the line of true statesmanship must be sought elsewhere.

It would seem that the wise thing would be to wait without regard to what the world might think.

It would seem that the wise thing would be to outline a policy without regard to what is going on in Palestine. Palestine is the kind of problem the unmanageability of which has increased by delay and indecision. Partition, it has long been our view, is the only possible device for application to Palestine, and even that, in the circumstances of estate, and even that, in the circumstances of present temper and passions, would have to be imposed. As long ago as 1937 it was laid down as fact by the British Peel Commission. But what could have been done then without much difficulty, and even in 1945 with a good chance of success, is now, admittedly, full of danger. Arab intransigence has thriven on British indecision, and many Zionists have become wholehearted. Yet the nettle must be grasped, not in terms of a phony partition such as was represented by the Morrison plan, but in terms of the Peel Commission. Only a partition admitting of a viable state for Jewish Palestine will do—that is to say, one giving an autonomous Jewish Palestine access to the highlands of Galilee and the empty areas of the Negev.

The parallel between Palestine after this war and Ireland after the last is becoming uncanny. Repression in Ireland created a terrorist movement which went from partition to the British to opposition to partition. It developed so alarmingly that the British government simply had to turn to conciliation, as they will have to do in Palestine, if only to allay the growing discontent on the part of the British people, who are impatient over police commitments outside of their straitened circumstances. Unfortunately, as Emerson said of British colonial rule nearly 100 years ago, "When ever an abatement of their power is felt, they have not conciliated the affection on which to rely." This proved to be the case in Ireland. It may, alas, happen in Palestine for extremism has fed on itself for too long a time to take kindly either to the British or to partition. The only British hope of sowing seeds of tranquillity is to come out with a declaration for a just partition, and let time strengthen the inherent wisdom and justice of it. A just partition, it seems to me, could not fail to evoke American support, as was implicit in the President's statement to the Sand on October 4. Such a statement of British policy would pave the way for American aid, especially in river valley development, which is the only means that will promote the healing that one day will have to be undertaken.

New York Times
December 29, 1946



PALESTINE — "SEARCH FOR AN OPEN DOOR."

The Philadelphia Inquirer, 9/24/36



ON WHAT PAGE IS THE WORD "HUMANITY?"

Allentown, Pa.
Call Chronicle;

Is It Nothing To You?

Is It Nothing To You? There is much unrest in Palestine on the part of the Jews because Britain has not admitted the number of refugees they desire. There is no good reason why life and property should be destroyed in the effort to compel the British to admit more of their people. The violence is not condoned by the large majority of the Jews in Palestine. Nevertheless, the great Nations which were the winners in World War II should take prompt action to relieve the awful refugee situation in Europe. More than five million Jews were deliberately slaughtered like cattle by the Germans and a million and a half are still largely confined to concentration camps and have no place to go. None of the great nations has suffered in loss of life so much as these people have suffered simply because they are Jews. A Jew believes in the same God as does the Christian. Even Soviet Russia has made the statement that Palestine should be given to the Jews and President Truman has urged that 60,000 refugees be admitted to Palestine.

There are now 600,000 Jews in Palestine and 1,200,000 Arabs. The Arabs there have profited greatly by the return of the Jews. If the Jew had not come the Arab would still be cultivating his land with the small wooden plow, and there would be no progress in the land. Someone has made the statement that the Jew has long since lost Palestine because of his conquest by other nations, and that the land belongs to the Jew by divine right, as much entitled to America as the Jew is to Palestine. They forget, however, that the land belongs to the Jew by divine right, nations, and that the land belongs to the Jew by divine right. Sooner or later, despite opposition of other nations, the Jew will occupy Palestine and he will again occupy the Holy Land given him by the Almighty. That land extends from the Euphrates river to the Mediterranean, and from Egypt north including Syria and Lebanon.

How can a people rest with a million and a half of their brethren homeless and still prisoners of war? The immediate problem which should concern the successful nations is the placement of these displaced and unhappy people.

Palestine can still assimilate more people. It is a small country, only 60 by 120 miles. But it has every promise that it will again regain its prosperity of centuries ago, and the Jews will take care of their own if they are given the opportunity.

Great Britain fought for freedom and won. It does not become them now to confine or any other people.

Cleveland Plain Dealer

IRELAND OF 1947?

IRELAND OF 1947?
The stage is being set in Palestine for the enactment of an international tragedy. The actions of the British in the Holy Land are reminiscent of the fumble steps taken in 1920-21 to put down the republic in Ireland. The analogy is so close that a lesson should be drawn by Downing Street from the Irish experience before Palestine is bathed in blood.

Ireland's Stan Kely

Ireland's Sinn Féin movement of the '20s may be compared with the Zionist movement of today. When Britain turned from diplomacy to military action to resist the claims of the Sinn Féin the terrorism began in Ireland and the underground Irish Republican Army came into being. The failure of British diplomacy, and the breaking of promises to the Zionists, has led to the creation in Palestine of the Irgun Nval Leumi, the underground terrorist group.

The war between the Irish Republicans and the British forces, popularly known as the "Black and Tan," became one of the most disgraceful—and as it proved, most futile—episodes of the early postwar years.

Then as now, London could see the employment of military force as the only answer to a situation which had degenerated because of the breakdown of diplomacy. The following paragraph from a cable dated May 19, 1938, is representative:

The question of how many more troops are to be dispatched to Ireland also has arisen in the cabinet. It is calculated that there are now about 50,000 troops in Ireland, and several more battalions are under orders . . ."

50,000, and the cable might have been sent yesterday.

Terrorism, cruel retaliation, the involvement of the innocent population are today common events in the Holy Land as they were a quarter century ago in Ireland. Britain endeavored then to reduce the population in the campaign against the Republic. It has so waged the Jewish National Council (the Vaad Leumi) that it has until Tuesday to join the British in stamping out terrorism. Otherwise, recognition of it as the official representative body of Zionism will be withdrawn.

The answer to the agency's refusal to turn Faith into a nation of "spies and informants" was explained by Rabbi Meir Silver of Cleveland, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

The Jewish Agency has indicated that it will do everything that lies in its power to restrain these extremist groups. It is not, however, prepared to ask the Jewish population to turn informants and spies for an administration which itself has been guilty of gross inequalities and cruelties against Jews who seek refuge in their own homeland."

All the British steps to solve the Palestine problem have failed to date. The latest failure is the total rejection of the partition scheme by the delegates of the Arab League now in London. It no longer satisfies the Jews. Foreign Secretary Bevin has indicated his surprise, but this result was to be expected. The London conference with the Arabs, to be followed by another with the Jews, is part of a pattern of procrastination, delay, and nothing.

Before Palestine becomes the Ireland of 1947 the British should recall the outcome of the former tragedy. After the shooting was over, when everyone was sickened by useless bloodshed which brought no issue, the problem was settled by diplomacy. With common sense and humanity this can be done in Palestine today before total tragedy engulfs the region. A determined people cannot be intimidated by force. Especially is this true when the record clearly shows that the opposing power is violating its own solemnly given commitments.

N. Y. Post
February 4, 1947



WELL?



The News Photo—Owen Titterton
Senator Owen Brewster (R., Me.) (left) is shown
chatting before Senator Brewster's address Sun-
day district dinner meeting in the Hotel Severin.

Brewster Condemns British Position of Palestine Pledge

By JAY ZAL

"The area needs irrigation badly. One-fourth of the oil royalties paid the Arabs by the British in the last ten years would do the job. The Arabs are suffering at the hands of the sheiks. The Arabs have no courts, no democracy of any kind. They will turn to the Russians instead unless Ibn Saud gives them something."

"For the last two years our state department and congress have been controlled by one party. Their resolutions have not been sufficient to help clear the Palestine issue. Since the election the responsibility regarding Palestine will be divided, and not for the Jews alone."

"The peace of the world is involved in Palestine. There is no place in Palestine where United States policy can be heard. Our radio facilities there have been restricted by the British and French in the Arab world. Our planes are restricted even from the very field which was built by \$10,000,000 of American money. The British fear we might establish a listening post. That is why they won't even let our planes land. But that is why we are interested in Palestine. We want to help keep the peace."

Senator Brewster said when Secretary of State James F. Byrnes was absent from the country, underlings in the department virtually repudiated America's true policy toward Palestine and the Jews. With the government now back in the hands of the two-party system, he said, "there will be a reshuffling of the state department and underlings will not be able to repudiate the pledges of their superiors."

He blamed the desertion and meretriciousness of Arab lands on the Moslems themselves.

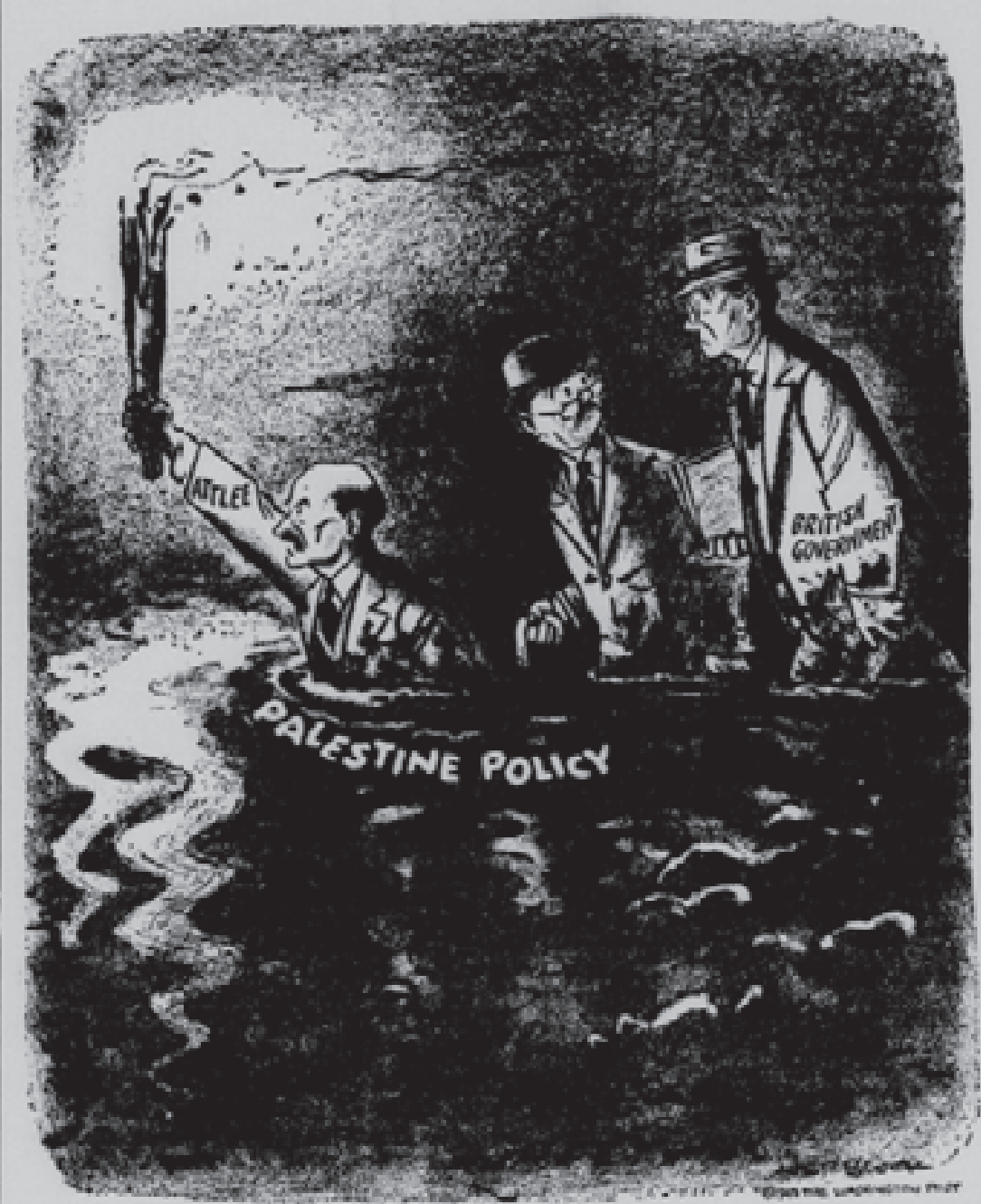
"But the Zionists have made a paradise of the lands they have acquired. About 600,000 Jews have found homes there. And 600,000 Arabs also have found a haven in Palestine. Now there is a total of nearly a million Arabs there and very happy about it, also. And that is because they prefer the sanitary conditions there."

"Arabs would like to sell their lands to the Jews. Jews would like to buy. But the British object. The Jews have wrought a miracle in the desert through the Zionist cause, in a land sacred to the three religions."

"I hope the British will fulfill their legal obligation and right a grave moral wrong. I hope they will also choose a course that will serve the interests of world harmony and in the end, the interests of the British empire as well."

New England senator said the effect that the Jews were having Arabs in Palestine was propaganda designed to present true facts. He said he held 90% of the Arab lands are doing little or nothing to develop the area.

"Forward!"



Palestine Mess

By Barnet Nover

Belated British Action

WINSTON CHURCHILL was indulging in no rhetorical exaggeration when he told the House of Commons the other day that the policy which the Labor government had been pursuing in Palestine has covered Great Britain with "blood and shame."

That policy has consisted of endless stalling and back-peddling by the cabinet in London plus mounting repression by the British authorities in the Holy Land, a peculiarly explosive combination as events have proved.

To be sure, the difficulties of the problem that confronted Prime Minister Attlee and his colleagues when they took office in the summer of 1945 are not to be minimized.

Those difficulties were very great. But they had been there from the beginning. They were implicit in the Palestine problem in the days when Great Britain willingly and eagerly accepted the League of Nations mandate over the Holy Land.

It was with a clear awareness of these difficulties that the Labor Party and the individual Labor leaders, not once but repeatedly, took a strong pro-Zionist position on the Palestine issue.

IN DECEMBER, 1944, the Labor Party, at its annual conference, went on record as saying:

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

This plank also urged that more land in Palestine be made available to the Jews through a transfer of the Arab population. Indeed, the Labor Party went so far as officially to suggest that the possibility be examined of "extending the present boundaries of Palestine by agreement with Egypt, Syria or Transjordan."

In 1945, only a short time before the general elections which resulted in a Labor triumph, the party of Attlee, Bevin and Morrison reaffirmed this policy without reservation.

IT CAN ONLY be a matter of pure speculation, now, whether the policy advocated by the Laborites could have been wholly carried out. The fact is that no attempt was made by the Labor government to carry out any part of the program which they had advocated for more than 20 years, including the years in which Attlee, Bevin,

Morrison and other members of the present cabinet shared governmental responsibility with Churchill.

What happened was that, as "come into power, it their Palestine shelf. They decided to wait-and-see course."

In politics, as in physics, nature abhors a vacuum. Having shelved the only Palestine policy in which their party was committed, the Labor leaders in the government had no alternative but to accept the advice of those who knew where they wanted to go and thought they knew how to get there, namely, the men on the spot and the bureaucrats of the Colonial Office.

In other words, British policy during this year and a half has been made by individuals few of whom have had the slightest sympathy for the Labor Party's Palestine program and who consciously or subconsciously were determined that it should never go into effect.

The inevitable result has been that British policy, geared to such a day-to-day basis and determined by local officials rather than by the government in London, has gone backward rather than forward.

It moved, although with self-righteous blindness Bevin and Attlee long refused to see it, not toward the fulfillment of the Balfour pledge of a Jewish homeland but in the direction of the root-and-branch destruction of the Zionist experiment.

HAD THE LABOR GOVERNMENT leaders been endowed with even elementary understanding of what the situation called for, they would have accepted with enthusiasm and carried out promptly President Truman's suggestion that 100,000 refugees European Jews be admitted to the Holy Land.

They had a second chance to act on that after the Anglo-American Committee's report was issued last year.

Now, months later, they are proposing to do just that as part of a more comprehensive settlement of the Palestine problem. But whereas action on refugee admissions in the summer of 1945 would have given the British government time to work out a decent and viable solution of that problem, it will now appear to be no more than strawberry syrup to make a dose of castor oil more palatable to the Jews when they ask them to swallow the conclusion.

The Arabs, having reached the conclusion that Britain fears them, are shrieking to high heaven against even the slightest British concessions to Zionist wishes.

Great Britain is thus reaping the bitter fruits of having waited too long to come to grips with the Palestine problem. Had she displayed half the vigor and determination 18 months ago, or a year ago, she is belatedly showing now, the present Palestine situation might have been avoided. Hence as in war, the worst possible policy is one of "too little,

Left Out or Millions

BY PHILIP H. PARRISH
Editor, The Oregonian Editorial Page

Adjacent to this column appears a photograph which has just caught up with me. It was taken by an army photographer on October 3 at the Jewish assembly center of Zellshheim, down the Main from Frankfurt, Germany—an assembly center holding 3500 out of approximately 114,000 Jews assigned to centers throughout our zone in Germany.

Please study the photograph carefully. It is a document of much pathos and great significance. Toward the lower right there are army and UNRRA officials, along with Palmer Hoyt of the Denver Post and myself. We had just come out of a children's hospital, from a window of which the picture was taken. The others in the picture, except for two members of the editorial staff, standing in the middle of the group (wearing hats), are typical Jewish survivors of the Nazi program of extermination.

The point which I wish to bring out is that all the same height and the same weight, and except for a few children they are in younger middle life. The older and younger people are dead; hardships killed them. The taller people and the shorter people are dead; they attracted the attention of their guards and went first to the gas chambers. Nearly all of those one sees here are survivors of the extermination camps. I have stared at the marks on many arms designating the order in which they were to go to the chambers. Most of those who live are from 5 feet 4 to 5 feet 6 in height, weighing 135 to 160 now that our feeding has restored their flesh. One could almost push a lawnmower across their heads; they run so much to one size. They were the physically and mentally tough, and those most likely to escape attention from the guards.

Prior to the war Germany had 600,000 (plus) Jews, and there were several millions in Poland and adjacent countries of central Europe. Something over 5,000,000 died during the war, from willfully imposed hardships or from mass murder. The figures are inconceivable, but that is the sorry record—a fearful blot not only upon the Nazis but upon civilization. And of the German Jews, few indeed remained when our troops battered through. They either had escaped or were slain. Probably only two or three Jews. Most of the rest would be fugitives from Poland. Some would have arrived from the east under the earlier impacts; some would have taken the road west following the Kleiche massacre last July. (The Jewish problem seemed to have stabilized itself until this massacre in Russian-dominated Poland started tens of thousands flocking westward, most of them headed for the American zones of Austria and Germany, and none of them, under our policy, turned back.)

As of my last information, we had approximately 114,000 Jews in our German settlements and about 25,000 in our Austrian settlements. They represent a tremendous charge upon the American taxpayer, and upon the human conscience.

The British zone, so far as I could learn, has only some 15,000 stragglers, the refugees in general moving to our side because they felt they would have better care and a better chance for ending up where they wanted to go—Palestine.

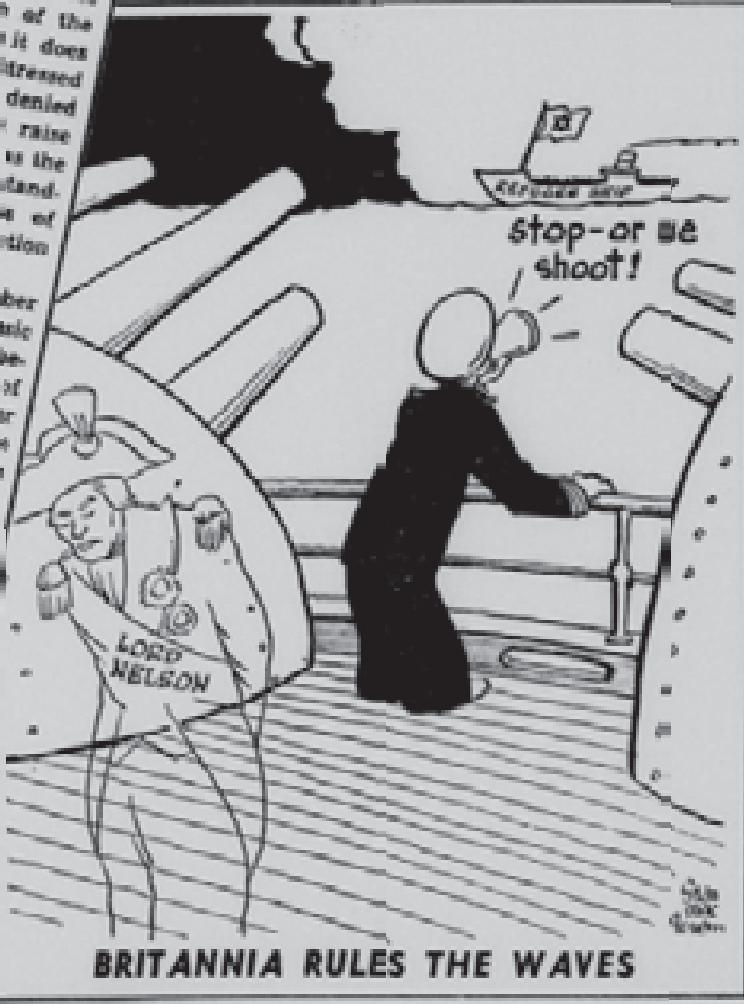
That is, about 80 per cent want to go to Palestine. Possibly even 90 per cent. They say they have little chance of getting into the United States, and, anyhow, they would settle for Palestine, which has become a "cause" with them. They feel they have suffered enough to deserve it, and that somehow the British concern over Arab reaction must be broken.

Personally, and within limits, I am in agreement with them.

To recapitulate: The American zones of Germany and Austria have become the havens of the displaced Jews of Middle Europe—most of them wanting to get to Palestine.

And why shouldn't they go? As I understand it, there are now approximately 1,200,000 Arabs in Palestine, and only something over 600,000 Jews—even after all the migrations and the influxes. The Arabs have increased dramatically in numbers as a result of the opportunities offered by the industry and resources of the not appear to me reasonable that the distressed entrance when such entrance would not raise the question of displacement of the Arabs to the point of numbers. The persecuted Jews of Europe could be absorbed without that question coming up.

One hundred thousand or twice that number could be admitted to Palestine without the basic situation in that country being changed. I believe the presumably liberal government of Britain should concede and have the matter over with. The ultimate destiny of Palestine could be decided when the misery of these particular Jews had been alleviated in this decent way.



BRITANNIA RULES THE WAVES

"COMING OUT AND GOING IN"



New York Post

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1947.

Palestine—Britain's Alternatives

The British are privileged, by virtue of their arms, to act as conquerors in Palestine. They may, for rifles give them permission, force thousands to abandon their homes in Jerusalem. They can sweep through settlements—searching, smashing, even looting from a harsh earth.

They may, as happened at Sarona the night of January 2, force Jews to run a gauntlet of gun butts and truncheons until some fall bloody and unconscious. They are able to order non-essential Britishers to evacuate Palestine as they prepare an all-out drive on terrorists.

But they cannot prevail through such tactics. Of course, there can be "no surrender to terrorists." But hanging Dov Gruner and turning Palestine into an active theatre of war is surrender to the terrorists.

For nothing could suit the strategy of the extremist groups more than the imposition of martial law, now almost a certainty. It means closing down factories and farms, forcing thousands into unemployment. And in the atmosphere of hopelessness and resentment thus engendered, the conviction that nothing is to be gained through moderation will spread and men, in desperation, will turn to guns.

Idealists to Machiavellians?

Unless idealists have overnight turned into Machiavellians, that is not what British Labor wants. It is certainly not what the vast mass of Palestinians desire.

Yet it is coming. True, Britain has offered the Jewish Agency 7 days in which to conduct its own purge of terrorists.

But no institution faintly representative of the Jewish people could accept that ultimatum. The British have flouted their mandate, converted their Balfour pledge into a scrap of paper, turned unfortunate immigrants back from their only hope of life. Do they now expect the Agency to wage civil war in order that such illegalities and indignities be facilitated in the future?

Deprived of the elementary attributes of sovereignty—the right to control immigration, land purchases—is the official spokesman of Palestinian Jewry to assume an artificial sovereignty momentarily proffered it by the British, so that it may better proceed to the shedding of brothers' blood?

Yet the Agency wants desperately to stop the terror. The economy of Palestine built by the bitter toil of pioneers is imperiled by extremist activities. Citrus crops often rot for the highways to shipping points are unsafe. Merchants are forced, at gunpoint, to subsidize the underground.

But the Agency cannot turn quailing.

Hope Is the Answer

The answer then, lies not in ultimatums and flourishes of arms. If Britain desires an end to terrorism, she must offer the Jewish people of Palestine some hope for the future. She must, at the very least, propose a plan that will set up a free Jewish state large enough to sustain its present population, plus those who dream of migrating to their homeland.

If and when that happens, no ultimatums will be required to end the excesses. For widespread terror can exist only by sufferance of the community. And given hope and reason the Jews will themselves take care of their extremist fringe.

The alternative is more British troops and ultimatums. But that will solve nothing. A gun will be turned up here and there, arrests will mount. But for every man jailed a hundred, grown embittered and disillusioned, will spring to take his place. The ancient, unquenchable fury of freedom will blaze forth in full, unquenchable fury.

And the end of that battle will not be a British triumph. Of that, Mr. Bevin, Gen. Barker and like-minded Britishers may be sure.

As His Majesty's Government prepares to free Burma and India, it should ponder what a harsh imperialist policy—using guns instead of reason, denying elementary human rights to subject peoples—has already cost the Empire.

British Compel Tel Aviv Jews To Run Gauntlet

Soldiers Beat Them, 29 Are Hurt; Anti-Semitism and Hatred of British Grow

By Homer Bigart

By Telephone Via London
Copyright, 1947, New York Times Inc.
TEL AVIV, Palestine, Jan. 7.—Two obvious facts—a growing anti-Semitism among British troops and a rising anti-British feeling among all classes of Palestine Jews—dominate all other considerations in the Palestine crisis.

The anti-Semitism has been a long time in the making, and inevitable product of a long stay in the East. It has been a long time in the making, and inevitable product of a long stay in the East. It has been a long time in the making, and inevitable product of a long stay in the East.

The British troops now in Palestine are certainly no worse than American troops now in Germany. Both forces are composed largely of young recruits who, under strain, are liable to lose their heads. No one could deny that troops here have suffered major provocations. But the Sarona incident in Tel Aviv Thursday night was a particularly nasty display of anti-Semitism, and the tragic prospect of further excesses must receive urgent consideration in London.

Shortly after a terrorist attack on the district military headquarters in a citrus house in the heart of Tel Aviv, soldiers and police entered the Montefiore District, on the northeast of the city, rounded up the male population and marched them into Sarona, police compound. Some sixty to seventy men were forced to run the gauntlet between rows of soldiers and police, who struck them with rifle butts and batons. Twenty-nine were injured, some seriously enough to require hospitalization.

A brigade commander of the 6th Airborne Division, whose troops were involved, told this correspondent tonight that a closed inquiry would start tomorrow. "As a result of allegations made by certain civilians regarding incidents at Sarona, the whole matter is under review," he said. "No officer or other rank is empowered to give any further information, by virtue of this fact."

The inquiry had been demanded by Mayor Israel Rokach. The Mayor was ill today, but the Town Clerk, Yehudah Noddi, who served four years as a captain in the British Army, said the city administration was convinced the allegations were correct.

I drove to the Montefiore district and talked with several men who had been beaten. Abraham Klajman, owner of a textile mill, said that police en-

tered the factory after 9 p. m. and ordered Klajman and twelve men of the night shift out into the yard. "I asked them whether I should halt the machines, and they replied, 'You'd better—you won't be back very soon.'"

"I told the girl employees they'd better stay inside the factory. We were lined up in the yard. Some of the workers started smoking, but the cigarettes were struck from their hands by the police."

"Suddenly a policeman fired in the air and I heard a command, 'Run.' We ran to the main road, where we mixed with a crowd of men whom the police and soldiers had removed from a bus. We stood there a few minutes, and then the command 'Run' came again. At Sarona, the main gate was open. Soldiers and police were lined up on both sides of a lane leading to the center of the compound—a distance of one-sixth of a mile. I heard the cries of men being beaten in the darkness ahead, and I realized that the shots fired just as terrorism appears to have been a signal to the inevitable recourse of a police arrival came to prepare the gauntlet, who feel that all legal pressure 'him' must be a prisoner of the German army at Nidom, back in Poland."

"I have learned a few things. I kept in the center of the mass of running men and suffered fewer blows than those on the outside. I was clipped once on the head and twice on the arm, but did not fall. Some of the older men fell. I saw a man clubbed with the butt of a rifle as he lay on the ground."

"In the center of the compound we were ordered to sit in a circle on the ground. The soldiers continued to beat those they could reach at the edge of the perimeter. Some of the men became nauseated, others fainted. I heard one soldier cry, 'Give me a machine gun and I'll kill the whole bloody lot.'"

Ordered To Go Home

Then we were put into trucks and taken to the British Counter-Intelligence at Jaffa. There was a stretcher case unconscious in my truck, and another man with a broken leg and one with a badly injured arm.

"At Jaffa they simply took our names and ordered us to go home. I overheard an officer saying: 'Who gave orders to arrest these people? Take them back.'"

Similar stories were obtained from Benny Brabha, who had fought with the Jewish Brigade in Belgium and Holland; Joram Danilel, a textile worker, and Joseph Dula, a laborer whose right arm was still in a sling. Dula had fallen during the gauntlet run and lost consciousness.

Tel Aviv was quiet tonight, despite the expiration of an "ultimatum" from the underground giving the 6th Airborne Division seventy-two hours to leave town. Meanwhile in Jerusalem there were rumors that the Jewish Agency was attempting to negotiate a truce in terror with the Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern gang. Mrs. Golda Meyerson, new chief of the agency's political division, returned to Palestine this morning and conferred with Sir Henry Curzon, chief administrative officer at Government House.

THE SHREVEPORT TIMES, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1947

PALESTINE

The Palestine situation rapidly is developing into a disgrace to civilization with the blame resting to large extent squarely on Great Britain for its failure to carry out its pledges for freedom for Jews in Palestine—and to some extent on the United States for failure to back its own commitment to support those pledges.

Conferences between the British and the Arabs now are going on in London after having been dropped last September. The Jewish Agency, which represents the Jewish groups aggressively fighting for full Jewish immigration to Palestine and the right to Jewish statehood there, refused to participate in the present conferences because of what its leaders consider betraying actions by the present British government.

Former Prime Minister Winston Churchill brought the British phase of the situation to a head in the House of Commons yesterday when he frankly charged Great Britain with breaking her pledges to the Jews, declared that unless Great Britain and the United States then the whole problem should be turned over to the United Nations. Great Britain and the United States supposedly have had a 50-50 policy in relation to Palestine, ratified by the United States Senate for many years, but Great Britain hasn't adhered to it and the United States has done little if anything to try to get her to do so.

Mr. Churchill's speech doubtless will be quite embarrassing to the Attlee government, and it may have been meant in that way. But his statements on broken pledges are true just the same, and of course they were true under governmental regimes of which Mr. Churchill was a part, too. He knows whereof he speaks.

It is worth noting also that the London Times seems to be relaxing its past policies on Palestine a bit and pulling away from the present government course. Whether this relaxing was timed with plans for Mr. Churchill's speech, or vice versa, or some coincidence, is not clear, but the London Times last Monday published a lengthy editorial calling on the British government to settle the Palestine problem quickly or get out of it by referring the whole thing to the United Nations. The London Times obviously is irate at the being put by failure to keep its pledges to the Jews, by inability to get anywhere as outbreaks of civil strife continue in Palestine, and particularly by what it believes is American opinion adverse to Great Britain because of the government's weakness in the whole affair.

The London Times flatly states that Britain has gotten into such a muddle that she now cannot permit either the Jews or the Arabs to control Palestine without sacrificing her honor to the other—the honor of the sacrifices in honor already made in betrayal of pledges to the Jews. Mr. Churchill does not seem to agree with the London Times on this point for he stated bluntly yesterday that the fact that Britain has broken her own pledges to the Jews means that "we have no right to say that we stay there (Palestine) for motives of honor."

Great Britain should know by this time that she cannot settle the Palestine problems by conferences, particularly with the Jews absent, and she should know that there is no reason for the Jews to attend new conferences with a nation that has broken so many pledges made in past conferences of various kinds.

Great Britain is committed to re-establishment of statehood and nationhood for Jews in Palestine. The United States is committed to support for that policy. It is time to use every peaceful power available to the United States for Great Britain to make good.

The British concede their own commitment and the commitment of the United States to support of it. What are they waiting for?

We The People

Palestine's Future
British Give Clew
Same Old Pattern

BY JAY FRANKLIN

Students of British foreign policy must conclude that the British Government is prepared for a settlement in Palestine, after a number of years of indecision and cross-purposes.

The clew is given by the announced plans to evacuate British civilians and the wives and children of British officials from the Holy Land. This follows the established pattern for British political retreats. During the Irish troubles, in the course of—and after—World War I, the British government ran through the same cycle of official promises, broken pledges, coercion which included the "Black-and-Tan" and trucelessness. Then—after the I. R. A. had proven its belligerent abilities

and the mass of the Irish either supported or acquiesced in the rebellion—the British prepared the Irish Free State.

The Free State was launched under the threat of "immediate and dreadful war," in which the Irish took at gun's point the practical independence for which they had been fighting.

Followed Same Pattern in Case of Turkey

In another instance, the establishment of nationalistic Turkey, the British government followed the same pattern. Kemal's armies had won the war against the Greeks and were marching on Charsak, on the Dardanelles. The London authorities beat the drums for war and rushed reinforcements to the Straits. At the same time the British negotiators came quietly and durably to terms with Kemal Pasha and backed down with magnificent trucelessness after having threatened to resume full-scale hostilities.

