



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

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

Series VIII: Scrapbooks, 1902-1964, undated.

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

---

Reel  
233

Box  
120

Folder  
83c

Reprints issued by the American Zionist Emergency council,  
1941-1949.



# JANUARY ATLANTIC

*Ninety years of continuous publication*

VOLUME 181 1948 NUMBER 1

## ➔ Atlantic Reports on the World Today

Fiasco in Food	FREDRICK J. STARE, M.D.	21
Radio and Who Makes It	JOHN CROSSBY	23
Death of a Pig	E. B. WHITE	30
"Banking Is an Art." <i>The Atlantic Serial</i>	JOHN P. MARQUAND	34
Balzac. <i>The Ten Best Novels</i>	SOMERSET MAUGHAM	46
General Patton's War Letters	GEORGE S. PATTON, JR.	53
The Peace of Lazarus. <i>A Poem</i>	LEONARD BACON	57
Backroads River	WALLACE STEGNER	59
Psychiatry Today	WILLIAM C. MENNINGER, M.D.	65
Low Water. <i>A Story</i>	GEOFFREY HOUSEHOLD	73
Oracles and Omens	WILLIAM HOWELLS	78
The Love Letters of Mark Twain	<i>Edited by</i> DIXON WECTER	83
The Lady and the Unicorn. <i>A Poem</i>	MAY SARTON	89
Safe and Insane	PHILIP WYLLE	90
Action at Salamo Bay. <i>An Atlantic "First"</i>	EDWARD K. MORRIS	94
Thus to Revisit. <i>A Poem</i>	ANNE GOODWIN WINSLOW	98

### ACCENT ON LIVING

Joseph Wechsberg — Crosby Gaige — R. J. Hicks — Mackinley Helm	99
--	----

### BOOKS AND MEN

Problems of a Catholic Writer	HARRY SYLVESTER	109
Literary Memories	FRANKLIN P. ADAMS	114

### ATLANTIC BOOKSHELF

Edward Weeks — Raymond Swing — R. E. Danielson — Short Reviews	117
--	-----

1 YEAR \$6.00    2 YEARS \$10.00    3 YEARS \$15.00





# THE ATLANTIC REPORT

## *on the World today*

### The Middle East

THE United Nations' handling of the Palestine question was one of the most heartening international developments since the war. The Special Committee, an impartially appointed instrument of world opinion, removed the most important aspects of the problem from the realm of controversy. Unanimously it recommended termination of the British Mandate and independence for Palestine. By a majority of seven to three it presented a plan for partition far removed in spirit and in detail from the "federation" scheme advanced last year by the British Cabinet. It also recommended that during the transition period the Mandatory Power be responsible for the admission of 150,000 immigrants into the proposed Jewish state and abolish the restrictions on land sales to Jews in that area.

Attempts to delay the UN Assembly's vote on the partition plan were frustrated by U.S.-Russian insistence on a decision, and the plan was carried thirty-three to thirteen, with ten abstentions. The only non-Moslem countries which voted against partition were Greece and Cuba.

The UN plan found the United States and Soviet Russia substantially in agreement for the first time on a major issue — an electrifying development that gave a sorely needed lift to the world organization. Furthermore, Gromyko's and Tsarapkin's surprise declarations in support of a Jewish state — made in the face of Arab threats to the West of a bolt into the Soviet camp — undercut the Arab League game of playing the powers off against each other and placed the whole Middle East situation in a more realistic perspective.

The outstanding stumbling block to a solution was Britain's refusal, despite its decision to evacu-

ate Palestine, to coöperate in a settlement not acceptable to Arabs and Jews alike. This attitude came strangely from a government which had submitted the problem to the UN on the very ground that all possibilities of Arab-Jewish agreement had been exhausted; and which, furthermore, had shown no compunction about using force to impose the pro-Arab White Paper at great cost to itself in lives and money.

The United States and Russia achieved a compromise which asked no more of the Mandatory than to maintain order until evacuation and give to Arabs and Jews an equal opportunity to prepare for safeguarding their independence.

#### **Will the Arabs go to war?**

That there will be violence in Palestine is certain. But how much? Arab reluctance to make sacrifices to combat Zionism is a matter of record. Despite the tempest of speechmaking that greeted the 1936 Palestine riots, little was done to assist the insurgents, who at no time numbered more than 3000. The current Arab boycott of Zionist products has been so flagrantly violated that not long ago the Iraqi premier declared that only in Iraq was the boycott effective. It is no secret in the Middle East capitals that the Arab League meeting in Beirut, summoned in October to plan warfare against a Jewish state, degenerated into a contest between the Mufti and King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan for control of Palestine.

The long-standing feud between the Mufti and Abdullah — referred to as "Rabbi Abdullah" in the Mufti's Berlin broadcasts — is characteristic of the fissures within the Arab League. Abdullah for his part nurses a long-standing quarrel with Ibn





## The Atlantic Report on the Middle East



Saud, who expelled Abdallah's father, King Husain, from the Hejaz in 1924.

Trans-Jordan and Iraq form a close partnership within the League by reason of family ties: the boy king of Iraq is Abdullah's grandnephew and the regent is his nephew. The two Hashemite (of the family of Husain) countries, while retaining separate rulers, plan to abolish customs barriers and to adopt a common currency and passport system as first steps toward a more ambitious program of federation — the so-called Greater Syria plan, one of the most explosive issues within the Arab world.

The plan is vehemently opposed by most Syrian politicians, who see their jobs endangered, and by the Christian majority in the Lebanon, which is fearful of being engulfed in a Moslem confederation. The latter have never forgotten the massacre of Assyrian Christians in Iraq after the First World War, and feel that their security is linked with that of the other large non-Moslem minority in the Arab world.