In the case of Palestine, the terms on which the British will settle are terms of partition. For this the Arab League was created, after it was established that there was no substantial hostility between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine itself. Since the local Arabs were not disposed to conduct pogroms against the Jews, the neighboring Arab states were rounded up for that purpose. Unless there is a division over which the British authorities can preside, the Palestine mandate is difficult to administer. Hence the Arab League, aided, and abetted by the American oil companies which

are busy—with British permission—in obtaining concessions from Ibn Saud.

Must Persuade World to Overlook Frontiers

Here the chief problem it to persuade the world in general and the American government, in particular, to overlook past promises and treaty undertakings in return for settlement which will perpetuate the Palestine feud as the division of Ireland into Ulster and the Irish Free State has perpetuated the Irish feud.

Partition is necessary, but on terms that will restrict the Jews to a small enclave under British protection. If the State Department agrees—as it will, because the State Department has been since 1943 a branch of the British foreign office in all important issues—then London can pose once more as protector of the Jews against the threat of the Arabs which London has inspired.

This is the ancient rule of empire—divide and rule! It is the inevitable result in any country where the British Empire intervenes to protect law and order. Whether it is Hindu against Muslim in India, or Arab against Jew in Palestine, or Protestant against Catholic in Ireland, or Indonesian against Dutch in Japan, it is hard to find an area of the world where British power has intervened where things do not get so much worse so rapidly that, by George! the British simply have to stay there indefinitely to keep things from getting out of hand.

(Released by Consolidated News Service, Inc.)



Is That What They Call British Socialism?

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

N. Y. TIMES
FEBRUARY 18, 1947

AMERICAN ZIONISTS DEMAND U. N. ACTION

Urge World Group to Nullify
All British Restrictions on
Jews in Palestine

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17.—Charging British "faithlessness" to the mandate of Palestine, the American Zionist Conference, in an emergency session today, called on the United Nations to repudiate imperial restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement in the country as violations of the organic grant.

It accused the British Government of "insincerity" in its negotiations with Arab and Zionist leaders in London recently and of trying through the United Nations to perpetuate military rule in Palestine. It demanded a voice for the Jewish Agency for Palestine in any United Nations discussion of the subject, and it asked this Government to continue its efforts at getting 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine.

Resolutions couched in the strongest terms ever employed toward the British Government by the American Zionists were approved unanimously by the 860 delegates from thirty-seven States who attended the emergency working and converged on Congress during the noon recess to convey their sentiments to members.

Denies Narrow "Pressure"

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency, presided over the discussions and advised delegates to have no misgivings in approaching Congressmen as citizens urging the justice of their cause through a completely democratic process. There was no question of applying "political pressure" in the narrow sense, he said.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, another member of the American section of the agency, reported on the negotiations with Foreign Secretary Bevin, explaining that, "If the British spokesmen approached the Palestine question with open minds, they were hardly vacant of ideas." Mr. Bevin, according to Dr. Neumann, warned the agency's representatives that the United Nations would never permit a Zionist state in Palestine while telling the Arab delegates to beware the United Nations because it would ultimately do exactly that.

Sees Many Lives Lost

A resolution of the conference devoted to British Palestine policy said that, "In reviewing the Government's history of inaction, vacillation and faithlessness, we are deeply aware of the fact that hundreds of thousands of Jews might have been saved but for indefensible policy."

The latest proposal for Palestine made to the Zionists and Arab leaders in London was described as a thinly veiled Morrison-Grady plan that had already been rejected by the United States Government as a basis for discussion.

The conference went on record as saying that, in turning over the Palestine question to the United Nations, the British Government hoped to secure "the prolongation of arbitrary British rule pending the time-consuming deliberations, the results of which Britain may negate with her veto power."

Condemning the British administration of Palestine as "mocking those very ideals in whose name the American people fought side by side with Britain in her moment of peril," the resolutions rejected Britain's justification of her actions against Jewish refugees as designed to maintain law and order.

The conference delegates were cheered by a telegram from Dean Alfange, chairman of the American Christian Palestine Committee of Greater New York, who urged the organization to "pursue a militant and unwavering course in the battle for the survival of Jewry that is now being waged in the settlements and cities of Jewish Palestine."

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17 (AP)—

Pennsylvania's two Senators, Francis J. Myers, Democrat, and Edward Martin, Republican, told a delegation of Pennsylvania Zionists today that they would work for the immediate immigration of 100,000 displaced European Jews to Palestine.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1947

Zionists Urge We Take Lead, Ask U. N. Seat

By OLIVER PILAT
Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Feb. 17.—The U. S. should take the lead in solving the Palestine problem now that Britain has decided to turn the issue over to the United Nations, American Zionists declared today.

Meeting in emergency conference here at the Hotel Statler, more than 500 delegates from 33 states heard their leaders describe the breakdown of negotiations in London for a Palestine settlement.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, member of the Jewish Agency Executive, who took part in the London negotiations, called for "an American-sponsored solution" now that Britain has made "public admission of failure." Such a solution, he said, must follow the lines of a 1945 Congressional resolution including three points:

1. Free entry of Jews into their homeland.
2. Fulllest opportunity for economic development.
3. The status of sovereignty, of a free and independent Jewish nation, to be achieved through statehood and symbolized by a seat in the U. N.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, who issued the call for today's meeting, pointed out that the Palestine problem cannot come before the U. N. Assembly before next September, and that there may be additional months of delay before any action is taken.

"Meanwhile, our refugees will languish in camps," he said. "Their plight will continue to get worse and we may be facing the gravest human tragedy."

Rabbi Silver said Britain was "prepared to do nothing in Palestine which the Arabs do not approve."

"With Britain we seem to have reached the end of the road," he said, "so the role of the U. S. increases tremendously."

Pointing out that the Arabs would have representation in the U. N. but the Jews would not, the Zionist leaders seemed to feel that the U. S. could in many ways act as spokesman for Palestine by insisting on the terms of the Anglo-American agreement of 1924.

N. Y. POST
FEBRUARY 18, 1947

Zionists Ask U. S. Aid Before U. N. Takes Over

By a Staff Correspondent

Washington, Feb. 18.—The U. S. should intensify pressure to bring 100,000 displaced European Jews to Palestine during the period which must elapse before the United Nations takes over the Palestine problem, American Zionists urged today.

Following an all day conference at the Hotel Statler, more than 500 delegates adopted a resolution asking the U. S. also to insist on "removal forthwith of discriminatory land restrictions in the Jewish national home."

Speakers pointed out that the U. N. Assembly cannot take up the Palestine issue until September and may spend many months before reaching a decision.

Britain's announcement that it would turn tangled Jewish-Arab relations over to the U. N. for solution is a "maneuver calculated to secure prolongation of arbitrary British rule pending time-consuming deliberations, the results of which Britain may negate with her veto power," the conference declared.

N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE
FEBRUARY 18, 1947

Zionists Seek U. S. Backing for Palestine State

Washington Meeting Asks
Government Pressure on
Britain to Help Jews

By Frank Kalley

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17.—American Zionist leaders launched a determined campaign here today to get Congress, President Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall to work through the United Nations and upon the British government to create a Jewish national home in Palestine.

At a day-long extraordinary session at the Statler Hotel the Zionists under the chairmanship of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who also heads the executive of the American branch of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, passed resolutions calling upon the United States to bring pressure upon Great Britain for immediate entry of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. They also demanded "removal forthwith" of the "discriminatory land restrictions" set out in the British White Paper of 1939.

The group further called upon the U. N. to issue an "interim order" that, pending its final decision on Palestine, the terms of the present British mandate be "fully applied" without restrictions assertedly imposed by Britain "in violation of that fundamental document."

Another resolution urged the United States to attempt to obtain commutation of death sentences imposed on several Palestine Jews for terrorism.

Flareup in Debate

There was a brief flareup of debate over wording of a resolution of "solidarity and support to the Yishuv (Jewish community) and its nationally disciplined and responsible resistance movement" in Palestine, with many of the 700 Zionists from thirty-three states demanding deletion of the phrase "nationally disciplined and responsible." The debate brought impassioned speeches from a number of Zionists who wanted to pledge support to all resistance in Palestine, but their move was beaten.

Speakers at the meeting drew bursts of applause with denunciations of the British government, of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and of what were described as "Britain's Arab stooges—the Mufti of Jerusalem and the Arab spokesman Jamal El-Husseini."

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, of the Jewish Agency executive, who returned Friday from London, where he had participated in informal British-Jewish talks, asserted that: "Every time I opened my mouth, Bevin took it as the occasion for a diatribe on American interference." He said that Mr. Bevin expressed "rising resentment" at the growing power of the United States.

Delay in U. N. Feared

Britain's decision to hand the Palestine problem to the United Nations got a mixed reception. Dr. Silver said that on the surface, it appeared that further delay in solution of the problem would be encountered, as the U. N. General Assembly will not meet for months and may not tackle Palestine immediately. Moreover, he said, the Jewish people are not represented as an entity in the U. N. whereas the Arabs have a voice in five delegations.

Dr. Neumann charged the British with attempting to revive the Morrison plan which, he said, would "ghettoize" the Jews. He denounced the British Foreign Office and the British War Office as "custodians of British imperial interests."

Louis Lipsky, chairman of the American Jewish Conference executive committee, termed the British proposal "a gesture."

During a three-hour recess, state delegations of Zionists called upon their Senators and Representatives on Capitol Hill with instructions from Dr. Silver to "avoid all mention of the Jewish vote" in pleading their cause.

P. M. Feb. 18, 1947

In Washington:

A nation-wide Zionist conference called on the U. S. Government to "take the lead in solving the Palestine problem." The conference, called by the American Zionist Emergency Council, urged U. S. officials to "draw upon the great fund of American idealism and traditions of freedom to advocate a solution which will do substantial justice to the most martyred of peoples."

Conference leaders urged the U. S. A. to take up the issue "after the public admission of failure by the British Government."

FEBRUARY 21, 1947

Britain Issues White Paper on Palestine Crisis

**It Contains Bevin, Morrison
and Arab Plans but Has
Little New Material**

By John Chabot Smith

From the Herald Tribune Bureau
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LONDON, Feb. 20.—A new White Paper on Palestine was issued by the British government today, containing what have been called the Morrison plan, the Arab plan and the Bevin plan.

The pamphlet, designated "Cmd. 7044," price four pence, is the latest addition to the monumental heap of documents which Britain intends to lay before the United Nations. An official source said today that every White Paper, committee of inquiry report and other official document dating back to the Balfour Declaration of 1917 will be included.

Today's release contained little new material, since the Bevin plan had already been unofficially circulated and the other two officially published. Significant, however, was Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's summation of Britain's twenty-five years as mandatory ruler of Palestine. His concluding paragraph follows:

"Throughout the period of mandatory rule in Palestine it has been the object of His Majesty's Government to lay the foundations for an independent Palestinian state, in which Arabs and Jews would enjoy equal rights. The state of tension between the two peoples which has existed thereto has continually thwarted the attempts of the mandatory power to progress toward this end. . . . The proposals contained in the present memorandum are designed to give the two peoples an opportunity of demonstrating their ability to work together for the good of Palestine as a whole, and so providing a stable foundation for an independent state."

Curiously enough, this statement is not exactly what the League of Nations mandate said the mandatory power was supposed to do. Whether Bevin's words mean the same as the words used in the mandate is arguable; indeed, Arabs and Jews have argued the point for twenty-five years and the argument has contributed toward the tension Bevin referred to. The words used in this connection in the mandate are:

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the (Balfour) declaration . . . in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

"Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds

for reconstituting their National Home in that country. . . .

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion."

Bevin told the House of Commons on Tuesday that the mandate had proved unworkable; the new White Paper does not settle the old argument of whether Britain ever tried to make it work.

The text of the Bevin plan, as released today, confirms in every important detail the versions of it which circulated unofficially as soon as the Foreign Secretary submitted it to the Arab delegations and the Jewish Agency representatives on Feb. 7. The principal difference is that the text is tricky and ambiguous.

The Morrison plan consists of an extract from a speech made by Herbert Morrison in the House of Commons on July 31, 1946.

The Arab plan submitted by the Arab delegations to the Palestine conference on Sept. 30, 1946, was made public at that time.

The White Paper also releases for the first time the official explanatory map attached to the Morrison Plan. This shows exactly what unofficial versions of the map portrayed—a small Z-shaped Jewish area, embracing part of the coast from Haifa southward to the hills around Qalilee; an Arab enclave at Jaffa; the Jerusalem district and the Negeb desert under British rule; and the rest, almost half the country, designated "Arab Province."

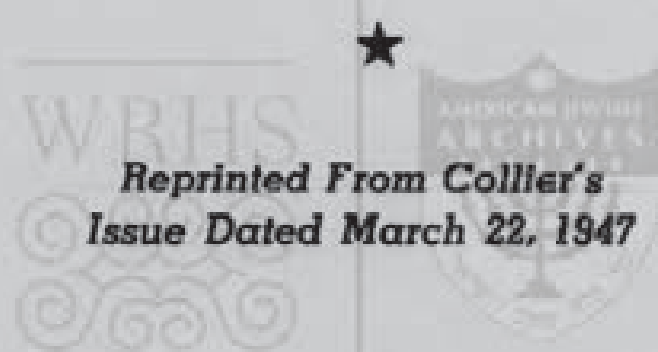
By a curious accident of the map maker's art, the boundary of the Negeb in the Morrison Plan neatly divides the name "Palestine" into the British-ruled "Pale" and the Jewish and Arab provinces of "Stine." Britain has long used the word "pale" to distinguish a district which has a special law and government from the surrounding territory. There was an English "pale" in Ireland, until Queen Elizabeth conquered the whole island, from which comes the expression, beyond the pale. The Russian Czar maintained a "pale" for the Jews in Russia.

The map shows scattered Jewish settlements in the Arab provinces of the "Stine," but a detour of the boundary excludes the southernmost Jews from the "Pale." The map is dated July 1, 1946; since then the Jewish settlements have been extended southward, deep into this area.

No map accompanies the Bevin Plan in the published White Paper, but an official said the requisite map has been prepared. It shows at least twenty different Jewish and Arab zones, the unit of local administration being the municipality instead of the province, he said.

CROSSROAD IN PALESTINE

BY BARTLEY C. CRUM



*Reprinted From Collier's
Issue Dated March 22, 1947*

In the fall of 1945 after President Truman had urged that 100,000 displaced persons from Europe be allowed by the British to enter Palestine, British Prime Minister Clement Atlee replied that he did not know whether this was feasible and suggested that an Anglo-American fact-finding committee study the situation. Such a committee was named, including six Americans and six Britons. One of the American members, appointed by President Truman, was a Republican, Bartley C. Crum, San Francisco corporation lawyer. The committee held hearings in Washington, New York, London, Cairo and Jerusalem, and investigated the condition of displaced persons in Europe as well as the relations between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East. It later issued a unanimous report urging the admission of 100,000 refugees to Palestine and making other recommendations. In this article Mr. Crum looks behind the record of British and American dealings in Palestine. It is an excerpt from his forthcoming book, *Behind the Silken Curtain*, and represents the viewpoint of one member of the committee

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WHEN I was appointed one of the six American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, I was brought face to face with a problem which, I was to discover, presents the greatest issues of our time in microcosm. I was to learn much about how governments govern; about the prejudices that underlie the thinking of the leaders of nations; about the way democracy must go if it is to survive; and, particularly, about one of the great social and national experiments of our time—the tangled, tragic, yet deeply promising twentieth-century history of the Jews.

American foreign policy is, of course, of prime importance to the American people. We desperately need an honest, forthright policy, so grounded on moral principle that it will hold equally for China, the atomic bomb, Germany or Palestine. The basic question in Palestine, indeed, is whether the Western democracies possess such a moral principle. If they do, then we, the free people of the West, will win out. If they do not, the Middle East may well become the breeding place of new wars.

It is imperative that we think clearly on this subject. But we cannot do so if the facts are veiled. It is for this reason that I write now.

Almost the very afternoon I arrived in Washington for our Committee's first hearings I was briefed on the subject of Palestine. Loy W. Henderson, chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs of the State Department, took me aside, and observed, "Mr. Crum, one fact faces both the United States and Great Britain: That

is the Soviet Union. It would be wise to bear that in mind when you consider the Palestine problem."

Sometime later I heard the same view expressed by a representative of the British Foreign Office: British policy was based on the protection of British interests against Russia and it should be to our advantage to fall in line with that policy.

This viewpoint was iterated when we embarked on the Queen Elizabeth for Europe. Climbing the stairs to the sun deck to attend our first shipboard meeting, I was chatting with Evan Wilson, of the Near Eastern desk of the State Department and chief of the American experts assigned to us. "If your Committee reaches a decision on Palestine which could be interpreted as too favorable to the Jews," he was saying, "an aroused Arab world may turn to the Soviet Union for support. The Committee must consider that seriously."

I turned to him, "If your words reflect the position of the State Department," I said, "how can you square that with all the assurances this government and the British Labor party have made to the Jews? Or does anyone know the real position of the State Department?"

Wilson looked at me quizzically. "The Department can't always make its confidential records public," he said. "But I can tell you that our concern is shared both by the British Foreign and Colonial Offices!"

I had a chance to read some of those confidential records on our third day out. I was handed a document marked "Contents of file of

Despite top-level battling, Arabs and Jews live peacefully together when their settlements meet in the desert, the Anglo-American Committee members reported



CROSSROAD IN PALESTINE

Continued

confidential communication on Palestine supplied by Division of Near Eastern Affairs for use of Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry." It dealt with seventeen items—dispatches, cables, correspondence, memoranda of conversations. This was a résumé of the State Department secret file on Palestine, the existence of which apparently not even President Truman had known.

According to this file, since September 15, 1938, each time a promise was made to American Jewry regarding Palestine, the State Department promptly sent messages to the Arab rulers discounting it and reassuring them, in effect, that regardless of what was said or promised publicly to the Jews, nothing would be done to change the situation in Palestine without consulting the Arabs. (When I charged last summer that the middle levels of the State Department had sabotaged President Truman's Palestine policy, Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson denied my charges. I challenged him then to make public the communications in this secret file. To this writing, Mr. Acheson has remained silent.)

It was a sorry and bitter record for an American to read. When I had finished I said, "I think I ought to book passage home as soon as we arrive in Southampton. I don't see that there is any purpose in going on with our work."

Sir John Singleton, the British co-chairman of our Committee of Inquiry, said dryly, "It appears that Great Britain is not the only power who promises the same thing to two different groups."

My reading of the record recalled to me the promises which the Jews had been given throughout the years of the Roosevelt Administration. Two of them stood out: The first was the Democratic party plank adopted at the 1944 convention in Chicago, reading, "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

A Personal Pledge from F.D.R.

The other was President Roosevelt's letter in October, 1944, to Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, which was to be read before the convention of the Zionist Organization of America. In his letter the President not only reiterated the plank of his party, but also committed himself personally as follows: "Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim, and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

I remembered, too, President Roosevelt's statement, made after his Red Sea visit with Ibn-Saud, and less than a month before his death, in which he reaffirmed his pro-Zionist stand. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the veteran Zionist leader, was authorized to quote him: "I made my position on Zionism clear in October. That position I have not changed and shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization."

But the State Department record presented a very different picture. Here, for example, was proof that when the Iraq prime minister questioned the authenticity of the statement quoted by Dr. Wise, he received a secret cable from the State Department assuring him that the statement "referred to possible action at some future date," and adding that when

President Roosevelt wrote his letter to Senator Wagner he was "of course keeping in mind the assurances made to certain Near East governments regarding consultations with the Arabs."

The chronological story was as follows: On May 26, 1943, a highly confidential note to King Ibn-Saud from us asserted that no decision affecting the basic situation in Palestine would be reached "without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews." On October 26, 1943, in a secret cable to the acting foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, the U.S. took the position that "we sympathize with the aspirations of the people of the Near East to attain full independence and strengthen the ties between them."

While this message may have been designed to offset the pro-Axis broadcasts then being made from Berlin by the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, it certainly encouraged the Arabs at this critical moment to believe the United States might repudiate the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine.

Secret Messages to the Arabs

From time to time, as American Jewry obtained Congressional support, our State Department—on February 24, 1944, again on March 4, 1944, and on March 22, 1944—reassured Cairo, Yemen, Bagdad, Beyrouth, Damascus and Jidda by secret diplomatic cablegram that President Roosevelt's views remain unchanged and there would be no decision without consultation with the Arabs.

Then came Dr. Wise's statement of the President's position. This was followed not only by the reassuring message cited above to the Iraq prime minister, but by similar messages to King Ibn-Saud of Saudi Arabia, the regent of Iraq, the prime minister of Lebanon, the emir of Trans-Jordan, and the prime minister of Egypt. The only part of this correspondence made public so far is the now-famous exchange between Ibn-Saud and President Roosevelt in March and April of 1945.

Similar messages were sent by the State Department under President Truman's Administration. On August 16, 1945, President Truman revealed that he had discussed Palestine with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee at Potsdam, and that they wanted to allow as many Jews into Palestine as possible. But shortly after, on October 23d, in a confidential cable to Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, Beyrouth and Jidda, the State Department explained this away by asserting that President Truman and the prime ministers "engaged in exploratory correspondence on this subject and naturally mentioned Palestine as one of the havens for homeless Jews, but there has been no change in this government's previously announced attitude on Palestine." On November 15, 1945, another similar reassurance was given to the Arab world.

No doubt those who drafted these dispatches to the Arabs believed themselves astute. I can think of no more perfect illustration of the danger of power politics and secret diplomacy than this "secret file." It exists in our State Department. Its counterpart undoubtedly exists in the British Foreign Office. Many are apt to say that open covenants openly arrived at are not practical. But the results of British and Amer-

**The Mufti reached the high point of his exhortations to the Arabs on March 4, 1944, when the United States Monitoring Service heard him broadcast to the world: "Arabs! Rise as one and fight for your sacred rights. Kill the Jews wherever you find them. This pleases God, history, and religion. This saves your honor. God is with you."*

ican policy in the Middle East, based upon this cynical belief that one can be all things to all people, has only been to alienate both Jews and Arabs and to bring about among the small peoples of the world a profound disillusionment with the great democratic powers.

The attitude of some of the British members of the Committee of Inquiry to these disclosures was painful to me. Sir Frederick Leggett, a noted Labor conciliator and a friend of Ernest Bevin, was almost amused. Richard Crossman, the brilliant Labor Member of Parliament, said he could not understand the stupidity that would permit us to do a thing like that, "but I must say it pleases me to find the British and the Americans are in the same boat."

Sir John Singleton, our British co-chairman, consoled me. In his stateroom he explained matters. "Really, the Jews are not the most important factor at all," he said. "The important thing is Anglo-American co-operation. Since these promises of yours have put both nations in the dock together, it only serves to bring us closer in the world ahead."

As for the reaction of the Americans on the Committee, I think I was more deeply depressed than any of them. Dr. James G. McDonald, Honorary Chairman of the Foreign Policy Association of New York, was a veteran in the diplomatic business, as was Ambassador William C. Phillips. I am afraid neither of them was very surprised. Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, Jr., of the Fifth Circuit Court, Houston, Texas, who was the American co-chairman of the Committee, was most displeased, but felt that as agents of President Truman we should not consider ourselves bound by the State Department records. Frank W. Buxton, then editor of the Boston Herald, a Republican and former Willie man, put the best possible face on it. He said, "In spite of all the correspondence, we'll call the shots as we see them."

I sought to get a clarification of the British point of view on Palestine from Harold Beeley, a member of the British Foreign Office who had been assigned to the Committee as a Near East expert. One evening in the ship's lounge he explained his views to Buxton and me. The Palestine issue, Beeley said, must be seen in the framework of strong Soviet expansionism. The Russians planned to move down into the Middle East. The United States, therefore, would do well to join Britain in establishing a *cordon sanitaire* of Arab states. If Palestine were declared an Arab state, it would be a strong link in this chain.

Beeley was frankly pro-Arab. He had

tremendous influence with the British committee members. The impression I had been given was that our experts were to be neutral on the Palestine question. We were a committee of inquiry, charged to find the facts, surely we should be able to turn to our experts for advice. Yet, if the British brought a pro-Arab adviser, we were not guiltless either.

Among the letters I carried aboard the Queen Elizabeth was one from a Washington newspaperman. He had enclosed a newspaper clipping reporting a speech in which one of our American experts, an authority on Semitic languages, had ascribed Palestine's troubles to the "misguided efforts of the Zionist movement to secure political control of the country for the Jews." The note that accompanied the clipping concluded, "You wouldn't say the cards are being stacked, would you?"

Surveillance on Shipboard

Once in London, I felt for the first time the strange sensation of being watched. I do not say that I was being trailed day and night. But aboard the Queen Elizabeth I had been told that it was not wise to send confidential messages over the ship's radio to Washington. Beeley was in charge of our arrangements in London and when we arrived I discovered that I was to share a room in the Hyde Park Hotel with one of my British colleagues. It seemed reasonable to suppose that members of governmental committees might have rooms of their own. I was keeping a diary, making and receiving many personal telephone calls, and I preferred privacy. I broached the subject a number of times, and on the third day I was given a room of my own.

Nonetheless a British member of the Committee cautioned me to be careful to whom I spoke and particularly to choose my words when I was on the telephone. I took this as a pleasant way of letting me know that my conversations were being tapped, that we were under some form of surveillance. I was to be aware of this curious sense of espionage throughout the course of our investigation in Europe, Egypt, and Palestine, where finally whoever was opening my letters did not trouble to reveal them.

One afternoon I returned to the London offices of the Committee to find George Wadsworth, our minister to Lebanon, closeted with one of the American members. I was interested to know what an American diplomat, stationed at Beyrouth, was doing in London. He had come to us, it developed, as an emi-



"And to my nephew, Elbert, I leave positive proof that I am the old tightwad he always said I was"

LARRY REYNOLDS

sary of the Arabs. The Arabs wished to testify before us—but in private.

I was against this as were most of the Committee. All witnesses had given evidence publicly so that the opposition had been able to hear what was said and had had an opportunity to refute it. Wadsworth must have had a rather lively impression on the day a suggestion, for the day a suggestion was received from the Royal Egyptian Embassy that five Arab spokesmen wished to appear before us—publicly.

In London I was most eager to see how the British Labor party would meet the issue of its pledges on the Jewish development of Palestine. In December, 1944, the Labor party adopted a Palestine plank reading, in part, "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded, calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe." How would Labor M.P.s react to this pledge now? Part of the answer came in the testimony of Thomas Reid, Laborite Member of Parliament.

Hasty Labor Party Resolutions

Reid was far from right: His party's pledges on Palestine had been "hurled through" the Labor party conferences. There was practically no discussion of them. Reid added, smiling, "I think the average party member had about as much knowledge of the Palestine problem as I have of the moon. These resolutions were put forward and accepted because nobody objected, as far as I can remember."

One of the British members of the Committee, Wilfred Crick, adviser to the Midland Bank, leaned forward. Precise and formal, he asked: "Would you care, for the benefit of our American colleagues, in particular, to give us your view as to the weight which is to be attached to these declarations? These might be some presumption that a declaration passed by the party conference could be expected to hold out a flag as to the direction in which the government might move when it assumed office. Have you any comment to make for our American friends on that prospect?"

"Would you agree," Crick continued, "that it is not entirely without precedent that political parties, when they are faced with the responsibility of government, do sometimes qualify the policies they have expressed?"

"I am afraid it is worse than that," said Reid promptly. "Sometimes political parties make promises which they do not at all carry out. I do not think the Committee need pay an enormous amount of attention to vague resolutions passed at Labor party conferences."

Dr. James McDonald spoke up sharply:

"I'm a good deal troubled by these answers, Mr. Reid. Being a naïve Amer-

ican, I had thought much about the pronouncements of the Labor party. I had supposed that while they might not indicate a binding obligation, they definitely indicated a party line. I suppose that is not the line which you have suggested. Is that correct, Mr. Reid?"

Reid rubbed his nose. "You must not ask me, sir," he said.

Reid had presented to the Committee. One paragraph seemed to call for explanation. I read it to him:

"On pages 8 and 9 you state: 'The Arabs states occupied some of the most important strategic positions in the world at least before the atomic bomb upset former world strategy. It behooves the practical man either to get their friendship, sealed in treaties, or to exterminate the lot, not a very paying proposition. This

"As I have stated in the memorandum," he said, "this Committee should not bother their heads about the oil or the greatness of the position of Ibn-Saud, but simply on the question of justice and legality."

I had no further questions to ask of Reid, but I could have wished that someone else had appeared as their spokesman. As I left this session of the hearings I came upon Harold Laski, the theoretician of British Socialism. I checked with him on Reid's statement that the Palestine pledges were vague and hurried.

Laski denied this emphatically. "Far from hurried," he said. "The Palestine plank was carefully studied for several years. I can tell you, and it represented the mature opinion of Labor party members. I regard it as absolutely binding on the party."



"You've got to hand it to them, the way they went at getting us to leave. First, running out of liquor, then getting the kid to play his violin, then bringing out the home movies—and finally . . ."

Saudi Arabia has a lot of oil which the world needs. The practical man will conclude that the great warrior king, Ibn-Saud, is worth cultivating."

"Would you mind explaining that a little farther?" I asked.

These were some chuckles from the gallery, and Reid reddened. "I am glad you gave me a chance of pointing out that I totally disapprove of the views of the narrow practical man, as stated here," he asserted. "I want to make it quite clear. I quoted the narrow practical man because I disagree with him."

"You don't think our decision should be made on the basis of oil and of friendship with Ibn-Saud?" I asked.

I myself had the opportunity to see a promise made and broken in the course of the next few weeks. While in London, Foreign Minister Bevin tendered our Committee a luncheon. He spoke frankly to us. The British government would take our counsel. "We will accept your recommendations," he declared.

I have since charged publicly that Mr. Bevin made this promise and the only reply to date is that the British Foreign Office "has no record" of it.

Bevin and Attlee Criticized

I may say that I never dreamed that when we finally produced our report urg-

ing that 100,000 Jewish displaced persons from Europe be permitted to enter Palestine immediately, our entire report would be discarded by Mr. Bevin and Mr. Attlee. Here, after all, were the unanimous recommendations of a joint commission of investigation representing two great nations and set up at the invitation of the British government.

"Yet, I suppose I should have suspected that there was more truth than fiction in Besley's casual observation toward the end of our stay in Lausanne, Switzerland, where we wrote our report. He made it with a twinkle in his eye—an offhand remark—"Well, after all, we certainly won't implement any such program as this."

And I remember Sir John Singleton's repeated warning with a hesitant cough and clearing of throat, "You know, Crum, these are only recommendations."

Yes, they were only recommendations, but they were made in good faith and in the belief that governments base their act on decency and morality. Our Committee had gone through the crowded displaced persons' camps in Germany, Austria and Italy. We had seen the unspeakable conditions in Poland. We had heard the testimony of competent Jewish, Christian and Arab witnesses. We had studied Arab-Jewish relationships on the spot in Palestine, and had realized that the political conflicts on high levels did not affect the relations between the men on the street.

We had conferred with British military authorities in Cairo and Jerusalem, and we had been assured that it was feasible to allow 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine, that the repercussions likely on the part of the Arab world were highly exaggerated and no great trouble was anticipated; and it was our unanimous opinion that it would be consonant both with human decency and the best interests of the peoples of all the Middle East to make this recommendation. Our report was filed with President Truman, who endorsed it. He said there was no reason for the British to delay further the issuance of these 100,000 certificates.

Every newspaper reader knows the bitterness and disorder that have followed. Unrest in Palestine is part of the troubled pattern of the entire Middle East, and it is to our own interest as a nation to work out democratic policy which will keep that area from being a springboard to new wars.

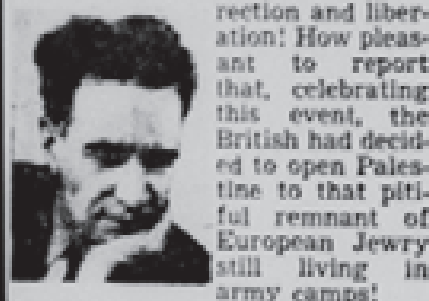
I am convinced that the free development of the Jewish community of Palestine is the key to the democratization of the Middle East. We must support that program whose wider implications were first seen by the great statesmen who framed the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine. If Britain now does not have the vision, the strength, to take the path to tomorrow rather than that to yesterday, we must point the way for her. She needs our help. Her burdens are many. For our own protection and hers, we must contribute our thought and our energy to that end.

THE END

Mowrer On World Affairs

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

This is the only season when Christian and Jews normally rejoice approximately together, Easter and the Passover—resur-



rection and liberation! How pleasant to report that, celebrating this event, the British had decided to open Palestine to that pitiful remnant of European Jewry still living in army camps!

Instead, the newspapers can but chronicle a new example of British injustice. The British are famous for their bulldog grip. Never was British doggedness in a worse cause than in the present determination not to carry out the terms of the Palestinian mandate.

That mandate, it can never be repeated too often, allowed the British to enter Palestine for the purpose of making that country an adequate Homeland for the Jewish people—no more no less.

Once the British broke the mandate by the issuance of the White Paper in 1939, their own presence in Palestine became illegal. The real question that the United Nations should be examining is therefore not—as Ernie Bevin is proposing—what sort of government should be established in Palestine. That was decided at the end of the last war—a Jewish government.

What the assembled delegates should ask themselves is why are the British not carrying out their original pledge.

To me there is something infinitely sad in the attitude toward the Jews of the present British leaders. These men had always been idealists and fought for truth and justice. They came to power at the end of a terrible war in which their great country had been all but exhausted. They came pledged to carry out a program of rigorous anti-imperialism.

That program they are rigorously carrying out in most parts of the world in the face of jingo opposition from the British Tories and even—to our shame be it said—from certain Americans fearful lest the "barrier against Russia" be thereby weakened.

In India, in Egypt, in Burma, the Labor Party program is being carried out in the face of great difficulties. Attlee, Bevin, Morrison, Dalton, Noel-Baker, will go down in history as men who decided to put an end to the British part of man's oppression—except in Palestine. Here these men—minus the honest Mr. Noel-Baker—are maintaining "imperial defense" with a callousness unsurpassed by any Tory.

Come what may, they are determined that there shall not arise in Palestine a democratic Jewish Commonwealth embodying the dream to which Israel has clung for nigh on two thousand years.

Some weeks ago, when the British government announced it was "turning over the Palestine problem to the United Nations for settlement," it looked as though His Majesty's Government had suffered a change of heart.

Not so. Now it appears that this was only the latest in a series of devious maneuvers.

For Great Britain has reserved her right to reject any United Nations decision on the future of Palestine.

In other words, if the U.N. Assembly should recommend something desired by His Majesty's Government, the recommendation will be accepted as right, proper and legal—and put into effect.

But should the Assembly decide, for instance, that Britain had, since 1939, systematically violated the mandate; that the severance of Transjordan was illegal; that the British have either to carry out the mandate as originally conceived or renounce the mandate and clear out of Palestine, or that the U.N. should aid in setting up in Palestine the promised Jewish state—then the British Government "reserves the right to reject" the United Nations' decision.

How can one account for such shabby action on the part of a great people?

First, politics. With the Soviets pressing outward everywhere in the Middle East, British colonial officials can think of nothing better than to bid for the favors of the hollow Arab giant they themselves so carefully built. Too many foolish Americans still believe that, as defense against Russia, the democracies can count on Hitlerites like the Nazi muffs of Jerusalem.

Second, anti-Semitism. As Richard Crossman, confused Labor Party Member of Parliament, confesses in his latest book:

"Somehow we (Englishmen) like the Arabs even though they fight us, and we dislike the Jews even if our interests run together."

And therefore, for the Jews, injustice without end.

TODAY and TOMORROW

By WALTER LIPPMANN

Truman and Monroe

THERE is this most critical difference between President Monroe's message of Dec. 2, 1823, and President Truman's of March 12, 1947: Monroe made his declaration only when he knew beyond a reasonable doubt how the commitment was to be met, indeed that there was virtually no chance whatever that he would be unable to meet it. The Monroe Doctrine, unlike the Truman, was preceded by negotiations abroad and by cool and studied consultation at home in which Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams played the leading parts.

They approved the declaration when they had before them the definite assurance, given in August to the American Minister Rush by Canning, that Great Britain, then in undisputed command of the sea, had decided to prevent the reconquest of the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere. It was then, when Jefferson had read the dispatches from Rush about the British decision, that he approved what became the Monroe Doctrine, saying that "all Europe combined would not undertake such a war, for how could they propose to get at either enemy (Britain or the United States) without superior fleets." Madison was equally definite and practical in realizing that it was the assurance of overwhelming power which justified the commitment: "It is particularly fortunate," he wrote to President Monroe, "that the policy of Great Britain, though guided by calculations different from ours, has presented a co-operation for an object the same with ours. With that co-operation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe, and with it the best assurance of success to our laudable views."

The Truman Doctrine expresses our laudable views. But unlike the Monroe Doctrine it has been declared to the world without the kind of careful calculation of the assurances of success, which were made by Jefferson, Madison, Adams and Monroe before they announced their laudable views. The difference is a big one—between making a promise which you know you can carry out, and making a promise first, and then wondering how you are going to carry it out. It is the difference between bold but astute statesmanship and reckless rhetoric.

As a result Senator Byrd has asked the Administration a question which is quite proper but, under the so-called Truman Doctrine as it now stands, is quite unanswerable. Senator Byrd wants to know whether "we have the resources alone to pay the bill."

What bill? The immediate bill for Greece alone is nearly \$300,000,000. But under the Administration policy this can be only the first installment. The money is to be used to balance the Greek budget this year on behalf of a government which collected almost no taxes and is, with our

approval, conducting a civil war. Conceivably this installment would pay the Greek bill if there were set up promptly in Athens a government which can collect taxes and can unite the bulk of the Greek people. But the deficits of this government, which protects the profiteers and is trying to crush the republicans as well as the Communists, will continue as long as the government, as now constituted and conducted, exists.

Yet Greece is only a pin point in the Truman global policy. There can be no end to the financial costs of that policy because adequate precautions have not been taken to see to it that the money will accomplish the purposes for which it is given. Unless the Greek government is reformed, Greece will not be stabilized by our meeting the deficits of that government.

* * *

The case of Greece illustrates concretely the basic fallacy of the Truman Doctrine in its present uncorrected, unqualified and unbalanced form. It is that the expansion of the Soviet Union and the spread of Communism can be checked by subsidizing all the governments, parties, factions which are most undeniably anti-Communist. A policy of this kind is bound to fail because it commits us to an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world and alienates the moderate and democratic forces.

It assumes that mankind is divided into totalitarian Communists and Jeffersonian Democrats. It is not. There are also Nazis, Fascists, feudal lords, war lords. There are also republicans, enlightened conservatives, liberals, progressives, social democrats, socialists, Christian democrats, co-operators, labor parties, democratic planners, and what not.

If we conduct the Truman policy on the principle that whoever is most vehemently against the Soviets is our friend and ally—and in his heart a Jeffersonian Democrat—we shall separate ourselves from the masses of the people almost everywhere. We shall have embraced the extremists of the right as against the extremists of the left, when it is our interest and our duty to align ourselves with the middle and the moderate parties. They are our real friends in the struggle for freedom, and they will decide the issue.

* * *

Rich as we are, and powerful as we are capable of being, we are not rich enough to subsidize reaction all over the world or strong enough to maintain it in power. The American people and the Truman administration do not want to do that, of course, nor do they think they are doing it. But that is what we shall be doing, nevertheless, if we entrust the formulation and execution of the new policy to men whose real has gotten the better of their judgment.

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Atlantic



POPPA KNOWS BEST Bill Mauldin

The most brilliant cartoonist to emerge from the war, and one of the most audacious spokesmen for the veteran-turned-civilian, has some sharp things to say about the American Legion, its shortcomings, and its opportunities.

PLANE HITS MOUNTAIN . . . Francis and Katharine Drake

No instruments could have prevented 84 per cent of last year's flying fatalities. The human element in aviation is the most difficult to measure. What are the human errors which have contributed to those shocking headlines?

WHAT HOPE FOR WOMEN TEACHERS? Isabel Stephens

Ten years from now every high school in the country will be overcrowded, but unless we take steps, there will be an acute shortage of good teachers. An Assistant Professor of Education at Wellesley explains why women no longer want to teach. It is more than a matter of pay!

PALESTINE: REALITIES AND ILLUSIONS Eliahu Ben-Horin

The case for the Jewish nationalists, written without compromise by an editor who lived two decades in Palestine and who knows the trouble inside and out.

THE ATLANTIC REPORT on the WORLD TODAY

The Far East—Washington

London—Berlin-Moscow



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PALESTINE: REALITIES AND ILLUSIONS

by ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

Writing in the February *Atlantic*, Professor W. T. Stace of Princeton raised the issue of whether in Palestine we are "pursuing the methods of justice or the methods of force." His article, "The Zionist Illusion," provoked instant response, and chief among the more thoughtful replies is this article by ELIAHU BEN-HORIN, who was born in Russia and immigrated in 1921 to Palestine. He lived there for two decades and became Editor of the Hebrew daily *Doar Hayom* and Editor-in-Chief of the Palestine News Service. Mr. Ben-Horin writes with an intimate knowledge of the Middle East and Palestine, which he last visited in 1946. He is the author of *The Middle East: Crossroads of History* and a contributor to leading American magazines. — THE EDITOR

I

I HAVE never tried to climb Olympus, and I do not know how it feels to be among the gods. It must be an awesome feeling to sit there and lay down the law for all the fallible human beings walking the earth, stumbling over each other as they hurry on their way.

There is something Olympian about the boundless objectivity which Professor Stace, author of "The Zionist Illusion," in the February *Atlantic*, claims for himself. Being a philosopher, Mr. Stace is sincerely convinced of his own objectivity. He seems certain that in his analysis of the Palestine problem he has applied nothing but cold reason — which, according to his basic postulate, is the only foundation of justice in international relations. I do not claim such objectivity for myself. I fear, moreover, that no such complete objectivity exists in international or human relations, and that even Mr. Stace possesses only the normal quota.

Take two Americans and send them to China, and you are likely to get two diametrically opposed appraisals of the rights and wrongs of the Chinese situation. The same result would be obtained in the case of Spain, Soviet Russia, Greece, Yugoslavia, or any other land. Recent history offers an obvious example: the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. Late in 1945, six Americans and six Britishers were commissioned to study the Palestine problem and make recommendations as to its solution. Sharp differences of opinion cut across the Committee, sparing neither the American half nor the British. This was only natural. Men and women with different political views, different social outlooks, backgrounds, educations, ways of reasoning, and emotional reactions cannot help

being subjective on any given issue. Do we not loathe the totalitarian state precisely because its people have no right to differ? Only in a totalitarian world could men reach that "ideal" rigidity and objectivity which Mr. Stace advises us to employ in the settlement of international problems.

If for argument's sake one were to endorse every word of "The Zionist Illusion" and agree with the author in his basic assumption that the will of any given majority should be accepted unconditionally, and that Zionism is therefore an aggressive force, it does not yet follow that Zionism is an "illusion." What about the British Empire, the French, Belgian, and Dutch colonial possessions — are they all based on the will of the local majorities, or are they all illusions?

This brings us to another question, which is, in effect, a test of Mr. Stace's objectivity. He writes that he has selected Palestine as a good case for the examination of his theories with regard to justice in international relations. Why Palestine? Why not Ceylon, where he spent some time as a British civil servant? He surely knows all the intricacies of the Ceylon situation better than he knows Palestine. Or he could have chosen the Sudan — apple of discord in the recent British-Egyptian negotiations; or Indonesia — the scene of a recent small-scale war, in which Britain actively helped Holland to suppress the fight for independence of the native majority; or Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, and many more lands, where small British minorities "own" the colonies and deny millions of natives not only "self-determination" but the most elementary civil and human rights. Was the choice of Palestine as

a test case altogether accidental, or does Mr. Stace, as a former British civil servant, feel disinclined to apply the yardstick of cold reason and international justice to Great Britain?

It seems, after all, that Mr. Stace is as human as the rest of us.

2

THE very idea of the League of Nations in the past and of the United Nations in the present is the affirmation of mankind's right to settle and adjust matters on an international scale, beyond and above national boundaries or the will of local majorities. When the Potsdam Conference determined to approve the post-war transfer of three and a half million Germans from the Sudetenland, they did not ask the local majority whether they would like it or not. When the United Nations decided the fate of Trieste, they did not ask for the approval of the people of Trieste.

Any observer of European affairs would undoubtedly agree that Hitler represented the majority of the German people. Had a scrupulously democratic election taken place in Germany at any time between the remilitarization of the Rhineland and the first setbacks suffered by the Wehrmacht on the Russian front, Hitler would have received a more overwhelming vote than Roosevelt ever obtained from his countrymen, and would then have proceeded to do exactly what he did without democratic elections. Would any of us contend that the world should unquestioningly have accepted the will of the Reich's majority regardless of the atrocities which such a Nazi majority was undoubtedly likely to commit?

It is no accident that the League of Nations was brought into being by the same political philosophy which outlawed imperialism and aggression and proclaimed the right of self-determination for all nations, large and small. The Woodrow Wilson who was the author of the famous Fourteen Points was also the father of the League of Nations idea. Strangely enough, "The Zionist Illusion" never mentions the basic fact that the Zionist enterprise in Palestine and Jewish aspirations with regard to Palestine received the approval of the League of Nations; that the League of Nations not only endorsed the Balfour Declaration but took over Palestine primarily in order to bring about the materialization of that declaration; that Britain was entrusted with the administration of the Mandate on behalf of the League of Nations; that it was only after civilized mankind, through the

League of Nations, had given the Jewish people the green light to go ahead that they poured into Palestine their sweat and blood, their youth and money, their skill and hopes. The League of Nations Mandate is still the only constitutional basis for the administration of Palestine and the only legal international covenant defining mankind's intentions as to the future of Palestine.

Nor can an unbiased mind entertain any doubts as to the real intents of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate. Although these documents employed the somewhat nebulous term of "national home," Lord Balfour himself, David Lloyd George, Britain's Prime Minister at the time of the Declaration, as well as Winston Churchill, President Wilson, Field Marshal Jan Smuts, and others who took an active part in the framing of the Declaration, went on record as asserting that what was promised to the Jewish people was the gradual establishment of a Jewish majority in Palestine, thus transforming Palestine into a predominantly Jewish state. Even the anti-Zionist Royal Commission, headed by Lord Peel in 1937, could not help confirming this fact.

Were the statesmen responsible for the Balfour Declaration and the representatives of fifty-two nations in the League of Nations so ignorant as not to know that there was an Arab majority in the Holy Land?

As a matter of fact, there were eight Arabs to each Jew in Palestine three decades ago, whereas today the proportion is only two to one. It was in full awareness of this fact that the highest body of organized humanity decided that it would be right and just to establish such an internationally guaranteed regime in Palestine as would facilitate Jewish immigration and colonization with a view to ultimately creating there a Jewish majority and transforming the Arabs into a minority.

This and nothing else is the basic element in the Palestine issue. All the other elements — the historic connection of Jews and Arabs with the Holy Land, the objections of the present-day Arab majority, the fact that Jewish colonization benefits the Arabs, the suffering of the Jewish displaced persons in Europe, and the disinclination of all the nations in the world to accept these refugees into their own countries — are subsidiary.

"A promise to steal ought not to be kept." This sounds like good, ethical reasoning. But can the embodiment of the collective conscience of the world — in this case, the League of Nations — be so lightheartedly accused of conniving in theft?

Has any one of us the right to imply that mankind as a whole is wrong and he alone right?

Formally the Balfour Declaration was a purely British pledge, but all the Allied powers were responsible for it. The United States was actively involved, for President Wilson had coöperated in the negotiations which led to the issuance of the Declaration. Britain and her allies, as the victors in World War I, were in the position of being able to dispose of the spoils of war. However, they handed over the spoils to the League of Nations, and it was the League, now the trustee on behalf of humanity, which made the decisions regarding the various territories of the former Ottoman Empire.

Palestine had not been an Arab state either prior to the First World War or ever in history. It was a Jewish state in antiquity, a Crusaders' kingdom for a short period in the Middle Ages, but never an Arab state. The Arabs formed a majority of the population for a long time (not for two thousand years as Mr. Stace erroneously writes, but for about half that period), yet for the last five hundred years they were a subjugated people living in provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

The Arabs, like the Jews, received pledges during the First World War, and they received them — never questioning their validity on ethical or other grounds — from exactly the same party that issued the Balfour Declaration. It was the Allied victory that transformed the Arab subjects of Ottoman tyranny into rulers of several independent Arab states. At present, there are seven such states with kings or presidents, with membership in the United Nations and all the paraphernalia of statehood. The total area of the seven Arab states amounts to well over one million square miles, whereas the area of Western Palestine is only 10,000 square miles — in other words, less than one per cent of that part of the Ottoman Empire which was liberated by the Allies in World War I.

3

WHAT have the Arabs done with the enormous territories handed over to them for possession and rule? And what have the Jews achieved in the small area which was promised them but never actually placed at their disposal?

These questions may be secondary elements in the Palestine and Middle East picture, but factual examination of them will prove most illuminating. In the years since the end of World War I, the high rate of illiteracy has remained almost sta-

tionary in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Syria, and even in Egypt, affecting from 80 to 95 per cent and more of the population. Abject poverty, unsanitary conditions of life, diseases of all descriptions without medical help, a high rate of mortality especially among children, a sub-human level of existence — these are the hopeless lot of over 90 per cent of the masses in the Arab lands. Wealth, absolute power, harems, and luxury are the exclusive possession of about 2 per cent of the population. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been poured into the Arab lands in royalties for oil concessions. All this wealth has gone into the pockets of the kings, sheiks, and effendis — none of it for the betterment of the working masses. Western civilization is barred from the independent Arab states as tightly as it was in the days of the Turkish sultans.

Is this the kind of "self-determination" that spells fulfillment of the noble dream Woodrow Wilson had thirty years ago, or that holds out promise for the better world which the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations proclaimed in our days? "Independence," "self-determination," "self-government," and "majority rule" are no fetishes and should not be treated as such. It is the essence of the thing that counts, not the pretty slogans. In essence, one cannot even say that "the Arabs made a mess of it." They — namely, the Arab ruling cliques — never wanted self-determination for their peoples. They wanted "self-determination" only for themselves. They wanted absolute freedom for the shameless exploitation of the Arab masses, for the preservation of a feudalistic society, reactionary and antisocial, in the twentieth century. And they got all they wanted.

What the Jews made of Palestine is supposed to be common knowledge. But it is not. People take it for granted that the Jews have done wonders in Palestine, and immediately shrug this off as something self-understood. Few realize the extent of Jewish achievement in Palestine, that the Jews actually performed the greatest colonization achievement of the twentieth century. This the Jewish people did without having any powers of statehood or compulsion, and despite the active opposition of the Mandatory power, which (contrary to the prescriptions of the Mandate) prevented Jewish immigration instead of facilitating it, hindered Jewish settlement on the land instead of helping it. The Jewish enterprise in Palestine may also claim the rare distinction of being about the only colonization process in history which not only did not displace or exterminate the native

population, but greatly benefited it economically, socially, and culturally, and bolstered its rate of natural increase.

These benefits conferred by Zionism on the Palestinian Arabs do not in themselves justify Zionism, but they undoubtedly throw a very favorable light on the ethics of Zionist aims and methods. The Jewish people have done their full share towards the realization of Wilson's idea of self-determination for small peoples. Thus far they have proved to be the only people in the Middle East which neither made a mess of, nor misused for reactionary and antisocial purposes, the opportunity offered by the League of Nations.

In the deep social cleavage between Jewish Palestine and the Arab potentates, one may find the main explanation for the opposition of the ruling cliques in Arabia to Zionism. It is, moreover, in relation to this aspect of the Middle East problem — the social aspect — that Great Britain and, to some extent, America are committing their greatest mistake in foreign policy.

I was sitting in the Foreign Office in London, talking to one of Mr. Bevin's top assistants. It was late in July of last year, and I was then on my way from the United States to Palestine. We were discussing British-Soviet relations in and over the Middle East and the broader lines of Britain's Palestine policy.

On this occasion I formulated Britain's situation in the Middle East in the following terms: "These are your alternatives. You can adopt a pro-Arab orientation in the Middle East, which means, of course, backing the reactionaries who rule the Arab states and the Arab League. Or you can back the march of civilization into the Middle East with Jewish Palestine as its advance guard. You can ride one of these two horses but not both of them at the same time. You must take your choice."

Despite its Labor Government, Britain seems to have made its choice in favor of the Ibn Sauds and the Amin el Hussainis. Why the feudal barons of Arabia fight Zionism is obvious. Zionism is a serious threat to their absolutist power over the Arab masses; it is a living indictment of their way of life; it is an ever present call for progress in the Middle East. But why is Labor Britain so determined to block Zionism, contrary to the obligations of Great Britain and to the solemn pledges of the Labor Party during the last thirty years? Is it fear of Russia? Fear of Arab threats of a pro-Soviet orientation? Is it because of the oil interests? Or is it a continuation of traditional British muddling?

Nobody knows better than the British that the Arab states in the Middle East, with the Arab League at the top, represent no tangible force in economics, industry, culture, politics, or war potential. The British know also that the Arab states lack the fundamentals of nationhood and statehood, let alone the necessary prerequisites for Pan-Arabic expansion. Most of their kings, sheiks, and politicians are directly or indirectly on the payroll of the British Exchequer. They are puppets of Britain, and they know it.

The British are neither pro-Arab nor anti-Jewish. They are pro-British. They use the Arab argument in the Palestine controversy for their own ends, caring little about the interests of the Arabs. They cannot possibly be afraid of the Arab threats, for they know that there is no substance in them, but they are not above using these threats to impress others, especially America.

Bartley C. Crum, one of the American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, said in an address last year that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., would sooner turn to Stalin to ask for his intervention in reducing his income tax in America, than Ibn Saud and other Arab kings would call for Soviet intervention in the Middle East. There is nothing I could add to that. When the kings of Arabia are ready to commit suicide, they will turn to the Kremlin. For the time being, King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan goes to Ankara and concludes a pact with Turkey, openly directed against Soviet Russia. For the time being, the Arab League appeals to Arab lands to settle in their territory 100,000 ex-Soviet Caucasian Moslems who joined the Wehrmacht during the German invasion of Russia and are now in Allied prison camps. Don't these and similar facts speak louder than words as to the probability that the Arab rulers will jump into the open arms of Russia?

4

THE problem of oil in the Middle East is equally misinterpreted. I wish I had enough space in this article to "explode" the "oil argument," based as it is on misinformation and misdirection of public opinion. I can only touch on it here.

For England, which has no petroleum resources at home, Middle Eastern oil is the main source of supply and therefore extremely important. But even for England, oil is only one ingredient in the general strategic importance of the Middle East. In time of war, it is not formal ownership of oil concessions that counts, but their accessibility.

In other words, it is only when Britain controls the seas and can bring oil from the Persian Gulf to any place of battle that Middle East oil can be decisive in the fortunes of war.

This is even truer of America. This country has enough domestic oil for many generations to come, as far as peacetime needs are concerned. Should it have to oil a new world war, the American-owned concessions in Saudi Arabia or in Bahrain, 10,000 miles away from our shores, would be of little avail unless America should establish strategic bases in the Middle East and naval stations all along the route, strong enough to secure the accessibility of these oil resources.

These are the realities reflecting the maneuvering of the great powers for strategic and oil positions in the Middle East, with Britain and the United States aligned *de facto*, if not officially, against Soviet Russia. All this has little to do with justice in international relations or with Jewish and Arab rights in Palestine. Jews and Arabs, kings and politicians, historic pledges and contemporary conferences, are no more than pawns in a much bigger game of power politics. It is here, rather than in the Jewish-Arab controversy over Palestine, that one should look for the very real danger of a new world-wide conflagration. In this crucial fight between the major powers, the desires and preferences of the Arab potentates are of no consequence. They have no choice in the matter. They cannot turn to the Kremlin, because they would then lose all their power, wealth, and influence. They need the oil royalties which form the major item in their incomes, and they are entirely dependent on the Western powers politically, economically, and militarily.

Wise statesmanship on the part of Great Britain and America could have used these stern realities in order to entrench Western democratic influence in the Middle East. There is obviously only one way to do it: namely, to make Middle Eastern oil a means of progress in the Middle East. The capital, skill, and political and economic power which Britain and the United States are pouring into the Arab lands could have been used in the interests of the masses of the population in those countries. Seventy-five cents, if not ninety-five cents, of each dollar paid in oil royalties, subventions, grants, and interest-free loans should have created schools, hospitals, maternity clinics, sanitary dwellings, roads, irrigation, and general improvement of conditions. Five per cent should have sufficed for the upkeep of the harems of Ibn Saud and the sheiks of Bahrain and Kuwait.

However, both Britain and the United States

can hardly be said to be acting with wise statesmanship in the Middle East. All they want is oil, and beyond that they do not care. They come to the Middle East to take, not to give. They have no long-range policy. From a short-range viewpoint they consider it good business to make deals with the feudal barons of Arabia and thus help them to perpetuate their regime of tyranny and exploitation of the Arab masses. British and American policy-makers are too shortsighted to see that it is they who leave no choice for the underdog in the Middle East but to turn, sooner or later, to Russia. Britain and America, fearful of Soviet expansion, actually pave the way for that expansion.

Badly exploited, chronically undernourished, poverty and sickness ridden human masses must become more and more susceptible to Soviet propaganda. The day may come when the present reactionary orientation of British or American policies in the Middle East will backfire with such strength as to upset the British-American cart entirely.

5

THE fiasco of the recent London Conference on Palestine led to the official announcement that Britain will hand over the Palestine problem to the United Nations without any recommendations. One is driven to the unhappy conclusion that this is an act of desperation rather than of constructive planning on Britain's part. Breaking the Palestine Mandate and blocking Zionist progress in Palestine have proved too costly in terms of military manpower and unfavorable public opinion: the nearly 100,000 soldiers kept in Palestine could be used to good advantage in British factories and mines.

Thus, after twenty-five years, the Palestine Mandate may return to the jurisdiction of organized mankind. Whether the question comes before the Security Council, the General Assembly, or the Trusteeship Council, it will have to be analyzed and decided on its intrinsic merits, and not on the exigencies of politics. Since, ultimately, it is the great powers that will determine the fate of Palestine in the UN, the Western democracies will have an opportunity to revise their entire approach to Middle Eastern problems.

If the Middle Eastern situation, the forces at play there, the claims and counterclaims and the crisscross interests of the great powers are seen in the right perspective, Palestine emerges as one of the focal points in the entire picture. A Jewish

Palestine would offer the natural base of operations for the march of civilization in the Middle East. No other country in that part of the world can provide such a base. A Jewish Palestine would be the fulfillment of mankind's pledges to the Jewish people, would provide the solution for one of the most tragic problems of our times, and would remove a bad irritant in international relations. No other country could or would offer such a lasting and stable solution.

The Zionist idea and the problem of the Jewish displaced persons in Europe are not identical. Zionism, as the supreme expression of Jewish national renaissance, political, cultural, and spiritual, existed long before Hitler arose to fame and power in Germany. The Zionist prognosis of the Jewish position in Europe and in the world amounts to this: as long as the Jews are a minority everywhere and a majority nowhere, Jewish defenselessness and the Jewish tragedy will not end. The Zionist remedy therefore was and still is to regain nationhood and statehood for the Jewish people. It was this Zionist aspiration that was endorsed by the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate of the League of Nations.

The cruel extermination of 40 per cent of the Jewish people by the Nazis only served to confirm the prophetic prognosis of Zionism as to the insecurity of the Jewish position in the world. The pitiful situation of the remnants of European Jewry, who cannot stay in Europe and who are unwanted by the world at large, lends additional urgency to the Zionist demands to open the gates of Palestine. However, the demands themselves are not based on the existence of Jewish displaced persons in Europe, but on the legitimate rights of the Jewish people under the Mandate.

Zionism offers the only realistic solution of the Jewish problem. One looks in vain in "The Zionist Illusion" for a practical solution of the Jewish problem, "greathearted" or otherwise. One finds there a frontal attack on Zionism and a negation of the justice of the Zionist solution of the Jewish question, but not an alternative solution. On the contrary, starting with the desirability of "all the underpopulated countries in the world" amending their immigration policies, so as to absorb the homeless Jews of Europe, Mr. Stace soon arrives at the conclusion that "we have to face the plain truth, however unpleasant it may be, — however shameful if you like, — that none of the great nations want these refugees." There he lets the matter rest, and returns to his concluding jibes at Zionism. Where is the alternative?

It does not exist. Neither Mr. Stace nor any-

one else can suggest a solution of the Jewish problem outside of Palestine. By that I mean, of course, a tangible, workable solution, not mere lip service and emotional orations on Jewish suffering.

Madagascar, Uganda, Southern Rhodesia, British Guiana, and the many other territories mentioned from time to time as possible alternatives to Palestine fade out of the picture as soon as you analyze them in practical terms. What is more, all these territories have native and European populations utterly unwilling to give up their present positions or even to make room for the Jews. Nor can the Jewish people claim any rights with regard to all these territories, as it can in the case of Palestine.

We have Professor Stace's testimony to the effect that none of the great nations wants to absorb any sizable number of Jews. Nor is there any small land available for Jewish colonization. At this late hour in their tragic history, the Jews would be pursuing a dangerous illusion if they pinned their hopes to a new dispersion among peoples who frankly do not welcome them.

Palestine is no illusion. If there is anything tangible in Jewish life and in individual and national Jewish hopes, it is Palestine. Despite the insecurity of daily life and the political uncertainty as to the ultimate status of the country, Palestine is the one land on God's earth where a Jew feels completely at home. Even Jews coming from Western democratic lands react thus in Palestine. Palestine is the only land capable of bringing out the best in the Jew: his idealism, his devotion to the earth, constructive search for social justice, and great colonizing ability. Jews tried to colonize in Argentina late in the last century, and failed. Jewish colonization in Soviet Biro-Bidjan and in the Dominican Republic cannot boast of great achievement. Only Palestine provides the ground for truly magnificent Jewish colonization.

It is true that against the background of Arab backwardness and neglect, present-day Jewish Palestine may seem like a mirage in the desert. This is about the only illusory feature one can detect in Jewish Palestine and in Zionism. Otherwise, Zionism is the one stark reality to which the Jewish people can cling in their despair and helplessness. It is also the only forceful and dynamic reality capable of bringing the Middle East back to civilization.

(Readers are directed to *Atlantic Reporter*, where there is further discussion of this controversial issue. — THE EDITOR)

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This edition of this paper is to diffuse among the people correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate such principles in religion, morals and politics, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature.—Prospectus of the EVENING POST, No. 1, Nov. 18, 1881.

NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1947.

Palestine Is the Test

This is the day when the test of the courage and sense of justice of the United Nations, from the smallest to the greatest among them, begins.

Just as Ethiopia was the test of the League of Nations, so will Palestine be the test of the United Nations.

Ethiopia revealed the moral bankruptcy of most of the nations of Europe. Palestine will register the moral weakness or strength of the nations of the world.

The United States of America is the nation that will bear the greatest credit or blame for what happens. President Truman will be the one held most responsible by history.

The United States was not a member of the League of Nations and so escaped some of the odium of the Ethiopia affair, although we paid in treasure and blood for our decision to pass by on the other side of the road when we permitted Mussolini to attack that defenseless country.

Now there is no escape from responsibility. The United States is one of the two most powerful members of the United Nations. More, the United States, over a long history, has shown a grasp of the principle of justice and acknowledged that there must be such a thing as national morality and national honor. Failure for us is more culpable than for a nation that professes different standards.

Nor is there any escape for President Truman. He is the President of a nation that subscribes to those standards and will be judged according to them.

For more than twenty years, the United States has been committed to the proposition that Palestine should be made the Jewish national home. Every President, from Harding to Truman, has reiterated that pledge.

The United States and British Governments were solemnly committed to immediate entrance of 100,000 Jews into Palestine and repeal of the prohibition of purchase of land by Jews, when the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry made its report almost a year ago.

We have never believed that there was any need for appointment of a United Nations Commission to investigate Palestine. The facts are known wherever men can read. Appointment of another commission, without immediate and vigorous action, would be mere cowardice.

At the very least, the United States delegation, for the honor of the people of the United States and for the personal honor of their President, must take leadership in demanding.

1. Immediate admission to Palestine of 100,000 Jews.
2. Immediate repeal of laws prohibiting Jewish land-purchase.

Neither of these steps to carry out the original pledge need wait on solution of the political problem. Both are essential preliminaries. Both are vital to immediate justice.

Today the test begins. If the present session of the United Nations ends without adopting a minimum program of justice for the Jews in relation to Palestine, then the United Nations will have started along the path of moral bankruptcy to which the League of Nations turned in the case of Ethiopia.

Mowrer On World Affairs

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

By the time these lines appear, it will be evident that the British have not handed the Palestine problem to the United Nations because they want an illegal solution. In law, the Jews have an open and shut case — and the British haven't got a leg to stand on.

Nor do the British expect a solution in equity. For although in that case there might be an Arab case for partition, there would still be no excuse for the British remaining in the Holy Land.

The British are looking for a political solution. What they want is to swap the old mandate that gave Palestine to the Jews for a new one that will give it to the Arabs—under British protection. They hope that at the United Nations Assembly they will find a majority that can be convinced that such an Arab-British set-up is an essential step toward protecting the Middle East against Soviet expansion.

This is felt to be a telling argument. The Middle East is a key spot in world strategy and world economics. It is the land bridge linking three continents. It contains the Suez Canal, the most sensitive section of the chief East-West waterway around the earth. Middle Eastern oil is essential to British security. It happens to be inhabited by an Arab-speaking population.



What is more plausible than the British argument for breaking the world's pledge to the Jews and buttering up the Arabs.

It is an appealing if a cynical argument. Relations between the western democracies and the Soviet Union have been so strained by Soviet imperialism that most Americans and Britishers are convinced that a policy of "containing" Russia is essential. If such "containment" should require double-crossing the Jews and appeasing Arab criminals, who took sides with Nazis murderers in the last war, a large part of the non-Soviet world might reluctantly accept it as a necessary evil.

The facts are fortunately exactly the opposite. Legality, morality and strategy are all on the side of the Jews. Against big-bad-wolf Stalin, the Arabs would be at best ramparts of straw, the Jews ramparts of solid brick.

Russia—it must never be forgotten—wields a double force, the Red army and the Red idea. To "contain" Russia, you must stop both. The Arabs can do neither. They can neither resist nor side with the Red army. They can not resist the Red idea.

Military experts have no illusions about Arab military power. It is roughly zero. Revolting Iraq was reconquered by the British with just two battallions. Populous Egypt never even dreamed of opposing a victorious Axis. It could not. For the Arab bloc is a bit of the medieval, scimitar-and-camel world in the atomic age. Here lazy and corrupt leaders rule over a mass of untechnical, illiterate and diseased subjects. They could not resist a Soviet cavalry raid, still less a Soviet tank column.

Nor could they side with the Soviet Union, though their rulers cunningly threaten to do so in their frantic effort to close Palestine to the Jews. Stalin has no use for feudal rulers like them. Though he might use them for a few weeks or months, it would be only to toss them out once he had acquired other friends among their peoples.

Against the Red idea a backward feudal society is even less effective. For the present Arab states are living examples of the kind of regime Communism promises to exterminate.

Without the Balfour Declaration, there would, in all this area, be no single element upon which the democracies could count in "containing" the Soviets. Thanks to the Balfour Declaration, there can, in the near future, be a small but highly effective Jewish state of some two or three millions, the natural guardian of the Suez Canal, technically unsurpassed, industrially advanced, agriculturally productive, democratic in spirit, utterly impervious to the Red idea.

Jewish Palestine is the natural outpost of the occident in the Middle East. This is of course why obscurantist Arab rulers hate it so.

The U. S. delegation at the United Nations Assembly has no reason to avoid the political decision that the British are seeking. For our present policy is the best possible argument for insisting on the Jewish solution to the Palestine problem.

Europe's Jews Great Tragedy Summed Up: To Be Forgotten

Survey of United Nations Procedure Indicates Many More Months of Delay Before There Can Be a Decision on a Homeland for Them

By George Fielding Eliot

If you were a homeless Jewish refugee, sitting in a D. P. center in Germany or Austria, waiting to find out what was going to be done with your life and future by leisurely, argumentative gentlemen far away in well fed New York, very likely you would be rather impatient. You might—especially if you'd been waiting for two years, as some of the Jews in those camps have waited—feel that you were indeed a forgotten man, or woman, or child.

Very likely you would not care much for the whole idea of being investigated and reported on again, to begin with. You would have remembered that the whole question of Palestine—which you would regard as your future home, in very truth the Land of Promise—had been sufficiently investigated. You would feel that the facts are surely well enough known now for decisions to be taken. You would be shrewd enough—with wits sharpened by bitter anxiety and deprivation—to see that in the end the United Nations must face the same necessity which Britain has faced: the necessity of making and imposing a settlement which will not be wholly satisfactory to either party, and which will therefore have to be imposed and guaranteed by some exterior authority.

But above all, you would say: How long. O statesmen of the world? How long? How long must I wait here, with hope giving way to despair little by little through the long days and weeks and months? How long must I be forgotten? Is there no urgency in my condition? You would read with agonized attention such newspapers as you might be able to obtain, and you would observe with anger or with sad resignation, according to the state of your spirit, that in all the debate, all the face-saving, all the time-consuming talk, there is very little mention of you and yours. Yet it is your life, your future, which is the very center and stake of the whole discussion. Were it not for you and your brethren who still remain in the countries of eastern Europe, there would be no need to debate the question of Palestine at all. There would, in fact, be no Palestine question to debate. The issue is entirely whether you shall or shall not have your promised homeland, and on what conditions.

Of these things you would think, and your heart would be sick with hope deferred.

For if you interpreted carefully and discerningly what you read, you would be able to foresee certain things of which the signs are already clear.

You would be able to see, for example, that there is little or no prospect that this special session of the General Assembly will do anything about recommending an increased rate of immigration into

Palestine for the interim period between now and the time when the regular session of the General Assembly takes up the substance of the Palestine question after receiving the report of the investigating committee now to be appointed.

That being pretty clear, you might—if you were still a hopeful soul—fix your mind on the third week in September as the time of times, the lodestar of your reliance. But then you would think again. You would see many reasons to doubt that September will mean very much to you. First, you would note that at the present rate of progress it is unlikely, indeed, that this special session of the Assembly will reach a final decision on the composition and size of the investigating committee before, say, the first week of June. Next, you would begin to entertain doubts that the investigating committee could complete its labors and make up a report so as to be ready for the opening of the regular meeting of the Assembly. You would begin to see that you would be lucky if the report were finished in time to be considered somewhere toward the end of the session—perhaps late in October, with every one's mind already fixed on the forthcoming meeting of the Big Four in London in November, with the principal delegates of the major powers already moving toward ships or planes, with every one else anxious to get through and go home.

You would realize that, even if Palestine is seriously debated by the fall session of the Assembly, the Assembly at best has power only to recommend a settlement. You would realize that when this has been accomplished, some other agency of the United Nations—perhaps the Trusteeship Council—must take in hand the question nearest your heart: the question of what actually is to be done, and how, and when. And you would realize that in the end, to do anything constructive will require definite action by the only two governments able to act with strength in the Middle East: the United States and Great Britain. Perhaps these powers can act more effectively as agents of the United Nations than by themselves. But you would not be encouraged by the record of what they have done and left undone in the past.

Then you would fold up the paper, turn to your waiting comrades, and re-echo the words which I heard your spokesman utter a few weeks ago in a western city: "The greatest tragedy which can come to human beings is TO BE FORGOTTEN."

1.

Mr. NANCY MacLENNAN

...and the Time Never Turns, Timeless

The Big Five, and also the Arab states, should be represented in the United Nations preliminary committee to study the facts of Palestine, Mr. Gromyko said.

Speaking in the General Assembly's fifty-five-nation Political Committee, Mr. Gromyko said Russia was ready to participate not only in the United Nations debate on Palestine but also in the assembling of facts in the case upon which — theoretically — the United Nations verdict largely would be based. She continued:

Each of the United States and Britain would accept members of the initial Palestine inquiry committee if drafted, but both governments firmly believe the recommendations of the Big Five should prevail, since this would raise the matter to a fair, impartial report. Sir Aaron H. Austin, the United States delegate, and Sir Alexander Logan of the United Kingdom,

...that is that opposing view
and debate among the permanent
members (the Big Five)—if the
vote on the special committee
over delays, would cause delay to
the inclusion of other interests
which are perfectly obvious here.
Everybody knows about them. They
constantly attract more of

ADDRESSING THE UNITED NATIONS ...

I should like to say at the outset that were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of the deliberations I will have an opportunity to speak with him here.

Such a successful economic development will not only improve a blessing not only to Palestine and to all its inhabitants but to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes are placed.

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and experience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore, and for many years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, primarily within the terms of mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or approval of the international body which established that trust and which established both its limits and its purposes.

The problems of Palestine come under of paramount importance to the Jewish people and that is why I take it, motivated by the fact, I take it, motivation of the United Nations General Assembly to extend an invitation to the Jewish Agency of Palestine to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their good will and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency, you will recall, is recognized in the Mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is the only recognized political body in the mandate. It is recognized and accepted by Article 4



at Lake Superior, and the

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties.

the Charter, as may be agreed upon by individual trusteeship agreements, made under article 77, paragraphs 1 and 2, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in such a way as to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments, in which members of the United Nations may respectively be entitled."

A resolution adopted by the world
tional community of the United Nations to
of which the political and spiritual
day is the political and spiritual
help, decreed that the Jewish
people should be given the right
long denied, and the opportunity
to reconstitute their national
home in Palestine. That national
home is still in the making; it

The United States, which co-ordinated the Truman administration's blood and resources in the winning of that war, could not divert itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these people should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine.

I should, of course, be concerned I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear: that when we speak of a Jewish state, we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion, or race and without domination or subjugation. We have been asked by the Jewish state in Israel, and by the Jewish

are...
they will...
in such numbers...
majority. There...
case for this before...
there is an irresistible...
it now."

When your committee of 1

Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterrupted, the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine on the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East, with which Palestine and with which the destiny of the Jewish people are inseparably bound.

Should Investigate Violence
A committee of inquiry
is being set up in Palestine, and
it will be the duty of the committee
to investigate the violence.

will ask themselves, I am
my millions of helpless
refugees—men, women
and children who have been
lost all the better off.

I hope that I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel has come to great hostility of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which may have significance

value inscribing human person-
alities and sacred texts which are
your treasured possessions—w-
hether that that people, now re-
building again the national life in
the ancient homeland, will be un-
moved before long by you to the
noble fellowship of the United

M. Asaf Ali
India:

My next question is whether Mr. Silver recognizes the fact that there is a very clear distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home.

was made by the representative of the liberal government—of the Labor party—referred not to Jewish state but to a Jewish national home!"

Continued From Page 1

Pending completion of the inquiry, the Agency spokesman announced to the General Assembly the establishment of some formal mechanism would permit emigration "in substantial numbers" to Palestine. Other major developments at the special session of the General Assembly rolled through its tentacles were:


1 The Soviet Union's representa-
2 re announced that his country
3 would it prefer that the War Vi-

and the inquiry committee should not contain any member of the Big Five. France remained silent.

The representations of the Jewish Agency marked the first occasion of the involvement of a segment of the population of Palestine in the current deliberations under the terms of the British Mandate. The agency has been a recognized spokesman of the Jewish Palestine, who now number approximately 600,000.

...reaching the legal justification
to remove national house from
the jurisdiction of 1987 -
the mandate of 1985, Mr. Silver

The Jewish Agency's spokes-
man at the great oval table betw-



At the close of the remarks, Lester E. Pearson of Canada, committee chairman, invited questions. Ten in all were asked by journalists. Since none required research, Mr. Pearson excused the agency's delegation, which probably will be recalled tomorrow, for

Often allied with the Arab state in debates of the current session, Mr. Asaf Ali asked more pointed questions than the others, who inquired merely about the background of the Jewish Agency, its views on the composition of the committee of inquiry and the list of states recommended in regard to homeless Jews in Europe. These questions came from Pottery, Ceylon, and South Africa.

A vigorous contribution, made by Dr. Paul H. Jacobson, possibly proving an indication of the time that the Arab League's testimony would be accepted, he insisted that the committee inquiry should seek to determine whether the British mandate was valid, whether it agreed with the Covenant of the League of Nations and whether it was proper to peaceful world to thrust one people on another without their consent.

[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]

...in FOCUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Abba Hillel Silver

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 7, 1947.

Empty Purse—Empty Promise

Time was when Great Britain's bonds were as good as her word, and her word was respected throughout the world as a priceless and inviolable pledge.

Now each is equally suspect.

True, her word is still as good as her bonds; but who will be found to claim that either has value?

Her purse is bankrupt.

So is her honor.

British honor lies dead, a suicide, wrapped in a paper shroud—the infamous White Paper which made a lie of the Balfour Declaration and a mockery of British justice.

The critical condition of the British economy was laid bare before the Parliament and before the world yesterday by Prime Minister Attlee.

Can honor be resurrected and economy revived?

Yes—but it will take more than promises to wipe the bloodstains from the Imperial Flag which flies today over Palestine; and it will take more than pledges of austerity to regain the confidence and credit necessary to Britain's survival.

And it should take more.

We must demand more.

The time for suggestion has long passed.

The British Prime Minister lists three major factors essential to survival.

First is relaxation of clauses in the present U. S. loan agreement which presently provide that Britain must not discriminate against us with our dollars, by buying only from areas which will agree to keep the dollars from returning to us in trade.

Next is a pledge of reduction in British military forces, presently numbering 1,297,000 men.

Third is a pledge to increase production at home, particularly in coal, even if it means longer hours for labor and new controls on freedom of movement and employment.

It is evident that Britain pins her hope on the good will of the United States not only to renegotiate present loan terms, but to pledge new credits when the present loan is exhausted.

What good will?

If we are to pay the piper, we have not merely the right, but the duty, to call the tune.

Our loan to Greece is coupled with a program to ensure the development of democracy from the quasi-dictatorship of Greek Royalists—who incidentally were restored to Greece by the now flagging power of British arms.

Why should we tolerate British dictatorship in Palestine?

It is too little known that the British Mandate over Palestine was established by treaty with us, negotiated separately and after the League of Nations had granted it for the avowed purpose of creating a Homeland there for Jews, as well as protecting the rights of all its inhabitants.

Our treaty gave consent, only because of the terms of the understanding implemented by the Balfour Declaration.

The League of Nations has expired.

But our treaty still stands; a treaty which has been transgressed since the White Paper was issued, and is flagrantly violated today by Dictator Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham under direction of the British Foreign Office.

We alone are left with the legal as well as the moral duty to call a halt to the maintenance of British troops and British military overlordship in Palestine.

Who can doubt that funds from our loan, and nothing else, sustain this mockery of human decency?

If Britain's armed forces are to be reduced, what of Palestine, where soldiers paid with our funds tyrannize over Jews as though they were slaves of an ancient Rome?

An independent Palestine, under the United Nations, with the backing of the United States, would free a hundred thousand British soldiers for the mines, and hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Imperial yoke.

We have no wish to see Britain perish.

But before we sustain British life, we must demand the death of British tyranny.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1947.

Britain's Super Dachau

Hitler invented the modern concentration camp for Jews.

But Great Britain has succeeded in surpassing her one-time Nazi foes, by establishing the largest concentration camp for Jews the world has yet seen.

Palestine, a "Homeland" for Jews?

Is a jail is a home—

Is a slave state is home—

Is home is where a Jew has no civil right—

Is home is where Jews may be arrested on sight just because they are Jews—

Is home is where rioting British soldiers may commit indiscriminate murder with impunity, as long, that is, as the victims are Jewish men, women and children—

Is Palestine is a Jewish homeland under the British mandate—then Dachau was a Jewish homeland under the Nazis.

Great Britain has a new "war hero" today.

Hero, that is, of the new war of extermination—Great Britain's war against Jews.

He is Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, dictator of Palestine, whose functions the clever British seek to dignify by the title of "High Commissioner."

The sentries and barbed wire around this British slave-state finally stand revealed before the world for what they really are: Prison walls.

It was bad enough when the world understood that these well-patrolled barriers were for the purpose of keeping Jews out of the "homeland" solemnly promised by the British of another day.

But now it becomes clear that these barriers are also for the purpose of keeping the new-made slaves inside their torture camp, as well.

The British dictator of Palestine has cut off escape from Palestine for his potential victims by banning travel from his domain.

Mayors of Palestinian towns have been torn violently from their homes to face their British overlords in secret inquisition.

Whole communities are frozen, with movement, even conversation forbidden.

The charge? Jew.

Remember Lidice?

Her desperate citizens, driven to a frenzy by the brutal callousness of the Nazi invaders who raped, tortured, beat and murdered at will, at last fought back, and Nazi blood was spilt.

In revenge, the Nazis wiped out all those of the village, and murdered all who were in it, their justification being "atonement" for the life of a member of the master race.

The world, including the British, swore always to remember Lidice.

But Britain's memory of Lidice has taken a peculiar and vicious twist.

Britain is remembering Lidice, only to seek to emulate what the Nazis did there.

Must all Palestine become a vast new Lidice before we act to stay the hand of the new blood-mad tyrants?

We must demand, at once, in the name of the United States of America, before the United Nations, that Britain's mandate over Palestine be revoked for cause, British troops removed, her dictatorship cease, and Palestinian independence under United Nations joint trusteeship declared without delay.

If United Nations action is delayed, or blocked, then we must act alone in the name of all the men and women who died believing they did so in a righteous cause.

It must be remembered that Britain has treaty obligations to the United States to maintain the mandate on its original terms.

We did not hesitate to fly to the aid of Turkey and Greece when it appeared our ideology was threatened.

Shall we hesitate now when our honor, as well, is at stake?

The Commonweal

August 8, 1947

Threat to Lebanon

Habib J. Awad

The French Priest

M. R. Desobry

Prejudice

James T. Farrell

George H. Dunne

Nancy Lenkeith

Threat to Lebanon

Habib J. Awad

A FEW WEEKS AGO, when the United Nations Palestine Committee prepared to move the site of its investigations from Palestine into adjoining Lebanon (in order to receive Arab testimony on less prejudiced ground), the Lebanese Government informed the committee that Mr. Gerald Frank, a representative of the *New York Post*, would not be permitted to accompany the committee into Lebanon. The Lebanon Government intimated that Mr. Frank had, through his dispatches from Palestine, proved himself to be excessively pro-Zionist. The United Nations Committee and its accompanying press body protested against Mr. Frank's exclusion, and the ban against him was eventually lifted.

The action of the Lebanese Government in regard to Mr. Frank may have surprised those members of the United Nations Committee and the press who were, at the time, unfamiliar with the political situation in Lebanon. But by now, as a result of their sojourn in that country, the United Nations people and the members of their press camp must surely recognize the difficulty over Mr. Frank's entry for what it was: a minor behavior symptom which indicates the real character of the fraudulently elected, non-representative current Lebanese Government.

The present Lebanese Government came into power (it would be inexact to say that the government had been "elected") following the elections held in the latter part of May of this year. According to most disinterested estimates, only about fifty percent of the voters went to the polls. In addition to this unusual circumstance—favorable to the government and, for the most part, brought on by its behavior—it is the opinion of the *Paris Figaro* that the elections were corrupt to such an outrageous extent that "in many Lebanese districts the registered voters were two thousand and the counted votes were twenty thousand." And in the United States, the New York Arabic newspaper, *Alhoda*, reported in news stories dated May 28 and June 2 of this year that university and school students in Beirut held a demonstration a short time before the parliamentary elections. The students condemned the existing government and asked the Lebanese President to appoint a provisional government to supervise free and fair elections. The government's answer was to break up the demonstration, wounding a few of the participants in the process.

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This action on the part of the government may have effectively disposed of the protesting students, but it was not sufficient to curb other, more adult, instances of protest which followed in the wake of the fraudulent elections. Shortly after the elections, Kamel Bey Jamblat, leader of the Druzes (one of the most influential and numerous of the non-Christian groups in Lebanon) resigned his cabinet post as a gesture of indignation over the manner in which the elections had been conducted. At about the same time, all the leading Lebanese daily papers with the exception of *Le Jour*, President Bechara El-Khoury's own organ, addressed a joint letter to the President informing him that, in their opinion, the newly elected National Assembly "discredits the State," and further informing him that they would no longer cover the Assembly's sessions. They also urged immediate dissolution of the Assembly.

Even more impressive than all these protests, however, was an open letter which His Excellency, the Maronite Archbishop Mubarak, one of the most influential residents of Lebanon, addressed to President El-Khoury. After reminding the President of their forty-five years of friendship (which included at least one occasion on which His Excellency the Archbishop made direct use of his influence in order to save El-Khoury's life) His Excellency informed the President that he was in a state of despair because "in Lebanon there is no peace, justice or happiness—only graft and injustice and murder, robberies and thefts committed by men in office, and government intervention to prevent free elections and make easy the victory of a group which has sacrificed every public interest for its personal profit." The Archbishop's letter concluded by calling on the President to resign, since he had so clearly demonstrated his inability to guarantee the freedoms of his people, the first of which is the freedom of election.

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The above paragraphs constitute, in outline, a picture of the political state of affairs in Lebanon at this moment. The picture is not an edifying one, but it is the current way of things in a section of the world which Americans must get to know and understand if the monumental influence and power of the United States are to be used to bring about the greatest good in the Middle East. Unfortunately, Palestine is not the

only worrisome area in the Middle East. To most Americans, political conditions in Lebanon, the very pattern of life there, in fact, is even more obscure than the tangled situation in Palestine. Lebanon—geographically at least—is a part of the Arab world, and if the problems of the Arab world are to be successfully dealt with by the United States, then all factors of the problem must be known. The Lebanese factor is of particular importance because the problems of that small country are pressing and because it is the only Christian country in the Middle East.

Of all the places for which the distinction is claimed, it can be most truly said of Lebanon that it is the point in the world where East and West meet. It is the area where the culture of the Northern Hittites met with the cultures of Egypt, Babylon and Syria, and it is the place where the cultures of Greece and Rome encountered the influences of the Oriental cultures and traditions.

Today the population of Lebanon amounts to a little more than a million people, a population which is amazingly mixed, containing, among many others, Christian, Jewish and Moslem elements. The Christian majority is very large—about eight hundred thousand people, mainly Roman Catholics. Almost as amazing as the racial and cultural mixture in Lebanon is the fact that these conflicting racial and religious strains have, for the most part, managed to live in what, for the Middle East, constitutes unusual harmony. And it is this very harmony which is in serious danger of being destroyed by activities of the present Lebanese Government.

Lebanon became an independent republic in 1943, and is recognized as such by the United Nations. Until quite recently, the various minorities which are represented within the State have served as a natural system of checks and balances which has made it possible for each community to preserve its own cultural and spiritual qualities within the general and unified social-political character of the country. The independence of Lebanon is today threatened by a number of exterior pressures, and the most disheartening feature of the prospect for continued Lebanese independence is the fact that the incumbent Lebanese government is, by its very nature, prone to give in to these pressures. The result of such a capitulation would mean the disappearance of an independent Lebanon and the extinction of the civil minorities. The traditional character of Lebanon which, more than anything else, is responsible for the preservation of minority privileges within the Republic, is in imminent danger of being snuffed out.

The Arab League constitutes the greatest single threat to Lebanese independence. Lebanese fear of the designs of the Arab League is

no mere chimera; it is based on a long series of quite open declarations on the part of prominent members of the League. A number of the most threatening declarations of Arab purpose have been aired within the last five or six years. In 1944, after his return from that year's convention of the Arab League, the late Prime Minister of Syria, Sadallah Beh al-Jabri, informed the Syrian Parliament that the psychological aim of the Arab League would be to create total Arab unity. The first step in such a program, he informed the Parliament, would be the formation of a Greater Syria; to include Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, and, of course, Lebanon. This Greater Syria objective is constantly repeated in the *Egyptian Weekly Magazine* and other papers. King Abdallah of Transjordan has never made a secret of his wish to sit on the throne of the proposed Greater Syria.

Unfortunately for the Lebanese, Arab League aspirations are constantly encouraged by the British. From the British point of view, a most desirable arrangement would be the establishment of a Greater Syria under British guidance. This possibility is more than a dream. Not long ago, the late al-Jabri of Syria, addressed a memorandum to the British General Spears, who was a wartime British representative in the Levant, in which he promised his assistance to the British as a consequence of aid rendered by the British on behalf of Syrian aspirations. It is not my purpose to accuse the British of total lack of feeling and regard for the independence of a small nation. The British, alas, are compelled to bargain effectively with members of the Arab League if their influence, as opposed to Russian influence, is to be maintained in the Middle East.

In addition to these exterior British, Arab, and in a more remote sense, Russian pressures which are now being applied against Lebanese independence, there are also undermining forces at work within the Republic itself. The most dangerous of these is the Syrian National Party of Lebanon, under the direction of Antoun Saadi. The ultimate objective of Saadi's party is implied in its name.

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At the beginning of this article, I dwelt at some length on the character of the present Lebanese Government because it is that character which constitutes the final element necessary to bring about the disappearance of the Lebanese Republic. It is the will of the Lebanese people to resist Lebanese participation in a Greater Syria, or in anything like it. But such is not the will of their government, most of whose members are favorably disposed toward union with a greater segment of the Arab League. It was knowledge of the pressures being brought against

the Republic and a fear of future reprisals (by their own government or by a government soon to be imposed upon them) which discouraged at least half the Lebanese voting population at the recent Parliamentary elections.

The question, then, is how can the continued independence of the Republic of Lebanon be assured—in spite of threats against that independence from without, and in spite of the obvious intentions of the Lebanese Government? The Lebanese are well aware of the direction from which help must come, but they are not at all certain that the source of that help—the United States—is willing to act, or that it will act in time.

What the great majority of Lebanese consider to be the first necessary step toward guaranteeing the independence of their Republic is this: the United States, acting through the United Nations and in company with France (because of the considerable French economic and cultural stake in Lebanon) should warn predatory members of the Arab League that America is aware of the threat to Lebanese independence and feels it necessary to guarantee that independence. Such a guarantee would be greatly strengthened—as would the moral standing of the signers—if Russia and England also became partners to it. And it would be totally effective, if the Arab League, as a proof of good will, were encouraged to sign.

The suggestion is not fantastic, and it would not mean, as some might suggest, that Lebanese independence was being sacrificed to the United States and France, rather than to members of the Arab League. There is a great difference between a guarantee and a loss of independence. Furthermore, there is a precedent for this sug-

gested course of action. In 1860, following a massacre of Christians in Lebanon, the great powers of that moment acted jointly to guarantee the autonomy of Lebanon and to safeguard the rights of its Christian inhabitants.

One might also point out at this juncture that there is also, in contemporary Lebanese history, a precedent for quite a different kind of action. Shortly after the first World War, Riad As-Solh, present Lebanese Prime Minister, accompanied by several members of the Lebanese parliament, went to Syria with the intention of handing Lebanon over to the late King Feisal of Syria. Fortunately for the eight hundred thousand Christians in Lebanon, As-Solh and his friends were intercepted by the French General Gouraud and sent into exile. Nevertheless, the memory of their intention lingers on in Lebanon and, in the eyes of most Lebanese, makes the need for a guarantee on the part of the great powers led by the United States more desirable than ever.

Lebanon is a small country, but that does not make the threat to its independence any less real and painful. The importance of Lebanese independence can be pleaded on the grounds that it is a predominantly Christian State as well as being the refuge and shelter of all the minorities of the Middle East. The case for it can be pleaded just as effectively, however, on the grounds that the independence of any state, regardless of its size or cultural-religious character, is a matter of supreme importance at this moment in world history. By acting through the United Nations to guarantee the independence of Lebanon, the United States would be striking a blow for freedom everywhere.

Habib J. Awad, Ph. D., is a native of Lebanon, has taught sociology, philosophy and languages at several universities in this country, and worked on the FCC during the war.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1947

End of British Rule in Palestine Is Termed Urgent Task of U. N.

Welles, Condemning Irgun's Execution of 2 Britons, Points Out That London Policy Is to Blame for Holy Land's Vicious Circle of Violence

By Sumner Welles

Former Under Secretary of State

The murder by the Irgun Zvai Leumi terrorists of two British sergeants they had seized as hostages has done infinite harm to Zionism. It has embittered a host of former sympathizers. It was as repulsive an act as Hitler's slaughter of the hostages he took during the war. The Jewish Agency is guilty of no exaggeration when it warns the leaders of the Jewish community in Palestine that the extermination of terrorism is "an inexorable national necessity."

Yet even in its righteous indignation public opinion must not forget the real origins of this crime. It must remember that injustice and inhumanity breed injustice and inhumanity. The butchery of these hostages was an act of retaliation for the judicial murder by the British authorities of three young Jews who had helped some of their fellow conspirators to escape from the Acre prison last May. These three men may have been misguided, but according to their own lights they were only fighting for Jewish freedom. Their death at British hands at the very moment when the United Nations Commission for Palestine is seeking a final solution for the Palestine problem is a lasting blot on the record of British justice.

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

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

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

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

of retaliation as the murder of the British sergeants have been perpetrated.

If the United Nations permits the continuation of this vicious circle in Palestine a major catastrophe will be inevitable. Only a few days ago what was nothing more nor less than a pogrom took place in the streets of the Jewish city of Tel Aviv when British troops deliberately shot down unarmed men and women in reprisal for the murder of the two sergeants. Human passions are mounting to a pitch where they will soon be out of control.

But these dangers, grave as they are, are by no means the most serious of the consequences to be anticipated. Anti-Jewish riots are already spreading rapidly throughout the British Isles. Jewish demonstrations against Great Britain are increasing here at home. Unless the tragedy of Palestine is quickly ended the hatreds now arising will stimulate the growth of that loathsome blight of anti-Semitism in several countries which have so far prided themselves upon their freedom from racial antagonisms.

At its session next month the Assembly of the United Nations will receive the report of its Commission on Palestine. We must hope that the action taken by the Assembly upon this report will provide a just and final solution.

However often Mr. Bevin may deny the self-evident truth the evils resulting from present-day conditions in Palestine are a threat to world peace. They are engendering international friction and ill will. They are jeopardizing friendly co-operation between the western powers. Neither the Assembly nor the Security Council can afford to ignore the fact that their obligations under Articles 11 and 19 of the United Nations Charter will not be met unless some way is promptly found to terminate the British mandate and to replace the British forces now in Palestine with some truly impartial peace-enforcement agency.

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Washington Merry-Go-Round

Mufti Plots Battle in U.N.

By DREW PEARSON



Hadji Amin el Hussein
Spearheaded slaughter of Jews.
(AP Photo)

WASHINGTON, Sept. 14.—As the U. N. tomorrow takes up, among other things, the tragic Palestine issues, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem has a carefully coached delegation of Arabs in N. Y. to defeat any settlement.

Since the allies captured Nazi documents and witnesses, the State Dept. has had sensational evidence of the Mufti's role in the Nazi murder of 5,000,000 Jews. Deliberately, he plotted to exterminate all Jews in Europe.

The records, which the U. S. refuses to publish, include a signed contract by which Hitler agreed to pay the Mufti 50,000 marks a month to stir the Arabs against the Allies.

Since the State Dept. will not disclose documents on this historic subject to the U.N., this column here publishes the most pertinent of them.

Dieter von Wisliczeny, a deputy fuhrer with the title of Adviser on Jewish Affairs in Slovakia, Greece and Hungary, testified:

"In my opinion, the Grand Mufti, who has been in Berlin since 1941, played a role in the decision of Germany to exterminate the European Jews, the importance of which must not be disregarded.

"Broadcasting from Berlin, he surpassed us in anti-Jewish attacks. One of Eichmann's best friends, he incited him to accelerate exterminating measures. I heard that, with Eichmann, he visited, incognito, the gas chamber in Auschwitz."

(Eichman was the Nazi in charge of Jewish extermination.)

American Jewish leaders,

through Catholic leaders in the Vatican, were in part successful in smuggling Jews out of Germany during the war. Goering was sympathetic, arranged to wink at the exit of several thousand Jews into Bulgaria and Romania, toward Palestine.

This infuriated the Grand Mufti.

Official records show that on June 5, 1943, the Mufti wrote the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, protesting against 4,000 Jewish children being allowed to enter. He was successful.

The financial agreement between the Nazis and the Mufti came late in the war, when Hitler knew he was licked, but planned to fight the British even after the armistice. The Mufti was given parachutists, a short-wave radio and plenty of cash.

The contract, dated April 5, 1945, a month before V-E Day, reads:

"AGREEMENT

"between the Government of the Greater German Reich and the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Hadji Amin el Hussein.

"The Government (Nazi) through its Foreign Office, concludes the following agreement with the Mufti:

"1.—The Government puts at the disposal of the Mufti funds required to fight for liberation against the common enemy.

"2.—An account is being opened for the Mufti with the Reichtreasurer.

"The Mufti can draw against this until further notice 50,000 reichsmarks a month.

"The account will be charged with expenses of the Foreign Office and other headquarters of Reich organization incurred for the Mufti or the movement conducted by him. These expenses—commencing April 1, 1945—shall not exceed 12,000 reichsmarks a month.

"3.—The Mufti agrees to pay back the credit advanced. Amortization and interest payments will be later agreed on.

"4.—This is effective retroactively, as of April 1.

"Signed, in Berlin, April 4, 1945.

For the Foreign Office
S/Steengrecht.

The Grand Mufti of Palestine
S Amin el Hussein."

That is the man who plots to block the U.N. settlement of Palestine.

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1947.

What Deal, Mr. President?

What deal has the Truman administration made with the Arabs on Palestine? What deal is in the making?

The people of the United States, if anything of the kind is happening, are entitled to know it.

They are entitled to know, also, just what the deal calls for, item by item.

They are entitled to know what is being done in their name because any deal on Palestine would involve breaking every pledge the American people have repeatedly made to the Jews that there would be established a Jewish national home in Palestine.

Any deal involving further concessions to the Arabs would be not only an unconscionable betrayal of the Jews but also open, calculated destruction of American honor.

If the United States delegation has made or is about to make a deal with the Arabs, what are we, the people of the United States, going to get out of it?

Is it freedom from the fear of an uprising of the Arab world, that hoary threat? Are we prepared to trade our good name for that?

Is it a guarantee of continued access to Arab oil, for which we have paid over and over again already? Is that enough to warrant the repudiation of our pledged word?

Or is it that we hope to buy the loyalty of the Arab States as allies against the possible encroachment of Russia, Arab States that plotted and connived with Hitler? Is this sufficient price for our good faith?

The American people are entitled to know, for what the United States delegates to the United Nations have to trade on this issue does not belong to them. The good name of the United States belongs to the people. It is our most precious possession.

It was the good name of the United States that caused 16 nations of Europe to respond so quickly to the Marshall Plan. The peoples of those nations, no less than their governments, believed that what the United States promised to do, the United States would carry out.

Repeatedly, during and since World War II, our Government has assured all peoples that we sought no material gain but only to build a world in which all could live in peace, enjoy freedom, deal decently and honestly.

Millions believed us. They had faith in our promises.

Should we break our pledges to the Jews, we would destroy that faith, whether we acted in abject appeasement of Arab threats, in eagerness to make them allies or in greed for oil.

Much has been lost already.

All the world looked to the United States for leadership in seeing justice done in Palestine. Instead—

The world has seen Secretary of State Marshall equivocate on the issue of Palestine in his opening speech to the U.N. General Assembly.

Then he met in secret with the Arab chiefs, although these same chiefs refused to present testimony before the U.N. Special Commission on Palestine.

After that the United States delegation remained silent despite Arab assertions that Secretary Marshall had told the chiefs that the United States has "an open mind" on Palestine.

President Truman should act—and swiftly—to reassure the American people either that no deal has been made, or if there is one, that he will undo it.

This is his responsibility, and his alone. The two leading Republican candidates for his office have endorsed the majority plan for Palestine, but they have no power to act. Mr. Truman, as President, has the power.

The American people have a right to expect him to use it.

The honor of the United States of America, upon which is based the faith of millions here and everywhere, is at stake.

The President of the United States is sworn to uphold that honor.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1947

TIMES-HERALD

Washington's Independent Newspaper

Get Going on Palestine

When the United Nations general assembly opened its second regular session at Flushing Meadows a couple of weeks ago, we remarked in this space that at least the big debating society might reasonably be expected to bring about a solution of the Palestine question.

Up to now, no progress has been made toward that most desirable goal, though a large amount of talking has been done about Palestine.

It isn't as if there weren't enough facts available on which to work out some feasible program. Holy Land problems have been investigated from top to bottom some 18 times in the last 25 years.

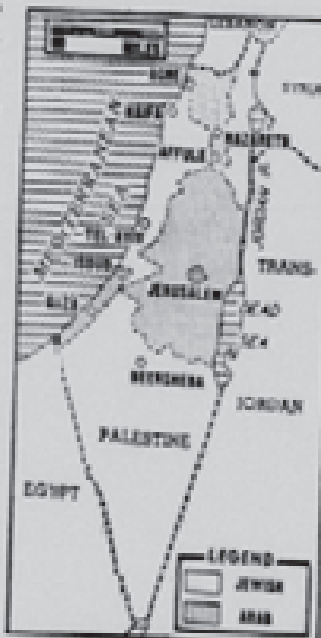
The latest of these probes was conducted on the spot recently by the United Nations special committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), and a majority of this group turned in a detailed plan whose main features are shown on the accompanying map.

What the UNSCOP majority proposes to do is to give the country its freedom, effective Sept. 1, 1949, and to partition it into two nations, one for the Jews and the other for the Arabs. Jerusalem and its suburbs, including Bethlehem, would be demilitarized and placed under a U.N. trusteeship.

During the transition period, 150,000 Jewish immigrants would be admitted to the proposed Jewish state.

The UNSCOP minority suggested a peculiar looking single state with Jewish and Arab sub-governments.

The majority proposal has met with the approval of most Jewish groups, including the influential Zion-



UNSCOP Majority's Proposed Partition of Palestine.

CHICAGO SUN

MARSHALL FIELD, Editor and Publisher

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1947

As We Wobble on Palestine

BRITAIN'S decision to get out of Palestine opens three possibilities for the future: (1) Arab and Jew can be left to fight it out; (2) some other nation can take Britain's place; (3) the United Nations can formulate a plan for independence and collectively enforce it during the transitional period.

There is not much question that the last course offers most by way of justice and peaceful settlement of disputes—both being fundamental aims of the U.N.

The Jews in Palestine say they are ready and able to defend themselves when Britain leaves, thus setting up what amounts to a *de facto* Jewish state. Maybe they can. But to let the issue thus be resolved by force would scarcely be a desirable precedent for the U.N., and no such settlement, or lack of one, could be considered permanent.

Neither does the idea of a successor-trustee hold out hope for a basic settlement. It is more than doubtful that public opinion would support any such venture in imperialism by the United States. Any great power which tried it would face immediate opposition from others. None, furthermore, could expect to establish peace and stability where Britain so conspicuously failed.

Irresistibly we are driven to the conclusion that the most honorable, just and workable solution is a United Nations solution. The committee appointed by the General Assembly unanimously recommended immediate independence, and a majority proposed that this be achieved by dividing Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state.

DESPITE all the difficulties inherent in this plan, it is the one which most fully recognizes the world's obligations to the 600,000 Jews who have settled in Palestine on the promise of a national home, and at the same time recognizes the rights of the Arabs in such degree as to justify the hope that, after a fair trial period, both communities could live amicably side by side.

The Arabs, of course, oppose partition. They are threatening the use of force against it. But then they would oppose any solution except outright denial of Jewish rights. The question is whether the U.N. shall be bullied by such intimidation.

American policy faces the same question. The Arabs threaten to cancel oil concessions to American firms, and to wage an economic boycott against anybody who supports partition. There is little reason to suppose that they could or would carry out these threats. But in no case can the United States afford to be bulldozed by them.

We have a responsibility to the U.N., to the Jewish settlers, to Europe's displaced persons and to the civilized conscience. Our State Department cannot meet that responsibility so long as it wobbles and temporizes on Palestine. Secretary Marshall said that during his recent visit to the Middle East.

Towards a Positive

American Policy

on Palestine

THE PRESS SPEAKS:

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Wednesday, September 24, 1947

The Palestine Report

The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine is an impressive document, not so much for what it recommends as for the long history behind it, the weight of international authority which it carries, the force of world opinion on which it can call. There are limits to the capacities of human wisdom. The Palestine problem, involving a violent conflict of legal rights and passionately held convictions,

The Washington Post

Registered in U. S. Patent Office

SEPTEMBER 3, 1947

Verdict On Palestine

The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine can be better evaluated in terms of expediency than of justice. For the primary question to be asked of the solution it recommends is not whether it is fair to all the conflicting interests concerned—that seems to be quite impossible—but whether it is workable. The question, in other words, is whether the re-

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It is not approved by the Arabs, or at any rate by their spokesmen in the U.N. Jamal El-Husseini, chairman of the Palestine Arab delegation, voiced this opposition in an 8,000-word speech at Lake Success day before yesterday.

Mr. Hussein's oration included a warning that the Arabs would stop up Palestine "with the last drop of our blood in the lawful defense of all and every inch of it"—a remark which sounds like, you should excuse the expression, horsefeathers.

The UNSCOP majority plan seems reasonable to us. Palestine now has an estimated population of 1,825,000. Of these people, roughly 1,200,000 are Arabs and 625,000 are Jews.

The proposed partition would result in a Jewish state having 500,000 Jews and 416,000 Arabs, and in an Arab state with 713,000 Arabs and 8,000 Jews. In the U.N.-trustered Jerusalem area there would be 100,000 Jews and 106,000 Arabs.

On the basis of numbers alone, therefore, the Arabs would get a better initial break in the Jewish and Jerusalem sectors than the Jews would get in the Arab state. Evidently the Jews are willing to take a chance on that. If it suits them, how can the Arabs justly complain?

The partition, as it looks to us from this distance, would be of great benefit all around.

Partition It would get Palestine off the nerves of the world, for one thing, after a generation-plus of alarms, excursions, excitements and irritations.

Looks Fine That the Jews would profit from having a country of their own seems beyond argument. We think the Arabs would profit, too, from the nearness to their own state of an up-and-coming Jewish nation anxious for active exchange of goods and services.

Stabilization of the Holy Land should attract outside capital for investment in numerous business enterprises and public improvements, in both the Arab and Jewish commonwealths.

If this plan or something much like it isn't put in the works soon, it seems impossible to see a decent future for Palestine. Great Britain is throwing up its hands in disgust and talking meaningfully about pulling out its troops in the next couple of months.

We can't understand the shilly-shallying in the General Assembly, and the apparent hesitancy to tackle this problem head on and bull a satisfactory settlement through.

It is hard, too, to understand the seeming unwillingness of the Truman Administration to take a positive position in the matter.

The U.N., in short, is on a spot again; and if it doesn't get off this one with some decisiveness and dignity, its own future promises to be more than dubious.

weight" to the partition plan, but apparently he has been telling the Arabs this does not imply any decision. Our policy should be the assumption of strong leadership, together with our share of the collective responsibility, for putting the U.N. plan into effect without delay.

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What Do We Answer To The Arab Threat?

Like a small and desperate bully in the schoolyard at most, the Arab nations have just drawn a line and dared the United States to cross it. If Secretary of State Marshall supports the plan to partition Palestine, the Arab states, the countries of the Middle East will "take all necessary measures to oppose the United States both inside and outside the United Nations."

There should be little question about this nation's answer to such a challenge. The threat itself is an object confession of bankrupt logic. The debater who has lost invites his opponent to step out into the alley. In effect the Arabs now have admitted that their pretensions to Palestine find no support in reason. Only a stupendous moral cowardice would permit knocking under.

But United States policy has, unfortunately, been much less than clear on Palestine. Officially on the level of pronouncements by the President and Congress, we have been most intent to the Jews and their Palestine aspirations. At the day-by-day level of the Middle Eastern desk in the State Department, however, we have played coy with the Arabs.

Secretary Marshall promised long ago to state the conflict in policy and draw a firm line of consistent principle. He still has not done so. In fact, when he mentioned the problem of Palestine in his opening address at the current session of the U. N. General Assembly, he slurred over it badly. The United States, he said, was of a mind that serious consideration should be given the proposal for partition, which is the equivalent of a ringing endorsement of another war.

Cautious about committing this nation

finally on the problem is understandable, of course. The Arabs are making no idle threat. They are perfectly capable, fired as they are with a zealot's religious conviction, of exploding mass murder in the Middle East. They might, as they constantly hint in sly fashion, try playing Russia against the United States and Great Britain, though the landed lords of Arabry ought to tremble at the very thought of communism. Certainly the Arab nations will attempt to sever the West's pipelines into the vital oil of the Persian Gulf. Only an idiot would counsel a total disregard of the dangers in crossing the Arab demands.

After all that is said, though, the principles of justice and of humanitarianism still stand. And they will permit no temporizing with the threats of terrorism, no surrender to the merely cautious. They speak unmistakably for that remnant of the Jews who have survived Hitler's attempt to exterminate them.

Partition is no perfect solution for Palestine. But at least it offers a hope for the embattled Jews that an independent Palestine controlled by the anti-Jewish Arabs never could. Within the framework of the plan proposed by the majority of the U. N.'s special commission on Palestine, an answer is at least possible.

It will not be an easy answer. Palestine still would have to be policed, preferably by a U. N. security force; possibly—if Russian opposition to creation of such a force persists—by troops from this and other countries. Almost certainly there would be some bloodshed.

The Arabs have drawn their line. Do we step over it or retreat in shame?

deeds any perfect or "just" solution. It is inconceivable that this body would recommend either to restore the Arabs, as the Arab states or award it to the Jews; or, at least, to a very involved, complex of it. It was obviously the commission's recommendation a compromise, a done. That it is a bad one without saying. The Arabs, the Zionists are doubtful. But there is no reason to believe that it is the best compromise which the wit and the institutions of mankind are able to achieve.

The Peel commission recommended partition, which seemed impracticable; the more recent Anglo-American commission recommended a unification which seemed impossible. The majority of the United Nations commission has recommended political partition together with economic unification. For this fiercely divided community, occupying an area no larger than the State of Vermont, the recommendation may seem fantastic. But it is less so than the minority plan, advanced by the representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia; it is the best that the combined statesmanship of the world, after excluding all the more interested parties, could do. And it has the great difference over all previous findings that it takes responsibility out of the hands of the British mandatory and vests it squarely upon all the nations.

The proposals will, of course, be fiercely debated before the General Assembly. The debate may prove to all the parties that this, or something very like this, is in fact the best that can practically be achieved by any appeal to "justice," by any form of international action, by any reliance on world opinion or on other processes than those of brute force. If so, and if the commission plan is accepted by the Assembly, there may be some hope of an amicable settlement of the passions involved and some chance that the plan will be loyally implemented by the Arab as well as the Jewish communities and will therefore prove workable.

If not, the responsibility will rest on all the powers and not simply on the Arabs. As to what would happen should the Palestine Arabs refuse to set up their state or make the proposed economic treaty, the commission is vague; but it at least hints that the United Nations should erect the Jewish state anyway, while it rather more than hints that the United States should during the two-year interim period assist the British on the ground. We are teaching the point at which, if the best that reasonable men can offer is not accepted by those concerned, the world will either have to abandon the problem entirely or the executive force will have to be applied by those who possess it in order to compel a tolerable settlement. This is no longer a problem of Arabs, Jews and British; it has become a United Nations problem, and the strongest members of the United Nations will have to face their share of the common responsibility.

will bring an end to the problem. From the point of view of the rest of the world, a solution of this problem is imperative. Already embroiled so many groups and nations beyond those immediately involved in it to constitute a real peril to peace. The existing state of affairs simply cannot be permitted to continue. What is necessary now is to accept the verdict and make it effective.

The Arabs, who have already protested against the U. N. report, have a legitimate case against it. So have the Jews, who have thus far lodged no formal protest but have certainly been awarded less than they deemed their due. The decision cannot be considered wholly fair to either side. Jews and Arabs alike can bring to the support of their respective contentions all sorts of data and documents; even Britain, the responsible ruling power, which has played the Jews and Arabs against one another, can make a case for itself, we suppose, out of the pressures and exigencies of world affairs. The U. N. committee no doubt listened patiently to all these cases, striving vainly to decide between them. But in sober truth they were beside the point. The point was that an intolerable situation had to be ended with as much fairness as possible and by the most expedient means.

This, it appears, is what the committee tried to do. Only time, of course, can test whether its solution will work well. But it seems to us to have the best chance of working of any proposal yet broached. Partition, to be sure, is no ideal solution in an area so small as Palestine. Yet it seems the only practicable solution in view of the bitterness that has been generated among its inhabitants. Its ill effects may be tempered by the economic integration recommended in the report. With good will and acceptance of the plan in good faith, Jews and Arabs in Palestine may well be able to develop the good neighborly relations which alone can bring peace and the blessings of prosperity to the long-troubled Holy Land.

No doubt there will be efforts, and especially by feudal leaders of the Arabs, to engender strife and to make the plan unworkable. It is indispensable to the success of the plan, if it is adopted by the United Nations, that such efforts be checked promptly and thoroughly; there is no room here for vacillation. The United States, we think, should share the responsibility and the burden of enforcing whatever solution the United Nations may decree. With this kind of firmness, the problem may be solved. And in this lies the best hope of Jews and Arabs and the world at large. Peace in Palestine is now the indispensable foundation for justice.

for a free, democratic, independent Jewish homeland has been supported. The unanimous decision of the Anglo-American Commission, which studied the problem last year, was for partition and the creation of separate Jewish and Arab communities there. The majority findings of the latest United Nations Commission present similar recommendations. These recommendations are in harmony with an American policy of nearly 30 years' standing.

Why, then, is there any doubt whatever in Washington as to what course to pursue in the United Nations Assembly? The proposals of the U. N. Commission on Palestine, says Mr. Frank Buxton, a thoroughly informed witness and a member of the Anglo-American committee last year, "are just to both Jews and Arabs are workable, and offer the only sensible solution for an extremely tragic problem." He appeals to our government to take "a strong and honorable stand which is in conformity with our often repeated commitments."

Such an appeal should be unnecessary to statesmen who cherish the good name of the nation they represent. It cannot be that principle and consistency in policy are to be tossed on the table as pawns, in a barter for expedients. Due appraisal of the threats emanating from the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (who cooperated with our foes in the recent war) will scarcely discover that they possess sufficient substance to warrant their acceptance at his own estimate and a disgraceful retreat by our government from the position it has maintained unequivocally for years.

If it is the contention that support of the Palestine committee's report implies strife, because of Britain's proposal for eventual withdrawal let it be remembered that Britain's withdrawal from India was made with larger objective in view, which, despite transitory trouble there, is being realized in the emergence of two new dominions in the British Commonwealth. Assurances given by the Jewish authorities in Palestine that 50,000 veterans trained in Britain's armies during the recent war will safeguard the proposed new Jewish state against attack, and carry through to firm establishment, dispose of the question of transitional disorders. Justice, honor, consistency, the best interests of this country, and the stabilization of the Middle East, counsel against any wavering on this issue.

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him responsibility for those commitments is essential. We must give U. N. the courage to act.

This must be perfectly clear to anyone who has paid any attention whatever to the history of modern Palestine. Certainly President Truman has been and is in a position to grasp the importance of United States policy as it bears upon justice in this matter.

We must believe, also, that President Truman knows the effect that failure to lead can have upon the outcome in the United Nations. It can lead to postponement, delay and finally to the rejection of the proposal for partition.

Such a result would be just as much a betrayal as if the United States delegation had, like Britain, rejected the majority report.

And that result would be the responsibility of the Truman Administration. For the Truman Administration alone has the power to determine the course taken by Secretary of State Marshall, head of the U. S. delegation. He is the spokesman for the President.

The President is charged with the execution of United States foreign policy.

If the Truman Administration, by feeble action, is going to condone the repudiation of the commitments of the American people in this matter, we say again that Americans are entitled to know what they are going to get in return for their good name.

Is it Arab oil—which we have paid for over and over again?

Is it freedom from intimidation by Arab States whose spokesman is the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hitler's apologist and agent?

Is it these States as Allies, created by Allied arms in World War I and some of whom joined the Nazis in World War II?

Americans, we say again, are entitled to know what price the Arab chiefs can pay high enough to buy the honor of the United States?

We hope President Truman will act to reassure the American people that no deal, at any price, has been made in their name. We hope that reassurance will be open, sincere and vigorous support of the UNSCOP majority report.

Actions speak louder than off-the-record promises or even half-hearted speeches.

ADDRESSES UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE

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Palestine and World Peace

BY SUMNER WELLES

[At the dinner of the Nation Associates held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on October 13, Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, made the address which appears below. The subject of the evening's discussion was The Palestine Solution and Its Relationship to World Peace. The other chief speakers were Bartley Crum and Richard H. S. Crossman, M.P., American and British members, respectively, of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine.]

TO ALL those millions of Americans who believe that their nation, because of the influence and power it possesses, should utilize that influence and that power so as to facilitate the solution of international controversies which block the establishment of a free, peaceful, and lasting world order, the past few years have been a profoundly discouraging period. For in the case of Palestine the great opportunity for leadership offered to our government had not been seized. Last Friday this situation radically changed. The United States has at length assumed its responsibility and undertaken a most constructive initiative.

I am not here to speak to you of any of the specific aspects of the Palestine problem, aspects which necessarily arise in an objective appraisal of the recommendations for settlement that have been advanced. Nor would I venture to dwell upon the continuing tragedy of those hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews whose spirits and bodies are rotting in the concentration camps of Central Europe and to whom no hope has as yet been given that they are to have any chance of safety or any opportunity for a new and better life in the days to come. There are many among you who have seen with their own eyes this horror and who have been struggling valiantly to put an end to a tragedy which need never have existed and for which there can be no justification.

But I do wish to speak to you on the issue which seems to me chiefly to concern us here tonight. That is the relationship of the Palestine settlement to world peace.

It would take long to enumerate the reports of the individuals and of the organizations, official as well as unofficial, which have now for many years been investigating the problem of Palestine. Many of these investigations, unfortunately, were undertaken for the sole purpose of procrastination. Many were ordered merely in an effort to avert a crisis which might otherwise be imminent. There is perhaps no other question of international import upon which so much authoritative information is available, and upon which the time and thought of so many able men and women have been expended. What

so far has been lacking is the courage and the decision and the authority by which action might be taken on the basis of those facts.

I had hoped last spring that the period of evasion and buck-passing was at length concluded; that the repeated efforts of the British government to prevent any solution and the unsavory attempts of the government of the United States to saddle Great Britain with full responsibility, while at the same time refusing to lift a finger to make a settlement possible, had at last reached their end. For a new and great development had taken place. The nations of the world, at a special meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations, had declared their intention of seeking a settlement of the Palestine question and had appointed a Special Committee on Palestine to undertake a final investigation and to recommend to the full Assembly at its session this autumn whatever solution might in their judgment be most equitable and practicable in the light of all the legitimate interests concerned.

The overshadowing significance of that step could not be exaggerated. It meant that the free peoples of the earth had decided that a just and lasting settlement must be promptly found, and that the moral opinion of the world would support whatever decision the Assembly might finally reach upon such a basis.

AS WE all know, a few weeks ago the Special Committee submitted its findings. The recommendation of the majority of the committee—and it is pertinent to emphasize the fact that the nations represented in that majority could not conceivably be considered as having any partiality or any prejudice—proposed the partition of Palestine and the establishment within the Holy Land of a Jewish and an Arab state.

Many questions can legitimately be raised as to this, that, or the other detail contained in these proposals. But no unbiased man or woman can fail to recognize that, granted the lateness of the hour, granted the urgency of the need, granted the developments that have taken place since the report of the Peel commission was rendered ten years ago, and granted the crisis with which humanity today is convulsed, these proposals are the best that could at present be carried out and are inherently wise and just.

The majority report has, of course, been assailed by the Jewish extremists. It has, of course, been made the target of the Arab nationalists, who assert they will reject any settlement through which the Jewish people would at last attain the National Home long since prom-

ised to them. But I think there can be no question that a vast majority of the outstanding leaders of the Jewish people support the form of settlement now under consideration by the United Nations, however far short it may fall of the ideal for which they had hoped, and that a vast majority of the Arab peoples would accept, even though reluctantly, a settlement which puts an end to a controversy whose continuation can be of no benefit to them, were they to learn that the United Nations was determined to impose such a settlement.

If we view the world as it is today realistically, we cannot fail to see that force—economic force as well as armed force—still continues to be the dominating factor. Every delegate to the United Nations knows that unless the three great powers—Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—jointly support whatever decision the Assembly may reach, and jointly undertake to facilitate the carrying out of the Palestine settlement, no settlement is going to be carried out. However strongly the other member states may feel that the settlement proposed is altogether just, however sincerely they may believe that such a settlement is imperative if a major conflagration is to be averted, they possess by themselves neither the armed might nor the economic resources required to bring about its consummation.

The United States has now spoken. It recognizes the urgent need for a final solution at this session of the Assembly. It supports the majority plan which provides for partition and immigration. While I question the wisdom of some of the modifications it advances, I regard other suggestions offered as altogether desirable.

From the standpoint of the realistic approach to the crux of the problem there is no more encouraging feature of our government's long-awaited statement of policy than the declaration that "the United States is willing to participate in a United Nations program to assist the parties involved in the establishment of a workable political settlement in Palestine" . . . and "in meeting economic and financial problems and the problem of internal law and order during the transition period." For here are more than words or expressions of sympathy. Here is the promise of material help and cooperation.

The position of Great Britain was made known by the statement of Mr. Creech-Jones to the Assembly. We can at least hope that the position then announced may yet be modified. It would be inconceivable, if the Assembly now approves a final settlement based upon the provisions of the majority report, that the British government would evacuate its administrative and law-enforcement agencies from Palestine before the Assembly's plan could be implemented, and thereby open the Holy Land to probable bloodshed and anarchy at the very moment that the United Nations was preparing to assume responsibility. The present difficulties of the British people must not be overlooked. But the United

States was fully justified in urging that the mandatory power should not withdraw until a smooth transmission of authority can be assured.

There remains the problem of the attitude of the Soviet Union. Once before, at the Assembly's special session last spring, the Soviet government categorically stated it would support partition as an alternative form of settlement. The Soviet Union has now reaffirmed this position. We have reason for deep gratification that in this outstanding instance the Soviet government has shown a clear intention of helping to make the United Nations function and of working for world peace rather than for world disruption.

LET us strip away all unnecessary verbiage and assess the basic issues upon whose solution a Palestine settlement now depends. They are few in number.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are every day becoming more critical. If the Palestine settlement is thrown into the whirlpool of power politics that now threatens to engulf the entire family of nations, no solution will be attained. If Moscow and Washington permit the question of Palestine to be used as an instrument in this looming conflict between expansion and containment, whatever final decision the Assembly may now reach will be void. Yet there is no reason that can be found to justify so needless a frustration. The establishment in Palestine of the Jewish and Arab states now proposed could never in itself be regarded as a threat to the safety of the Soviet system or of the Western powers. Only if these two new states came under the exclusive domination of either the East or the West could any fear be legitimately aroused on the part of one of the major powers. Great Britain has announced its wish to begin immediately the withdrawal of its occupation forces from Palestine, save in the remote contingency that the Assembly's decisions need not be imposed. Moscow can, consequently, no longer charge that Britain intends to use Palestine as a strategic base against Russia.

But since in all human probability the Assembly's recommendations for a Palestine settlement must be imposed and since an adequate police force must, therefore, be found, is it not unquestionable that if either the United States or the Soviet Union attempts to bring about the employment of its own troops for such a purpose, the Palestine question will inevitably become a cause for further suspicion, for further controversy, and for increased hostility between these two powers?

If the police force is American, the Soviet Union will construe such a decision as an aggressive step on our part. If the police force is Russian, such a measure will at once be interpreted throughout the West as a new indication of the Soviet government's intention to seize the Dardanelles and to dominate the Mediterranean.

And we know only too well from what has taken place in Korea what a joint Soviet-American administration of foreign territory implies.

It is for these reasons, which seem to me so altogether clear, that I publicly suggested some days ago that the major powers announce that no one of them would send military contingents to Palestine for policing duties, and that they agree that the Security Council should establish, after calling upon intermediate and lesser powers that had no conceivable interest in the Palestine settlement for their cooperation, a Palestine police force composed of military contingents from those powers, under the authority of the Council's Military Staff Committee. It has been said that such a suggestion is not realistic, that too many practical difficulties stand in the way, and that the problems of over-all authority and of expense constitute insuperable obstacles. The truth is, of course, that such a solution of the problem of security is wholly practicable provided the major powers wish to make it so.

If the Soviet Union and the United States are willing to cooperate in this regard, the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council is competent to adjust the question of over-all authority, and if the member states of the United Nations recognize in practice the obligation they have already unanimously incurred, the expenses of the administration of Palestine during the transition period and of an adequate police force are obviously expenses which should be shared proportionally by all the United Nations.

Frankly, such a solution of the need for maintaining law and order during the transition period seems to me far more effective and expedient than the suggestion of the United States that the United Nations establish a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis. A volunteer force would necessarily take a long time to recruit and assemble and a long time to train. What criterion, moreover, should prevail as to the national origin of the recruits? What percentage of recruits should any given country be allowed to send? What authority would be responsible for screening the recruits? Would there not be constant suspicion that agents of the major powers were being incorporated into such a volunteer force?

If the lesser powers, as I have suggested, sent some of their own military contingents to undertake the required policing work in Palestine during the transition period, these governments would be each responsible for the membership of the forces so employed, and none of the controversial questions I have mentioned could arise.

WHETHER we shall now see a Palestine settlement of the nature recommended to the Assembly by the majority of the Special Committee on Palestine depends primarily on whether the Soviet Union and the United States will permit the settlement to be carried out.

We are told that the troops of the Arab states are now encircling Palestine. Propaganda is being directed toward the delegates to the United Nations Assembly, and toward public opinion in the West, to make it appear that hostilities will be inevitable if the Assembly adopts the proposals of its Special Committee. If the Assembly permits such blackmail tactics—such an open violation of the solemn commitments into which every Arab country has entered—to remain unpunished, and to sway its final decisions, the authority of the United Nations will be irreparably impaired. But can anyone in this room believe that the threats of violence now being made could ever be carried out unless the Arab governments received the secret support of one of the great powers? Can anyone doubt that if Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States unanimously declared that the decision of the Assembly was also their decision and that they would unitedly support the execution of the steps required to impose it, the attempted blackmail which we are witnessing would not rapidly be shown up for what it is?

Unless the means of securing effective collaboration among the three major nations can now be found, not only will the final settlement of the Palestine problem continue to be remote, but the immediate consequences may be of appalling gravity. Is it already too late for us to have ground for the belief that some field for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States can yet be found? Must we assume that the one world for which we had hoped and for which we have striven is already irreparably divided into two worlds, with all of the consequences that such a division inevitably portends? Need we disregard the lesson which the history of recent centuries should teach us—that if two antagonistic and rival nations find some field for cooperation, this experiment in cooperation can bring about an alleviation of tension and encourage the gradual solution of controversies which had earlier seemed altogether insoluble?

I, for one, cannot reconcile myself to the belief that it is already too late. I believe that the Palestine settlement affords both the Soviet Union and the United States precisely such a field, within which cooperation between them is altogether feasible, and that if they will but employ it they will find the path toward the solution of the differences between them much easier to follow.

There has been no greater tragedy in recorded history than that which the Jewish people have suffered during these past few years. Yet it is possible that through the settlement of the Palestine problem—the one fitting compensation which humanity can offer the survivors of that tragedy—the peoples of the world may find the way to avert a new holocaust, toward which we seem to be so rapidly drifting and in which all that remains of our civilization would inevitably be destroyed.

Letters to The Times

For Palestine Partition

Modernization of Middle East in All Spheres of Endeavor Is Advocated

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The seven signatories to the letter "Against Palestine Partition," published in your issue of Nov. 21, base their argument on what they conceive to be the best American interests. It was this consideration alone, they maintain, which prompted them to urge our Government to reverse its policy on Palestine and to withdraw its support from the partition plan, now under consideration by the United Nations.

The undersigned—also a group of American citizens who have close contacts with the Middle East and a deep concern with the advancement of the best interests of our country—hold the diametrically opposite view both with regard to the advisability of partitioning Palestine and the possible effects of such partition on America's stake in the Middle East.

If one were to accept the contention of the group of seven that our interest in Middle Eastern oil militates against Palestine partition, we would still question the validity of this "oil argument" as the major source of guidance for American policy on a question containing so many political, racial, religious, strategic and economic considerations. Are we, indeed, expected to shape our foreign policies exclusively in the interests of a given trade group, and in full disregard of justice, peace, democratic concepts and American principles and traditions?

Long-Range View

Not that we agree in the least with the other group's interpretation of American interests in the Middle East. If we consider our interests in that vital region from a long-range viewpoint, the following formulation would, in our opinion, adequately express our aims and aspirations.

Politically, we would like to see the lands of the Middle East practice democracy as we do here. Socially and economically, we would want these lands to develop in a manner which would improve local conditions of life and open up both the resources and the markets of the region. In other words, however we look at it, American interests, even from a long-range view, dictate speedy modernization of the Middle East in all the spheres of human endeavor.

Whoever approaches Middle East realities with even a minimum of objectivity has to admit that thus far there is only one vanguard of progress and modernization in the Middle East, and that is Jewish Palestine. A second potential factor for progress is Christian Lebanon, which, at the moment, is artificially subdued by the Pan-Arabists and Pan-Islamists of the Arab League against the will and sentiments of Lebanon's Christian majority. But for these two islands of Western civilization, Jewish Palestine and Christian Lebanon, the Arab-Muslim Middle East presents a hopeless picture from an American viewpoint.

Position of Arab Rulers

We do not suspect the group of seven of being so naive as to believe that Ibn Saud, Imam Yahyah, King Farouk or Amin el-Husseini will suddenly become the benefactors of the landless fellaheen, of the starving coolies, of the sickness-ridden urchins; or that they will be instrumental in industrial and agricultural development, in building sanitary dwellings, in spreading literacy and in general improvement of the lot of the common man. Nor can these Arab rulers possibly be suspected of adhering to the democratic idea and of practicing democracy in their lands.

In the words of the late Harry L. Hopkins (taken from a recently published personal and confidential letter addressed to Mr. Jesse Jones): " . . . just how we could call that outfit a 'democracy' I don't know." Mr. Hopkins was referring to Saudi Arabia, but we all know that this judgment applies in the same measure to Iraq, Yemen, Syria and all the other Arab lands.

The United States is today committed to a policy of stopping the spread of communism in the world. But communism cannot possibly be stopped by the support of reactionary and backward medieval potentates, who shamelessly exploit the multitudes of their peoples. On the contrary, hungry and starving masses provide the natural breeding ground for revolution and communism.

Barrier to Communism

If we are really concerned about the possible expansion of Soviet Russia in the Middle East, let us help the Jews in Palestine and the Christians in the Lebanon to entrench democracy, spread culture, improve sanitary conditions, decrease mortality, better the pay of the working man, introduce modern agriculture and industry; in short, elevate the masses of the people from their present-day misery to human conditions of life. This is the only effective barrier to communism which we can suggest, and this, too, points strongly toward our support for a Jewish state in Palestine.

If we look at the Palestine Partition Plan from a short-range viewpoint, we still arrive at the same conclusions. The group of seven says that ten years ago, when the Royal Commission advocated partition, it might have been practicable, but that it is not so any longer. Their reasons for this contention are: 1. The deterioration in Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine which has since taken place; 2. "The United States has consistently pursued a policy of supporting the Arab countries in attaining full independence, etc." and American backing for a Jewish state would supposedly conflict with the above United States policy; 3. Britain is unwilling to participate in the implementation of partition, and it took a British army of over 100,000 men to maintain security in Palestine. "When this army is withdrawn, acts of violence are sure to appear unless an equally effective force can take charge before the British leave."

The authors of the letter go on to warn—or to threaten—that, if parti-

tion is adopted, "massacres of Jews will occur in the outlying districts of Palestine and possibly also in Iraq, where there are 125,000 entirely defenseless Jews." They also warn—or threaten—that "sanctions will undoubtedly be taken against American institutions and business firms."

First, we wish to correct some facts in the statement of our friends of the other group. There has been no deterioration of Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine since 1937. The Palestine Royal Commission, which recommended partition, investigated the riots which took place in 1935-1936, which undoubtedly was the period of highest tension in Palestine. Throughout the Second World War, and since the end of the war, there were hardly any armed conflicts between the Jews and Arabs. Furthermore, despite the active efforts of the ex-Mufti's agents and certain circles of British Intelligence, the Arabs of Palestine refused to rise against the Jews.

There were, moreover, many cases of heartening cooperation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, cases observed and commented upon by both the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. We all remember the Post Office strike in Palestine in which both Jewish and Arab workers wholeheartedly participated.

It is equally untrue to say that a large British army was required in Palestine in order to defend the Jews from Arab attacks or vice versa. It is a matter of record that for the last two years a Jewish-British war has been going on in Palestine, in which the Arabs have taken no part at all.

Passing on from facts to arguments, we cannot see any contradiction at all between the declared American policy in support of independence for the various Arab states and the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. There is nothing to add to what President Truman stated in his letter to King Ibn Saud on this subject. Recalling the role played by America in the liberation of the Arab lands from Turkish rule and in the subsequent development of these lands into sovereign states, the President reaffirmed the validity of our commitments to the Jewish people with regard to Palestine.

No Conflict Seen

Nor can we see any conflict in essence between the interests of a Jewish Palestine and the vital interests of the Arab world. We can, however, see numerous benefits accruing to the Arabs from the existence and development of an independent, progressive Jewish community in the Middle East.

We venture to prophesy that it will not take too long after a Jewish State in Palestine has been established before the young and progressive Arab intelligentsia, which is bound to arise, will join hands with Palestine Jewry for the common good of the Middle East. It is actually this inescapable future development in the Middle East, so unwelcome to the Moslem potentates and clergy, which in the main motivates their opposition to Zionism.

One word more about the warnings, which sound very much like threats, of massacres of Jews and of Arab sanctions against American trade interests. We have heard many such threats in recent months. It is characteristic, however, that Ibn Saud himself, the ruler of the land where we have our largest oil concession in the Middle East, is very careful never to voice such threats. On the contrary, he went out of his way a few times to disavow such intentions and to assure us that he has no intention to "mix oil with politics." (See interview with King Ibn Saud reported by C. L. Sulzberger in THE NEW YORK TIMES.)

Dependence on Oil

It is no secret that Saudi Arabia as well as the other oil-producing lands in the Middle East are incomparably more dependent on the income which they get from their vast black gold holdings than America is dependent on their oil.

While the war potential of the Arab lands is insignificant, there is no doubt that Iraq or Syria or Egypt are well in a position to organize pogroms on their Jewish communities. Our friends of the group of seven seem to be sure that they will do so. We wish to doubt it, because we cannot conceive of a situation where members of the United Nations will take revenge on defenseless minorities for a decision adopted by the United Nations. Nor can we see our way clear to advise the Government of our great nation to change its policies because of such warnings or threats.

FRANK W. BUXTON, BARTLEY C. CRUM,
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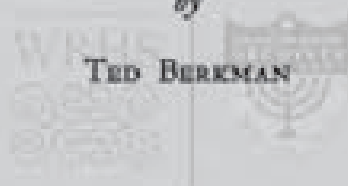
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THIS IS THE ARAB

by

TED BEREMAN



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THIS IS THE ARAB

BY TED BERKMAN

THE delegate from Iraq rose from his seat and strode confidently down the aisle to the rostrum. Every eye in the spacious hall at Flushing Meadows was upon him. The United Nations' Special Session on Palestine was in full swing, and the star spokesman for the Arab Middle East — that vague vastness of burning blue skies, arid plains and dead civilizations — had the floor.

Fadel Jamali of Iraq, trim and impressive in a pin-striped gray business suit, began speaking in English. His voice was deep and pleasantly accented, his argument emphatic. Five "minimum words," he declared, must guide any UN committee investigating Palestine: "peace, justice, freedom, democracy, independence." Jamali cited President Truman's celebrated statement on aid to Greece: "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure."

"This statement is the very essence of traditional democracy," the Iraqi commented. "It behooves the

committee which we are going to appoint to see how this principle applies to Palestine."

Jamali's appeal to international morality was echoed by Faris El-Khoury, pink-cheeked, white-haired representative of Syria. El-Khoury asserted the "human rights" of the Palestine Arabs were at stake, and also their political rights. These were held so dear, he implied, not only by the Palestinians but by Arabs throughout the Middle East, that there might be an uncontrollable popular revolt unless Zionism were officially repudiated by the United Nations.

"All of you in democratic countries," he said solemnly, "know to what extent public feelings can be suppressed. There is evidence that the people of the Middle East may go beyond the power of their governments."

This theme — the passionate political convictions of the Arab masses, and their readiness to take up arms rather than surrender their ideals — was also developed by Charles Malik, hawknosed scholar from the Lebanon.

EDWARD O. (TED) BERKMAN broadcast regularly from the Middle East over the American Broadcasting Company network last year. Before becoming correspondent for ABC and the Overseas News Agency, he spent two years in the Arab world as a U. S. intelligence official.

An "independent democratic" Palestine, based on its present Arab majority and with no further Jewish immigration, must be created at once, he insisted; otherwise, the outrage done to the highly developed sense of justice of the Middle East millions might provoke a holocaust. In such a case his government would "entirely reserve its position."

The assembled delegates listened attentively. The Arab League spokesmen were poised, articulate, well-tailored; Hassan Pasha of Egypt, sauntering through the delegates' lounge in his sports jacket and slacks, looked fresh from a Westchester golf course. In fact, practically all the Arab delegates blended effortlessly into the Western scene; except for Emir Feisal of Saudi Arabia, an archaic figure in desert robes, they could have been dropped en masse onto the floor of the United States Senate and would have merged instantly into the sea of spectacles, mustaches and bald heads from Illinois, Nevada and New Hampshire.

And the Arab spokesmen had chosen good words — words that had strong associations with democratic tradition. Liberty, freedom, human rights: these were concepts deeply rooted in the history of England, France, and certainly the United States. Yet, listening to the sonorous phrases, I felt there was something wrong with the picture, something missing. Or was it someone who was missing?

And then I knew. It was Mo-

hammed. Nowhere at the UN General Assembly sessions, or at the committee meetings in between, was there any sign of Mohammed: the common man of the Middle East, the little guy who worked in the cotton fields of Egypt, sold newspapers on a Bagdad street corner, tugged his camel across the bleak Syrian desert or planted olive trees on the scrubby hills of the Holy Land. Mohammed, who in countless numbers carried the name of the prophet of Islam — and little else.

The UN delegates weren't getting so much as a glimpse of Mohammed. And if they did, if a shabby barefoot figure had shuffled past them in the lobby, they would probably have dismissed the matter as a mirage, or ordered a change in drinks. It's doubtful whether they would have seen any connection between the shy, ragged, underfed little man and the political firebrands of whose wrath the Arab orators had warned them.

Nor would Mohammed, for his part, have made much sense out of the proceedings. He would have been awed by the stately chambers, terrified by the twisting corridors, baffled and then bored by the endless speeches of the foreign Pashas. The cafeteria alone would have interested him. If someone had informed him that his "human rights" were being discussed, Mohammed would have registered blankness. Such abstractions do not exist in the peasant vocabulary. If his informant then managed to convey the idea in simple terms, Mohammed might have dared

a brief, small, ironic smile. Given time to think the matter over, and the assurance of a sympathetic audience, he might even have roared out loud. For, through all his years of slavery, poverty and illness, Mohammed has somehow managed to retain his sense of humor.

II

Mohammed does not merely dress differently from the Arab diplomats, eat differently, think differently; he lives in a completely different world. It is a world that vanished from Western Europe several centuries ago. From his medieval stockade, he looks out at foreigners, airplanes, medical clinics and the rulers of his own country through the mist of many decades.

Soon after arriving in the Middle East I had to attend a press conference at Arab League headquarters in Cairo. I had lost the address, so I phoned a friend, a young Syrian student.

No, Sabri had never been to the League, but he was sure we'd have no trouble finding it. Anybody in town would know. He'd get the directions in Arabic, and take me there.

It sounded plausible. In Washington, any passerby could direct a stranger to the Capitol.

Our first disappointment was with the cab driver. "*Al jama'ara-beiyah*," Sabri said to him briskly. The driver turned around blankly. Sabri repeated, more slowly, the words for "Arab League."

"*Mish haraf*," the driver replied

very definitely; meaning, "I don't know."

Sabri tried to elucidate. The driver kept shaking his head.

"Well, it's got to be in mid-town somewhere," Sabri said to me. He gave the driver instructions. We cruised around for ten minutes, then Sabri decided we must be pretty close. We got out and walked up to a man who had been leaning against a high wall, watching us with dull curiosity. He was the perfect Mohammed, Cairo edition: wrapped in a long-sleeved, faded blue galabeah, the nightgown-like robe of the Arab world; a red imitation-leather fez atop his balding head; hand-me-down oversize black shoes poking out beneath the galabeah.

Sabri went to work on him. Where was the Arab League — the meeting-place of the great *Pashas*, the home of the mighty, the talking-hall of the Kings? He tried everything — and got nowhere. The man obviously had no idea what Sabri was talking about. He stared at us stolidly a moment, then shuffled away.

There, directly before us, on the white wall against which he had been leaning, we saw the bronze plaque with large ettering in French and Arabic: "The Arab League."

There was nothing surprising in this. Mohammed could hardly be expected to read Arabic, much less French, since his schooling was probably nil. As for knowing about the League as a matter of general information, his instinctive reasoning

would have been: What have I to do with the Arab League?

Mohammed has many guises — some pathetically wretched, some deceptively picturesque. He may cover his head with an artfully coiled turban, or with a plain white skull-cap; his feet may be slippered or bare. But underneath, he is a fixed, unchanging quality. And he comprises 85 per cent of the Arab world. Except for the landowning government officials, the small merchant class, and the desert Bedouins, who are concentrated mainly in Saudi Arabia, the Middle East is all Mohammed.

A few basic concepts dominate Mohammed's life. Foremost, and affecting all the others, is his religion. Islam teaches him that nothing changes or is changeable; that birth, death and the interlude between are all preordained and firmly controlled by Allah; that it is pointless, if not sinful, to challenge the existing state of affairs. Mohammed finds in the Koran, the Holy Book of Islam, frequent allusions to the poor as an element in society. For example, persons of means are enjoined to set aside regularly 2.5 per cent of their income for charity. By indirections the permanent status of the poor is thus confirmed in Mohammed's mind; his miserable lot is enshrined in the Prophet's teachings.

This gives the Arab an extraordinary capacity for absorbing punishment. I have seen a Transjordan peasant, notified that for the second time he has lost a child at birth, shrug and

remark calmly: "It is Allah's will. I shall have others."

This fatalism has also, of course, dulled any impulse toward rebellion, thereby permitting the social structure of feudalism to harden in the Middle East while it was crumbling in Europe. Confident that Mohammed would not strike back, his landowning masters have flogged, cheated and starved him into submission.

Mohammed lives in one of three places: a big city, a country village, or a large estate as a sharecropper. (Huge holdings in the hands of absentee owners are a commonplace in countries like Egypt, where more than a third of all the land belongs to one half of one per cent of the population.) Mohammed prefers to live in the city, especially if he can land a place in the household of a foreigner. *Ingles* and *Americani* are much less fussy about checking their food bills than are local employers, and are more generous with such items as used clothing. The city has other attractions: the possibility of learning some minor trade, the likelihood of adequate shelter against sun and cold, the availability of numerous cafés where Mohammed can relax over his long hubble-bubble pipe and of cheap restaurants where he can eat for a few cents a day.

III

When Mohammed joins the city sophisticates, three words come to symbolize his life: *maaleesh*, *bakshesh* and *imsihi*.

Maaleesh resembles the Russian

nitchew and the American "never mind," but is more encompassing than either. It signifies a cosmic indifference. Mohammed will apply it equally to a radio tuned too loudly, or to the careless destruction of your favorite meerschaum. It can be maddening to a Westerner, particularly from the lips of a somnolent hawk: who, confident in the protection of Allah, has just stepped in front of a U.S. Army car and been saved from death only by a herculean wrench of the wheel. Sooner or later, however, the Westerner finds himself yawning *maaleesh* at an over-zealous colleague, and realizes he too is succumbing painlessly to the slow, dreamy tempo of the East.

Bakhsheesh is Turkish for "bribe" or "tip." In the West, graft is incidental; in the Middle East, where \$300 a year is considered a very fancy income, *bakhsheesh* is a basic source of livelihood. I have seen grown men brawl over the piaster *bakhsheesh* involved in corralling a taxi; a piaster is worth four cents. *Bakhsheesh* is the whimpering plea of street beggars, the hopeful trill of barefoot urchins. No transaction is complete without it. Your cook considers it a legitimate part of his income. If you check too carefully on the outrageous sum he claims to have paid for oranges, he will calmly switch the jack-up to bananas. Even hospitals are not exempt; a patient who forgets his attendant will find water substituted for his insulin injections.

Imshi is as ugly as it sounds. It

means "scram, beat it," but it also means something more. Natives use it only in addressing dogs. Occupation troops used it only in addressing natives. Most of the troops are gone now, but it will be some time before the sting of the British Tommy's "*Imshi!*" is forgotten.

For this and similar reasons, Mohammed is not sorry to see the British forces go. But his joy is considerably tempered by a sober realization: with the departure of the Tommy and his free-spending ally, the American GI, there will be fewer jobs in the cities. Mohammed may be forced back into the death grip of the farm. This is a prospect before which even the habitual, all-embracing *maaleesh* falters on his lips. For he knows that he will be exchanging the relative freedom of action and opportunity afforded by the city for the life of a landlocked galley slave.

The Arab *fellah* or peasant goes into the fields at sunrise. Using only his hands or the most primitive of agricultural equipment — a wooden plough, a pair of scrawny oxen — he toils in the blazing sun until evening. For these labors, he receives anywhere from 15 cents a day — the average in the date plantations of Iraq — up to the munificent wage of 30 cents daily — the all-time high achieved by cotton pickers during the wartime inflation in Egypt. The *fellah* who works his own farm fares little better. In Palestine, where, according to the Iraqiian delegate to the UN, the people have "their natural rights and

their acquired rights," the per capita income of the Arab population in 1936 was \$68 annually. Nearly half of Palestine's two and a quarter million acres are owned by a small group of prominent families, like the Husseinis to which the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem belongs.

Of course, the *fellah* has practically no expenses. Only food and clothing for his family. And sometimes rent. Yet, he is always in debt.

If he works his own land, Mohammed generally needs a cash advance for seeds and other expenses at sowing time. He may borrow ten pounds — the equivalent of forty dollars. He'll pay back fifteen pounds in July — or he won't get his loan. If he needs funds to meet an emergency like a locust plague or a drowned donkey, the local landlord will be glad to oblige, at a nominal interest rate of five per cent monthly. Delay in payment places Mohammed's land in jeopardy.

The debtor's yoke fits even more snugly around the landless peasant's neck. Here Mohammed is hired out, like a horse or water buffalo (but more cheaply), to help harvest a cotton crop or to work the neglected fields of some comfortably distant landlord. To obtain a day's work, Mohammed must apply through a middleman contractor. It is no great problem for the contractor to withhold work from Mohammed for a week or two, force Mohammed to borrow from him, and then impose whatever future wages he pleases on the helpless *fellah*.

A stroll through an Arab country village is a sobering experience. The villagers live in windowless mud huts, either roofless or thatched with reeds. There are no sanitation facilities. Flies crawl through the garbage, into the rice bowls, over the faces of the children. Old women squat motionless before the dark, smelly doorways. The huts are virtually without furniture; straw mats serve as beds. Sometimes the dwelling is duplex: there is an upper section for the family, and a lower one for the cattle. Often the relative comfort of cattle and *fellah* is reversed; on one large estate that I visited, the cattle were housed in clean, wide stalls near the owner's mansion, with fresh air, regular groomings, and room to move around. The *fellaheen* were packed into a cluster of mud huts at the edge of a murky canal, living amid layers of filth and in cavernous gloom. Arab League oratory about "the rights of all peoples to justice, democracy and self-determination" — so high-sounding at the UN — would have echoed strangely in those squalid hovels.

IV

Mohammed's diet is on a par with his housing privileges: tea and flat, unleavened bread for breakfast; bread and a salted onion or tomato for lunch; soup or a vegetable mash for dinner, with black tea and more bread. Once a month Mohammed splurges on a slab of stringy meat for his family. Vitamin content is not a high priority consideration: the big

question is not *what* one will eat tonight, but *whether*.

This regimen does not leave Mohammed in very good physical condition. Arabs who struggle through the early years — one out of five dies in infancy in Transjordan — generally emerge with digestive ailments, eye diseases and other disorders. A Syrian doctor — one of the saddest men I ever met, and understandably — told me the average *fellah* probably has upwards of thirty diseases. He listed anemia, hookworm, tuberculosis and trachoma as the most common. These ailments go untreated. Middle East villages and country estates have no doctors, much less hospitals. The measure of governmental interest in the problem can be gauged by the experience of U. S. Army doctors who, during the war, offered to set up a typhus vaccine laboratory for the Egyptian authorities. The offer was ignored. Vaccine donated by the Americans to head off a threatened typhus epidemic found its way onto the black market, where the fashionable set of Cairo, which was least susceptible to the disease, bought it up at fabulous prices.

Crushed and handcuffed as Mohammed is, there is someone still more miserable: his wife. To the weary *fellah*, women exist mainly to take some of the physical burden from his sagging shoulders, and secondarily to satisfy his biological needs. An attractive village woman with capable hands will fetch a bit more on the market than a young dorky, al-

though not as much as a horse. Mohammed may take himself an extra wife or two if he thinks it's a good business investment. He can always discard a fractious mate by proclaiming "I divorce thee" three times.

This arrangement is helpful, as law courts might be confusing to the *fellah*. Four times out of five, Mohammed is illiterate. Few Arab villages have schools. Programs for rural education, where they exist at all, remain on paper.

But then, as long as Mohammed continues to be a two-legged beast of burden, he has little need for more words. His meager vocabulary is adequate to describe the components of his life: work, hunger and propagation. If Mohammed's horizons were expanded, "it might make him unhappy!" Such was the solemn explanation advanced to me by an Egyptian Senator in the lavish dining hall of Cairo's Royal Automobile Club.

"These people are little better than animals," the Senator explained. "If they came here, and saw these rich carpets and all this expensive food, they might not understand. They might be unhappy!"

This Senator had invited me to dinner to seek my help in getting tires from America for his Packard roadster — "the small car," as he had apologetically added. "After all," he had pointed out, "you can't expect me to ride the trolleys with these wretched vermin in the streets."

One of the battle-cries of the Arab delegates at the UN has been the "po-

litical rights" of the Palestinian Arabs. They assert it is unfair to deprive the Palestinian Arabs of home rule, which would give them all the political privileges enjoyed by their brothers in the independent neighboring countries of the Middle East.

Mohammed would be astonished to learn that he has political privileges. He votes from time to time, yes; but he votes according to the dictates of his landlord or his village mayor, one of whom is probably the candidate for the district. If he shows any tendency toward dissent — an unlikely development, since he has only the haziest notions about government, except to distrust it — he will be thoroughly manhandled on the way home.

In large cities, where the population cannot be so easily rounded up in lorries and rigidly controlled, there is a free-for-all scramble of *baksheesh* and intimidation, with sometimes extraordinary results: at a recent election in the Iraq port of Basra, each of two candidates received more ballots than the total number of voters registered.

Politically, Mohammed is at best a meaningless "vote" in a framed election; at worst, a potential dupe for demagoguery. He has little comprehension of the twentieth-century world, no background against which to sift the coffee-house rumors or the fanatic rallying cries of his "leaders." In April of 1946 I had a revealing chat with my Lebanese *ccok*, a former *fellah* (and perhaps a *fellah* now

again). "Jews good people," he said in his telegraphic English. "Christians, Arabs, Jews all good. Some men bad; can be bad Christian, bad Arab, bad Jew. My uncle works for Jews in Palestine, in orange place. Makes *heteer felous* — much money. Jews good people."

Several weeks later we talked again. "Jews bad," he said suddenly. "Jews want take away Palestine from Arabs." He seized a chair to illustrate. "This my chair. Some man wants take it, I shoot him."

In the interim, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem had come back to the Middle East.

Mohammed, in his many millions, can be a great force for good or evil. At the moment, he is the creature of the men who rule him. They own the land he walks on, the rags on his back, the very thoughts in his head. But there are signs that he is stirring in his sleep: Contact with occupation troops; the spread of radios to village *cafés*; emergence of a vigorous and articulate student movement clamoring for reforms; and the visible achievements of Zionist colonization in Palestine: all these are beginning to pry open Mohammed's long-closed eyes. As Mr. Jamali of Iraq so eloquently proclaimed at Lake Success: "Some people have been in chains for fifty years. They should not be kept in chains for one hour more. It is the duty of the United Nations to see to it that freedom prevails and subjugation ends."

As one who has seen these people in chains, I can only agree.

The United States Senate Hails The Jewish State

A Reprint from the Congressional Record of December 1, 1947

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, inasmuch as I am compelled to leave the Chamber in order to fulfill an engagement, I wish to make a very brief observation on a matter wholly dissociated from the interim European-aid bill, which has been under consideration most of the day, and was passed a few minutes ago.

For a long time the people of the United States and the people of the world have been interested in a fair and equitable settlement of the problems which face Palestine. The United Nations appointed a subcommittee to consider the settlement of the Palestine problem. After long hearings and very earnest efforts on the part of that subcommittee, it reported to the United Nations a recommendation that Palestine be partitioned so as to establish a separate independent Jewish nation in that part of Palestine between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.

After long debate in the United Nations Assembly, just before it adjourned on last Saturday, by a vote of 33 to 13, the report of the subcommittee was adopted by the United Nations, 33 to 13 being a vote of almost 3 to 1 in the Assembly.

While in the declaration of that result, Mr. President, neither side received completely all that it had desired in the way of the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine, yet the result was a culmination of many years of study, thought, and agitation not only on the part of the United Nations, but on the part of the nations of the world and the people of the world.

There are many in this body who have been interested in a proper solution of the Palestinian question. I am one of those. We have felt for a long time that the peace of the world would be promoted by a settlement of this kind, by an adjudication, as it may be called, of the United Nations or of some international tribunal, even before the United Nations was created, which would give to the Jews, not only of Palestine but of the world, a reasonable degree of satisfaction in the consummation of this great ideal which they have for many years and generations held, that there would be established not only in Palestine a homeland for the Jews, but an independent nation. It has now come about, insofar as the judgment of the United Nations is concerned, by the vote providing for the partition of Palestine.

In my judgment, it is the best solution that could have been made of this troublesome, ticklish problem. In my judgment, if accepted in good faith by all the nations of the world, and especially by the nations in the Mediterranean basin, it will contribute much to the peace of the world by the elimination of a sore spot, of a condition which

has troubled not only the region in which it is involved, but all the nations of the world, great and small, more than anything that has happened in many years.

Therefore, I feel that those who have been working for the promotion of this ideal are to be congratulated. As to those who have opposed it, I feel that in the interest of world peace, security, and satisfaction ultimately all over the Mediterranean region, among the Jews and the Arabs alike, the acceptance of this decision will make a contribution toward world peace, world satisfaction, and the realization of an age-old ambition and ideal on the part of the Jews especially, and will do no substantial harm to those who opposed it in the United Nations.

I hope the decision will be accepted. I hope it will be received with that resignation on the part of those who opposed it which comes about through the necessity that if peace is to prevail in the world there should be concession, there must be acceptance of the verdicts of mankind, and a realization that the vote in the United Nations must be considered a verdict of mankind with respect to the solution of the Palestinian question.

The vote of the United Nations is only the beginning. A government must be set up. It will require time not only for it to be set up, but to adjust itself into the new world situation and with its neighbors on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea.

I urge upon all those who have been interested in this question and in its solution, no matter what attitude they assume, to accept the verdict of the United Nations and to cooperate in good faith in an effort honestly to carry out the judgment of the United Nations. I hope that ultimately Jew and Arab may live together in peace and harmony in the same region where the destiny of men has placed them. I think they can do that if they find themselves willing to accept this verdict as the verdict of mankind with respect to this particular problem, which has been, I think, so happily settled in the United Nations within the last few days.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I am in hearty accord with the remarks of the distinguished minority leader. I am one of those—and I doubt not that all my colleagues feel the same way—who have great admiration for the very consistent way in which he has carried out his convictions in this particular cause, which has now culminated in the vote to which he has referred.

I point out to him, and I doubt not it has occurred to him in his own heart, the lines of Spenser:

Not Justice, though her dome she does
prolong,

Yet at the last she will her own come right.

Mr. BARKLEY. I thank the Senator. Just this one word in conclusion. I feel that the leaders of the great Jewish people who have undertaken to bring about the consummation of an independent nation in Palestine are to be congratulated upon the fact that while they did not get all they originally hoped to get, they have accepted the decision as the solution to which they are committed, and which they will undertake to carry out in good faith, and in the faith that stirs their hearts now, and has stirred them throughout all the years in which they have sought this consummation.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I rose to ask the senior Senator from Kentucky to yield for a moment, when he was speaking on the Palestine situation. He did not see me, and so I rise now in my own time, just to commend him for what he has said.

As one who has worked at public and private meetings on the subject of Palestine over a period of years, I certainly pray and hope that the present settlement will be one which will lead to greater peace, greater satisfaction, and greater comfort for many persons throughout the world today. I commend the Senator for his statement. I join with him in what he said.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate for a brief time only. As one of the Senators from Illinois, I wish to associate myself with what the able senior Senator from Kentucky, our distinguished minority leader, said a few moments ago about the partitioning of Palestine. I know of no man in America who has done more in the dissemination of information upon the partitioning of Palestine than has the able Senator from Kentucky. Along with him, and, I think, with all other Senators, I was happy to know that the Assembly of the United Nations had, by a vote of 33 to 13, agreed upon what seemed to them, and what seems to the people of the country, to be the proper and adequate solution of one of the most troublesome problems the Assembly will probably ever be compelled to solve. Like other speakers, I am certain that if these people in the Mediterranean area who are vitally affected by the partitioning of Palestine will face the issue in the true spirit that was exhibited by those who voted in the affirmative, it will go a long way toward eliminating one of the real trouble spots of the world, and will help bring about the thing that every American is truly interested in, which is an everlasting and enduring peace.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I wish to join with other Senators in rejoicing on the action taken by the United Nations in its vote concerning Palestine. However, there is nothing strange about that whatever. Irrespective of the vote

and irrespective of how different countries voted, the important and significant thing is that a historical fact has finally been recognized by civilized governments. That is as it should be. The situation is as it was from the time of Abraham, from the time of the coming of the Persians into Palestine, from the plowing of Palestine by Egypt, from the coming of Alexander of Greece and the Romans and the Crusaders. Think what happened even under England. The significant thing in my opinion is that civilized society, as organized at the moment, has finally recognized that the Jewish people have a place in the earth, something which history has always proved. The other significant thing is that the United Nations has said that foreign military must get out of Palestine, and they will get out of Palestine.

If, now, the United Nations will only carry the matter further and tell France to get out of Indochina, and the Dutch to get out of Java, then we shall really have something for which to be thankful. We shall then actually believe that civilization is making progress.

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, I wish to join the distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. BREWSTER) and the other Senators here this afternoon in expressing my great satisfaction and happiness at the favorable decision reached with regard to the partition of Palestine by the United Nations General Assembly on Saturday.

We in the Senate have a justifiable right in feeling that the solution of the Palestine problem was in no small way due to the efforts in behalf of the Zionist cause by many Members of this body throughout the past two decades. One of the leaders of this great cause was the very able and distinguished senior Senator from New York (Mr. WAGNER).

I know of no better way of expressing my feelings about this fruition of the dreams of millions of our fellow citizens and the Jewish people throughout the world than to associate myself with the sentiments and remarks of the Senator from New York hailing the partition of Palestine.

I only want to add to his statement, which I ask unanimous consent to include in the body of the Record following my remarks, the thought that the solution of this grave and difficult international problem holds out the hope and the promise that what has been demonstrated as possible in the solution of this problem can and should happen with respect to other great issues facing the world.

I join the Senator from New York in saluting Jewish Palestine.

May God grant both the Jews and Arabs the wisdom, the patience, and the good will to see the partition through in that same spirit of cooperation and good will that motivated the nations of the world in working out and voting for the partition of Palestine.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. WAGNER, HAILING THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

I hail the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to establish the Jewish

state in part of Palestine. This act by the United Nations is in accord with the highest dictates of humanity and the loftiest principles of justice. If the resolution for the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine is immediately implemented, I feel certain that the present tension and difficulties in Palestine will disappear and peace again will reign in the Holy Land.

The American people have for many years taken a close interest in the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. I was particularly pleased with the leading and vigorous role which the United States under leadership of President Truman, Secretary of State George Marshall and our delegation to the United Nations played at the sessions of the General Assembly in implementing the traditional policy of our Government in support of the establishment of the Jewish state. This policy can only further and strengthen the ideals and charter of the United Nations. I am sure that world public opinion will support the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine.

After an exile of more than 2,000 years from the Holy Land the Jewish people in their new state—their own state will start a new and glorious chapter in which hundreds of thousands of Jews can end their miserable wanderings and become rooted in the land of their fathers, the homeland of their prayers and the land of their dreams. Once given the opportunity and the initial economic aid the Jews of Palestine will develop a civilization worthy of their prayers and their aspirations for the future.

As one of the co-sponsors of the current resolution on Palestine adopted by the Congress of the United States and as one of the founders of the American Christian Palestine Committee, and because of my life-long interest and association with the Zionist cause, I am personally very thrilled to see in my lifetime the dream of a Jewish state converted into a reality. This has brought me much happiness.

I salute the Jewish state of Palestine!

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I wish to address myself briefly to the matter which engaged the attention of the Senator from Kentucky, in connection with Palestine. I ask permission that there shall be inserted in the Record at this point excerpts of publications of the last 2 days, commenting upon this subject, particularly an editorial from the Herald Tribune of this morning, an editorial from the New York Times of this morning, and a most penetrating analysis of the problems ahead in connection with Palestine, from the publication PM. I ask that these be printed at this point, because I think they furnish a most interesting and valuable historical record. I also ask permission to insert in the Record at this point a news article from the New York Times of this morning, on the significance of this occasion and what the future portends.

There being no objection, the excerpts of publications and the news article were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 1, 1947]

THE ASSEMBLY ACTS

The final vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations approving the partition of Palestine by a little better than the requisite two-thirds vote represents one of the few great acts of courageous collective state-ship which our shattered postwar world has been able to achieve. For the first time in some 30 years of anguished history it opens a real hope that a stable settlement of the Palestine issue can be reached. For the first

time in the far briefer but hardly less troubled history of the United Nations it reveals that organization acting as it was intended to act in precisely the kind of situation which it was created to meet, with a careful deliberation, but at the same time with an ultimate decisiveness, which are the best possible omens for the future of this second great attempt to bring order into the international world.

The partition plan, dealing as it was forced to do with an irreconcilable tangle of violently conflicting rights, represents only a very rough justice at best. Unable to rely for enforcement on anything more than the existing jumble of national policies, national interests, and available popular forces, it includes no detailed program for its own administration and there is no certainty of its practical success. Zionism, whose path has never been easy or safe, is presented with new perils in this proposed solution. It is clearly not in itself a final answer. But there are not infrequently moments in the affairs of men and peoples when some firm answer, however imperfect or even perfunctory it may be, is better than none.

It is quite clear from the shifting attitudes of the various delegations and from the composition of the final vote that the partition plan was adopted basically because there was no alternative. The most exhaustive investigation, the most patient hearing of all parties as issues, the most careful calculation of the actual political and human forces involved, yielded no solution which would have been more just, more practicable, or more certain in its operation than this one. What the United Nations did was to ascertain that fact, to have the courage to make the decision which the fact implied, even though it carried no sure guaranty for the future, and thus to establish as firm a foundation as has yet existed on which an ultimate settlement of the Palestine problem may one day be erected.

Whether or not such a settlement will be erected obviously depends upon many things. It depends upon the sincerity with which both the United States and the Soviet Union meet the implications of a policy on which they have been in rare and fortunate agreement. It depends very directly upon the willingness of the British to effect their evacuation as fully as possible in accordance with the spirit of this international directive, which they invited for their own relief. It depends immediately, of course, upon the Arab states and, perhaps upon the statesmanship which the Zionist community can bring to the problem in its new form. These variables are many, and the difficulties ahead may be grave. But whatever they bring, the two-thirds vote in the United Nations, recording a considered judgment upon the facts of the world as it is, will be a powerful aid and support for reasonable courses. The General Assembly has had the will to speak. That in itself is a new factor, and it leaves us with a new hope.

[From the New York Times of December 1, 1947]

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

History was written at Lake Success when the General Assembly of the United Nations approved, without major change, the plan recommended by its special committee for the partition of Palestine. Under this plan two independent states, one Arab and the other Jewish, linked together in an economic union, will be established after the termination of the British mandate. Jerusalem will be placed under a United Nations trusteeship. Provision is made for democratic rights and processes, for the protection of minorities, for the safeguarding of the holy places of three great religions and for the preservation of existing languages and cultures.

The decision in favor of partition has been made on the basis of an extremely close vote, but we do not believe that this result necessarily measures accurately the judgment of the Assembly on the merits of partition as such. It has been obvious throughout the long debate that a practical question of procedure was involved: namely, the question of how this decision for partition is to be enforced if there is resistance to it. Britain, the present mandatory power, has refused to accept this responsibility; the United Nations has as yet established no international police force which could be used for this purpose, and the General Assembly itself has created no enforcement machinery for a contingency of this kind. It seems probable, therefore, that the failure to make adequate provision for enforcement explains not only some of the negative votes but some of the abstentions when yesterday's poll was taken.

Many of us have long had doubts on another score; doubts concerning the wisdom of erecting a political state on a basis of religious faith. But these doubts must now yield to the fact of a decision made by the necessary two-thirds majority of the voting nations, after a thorough investigation and a full and fair debate. It has been clear for many months that the present precarious deadlock in Palestine required some new solution. It has been equally clear that the most appropriate forum in which to find such a solution was the General Assembly of the United Nations. The assembly has now made its choice, and its decision should command the acquiescence, the respect, and the loyal support of all nations and all peoples. The sword does not go so far, in territorial terms, as most Zionists had hoped. It will grievously disappoint the Arabs. But it is the decision of the United Nations; it is the best decision which that great agency of world opinion was able to discover, and we trust that it will have the willing compliance of the two peoples whose future it involves. Failing that, the Security Council must be courageous enough and resolute enough to supply the necessary means of enforcement. Let us hope that with this decision a solution has at last been found for the Holy Land's tragic and heartbreaking problems.

(From PM of December 1, 1947)

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR THE NEW JEWISH STATE

(The following articles were written by PM's two experts on Palestine. As the post-war fight for a Jewish homeland unfolded, I. F. Stone made three trips to Palestine. One trip was via the European underground of Jewish DP's attempting to reach their promised land. Victor Bernstein accompanied the UN special committee (UNSCOP) to the Holy Land and reported first-hand its findings and recommendations. Here they give their reactions to the fight for partition and how the birth of two nations will come about.)

THE END OF A 2,000-YEAR JOURNEY FOR THE JEWS

(By I. F. Stone)

The decision taken at Flushing Meadow on Saturday gave international approval to the reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Almost two millennia, more than 18 centuries, have passed since the last Jewish state in Palestine fell. It was in A. D. 70 after a struggle whose fury still lives in the pages of Tacitus, that Jerusalem was taken by the Romans and the second temple destroyed, all but that fragment of wall at which Jewish pilgrims have long prayed and wept.

Much has been said for the reestablishment, and much more will be said before it is firmly realized. It was made possible first of all by those who in the latter half of the

last century began to return. Not to pray and weep but to build and sow. Except for the empty desert spaces of the Negev, which new settlements have just begun to penetrate, the land granted the Jews by the UN are those acres of Galilee, the Eneq, and the coastal plain which these settlers and those who followed them wrested from desert sands, malarial marsh, and stony hills.

Many names are associated with the return: the Viennese journalist, Herzl, who helped inspire it; Weizmann, the chemist with a poet's vision, who played the crucial role in winning the first international recognition of a Jewish national home; the British philosopher and statesman, Lord Balfour, to whose declaration Woodrow Wilson lent his support. Another American President, Harry S. Truman, has made possible the completion of the work to which they set their hands.

Pillar helped to spell out the validity of Jewish claims

One other name, a strange one in this list, must be added, that of Adolf Hitler. No more terrible instrument of Providence could be envisaged. The main payment for what happened in the UN Assembly was the payment of 6,000,000 Jewish lives taken by the Nazi terror. This it was which spelled out in blood and fire a message the most unwilling among Jews as well as non-Jews could not escape: the validity and the necessity of Jewish national aspiration.

The doubts and hesitations, the hypocrisy and reluctance, the intrigue and the power politics of the prolonged UN inquiry and debate, will dwindle into the distance as time passes. And what will loom larger on the horizon of history is the fact that the world did make recompense to this new Atila's foremost victims; that justice and good will and Christian conscience did triumph after all.

A need for understanding between Arab and Jew

The circumstances under which this new nation makes its debut are the circumstances on which its future, like the future of every small country and of the world depends. The United States of America, the British Dominions without exception (only the mother country abstaining), and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with its new east European bloc (only Yugoslavia abstaining) joined to make Saturday's two-thirds vote possible. Everywhere it is hoped that such agreements on other, wider, problems can again be achieved.

Next to this overwhelming need for world peace is the new nation's need for understanding with its Arab citizens and its Arab neighbors. What the Jews have been given is what they had already made theirs by their own sweat and courage; the UN merely set its seal on an accomplished fact. What the Jews can achieve in their area will depend, as it would depend even if they had all Palestine, on joint economic development and trade with the Arab sections of Palestine, with Trans-Jordan, and with the Middle East as a whole. Under such circumstances, the new Judea, like Denmark and Switzerland, can provide a home for several million people.

The courage and the will to do a good job

Those who have been to Palestine and felt the dynamic and confident spirit of the Yishuv will have no doubt that this little community will do an astounding job. Those who have seen the courage and the will to live that thrives in the Jewish DP camps in central Europe and in the detention camps on Cyprus will have no doubts about these folk, on whom the impact of the UN decision is beyond the imagination of those who possess comfort and country.

To these scattered remnants the news on Saturday must have seemed the fulfillment of that prophecy which Jeremiah spoke: "I will set mine eyes upon them for good, and

I will bring them again to this land; and I will build them, and not pull them down; and I will plant them, and not pluck them up." On this joyous occasion we greet them and the Yishuv, and wish them in the ancient formula, peace and serenity "Shalom v'shalvah."

PROPHET: ARAB ARMIES WON'T MARCH INTO JEWISH PALESTINE

(By Victor H. Bernstein)

"Judge us by the results," a member of the United States delegation pleaded a few weeks ago. The results came Saturday: 33 votes for the partition of Palestine, 13 against, and 10 abstentions. The victory for partition was put through despite last-minute parliamentary maneuvers by the Arabs and their supporters aimed at delay and diversion. But the founding of the Jewish state could be no longer delayed nor any longer diverted.

The day was one of triumph not for Jews alone. The UN, ending its session on a singularly constructive note, dispensed the plaudits of its critics that it was already a moribund organization. It was a day which also told the world that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics could work in close harmony for justice and human rights.

How much history would be added to November 29 if it should prove not only freedom day for Palestine and resurrection day for Judea, but also the birthday of future United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics collaboration.

The architects of this freedom day are many. One cannot hope to name them all. The delegates of the UN Special Committee on Palestine laid the foundation. Among those who built upon it were men like Oranado, of Guatemala; Fabrega of Uruguay; Prusynsky, of Poland; Pearson, of Canada; Tearekin, of the Soviet Union; Zolaga, of Venezuela.

Help of to United States delegation and to President Truman

I leave for special mention Johnson and Hildring, of the United States of America, because of the special role they played as representatives of the most influential of all UN members. The United States delegation blew alternately hot and cold during the long and tortuous weeks which came to a climax on Saturday. But in the final and crucial hours they blew hot. "Judge us by the results," America is grateful, President Truman.

I have been here speaking of the architects of freedom. But architects are only designers, not builders. The builders of freedom were the 600,000 and the 6,000,000—the 6,000,000 who died nameless in Europe that the 600,000 in Palestine, and thousands more to follow might live in peace on land that they can call their own.

I have spoken of November 29 as a day of freedom. In cold analysis it is merely a day of opportunity.

I think that of the thousands who crowded the Assembly hall on that date and tensely counted the ballots, some of the greatest realists sat in that block under the south gallery reserved for Moshe Shertok and his colleagues of the Jewish Agency.

Those partisans of partition who saw the desert blooming anew with each affirmative vote were not realists.

The Saudi Arabian, the Yemenite, the other Arabs who made great show of repudiating the UN decision, and talked of reserving their freedom of action as against the majority of the civilized nations of the world, were not realists either.

The truth about the Arab threats at Flushing
I should like, first, to discuss briefly the phony fervor with which the Arabs insisted on their unity against the Jewish state and against the United Nations.

The Arabs know, and I hope they realize that the world knows, that however they

may appear to be at Flushing and Lake Success, walls of conflicting ambitions tower high between Aman and Damascus, Cairo, and Bagdad. The saber rattling the world heard a few weeks ago emanating from the Arab League Conference in the Lebanon Mountains above Beyrouth turned out to be the tinny sound of pennies rattling in a beggar's cup.

The world should know now the ruth of what happened at that conference. The truth was that Saudi Arabia refused even to threaten termination of her oil contracts as a weapon against the United States. The truth was that Egypt declared herself powerless to do anything while her demand that Britain evacuate the Sudan was before the Security Council. The truth was that Syria, with camels instead of tanks, feared the military machine of Iraq on the one hand and of Transjordan on the other. The truth was that Abdullah, ruler of Transjordan, hopeful of swallowing the Arab state which would evolve out of the partition of Palestine, had no desire to burn his fingers before the prize was available.

If you will look at your newspapers of a few weeks ago, you will see in bold headlines the only practical results achieved by the reunited unity of the Arab League states in their meeting at Lebanon. "Troops menace Palestine along Syrian and Egyptian borders," read the headlines. No one knows how many troops there were on these borders nor how well they were armed. What we do know is that a single Associated Press reporter, flying in an unarmed plane over the reported areas, seems effectually to have dispersed them.

Some prophecies as to the future

The truth was that the Arab League members failed to agree on maneuvering their troops anywhere except across newspaper headlines, where operating costs, presumably, could be kept at a minimum.

I should like, at this point, to make a prophecy that is not based entirely on speculation. If any Arab army crosses into Palestine en masse in the near future, it will be the Transjordan Legion into Arab Palestine. I venture to add that not a single legion soldier will march across any boundary into the Jewish state. And I prophesy, thirdly, that if this does happen, the last pretense of Arab unity will dissolve and the hot winds of the Arab world will be filled with imprecation called out upon the head of Abdullah by enraged politicians in Beyrouth and Damascus, Cairo and Bagdad.

One notes that neither the delegate of Egypt nor of Lebanon associated himself with their fellow Arabs in their explicit revocation Saturday of the Assembly's adoption of the partition plan.

But if the Arab chauvinists are not realists, neither are those Jews who feel that the UN has guaranteed the Jewish state for them by a stroke of the pen.

What has been created is an opportunity, not a state.

The loud-talking Arab politicians at UN may be phony in their arguments on unity, but the mufti and his gang of cutthroats are not. Neither is there anything phony in the simple Arabs throughout the Middle East whose passions have been aroused by years of propaganda against the Jew and the Jewish state. One should not be surprised if riots do occur in all the cities of the Middle East, where Jews are settled in large numbers, nor should one be surprised if before the Jewish desert blooms it will be molested not only by the sweat of plowmen but by the blood of the defenders.

Above all, there is nothing phony in the oft-repeated statement of the Jewish agency that the Jewish state will be a tiny oasis in an Arab sea whose only hope for survival will be ultimate understanding and cooperation with the Arab world.

I repeat: the partition plan does not create a state; it creates only an opportunity. The plan is merely a skeleton, a frame, upon which the Jews must build with flesh and blood.

No one, least of all the UN Commission which is to go to Palestine, can make the plan work unless the Jews themselves are prepared to pay the price in statehood and, if need be, in lives. Those of us who have watched the evolution of the plan through the UN have come to realize and to appreciate the misgivings with which it was finally adopted. At crucial points it was saved by only a handful of votes. Some of its staunchest supporters recognized in it grievous weaknesses which only superhuman efforts can overcome.

I would like to say in passing that the Commission membership chosen by the Assembly on Saturday does not seem, at first glance, an entirely satisfactory substitute for the original list approved by the Palestine Committee. Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama, and the Philippines have been chosen to substitute for Poland, Uruguay, Guatemala, Norway, and Ireland. It is evident that the change, sponsored by the United States, was made as a last-minute gesture of appeasement toward the Arabs. As such, it may have some value if the Arabs accept it as a conciliatory gesture. But it is particularly to be regretted that Guatemala, which fought so valiantly from the outset for the partition plan, should not have been retained as a counterweight to the Philippines, whose pro-partition stand is of rather extraordinary recent origin.

In the end, the plan can only succeed if (a) the United Kingdom fulfills its good will and with dignity its Saturday pledge to the UN that it will cooperate, and (b) if the Jews of Palestine are granted the arms with which their militia must be made ready to secure law and order as and when the British evacuate their territory.

The actions of the United Kingdom will be watched from here on in with all the cynicism which its past performance in Palestine have given rise. As to the arming of the Jewish militia, that duty will rest primarily on the United States, which can once more perform as the arsenal of democracy.

[From the New York Times of November 30, 1947]

PALESTINE IS HELD ON TURNING POINT—RISK IN PARTITION SEEN IF PLAN WORKS, FEEL TO WORLD BODY AND TO FRANCE IF IT FAILS—MAJOR POINTS AT STAKE — PRESIDENT'S TROOPS, ARMY OF SOLUTION, RESPONSIBILITY AMONG FACTORS AT STAKE

(By Thomas J. Hamilton)

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., November 30.—The decision by the General Assembly to partition Palestine is generally recognized as a turning point in the history of the United Nations. If the Assembly's resolution brings about a workable solution, the prestige of the United Nations will be greatly increased. If it fails, not only will Palestine become a potential breeding ground for war, but the future of the United Nations itself will be imperiled.

The following questions and answers are intended to clear up some of the principal points involved:

1. Is there any precedent for such a decision by an international organization to divide up a disputed area?

Students of history agree with Herschel V. Johnson, the United States representative on the Assembly's Palestine Committee, that there is no direct precedent. Next to Palestine, the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein provoked the most intense dispute known in modern history. They were annexed to Germany, not by the decision of an international organization, but as a result of the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck.

He promoted the Austro-Prussian War with Denmark in 1864 and 2 years later fought Austria to get undivided control of the spoils. Part of the Duchy of Schleswig was restored to Denmark under the Treaty of Versailles.

WHY THE ASSEMBLY ACTED

2. Why did the General Assembly have to assume responsibility for the fate of Palestine?

Great Britain placed the responsibility on the Assembly for recommendations regarding its future government. The British, who had held Palestine under a mandate from the League of Nations, decided to give it up because they could not find a solution acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. Since the League of Nations had been liquidated, the British turned to the United Nations.

3. What right did the United Nations, and specifically the General Assembly, have to order the partition of Palestine?

There are no specific provisions in the Charter, but the Assembly has the right to make recommendations to member governments and also to the Security Council regarding the maintenance of peace and security. However, since its recommendations are not legally binding, the Assembly in its resolution asked the Security Council to assume the responsibility if a threat to the peace should develop—that is, if the Palestinian Arabs or the neighboring Arab states should carry out their threats to fight rather than agree to partition. Internal disturbances are to be handled by armed militia recruited by the provisional councils of government of the two nascent states.

4. Are these arrangements adequate for keeping peace?

The sponsors of partition, and particularly the United States Government, hope so; but no one knows how much of a fight the Arabs inside or outside Palestine will put up. However, the supporters of partition think the crucial period will come after, not before, the independence of the two states is proclaimed. In that case, serious fighting would be a matter for the Security Council anyway.

The British, however, think the severest test will come between now and the termination of the mandate and the evacuation of British troops—for which the deadline is next August 1—and particularly in the 3-month interregnum between that time and the proclamation of the two states as independent—which is to be not later than October 1. The majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended partition, said it thought force would be necessary to enforce it.

THE PROBLEM OF TROOPS

5. Why did not the Assembly provide outside military force to be on the safe side?

Some members, including apparently the United States, kept thinking until the last that the British would back down on their announcement that they would not allow British troops to be used to enforce any solution unless it was satisfactory to both Jews and Arabs—in which case, of course, no armed force would have been necessary anyway.

The Security Council is supposed to have standing arrangements for an international force to deal with such contingencies, but never has been able to agree on the size of the respective contingents.

The trouble about recruiting an international force from scratch was that the small powers did not have the forces available, and were not willing to send them anyway; and if the great powers sent troops, that might give the Soviet Union a chance to establish itself in a strategic center of the strategic Near East. Besides, the United States State Department did not think that Congress would agree to the sending of United States troops.

The result was that the United States at first proposed the formation of an international constabulary force recruited on an individual basis. This obviously was unworkable, and the United States along with the other supporters of partition then decided to depend on the armed militia in the respective states for keeping internal order.

6. Where will the militia get the necessary guns and other equipment?

Presumably, these will come from the United States and other supporters of partition, although the Assembly resolution says nothing on that subject.

IMMIGRATION CURB SEEN RETAINED

7. What happens about Jewish immigration, and the British laws restricting the purchase of land by Jews, between new and the proclamation of independence?

Presumably the British will keep in force the land laws and the present immigration quota of 1,500 a month until they give up the mandate. However, the Assembly resolution says that the respective councils of governments, under the supervision of the United Nations commission, will have responsibility for such questions during the transition period.

This is one of the many points that have to be worked out with the British. It is supposed that the Jewish state will provide virtually unlimited immigration permits once it gets going.

8. What are some of the other questions to be settled with the British?

For one thing, the British say that although, of course, they will have to evacuate their troops gradually, they will give up authority all at once except for the gradually diminishing area occupied by their troops as they are withdrawn, where the British would govern by military law alone.

On the other hand, the Assembly resolution provides for the progressive transfer of authority; that is, the British would hand over authority as they withdrew their troops, but would continue the civil administration until the last in whatever areas they occupied. In view of this unsettled dispute, it is not clear who would be responsible for restoring order if there were a serious clash between Jews and Arabs after the termination of the mandate.

Much as they dislike it, the British apparently are responsible until they end the mandate, which is one of the reasons why many delegates think this will come sooner, rather than later.

AN ARAB COUNCIL SEEN UNLIKELY

9. What are the prospects that the Arabs will form a council of government in the part of Palestine assigned to them, and in general cooperate in carrying out the Assembly resolution?

Such a prospect is regarded as remote.

10. How will this affect the Jewish state?

That state can and no doubt will be established anyway. However, Arab noncooperation would make it impossible to carry out the complicated business of taking over the liabilities and assets of the British administration, arranging for an economic union and a common currency, agreeing on the administration of telegraph and railroad facilities, and so forth.

11. What will become of the area assigned to the Arab state if there is no cooperation?

The Security Council is supposed to do something if provisional councils of government have been established in both states by next April. Some delegates expect the Arabs in the intended Arab state to talk over after the British withdraw. As King Abdullah of Transjordan is strongly opposed to partition, his actions may determine whether it can be carried out with relatively little bloodshed.

12. Since the Jewish state will have almost as many Arabs as Jews (497,000 to 538,000), why was there no provision for the exchange of minorities?

Each state is required to write into its constitution guarantees of the rights of the respective minorities. In addition, any Arab who desires to do so may opt for citizenship in the Arab state within 1 year, and vice versa.

No exchange of minorities is authorized because the partition plan is based on the belief that, once a final decision is reached, Arabs and Jews will accept it and live together without fighting, and eventually may even find it possible to forget their present enmity.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES APPRAISED

13. What United Nations agencies are involved in the partition plan?

All the important ones have some role. The Assembly adopted the partition plan, named the commission to help carry it out, and will get the commission's final report.

The Security Council is responsible, if either side refuses to cooperate, to the extent of naming a provisional government, and if there is outside intervention or serious fighting from any direction.

The Trusteeship Council is responsible for administering the city of Jerusalem and outlying towns. The Economic and Social Council is to name three representatives who will hold the balance of power on the commission that is to carry out economic union.

14. Were there any alternatives?

There were, but none apparently could have received a two-thirds majority in the Assembly—certainly not the earlier Arab demand for a single Palestinian state, where the present Arab majority would have had permanent control. A federal state would have had a good chance if the Arabs had accepted it before the eleventh hour.

15. Will partition work?

The answer depends primarily upon the Arabs of Palestine and the neighboring states. If they accept the Assembly decision, it will work. However, their statements at the closing session of the Assembly indicate that they will not. In that case, the answer depends upon the degree of cooperation of Britain in surrendering her authority over Palestine, and in keeping order until the transfer takes place; and, also, the ability of the United States and the Soviet Union to work together in the Security Council in handling the difficult problem of providing military force, if that should become necessary.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I want to speak briefly on this subject, because, while we are witnessing one of the significant events of history in the birth of a nation by a new process, through the action of the United Nations, and with the refusal of Great Britain, who hitherto has been responsible for Palestine, to accept responsibility in the future, it means the United Nations has not only given birth to this nation, but must see to it that the infant shall be properly nourished and developed. So that while we pause for a moment here appropriately to congratulate both the new nation and its parents, and all those who have been concerned in the past half century with bringing this great dream of Zion to pass, we should also remind ourselves that the United States Government, as one of the chief sponsoring powers for this solution in bringing to pass the vote by which it was given birth, 33 to 15, has assumed a considerable measure of responsibility.

This is no time for international or political recrimination. There is glory enough for all if the fond hopes of those who have sponsored this project shall be realized. But we may go far back to see

the great vision of Chaim Weizmann, who originally had the vision of recapturing Palestine as a homeland for what seemed to be otherwise a homeless people except as they had found lodgment in other parts of the globe—a vision that, after 2,000 years of wandering the Jews should come to what might be for them appropriately considered the homeland that was promised to them by the so-called Balfour Declaration—Palestine as a homeland for the Jews.

I have said that there is glory enough for all, and what has now occurred is another evidence of the significance of bipartisan achievement in our foreign policy, because it is interesting to note that the first steps for United States participation in this great achievement were taken under the direction of a Republican administration, and its final consummation has been under a Democratic Executive.

After Mr. Balfour's Declaration, the United States, not being a member of the League of Nations, which issued the mandate for Palestine, became a party to the mandate by its treaty, the so-called Coolidge convention with Great Britain in 1924, under the leadership of the late Henry Cabot Lodge, the distinguished predecessor as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the one who has so successfully advanced the measure we have considered here today.

Under his leadership, as well as under the leadership of Charles E. Hughes as Secretary of State and Calvin Coolidge as President, the United States became a party to the British pledge of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

It is not here appropriate to go into the history of the past 30 years, and all of the somewhat equivocal attitude that developed in the mandatory power as a result of the tragic incidents of the last decade, when the Arabs protested vigorously, and there came on the incidents which have more and more occasioned the world to consider that here was the possibility of a disturbance of the peace. But we have come down through to the episodes of the last year, when finally, after some 25 commissions and committees of various kinds had studied the situation, the United Nations were convened this last spring in special session at the request of Great Britain and asked to recommend a solution, which they have now done, with only two dissenting votes outside of the countries which had certain very strong prejudices regarding the appropriate solution, as the result of racial and religious views. So that, as the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. BARKLEY) said, the giving of this mandate for the partition of Palestine may be considered the consensus of the opinion of mankind, although two-thirds of Palestine has been removed as the result of the creation of Transjordan.

In the past year the cause has been greatly served by the leadership of the world leader of Zionism, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, and it is under his leadership and wise statesmanship that this successful result has finally been brought to pass.

It is no time to speak of a certain schizophrenia that has apparently afflicted our State Department during the

various considerations of this question. It is enough that finally the goal desired has been achieved. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that while both great political parties in this country, in their last political platforms, adopted resolutions endorsing the Palestine solution, and while members of both political parties, including Senators on both sides of the aisle, have in repeated public utterances supported their own resolutions, it was not until Russia, to the amazement of everyone, a few short weeks ago became also a co-champion of the partition, that the result was finally achieved.

We were told during the past 1 or 2 years that the reason we must consider the solution of Palestine as a Jewish homeland was because the Russians were going to take advantage of Arab intransigence and would use the action of Britain or the United States regarding Palestine to the prejudice of world peace by stimulating Arab aggression. So it was to the amazement of everyone that Russia in the United Nations a few short weeks ago championed the partition solution. I shall not enter into a discussion of what may or may not have been her motives, whether she was primarily concerned with what seemed to be a just solution, or whether there were some more devious reasons, but at any rate her action destroyed for all time the idea that she was seeking to cultivate Arab national aspirations for the sake of securing interests in our oil concessions in these Arabian lands. I think it is well to bear that in mind as we go forward into consideration of this matter, realizing that this is the beginning, and not the end; that while we are here giving birth to what we trust will be a nation, its continuation will be achieved not only by the continued sacrifice and possibly suffering of those immediately concerned, but that the United Nations themselves, and the commission which they have created for the purpose, have now the tremendous responsibility of seeing that this infant nation shall have its proper nurture during the undoubtedly difficult days that so obviously lie ahead.

I think all the speeches here have appropriately pointed out that it is to be hoped that whatever may be the irresponsible acts of individuals or certain small collective groups in seeking to challenge this solution, that those responsible for the administration of the affairs of the nations which oppose this solution, some of them very old governments, and others comparatively new, that have been born within recent decades and admitted to the United Nations, shall demonstrate their recognition of world order and world democracy by yielding to the overwhelming opinion of mankind, and joining in the suppression of aggressive acts calculated to challenge a solution which has had so long, so sympathetic, and so conclusive a decision.

In that respect I think our own country has now to consider its course. We proposed originally that there should be created an international police force under the direction of the United Nations, although that was not contemplated within the terms of any of the discus-

sions of the Charter, but that rather individual nations should contribute quotas to care for whatever responsibilities should arise. In the suggestion I now call to the attention of the Senate, I do not wish to imply any anticipation that there will be armed revolt on any major scale. It is my hope, my belief, that those concerned will respect this overwhelming decision, and that the two new nations which have now been born will be given their proper opportunity for becoming contributing members of the family of nations. But if such a distressing situation should arise, with the absolute refusal of Great Britain to assume responsibility further and its withdrawal of all its forces, the United States must realize that neither we, nor Russia, as the parties which have championed this solution, can avoid the responsibility that is appropriately ours, and I speak to this because, as the weeks and months pass by, if we shall be faced with a crisis in this situation we must be prepared then to act.

For that reason I call attention to what in my judgment should be the next question considered by the administration in the obvious challenge it may face, the question of whether or not we in America shall be prepared to contribute the indispensable elements essential to the preservation of the peace.

On that score it is a curious anomaly that those who have been most intransigent to the Jew have been also most opposed to the idea of a homeland for the Jew in Palestine. Meanwhile, whether or not we shall have to the world the force necessary to implement the decision of the United Nations may be determined in no small measure by the action the United States shall take. The United Nations has taken this action, but unless it is supported by appropriate power to compel the acceptance of its decision, then the United Nations will demonstrate its absolute futility, and the United Nations will fall into innocuous disrepute like the League of Nations. I was privileged last week to hold sessions in the vast mausoleum costing \$60,000,000 on the shores of Lake Geneva standing as a solitary monument to the vain hopes of all mankind.

So I trust that we in this country will realize that we have set out hand to the plow. If the difficulty comes—and God forbid that it should—it seems to me that it is none too early for the United States to consider the action it shall take. I do not believe that the opinion of America would support the sending of our armed forces to Palestine to preserve order except on the basis which I shall now suggest, and that is that no man shall go there who is not a volunteer. I suggest that serious consideration be given without delay to the organization of a volunteer force not solely for this purpose but for any purpose for which it shall be required under the action of our Government and under the proper direction and request of the United Nations Security Council, to implement and preserve, in collaboration with other countries which shall be ready to take their share of responsibility, the action which we may be called upon to take.

To that end I ask that there be printed in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks a letter sent to the Secretary of State, Hon. George C. Marshall, by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America on August 8, 1947, in which, among other things, recommending action on Palestine, they make this proposal:

Recognizing the practical administrative and manpower obstacles which the United Nations might face in placing and maintaining an adequate police force in Palestine at this time, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States suggest that such a force be recruited from among trained veterans of all faiths and all nations who would volunteer to comprise such a United Nations police force. The Jewish War Veterans of the United States offers its total resources to aid in the efforts to obtain such a force.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
New York, N. Y., August 8, 1947.

Hon. GEORGE C. MARSHALL,

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL MARSHALL: The Jewish War Veterans of the United States, representing 800,000 American Jewish veterans who were proud to fight under your command in World War II, and the over 200,000 who fought in the American armies of World War I, respectfully recommend a course of action to alleviate the present intolerable situation in the Holy Land.

It is obvious that if forthright steps are not taken immediately, violence in Palestine will continue to mount until the rising tide of reprisals by the contending parties will have reached a volume that will gravely menace any attempt at peacemaking.

Under your able leadership our Government has already pointed out an avenue of solution for the problem through the action recently taken with respect to a state of war between the Netherlands and Indonesia. The successful action of the United States delegate to the United Nations Security Council in pressing a resolution that led to a suspension of armed conflict in Indonesia establishes a precedent which may well prove effective in the Palestine crisis.

We, therefore, fervently recommend that our Government pursue that precedent to the following extent:

1. That our delegate to the United Nations be instructed to have placed upon the agenda of the United Nations Security Council, for immediate action, a resolution requesting the United Nations to assume authority in the Holy Land dispute.

2. That the United Nations order the immediate withdrawal from Palestine of all British troops and police and substitute therefor United Nations personnel. Great Britain has not only proven herself unable to maintain the peace in Palestine, but her actions have invited continuing turmoil and bloodshed.

We are convinced that these two simple steps will facilitate the immediate cessation of hostilities and will serve as a logical preface to the definite and final solution of the entire problem by the United Nations.

Recognizing the practical administrative and manpower obstacles which the United Nations might face in placing and maintaining an adequate police force in Palestine at this time, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States suggest that such a force be recruited from among trained veterans of all faiths and all nations who would volunteer to comprise such a United Nations police force. The Jewish War Veterans of the

United States offers its total resources to aid in the efforts to obtain such a force.

Said police force would be under the jurisdiction and direction of the United Nations. Participation of American veterans would, of course, be subject to the approval of our own Government and on the basis of existing laws.

We feel that the presence of a police force responsible only to the United Nations, instead of troops now answerable only to Great Britain—one of the disputant parties—suggests a course of action that can put an effective halt to further unnecessary killings on both sides.

The principles of the four freedoms, borrowed from the institutions upon which American democracy is founded, have been incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations. Historical precedent, as well as the basic precepts of human decency, require that the United States now take through the United Nations with respect to Palestine the action that has already been initiated in Indonesia—action that will bring peace to a distracted world. The Palestine problem is a challenge to the necessity for, and the effectiveness of, the United Nations. For the benefit of all freedom-loving peoples and the peace of the world, we appeal for your approval and immediate action on this proposal.

Respectfully yours,

MILTON H. RICHMAN,
National Commander.

Mr. BREWSTER. That proposal was the result of the proposal by the United States in the United Nations assembly that an international police force should be recruited. There was no provision for it in the Charter and apparently little is likely to come of it.

That has been followed by a resolution adopted in St. Paul at the fifty-second annual encampment of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States under the leadership of Col. Julius Klein, a veteran of the last war with a distinguished war record in the Pacific under General MacArthur, proposing again that the Jewish War Veterans of the United States were prepared themselves very actively to promote the organization of such a group in whatever way might be found feasible. It seems to me, as we realize the responsibilities which are ours, that we may appropriately consider their action representing 800,000 veterans who have offered their lives on many fields, and their belief that there would be ample resources from which to recruit such a force to be available in the event of need.

In this resolution, adopted at St. Paul at the fifty-second annual encampment, October 15 to 19 of this year, it is recited:

If it will prove to be necessary to establish a United Nations constabulary during the period between the United Nations acceptance of the said report and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, we hereby place the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, its facilities and membership, at the disposal of our Government and of the United Nations, and assure our Government of the readiness of our members to stand prepared to the end that the UNSCOP majority report shall be implemented without delay.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PALESTINE

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, assembled together for its

fifty-second annual encampment in St. Paul, Minn., October 15-19, 1947, as representatives of 800,000 veterans of the Jewish faith who fought in the wars of the United States, recognizing that we stand on the threshold of the realization of the aims, aspirations, dreams, and hopes of the Jewish people for the past 2,000 years of reestablishment of a Jewish state in Palestine;

And expressing in this conclave our solidarity with our brethren in Europe whose one hope for a new and stable existence is emigration to Palestine and with our brethren in Palestine whose efforts have resulted in the development of that country to the point where it is now ready for complete independence and statehood, and recognizing that our efforts can aid in the realization of the establishment of such a Jewish state, hereby direct our national executive committee to take such steps and make such representations to the appropriate authorities as will make most effective the following policies and principles which this convention now approves and for which it stands:

1. We urge the approval of the UNSCOP majority report, with such modifications as will insure viability of the Jewish state as a minimum measure of justice to those who have suffered the most.

2. We urge the immediate implementation of the said report and believe that such implementation demands the immediate withdrawal of all British troops and police forces from Palestine.

3. We approve wholeheartedly the action of the United States Government in endorsing the majority report of the UNSCOP and in offering assistance in the economic and financial problems which will arise in the implementation thereof.

4. If it will prove to be necessary to establish a United Nations constabulary during the period between the United Nations acceptance of the said report and the final establishment of the Jewish and Arab states in Palestine, we hereby place the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, its facilities and membership, at the disposal of our Government and of the United Nations, and assure our Government of the readiness of our members to stand prepared to the end that the UNSCOP majority report shall be implemented without delay.

5. We condemn the current Arab threats of war and economic sanctions as reminiscent of Nazi tactics and as a direct violation and affront to the Charter of the United Nations, and we voice our confidence that the United Nations will withstand such intimidation and that the people of the world will realize these threats to be hollow and baseless.

6. In the interest of preserving order during the initial period of the establishment of such separate states in Palestine, we urge immediate recognition by the United Nations of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as the interim governing body of the Jewish state.

7. We urge the United States to announce immediately that upon a definite decision by the United Nations in support of the said majority report, that it, the United States, will assume its full share of responsibility for such economic, political, material and other aid as may be necessary under the circumstances.

8. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and the members of the United States delegation to the United Nations.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, my reason for calling attention to this is that I share the high hopes of all that whatever difficulties may arise will be of an incidental, fragmentary character, that there will be no action by any of

the countries in this area which have opposed the adoption of this report, and that they will not precipitate any collective incidents. I do not believe they will. I believe that calmer and cooler heads will prevail. But we cannot blind ourselves to the responsibility which has been assumed. I point out to the Senate and to the country that if such a situation arises and the United States is not prepared to act, then the only alternative is the prospect and probability that our fellow nation which has joined us in sponsoring this proposal may be prepared to act, and that the United States might find itself in a very unfortunate and very humble position if in the suppression of difficulties of any character we are obliged to allow the Soviet Nation to take over responsibility for the preservation of law and order in this entire area.

I am calling attention to this subject so that 1 month or 2 month or 4 months from today we may not be faced with another crisis proposal because there is difficulty in the Middle East and some action must be taken, requiring, perhaps, that American armed forces be sent there, when it is obvious that a volunteer force prepared for this purpose should be recruited now. In my judgment it can be done well within the law, so that the existing administration could have such a force ready. No man would be called upon to offer up his life in defense of this situation unless he had properly and voluntarily made an offer of that kind.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. At this late hour I do not wish to press a discussion with the distinguished Senator from Maine on this subject, because I think it could better wait for another day. However, the Senator is leaving me in doubt as to just what he is proposing as a means for enforcing the Palestine partition decision. Let me say incidentally that I am very much in favor of the decision which has been reached by the United Nations in regard to the partition of Palestine. The Senator leaves me in doubt as to whether or not he is suggesting that, if it becomes necessary to enforce that decision, it should be done by an armed force other than a United Nations police force. Am I to understand that the Senator is suggesting that there be raised a volunteer army in this country, of Americans, to be used in enforcing that decision? If so, under what flag would it fight?

Mr. BREWSTER. I do not know that the Senator has been present during all the time I have been speaking.

Mr. MORSE. I have been present every moment of the time the Senator has been speaking.

Mr. BREWSTER. Then evidently I did not make myself sufficiently clear.

As I pointed out, the original proposal of the United States was for the recruitment of an international police force under the Security Council.

Mr. MORSE. That proposal has not been adopted.

Mr. BREWSTER. No; it was dropped, because whether or not there was legal

authority for it within the Charter there was certainly no contemplation of it. The entire contemplation of the Charter was that whatever force was used would be composed of quotas from various countries which would be contributed to operate as a united whole under the Security Council. It has been impossible to implement that proposal because of the apparent reluctance of Russia to agree upon the composition of the force.

Everyone says that he is in favor of the decision; but, if we favor the decision without being prepared to support it, we are doing a very vain thing. I do not believe that we could justify our action in giving birth to a child whom we immediately throw to the dogs.

I have not gone further than to say that if difficulty arises—which God forbid—the Commission and the Security Council must maintain order. It would be most unfortunate if the United States were to find itself in the position of not being able to assume whatever might be its proper share of the burden, because then we certainly could not challenge the action of Russia or any other eastern power in moving in. Therefore, we should give serious consideration to the question of how we can implement our action. For that purpose, I propose that a portion of our armed forces—not solely for this purpose, but for any purpose for which there might be a legitimate call by the United Nations—should be recruited on a volunteer basis, either from men now in the service or men who might later volunteer for such service. The analogy I suggest is that of the French Foreign Legion. It should be understood that such a volunteer force should be available for whatever purpose the President of the United States should find it proper and necessary to use it. To what extent there should be further legislative authorization, I am not clear. I do not speak on that point.

But, certainly, we should begin to give consideration to how we are to assume our share of responsibility.

Mr. MORSE. If the Senator will permit me, I think I now understand his point of view. I think he illustrates very clearly, at least to my satisfaction, the importance of this country's making clear to the members of the United Nations that there should be established at

the earliest possible date a police force of the United Nations, because unless that is done I think there is grave danger that we shall be maneuvered into a position in which American boys under the American flag will be called upon to enforce some decision of the United Nations.

I do not agree with the Senator, if I understand him correctly, that I put myself into an indefensible position if I take the position, as I would take the position, that the American Army should not be used to enforce a decision of the United Nations except as a part of a United Nations police force. I think the nation members of that organization must be called upon to enforce the decisions of the organization. I do not think we should ever permit ourselves to be placed in a position in which, because a difficulty arose in Palestine, for example, the American Army would be used to enforce a United Nations decision. A volunteer force raised in this country, as I understood the suggestion of the Senator from Maine, would lead us into grave difficulties unless it were raised as a part of a yet to be agreed upon United Nations police force. A volunteer force of Americans fighting in Palestine, for example, under the American flag would necessarily carry with it the complete backing of the military might of the United States the moment the first shot was fired against our flag. Hence I urge extreme caution in this situation. I am for the enforcement of the decisions of the United Nations but by the joint action of a United Nations police force.

Mr. BREWSTER. The Senator has not understood my statement. I should like to make my position crystal clear. It is not my concept that an American Army, as the Senator terms it, ever could or ever should enter into this situation. I have repeatedly stated that it would be a question of the Security Council of the United Nations calling upon the Associated Powers for the creation of the force which was contemplated in the Charter. At that point, unless we have a force in being that we could appropriately contribute to that quota under proper arrangements, the problem would be a very difficult one. I am not prepared to take any of our boys who may have been secured either under the draft

or, at the present time, under the volunteer system, and order them to such a service. It is my thought that there should be a particular force recruited understanding that at some time they might be called upon for service of this character if the situation should demand and the Congress and the President, under their proper exercise of power, should so determine. The average man joining the American Army today or at any future time should not be faced with the possibility that he might be sent to such a foreign field. That is the point I am making, and for that purpose it seems to me to avoid exactly what the Senator from Oregon suggests. If 3 months from today we are confronted with a crisis, as we were in Greece, and suddenly the President says, "Russia is endeavoring to take over the whole Middle East. I must send a force there," we shall have to order American boys who have not been recruited or prepared for such service. That is my point.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator, because I think he is making a valuable contribution to the discussion of the Palestine issue, particularly in pointing out, as I think he has, the need of developing a police force within the United Nations so that it can enforce its own decisions.

Mr. BREWSTER. That is exactly the point I wished to make.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I appreciate the reference that was made earlier to the part which my late grandfather played in connection with a homeland for the Jews. This furnishes a personal reason for my satisfaction at the development which has taken place in setting aside a place in Palestine which the Jews can think of as their own.

Another memory which gives this event special significance for me lies in the recollection which I have of the Jewish unit which fought in Libya in 1942, in the desert, against the common enemy.

I desire to express my congratulations to Rabbi Silver, who has shown real statesmanship in leading this very complicated and arduous problem to such a successful outcome. I hope that it means that the Promised Land has been reached at last, and that it is the beginning of new happiness and more auspicious events for the Jewish people.

What Shall America Do About Palestine?

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1948

Arms for Palestine

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

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

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

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

Washington Memo

EDITOR: Charles Van Dewater
Associate: Oliver Platt, James A. Washburn
and William D. Payer Jr.

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

Washington, Jan. 20.

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

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

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

Last week, for instance, some 800 Arabs, reportedly commanded by Syrian officers, crossed the border to attack two Jewish settlements (Kfar Szeid and Dan) in Upper Galilee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



JAMAL HUSSEINI

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
TIMES

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1948.

No Love and Kisses From Arabia.

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

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

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

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

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

American Jews and Palestine

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

To the New York Herald Tribune:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER,
President The American Jewish
Committee.

New York, Jan. 18, 1948.

BOSTON, MASS. EVENING GLOBE

JANUARY 12, 1948

Monkey Wrench

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

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

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1948.

Talk—and Death

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

Talk.

But not action.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are talking it over.

Talk.

We have been talking it over since 1924.

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

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

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

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

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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Plots and Counterplots

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the UNITED STATES and the UNITED NATIONS...

Since the United Nations General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine on November 29, 1947, a shameful and deeply disquieting situation has arisen to which public opinion cannot remain indifferent.

Openly defying the United Nations, the governments of the Arab States, themselves members of the UN, are deliberately encouraging aggression against the Jews of Palestine. They are using Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Iraq as bases for these operations. They are providing funds, ammunition and military training, and have already launched attacks in force from Syria and Lebanon against Palestinian Jews. In Palestine itself this state of affairs has resulted in unbridled violence by armed Arab bands organized by Haj Amin el Hussein, the same Arab leader who during the war immeasurably aided Hitler in broadcasts from Berlin urging the Moslems of the Middle East to revolt against the Allies.

This campaign of violence has no moral justification. It is directed against a decision of the United Nations made after nearly twenty committees of inquiry had investigated the problem of Palestine over a period of more than twenty-five years. The decision of the United Nations was, moreover, a compromise which granted national states in Palestine to both Jews and Arabs.

The campaign of violence we now witness is not a spontaneous uprising by the majority of Palestine's Arabs. On the contrary, they wish to live in peace with their Jewish neighbors. But they are terrorized by the ex-Mufti's bands assisted by his confederates in Cairo, Baghdad, Beirut and Damascus. Significantly, Arab violence is largely directed against Jerusalem which, according to the UN decision, is to be an international territory because it is sacred to the Christian world.

The campaign of Arab aggression, led by a group of former Nazi allies and their accomplices across the frontiers, is therefore directed not only against the Jews, not only against the peaceful majority of Palestine's Arabs, but against the authority of the United Nations itself.

This is a bold attempt to blackmail the United Nations into submission. It is an attempt by violence to render impotent the first great decision of the United Nations. If this campaign succeeds, it will reduce the United Nations to a debating society. At a moment when world peace is the hope of all men of good will, it will smash the effectiveness of the only instrument for international peace we possess. It will disillusion those millions who had hopes that at last some way other than the holocaust of war could be found to settle international problems.

If the United Nations cannot make its Palestine decision stick, if a handful of willful men can prevent a UN decision from being carried out because they do not like that decision, then no future action of the UN will have more worth than the paper upon which it is written.

For this state of affairs not only the ex-Mufti and his cohorts are responsible. Other powers are not wholly free of responsibility. The British Government, which insisted that it retain sole control over Palestine and sole responsibility for law and order until the termination of the Palestine Mandate, seems either unwilling or unable to maintain law and order. We do not attempt to judge whether this policy is dictated by unwillingness or inability. But the fact remains that the security situation in Palestine is steadily deteriorating.

One thing is certain: while Arab bands attack Jewish settlements, blockade wide areas, and waylay traffic on the highways, British officials and forces have repeatedly interfered with Jewish defense and counter-attack, repeatedly arrested and disarmed the defenders, and repeatedly confiscated their armaments.

The United Nations has not yet taken action against those overt acts of its Arab member-governments which constitute an open defiance of the Resolution of the General Assembly and of the Charter itself. Nor has the United Nations reacted as yet to the fact that the ex-Mufti's bands and the attitude of the British Administration are a clear challenge and threat to the authority of this international body.

Even if the only issue at stake were the safety of the 700,000 Jews of Palestine, American public opinion should have been deeply concerned. Our Government was largely instrumental in bringing about the United Nations decision on partition. What had we in mind when we encouraged the aspirations of the Jewish people to nationhood in Palestine? Was it our intention to leave them there defenseless?

Much more is at stake than our moral responsibility toward the Jews. We repeat, the very future of the United Nations is in jeopardy. This open defiance of the United Nations decision comes from a group of Middle Eastern states which depend upon the UN and the Western world for sovereignty and international recognition, for political and military protection as well as economic development. If we permit such conduct on the part of the Arab States, then the authority of the United Nations will suffer a staggering blow which can result in incalculable harm to men everywhere.

Let us make no mistake about the danger involved in this situation. The conflict may assume world-wide dimensions, or, alternatively, this aggression of the Arab States can be restrained, thus making the Palestine solution a potent factor for peace and stability in the world. America must help to determine whether the effectiveness of the United Nations shall be destroyed or strengthened.

The United States wants peace in the world. It is to its vital interests to uphold the Palestine decision of the United Nations. Our Government should, therefore, actively support the following measures:

1. A stern warning to the Arab States calling for an end to the sabotage of the UN decision.
2. An unmistakably clear declaration to Great Britain that as long as she remains in Palestine, her armed forces can be neither neutral nor quasi-neutral, but must act in defense of public law and the UN decision.
3. Immediate use of the proper UN agencies to provide international military protection for Palestine Jewry and make immediately available the necessary military force to implement the United Nations decision on Palestine.
4. Immediate equipment of the Haganah under United Nations auspices to enable this Jewish constabulary defense force to carry out police powers within Jewish territory in Palestine.

Only in this manner can the United States and the United Nations prevent the threatened conflagration. The delay in implementing the UN decision has encouraged the Arab League and the ex-Mufti in their

defiance of the UN, and has forced the Jewish people to resort to desperate means to provide themselves with arms for their defense and for the maintenance of the UN decision.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 East 42nd St., New York

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Sen. Owen Brewster
Frank Buxton

Bartley C. Crum
Samuel Guy Inman
Sen. Edwin C. Johnson

Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk
Sen. James E. Murray
Prof. Harry A. Overstreet
Sen. Robert F. Wagner

Dr. Daniel A. Poling
Dr. Ralph W. Sockman
Sen. Charles W. Tobey

Palestine Contrasts

Refusal of Iraq to ratify the new military alliance with Britain leaves a gap in Britain's armed alliances with the Arab world which may lead to further appeasement of the Iraqi. Perhaps they want more arms for use against the Jews in Palestine. Fawzi El Kawi, supreme field commander of both the "volunteer invaders and Arab forces inside Palestine," would then be the beneficiary. This gentleman hails from Iraq, though he is a renegade, and, in addition, is one of the old pro-Nazi gang who has been involved in every plot against Britain since 1938. He is working in cahoots with the Mufti—the scoundrel who, according to Mr. Churchill, was Britain's worst enemy. It is all the more surprising to note the tenderness that the British are displaying toward these firebrands.

We may grant that the job of keeping order in Palestine is difficult, but the difficulty has not been lessened by the arms policy that the British have been pursuing. On the contrary, the job has been made impossible. The Arabs have noted the British decision to keep out the U. N. mission till the eve of their own departure in May. But what must have been more interesting to them as a spur to Arab recalcitrance is the arms traffic that the British have recently developed with Palestine's neighbors. The trouble-making in Palestine comes from outside, and since the U. N. decision the British have actually been shipping arms to Egypt, Iraq and Transjordan, knowing full well that the arms would be used for the purpose of upsetting the U. N. decision. How in these circumstances could the British administration expect to keep order in Palestine?

The United States has been dragging its feet almost in step with the British. There is one way of restoring some semblance of order in Palestine, but on this way the Americans have turned their backs. This is to arm the Hagana, the Jewish defense militia. But as soon as the United Nations had recommended the plan of partition, the

United States slapped an embargo on all arms shipments to the Middle East. Here is a picture of contrasts: the British are arming the Arab extremists and at the same time trying to keep order in Palestine, while we are shutting off all supplies. To cap all, the State Department has just issued instructions to the American consul in Jerusalem to take away the passports of American citizens found among the Jewish defense forces. This was not done when Americans enlisted in the Allied armies prior to our entry into the war. Why the ban is put on Americans in Palestine who are fighting in defense of a United Nations decision to which this Government is a party is thus glaringly inconsistent with our traditional policy, let alone with our membership of the United Nations. Is it any wonder that the Arab extremists imagine they are getting aid and comfort from the chief props of the United Nations for defying the United Nations?

To be sure, the problem to be resolved depends upon the answer to the riddle of enforcement. It should have been faced squarely during the proceedings at Lake Success. Little Guatemala sought to give a lead by suggesting that an ad hoc force be raised among the noninterested powers in Palestine. That was done after the first war in respect of the Saar. Evidently the suggestion got no aid from either Britain or America. The next best thing is to bring up the matter before the Security Council. In the meantime fairness alone—let alone any regard for the U. N. recommendation—demands a raising of the arms embargo by this country. The pusillanimity of the Anglo-American powers is bringing on the tragedy they contemplate, for it is an advertisement to the intransigent Arabs that the scuttling of the U. N. decision would not be displeasing to either London or Washington.

CHICAGO SUN

MARSHALL FIELD, Editor and Publisher

FRIDAY, January 23, 1948

Danger for the U.N.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS foundered on the rock of "non-intervention" in Spain and Ethiopia. There is danger that the United Nations may founder on the rock of non-intervention in Palestine.

Each day's crop of killings in Palestine makes it clearer that a conspiracy exists to countermand the United Nations decision for peaceful partition of that land.

The Arabs make no secret of their determination to resist the decision by violent means. What is worse, one sees disturbing evidence that some British and American officials who were never enthusiastic about partition might not mind too much if it fails.

President Truman and the State Department lose no opportunity these days to proclaim full support and strengthening of the U. N. as the cardinal aim of American policy. If they mean it, they can now make their words good. The United States should take the lead in establishing a U. N. constabulary that can keep the peace in Palestine while Britain is withdrawing and the Arab and Jewish states are being set up.

The reasons no such action has been taken are no doubt the same reasons which induced the policy-makers to side-step the enforcement issue in the first place. Our oil interests in the Middle East impel us to avoid offending the Arabs as far as possible. Above all, the State Department apparently fears that any suggestion of U. N. enforcement may bring Soviet Russia into the Mediterranean—a domain which we consider safe for our military forces, but not for Russia's.

In short, the obstacle to U. N. enforcement is the strategic duel of the big powers. It was the same sort of power politics that caused the League to throw Spain and Ethiopia to the wolves. To complete the parallel, the forces which now challenge the authority and integrity of the U. N. are the feudalistic, anti-democratic, pro-fascist Arabs who played Hitler's game in the war.

The issue is now bigger than Palestine itself. The issue is whether the United Nations possesses the moral force to make its decisions stick—whether the power politics of its members can be subordinated to the collective interest in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Since American leadership was a major factor in bringing about the Palestine decision, the United States has a special obligation to lead the U. N. in backing it up. Unless we do, future pledges of devotion to the U. N. will sound mighty hollow.

PALESTINE:

Test of America's Good Faith—

Test of the UN's Vitality



New York Post

FOUNDED IN 1801 BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1948.

Peace Is the Issue

We are being psychologically prepared for war. Or, at least, an all-out effort is being made to prepare us.

In that atmosphere it is obvious that every failure to assault the real and basic enemies of democracy and freedom will be excused on the ground of military necessity to prepare for a shooting war with Russia.

And yet the people are not being told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: they are being told half truth, no truth, and downright fabrication.

For example the country is being told that we have pledged our arms and our military aid to Greece in order

Surprise Party

The rioting in Iraq over the disclosure of the Government's attempt to negotiate a special position treaty with Britain has caused almost as much amazement in London as followed the long-ago rioting in Boston Harbor against the Stamp Act. The treaty would have allowed British forces to enter Iraq whenever, in the British judgment, the security of the little Arab country should be threatened, and London confesses, though with bewilderment, that the popular opposition to this arrangement has been "badly underestimated."



Perry

It is a confession revelatory of the unchanging habit of self-righteousness which the British have which must butt its head, from time to time, upon the quickening instincts of "lesser" peoples. There is no question but that the British had viewed the treaty as one of mutual benefit; that is, for the Iraqi's own good, just as the Stamp Act was viewed, in another time, as actually a boon to the colonies in America (to provide for their defense, etc.), and do now find it difficult to understand that the Iraqis should have any reasonable grounds for getting their backs up about it.

What is even more interesting in this unheralded diplomatic blow-up in the Near East, bearing in mind our own recent moves to inherit British policy in that quarter, is the fact that the Iraqis justify their vehement protest against the treaty by arguments that have been high on the American export list ever since the days of our own "world-shaking" revolution. The patriots of Baghdad declaim of "sovereignty," of "self-determination," and against "entangling alliances" and "the quartering of foreign troops" with a fervor entirely familiar to us.

Do we recognize our own accents the catchwords of our own distant break for independence? I trust that we do, and that we are prepared to be properly em-

barrassed by this contretemps, in the Near East, where we ourselves, embarked, in strange company, in a strange mission, are in danger of being confronted by our own most cherished doctrines.

Our embarrassment would be warning that we are in danger of unlearning what neither a nation's might nor its cleverness guarantees to it the affections of other peoples.

The British have moved cleverly indeed on the Palestine issue to avoid any forthrightness that might queer their celebrated stand-in with "the Arab world," and their present confusion results largely from the fact that the Arabs of Iraq, after all this booting, still have no complacency toward the treaty upon which the British had set their hearts. The British might in the Mediterranean is greater than ever before in history with the backing of the American flag, and yet the not-together-benighted Baqis have convinced themselves they want no part of a benevolent protection that might make their small land the first great battlefield of an atomic war.

We have no assurance that the little peoples who no longer care to play tail to the British kite will take kindly to the assumptions of the new American policy—that our might is welcome because of our good intentions.

In Greece and in Turkey, too, our virtuous designs have been plagued by the great words of our prior commitments.

The little peoples, say as well as wary, can throw the book at us—our own book—just as the Iraqis have thrown it at the British.

From their game with the sailing classes—and from one place and time to the other—the strong has been running out. Our own traditional—and far sounder—policy has been to cultivate the goodwill of the masses. I would not want us to wake up some modern morning to find, as the British have, that, by playing fast and loose with the word-wide multitudes to whom our champion-ship of revolutionary democracy commended us.

A DISCRIMINATING EMBARGO

An embargo dispute, reminiscent of the scrap iron to Japan and the Spanish civil war: is developing in consequence of the action of the state department in declaring an arms embargo on shipments to all Middle Eastern countries, thereby assuming a role of neutrality in the struggle between the Jews and Arabs over Palestine.

The government came in for bitter criticism of its failure to embargo scrap to Japan, after the Nipponese began shooting it back at American boys. By its ban on shipments of arms to the legitimate government of Spain, the state department made it possible for Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy to establish an ally on the Iberian peninsula, who repaid his debt to the dictators by permitting them to use Spanish ports as bases for submarines which sent a vast amount of American goods and many Americans to the bottom of the sea.

Both of these earlier actions placed the United States government in at least a doubtful moral position, in view of the aid it gave Japan in broad-casting its prosperity sphere at the expense of our friends in the Orient, and the problem created in Spain.

If our policy, and that of Britain was to keep arms from both Jews and Arabs, they might be a contribution to peace in the Holy Land.

Great Britain has announced a decision to continue to fulfill her contracts to sell arms and military equipment to the Arab states despite their threats to march against Palestine.

Basing its action on friendship treaties it has with these states a spokesman for the British government, promises that all shipments of military material will be closely scrutinized and orders will not be approved "if it is clear that the arms will be used in or against Palestine."

"Britain maintains the right to suspend fulfillment of her arms contracts if any of the states violate the United Nations charter" it was further stipulated.

The British may feel that if they do not sell arms to the Arabs the Russians may do so and thus strengthen their grip on the Middle East. Since it is extremely unlikely that these military supplies will be used against the Russians the obvious conclusion is that some considerable part of them will be employed against the Jews.

What seems to have been forgotten by both our state department and the British colonial office is that by virtue of a United Nations decision the Jews have a legal right to set up a Jewish state in the Holy Land. It is the Arabs and not the Jews who are resisting this decision. Furthermore the United States was a leading supporter of that decision, which means that the Jews are struggling to uphold the position taken by the United States before the UN.

The British are in a position to very effectively control the arms coming into Palestine but once military materials are turned over to Arab states, neither they nor our state department can do much to keep them from being used against the Jews and against the state which we were largely instrumental in bringing about in the Holy Land.

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Saturday, January 24, 1948

TIME FOR RE-STUDY

The United States has been projected into the Palestine problem by its championing of the cause of partition in the United Nations. This action was prompted by the purest of motives, as well as by the fact that partition is the best solution to the knotty problem of granting living space to the Arab population.

The first motive was the desire to correct an historical wrong dating back to the Roman empire to restore to the Jewish race their homeland and open the gates of a modern Promised Land to the victims of war and aggression in Europe.

On the other side of the picture is the embargo on arms to Palestine by our State Department, which in effect gives the advantage to the Arabs in the inevitable war which followed partition. It also makes necessary such clandestine procurement and shipping of the tools of war as has been revealed in Monmouth County and north Jersey.

Meanwhile the Arabs are bountifully supplied by Egypt and other members of the Arab league. Russia, which gave approval to the partition may also see her advantage in the bloody strife which will hamstring the efforts of the United Nations to cool a cauldron which could lead the world into another war.

There is nothing very clear in our actions. Our State Department forgets that had it not been for the aid of France we would have been sorely pressed to win our own independence. We obtained not only supplies but ships and fighting men, something we have not been asked to give in the current struggle for liberty.

It is time we restudied our position.

LOWELL, MASS. SUNDAY TELEGRAM

JAN. 21, 1948

Partition and Pipelines

Secretary of Defense James Forrestal has issued an oblique criticism of the vote by the

United Nations on the partition of Palestine. It finds, that because of this vote, the oil-bearing Arabs are sulking in their tents and that only trickle of oil is flowing into the Persian gulf outle as a result.

Mr. Forrestal informed a congressional committee that in the event of war the predictable supplies of oil in the United States would not be sufficient to keep our fighting forces mobilized and he also commented upon the limitation of Arab oil as being a retarding influence on the recovery plan for Europe.

The strongest question put to Mr. Forrestal was this: Has the United Nations decision regarding Palestine rendered our situation more insecure, considering the 350,000,000 people of the Moslem world—are we in jeopardy of having the Arab pipelines cut? The secretary answered with an unconditional and anxious affirmative.

Mr. Forrestal did not mention any alternatives that might be used to ease this volatile situation, nor did the congressional committee extend itself too far in seeking such opinions. The reason for this general timidity is quite obvious.

The inference to be drawn from the secretary's remarks is that the United States should intercede with the United Nations to have the motion partitioning Palestine rescinded.

We are charitable when we say that Mr. Forrestal has become so devoted to his task of building up national defenses that he has lost the power to comprehend some of the grave sociological problems of the day, among them being the partitioning of Palestine. He forgets entirely in his anxiety for oil that there are still hundreds of thousands of suffering displaced persons in Europe who are seeking a permanent home before they succumb to exhaustion and starvation.

The oily Arabs have used this natural resource as an ace up their sleeves for too long a time. The British stood in awe of the Arabs and their oil supplies, the American commercial interests quietly paid homage to the Arabs, and now one of our highest governmental officers is beginning to hedge on the partition of Palestine because he thinks the nation cannot exist without oil from the Near East.

If thousands of displaced persons are going to die because of the Arabs' oil wealth, then let the Arabs have their oil—American scientists and engineers should be able to compensate for the loss. Or are the Arabs going to throw fear into the hearts of all nations because of their rich oil possessions?

PHILADELPHIA, PA. INQUIRER

JAN. 17, 1948

They Can't Make Bricks Without Straw

Palestine partition is doomed unless the United Nations, which fostered the plan, now moves swiftly to save it.

The partition project is disintegrating under the blows of a heavily one-sided civil war, as Arabs armed by the British seek to wipe out the very nucleus of the proposed Jewish state, whose defenders are paralyzed by a United States embargo on shipment of arms to the Palestine Jews.

The British are helping to sabotage partition by their arming of the Arabs and their cynical failure to preserve the peace in the Holy Land in the final months of their mandate.

The Jews in Palestine are fighting not merely for the independence guaranteed them by the United Nations; they are fighting for their very lives. Hundreds have been killed and many more wounded by Arab bullets and knives in raids upon Jewish settlements.

In defiance of the United Nations, the Arab League has announced that the armies of the Arab countries will occupy all of Palestine as soon as the British withdraw. These nations refuse to recognize the existence of a Jewish state; they intend, with the assistance of arms from the British, to make the Holy Land a wholly Arab dominion.

What their plans mean in death, destruction and misery to the peaceful Jewish inhabitants who had been granted the hope, at least, of a homeland all their own, can only be imagined.

How can the United Nations—how can the United States, which has given its sanction to partition—sit by and see the plan fall apart in bloody war?

Having authorized partition, it is clearly up to the U.N. to enforce it. But thus far all that has been done is the appointment of a five-member Palestine Commission, whose assignment it is to go to Palestine, on some date not yet determined, and see to it that the U.N. plan is executed.

As the British do not want the Commission to arrive until two weeks before they withdraw, and as Arab attacks upon the Jews

are mounting in violence all the time, the size of the task confronting this body is evident.

The Commission is being called upon to undertake the impossible feat—a reminder of Pharaoh's order to the people as told in the Old Testament, Exodus V:7—of making bricks without straw.

Without the implements to preserve the peace and to protect the Jews while they are erecting their new nation, the Palestine Commission is hopelessly handicapped from the outset.

The obvious need in Palestine is an international police force directed by the United Nations, to keep order and enforce partition.

Request for such a force was made to the Palestine Commission on Thursday by Moshe Shertok, political chief of the Jewish Agency. If that request is not met, he added, then the burden of keeping order and protecting the new Jewish state must fall upon a Jewish militia, and the U.N. should take immediate steps to permit the Jews to arm, equip and train an adequate force.

The Security Council is the agency which must act upon establishment of a U.N. police force. Soviet Russia may, as it has so often before, again obstruct action in this regard. But the U. S. should press for it, nevertheless, and offer every assistance.

Meanwhile the unfair embargo against shipment of arms to the Palestine Jews, while their enemies can obtain all they want, should be lifted. Arms and equipment which the Jews desperately require to defend themselves should be sent them. The arms embargo should be directed against the Arabs, who are fighting partition, not against those who are upholding it with their lives.

It is unthinkable that, having given the Jews a glimpse of long-sought freedom in a land of their own, we should now permit the door to be slammed against its realization.

We should abet neither Arab war on partition nor British sabotage of it by indifference and neglect. The Jews need help if they are to save their lives and their homes, and we must see that they get it.

to help that government regain stability, and in order to prevent the spread of communism.

The truth is that we are in Greece because it has proved cheaper for Great Britain to replace British troops with American troops, bolstering up exactly the kind of reactionary regime which Britain still counts upon to regain the balance of power in the Near East, the Middle East and Europe.

We are told that we dare not take effective action to help create the United Nations State of Judea as a homeland for Jews, because we are dependent upon Arabian oil.

We are not told the truth that in peacetime, there is no likelihood of our Arabian leases being disturbed—certainly not by its Arabian and American beneficiaries—and that in the event of war the oil lines would be impossible to defend.

We are being told that we require, if we are to be ready for our mythical war with Russia, an air force alone requiring a greater annual budget than our present total military budget, already the highest in the world.

We are not told that it would be utterly impossible—as it would be—for us to maintain any remnants of democracy here or anywhere if we are to adopt that program and that alone as our basis for security.

The policy that we are being lead to adopt is not our own policy, but that of a bankrupt British Colonial Office, conveniently adopted by us without due regard for either national or international safety.

We are being persuaded that British and Arabian allies are far to be preferred to justice, honor and decency.

The fact is that both would be liabilities rather than assets in a shooting war . . . and that the more we co-operate to establish a revival of British colonial policy in a peacetime world, the nearer such a war will come to us.

Our only real allies in the fight for democracy are our natural resources—food for the hungry, everywhere in the world; products for the farm, tools for industrialization, and, last but not least, a dependable sense of justice and integrity.

But our every failure—including our failure to demand of Great Britain and of the Arabian States that the cynical campaign both of arms and propaganda against the United Nations decision on Palestine must stop—rather than securing the peace, is securing the inevitability of war.

The newest game is to try to smear the Jews whom we are continuing to victimize with refinements of Hitlerian cruelty.

British and pro-British American propagandists have even had the temerity to hint that the Jews who are fleeing from Rumanian persecution even as they sought to flee to Palestine from Hitler's persecution, are in reality just a group of communist Fifth Columnists!

This bald-faced lie is being circulated for only one purpose, of course—an effort to cash in on the hysteria reaching crescendo heights in this country over anything and everything that can be labeled, right or wrong, communist.

The next effort will be, of course, to try to characterize the new Palestinian State and all its occupants as dirty anti-democratic agitators . . . reds and revolutionaries.

But it won't wash. The people will not be fooled into believing that white is black merely because it is called red.

The people will, however, as the truth concerning the depths of the deception being practiced upon them becomes clear, as it will during the coming few months, at the very least refuse to return an Administration to power which lends itself so supinely to the British Fifth Column.

The Bridgeport Post

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1948.

Palestine a Challenge and a Solution

The effective implementation of the United Nations General Assembly decision on the partition of Palestine is the crucial test of the value of United Nations.

Here is a situation where the great powers are in agreement. If the decisions of this world body cannot be effectively carried out in this instance, what hope can there be of its working where the great powers are on opposite sides?

The issue here is whether a small block of Arab States, all dependent on the Western powers for their economy, openly hostile or secretly aiding the Nazis in World War II, being led by the Grand Mufti, Hitler's ally in the last war, may set at naught a decision of the United Nations General Assembly, arrived at after an impartial investigation and decided by larger than two-thirds majority of the Nations and after hearing all parties concerned.

How well the United Nations meets this challenge to its authority will determine its prestige and ability to meet the other problems which await solution.

To meet this challenge the United Nations must set up a small police force composed of levies from the smaller nations so as to avoid the jealousies between the larger world powers.

Then if Great Britain is unwilling or unable to preserve the peace or protect the Jewish Colonist, give the Jews in Palestine the opportunity to defend themselves for the time being. Sell them arms legally and arm their militia—not the terrorists but those recognized by the Jewish Agency.

It is ironic to give them partition but to disarm the Jews who must meet the threats of the surrounding Arab States which are arming the guerrilla bands invading Palestine. Do this until the slow machinery of the United Nations can be made to work and do an effective job.

In the meantime when reading the news of fighting in Palestine bear in mind that the Jews in Palestine have been awarded the right to a Jewish State by the Council of the Nations of the World and are defending themselves from the state of anarchy which the Grand Mufti and the Arab State are trying to bring about, hoping in this way to prejudice the Jewish case and to re-open the decision. These facts must be kept in mind in order that the record can be kept straight.

MIAMI, FLA. NEWS

JAN. 25, 1948

UN, U. S. And Palestine

It is none too soon that the Palestine Commission has come to the conclusion that it must find a way, probably through the United Nations security council, to raise an international force to keep the peace in Palestine during and after the transition from the British mandate to independence under the proposed partition.

The Arabs have made it plain beyond the slightest doubt that they will overturn the new Jewish state unless they are faced by the twin blocks of organized international disapproval and innumerable armed strength. Invasion of the new state, whether by member states of the Arab league, or by filibustering parties raised, trained and set in motion within the territories of these states, would be in direct violation of the United Nations charter.

Clearly, the sanctity of international engagements and the prestige of the United Nations are at stake. So, also, are the more limited but equally vital interests of the democratic community within the United Nations. Failure to protect Palestine would be a blow to all that these nations stand for, and it would gravely injure their moral credit in the world. It might also injure their strategic position by encouraging a Soviet attempt to send troops of their own on the pretext of enforcing the U.N.'s decision. If the Russians launched such an adventure, we would accede to it only at the cost of our whole strategic position in the Middle East. Contrariwise, we would resist it only at the risk of having full-scale war flame in the Levant, a war which it would be virtually impossible to localize once it got under way.

In view of these facts, it should be America's role in the Palestine commission and in the security council, to press with all its might for immediate organization of an adequate international force to guard the Jewish state. Bulwarks

which we erect in advance will ward off trouble. Vacuums which we leave unfilled by timidity or vacillation will invite trouble. If we drift, we may wake up someday in late spring to find ourselves already in the vortex of armed conflict.

In the meantime, as a hedge, although an inadequate one, against delay in organization of the U.N. force, we should find ways of making it plain to the Arabs that, if forced to act alone, we will take a part no less bold than the part we have taken in Greece. But there is a step even less drastic which we can and should take right away. We should repeat the embargo on the export of arms to the Jewish Agency, to Haganah and to all legitimate Jewish defense forces already on the scene.

The states of the Arab league are arming and training for the undesignated purpose of assaulting Jewish Palestine. The British are sending arms to the Arab league states. The British say that they are sending only normal quantities which presumably will be used to equip the national forces of those states. But who is to guarantee that those forces will not be launched against Palestine? If they are not sent as national forces, who is to say that men and arms, or even arms alone, will not be diverted, unofficially to the aggressors, in the manner of Hitler's and Mussolini's operations in Spain?

If the Arabs are getting arms from the outside world and the Jews are not, the result will be a foregone conclusion, that is, unless the U.N. intervenes effectively. In other words, our "non-intervention" would in effect be intervention—intervention to overthrow the settlement which we ourselves created. Surely we had enough of this kind of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war to bring us a full understanding of its hypocrisy, its cynicism and its mortal dangers.