King Farouk of Egypt is a staunch upholder of the status quo, under which his country is the richest, the most populous, and the most highly industrialized of the Arab states. He and Ibn Saud heartily agree that Hashemite ambitions must be held in check, but their own relations are strained. In the eyes of Ibn Saud, leader of the Wahabites, the puritans of Islam, Farouk is a westernized young upstart who has the presumption to challenge his claim to Arab leadership.

The intensity of Arab rivalries makes it improbable that the Arab leaders will succeed in forging a military coalition. It is still less probable, should they go to war, that they could overcome the Hagana or Jewish Defense Force. Even as an illegal formation, the Hagana — estimated to be 70,000 to 80,000 strong — is a well-trained, well-equipped fighting force, officered by men who fought in the British Army, some with the Commandos. As the army of an independent Jewish state, its manpower could be appreciably enlarged and its equipment fortified by Palestine industry, which turned out considerable quantities of war material for the British.

### Second-rate Arab Army

All the Arab armies together total approximately 135,000 men, a high proportion of whom must be kept at home to maintain order among the discontented masses and — in the case of Syria and Iraq — to cope with mutinous tribesmen. And this figure cannot be greatly strengthened by conscrip-

tion. Eighty per cent of Egyptian recruits are rejected as physically unfit, and the health of the masses is, if anything, lower elsewhere.

The only first-class fighting units in the Arab world are the Trans-Jordan Arab Legion and the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, both of which obey British orders; their involvement would be tantamount to British intervention. The Iraqi Army, strongest of the purely Arab forces, demonstrated its ineptitude both in Rashid Ali's pro-Axis revolt and in its incapacity to subdue Kurdish rebellions without British assistance. It was Lawrence of Arabia who said of the Arabs' fighting prowess in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*: "One company of Turks firmly entrenched in open country could have defied the entire army of them."

So it would be today. Testifying before the Anglo-American Committee, General D'Arcy, then Commander-in-Chief in Palestine, declared that the Hagana could hold the country against all the Arab states for years. One reservation is necessary. Britain is at present helping to train and equip most of the Arab armies. Were such assistance allowed to continue after the Arabs went to war, the Hagana would be placed at a hopeless disadvantage.

### Misery for the poor

A Palestine settlement will in the long run compel the Arab rulers to devote more attention to the plight of the bare-foot Arab. Poverty and disease make the life of the Arab peasant or worker a condition little removed from walking death. A random sampling of social statistics tells an appalling story. In Egypt and other parts of the Middle East, nearly 90 per cent of the peasantry are wasting away from bilharzia. Malaria kills 50,000 annually in Iraq. The incidence of pellagra and trachoma is staggeringly high. Limbs are everywhere disfigured by what a perverted nationalism variously terms the Nile boil, the Bagdad boil, and the Aleppo Button.

Life expectancy in Iraq is 27 years; one child in two dies before the age of five. In Egypt, the most advanced of the Arab states, the death rate is higher than in India; in rural areas there is but one doctor to every 10,000 inhabitants. In the whole of Trans-Jordan, three times the size of Palestine, there are twenty-four physicians and five dentists. Everywhere dirt, ignorance, and official apathy and corruption invite epidemic disease; Egypt's cholera epidemic, now in its fourth month, is still spreading. During a previous anti-plague campaign it cost the Egyptian government \$50 to kill a rat.





## The Atlantic Report *on the Middle East*



One half of one per cent of the population owns one third of the land. Under an antiquated system of land tenure, the Arab peasantry is chronically in debt to usurers and absentee landlords; interest rates frequently range from 50 to 200 per cent. The average annual income of an Iraqi peasant family before the war was \$35. Children six years old are employed in the cotton-gin plant of the Banque Misr of Egypt for a daily wage of fifteen cents. The Syrian agricultural worker is paid even less. Iraq, once the seat of a flowering civilization, now cultivates only 20 per cent of its arable land; Syria only 35 per cent. Slavery is recognized by law in Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, which was recently admitted to the UN.

Nothing remotely resembling democratic political conditions obtains in any of the Arab countries. Arab politics is an affair of personalities and family loyalties. When a former Egyptian premier was accused of packing the administration with his near relatives, he replied: "How can I run a government unless I have men I can trust in the key positions?"

Censorship powers enable the Arab governments to suspend or suppress by ministerial fiat newspapers critical of the administration. The Syrian Ministry of the Interior may dissolve any political party, group, or club that appears to act contrary to "the basic principles of the republican constitution."

### **Subsidies for the rich**

In the past decade, hundreds of millions of dollars have poured into the Arab world — in the form of British subsidies, interest-free loans, oil royalties and expenditures by the oil companies, and war-time payments for goods and services purchased at highly inflated prices. Most of this wealth has been dissipated in regal display and the enrichment of the moneyed classes. Some of it now goes to support the Arab League, which can afford to vote the Mufti an allowance of \$400,000.

These resources, if devoted to education, irrigation projects, and social services, could have transformed the face of the Arab world. The agricultural research section of the American Near East Foundation — a fine example of disinterested endeavor among the Arabs — offers impressive evidence of how much can be accomplished with how little: an expenditure of \$600 on experiments to combat tomato disease in the Lebanon saved a crop worth two millions.

One of the great barriers to progress in the Arab world has been the relative absence of a socially

conscious middle class. In the Lebanon, where French and American educators have long been active, 70 per cent of the population are literate, but elsewhere illiteracy ranges from 70 per cent in Syria to 90 per cent in Iraq, and more than that in the Arabian quadrilateral. There is no university in Iraq and only one newspaper in the Yemen, a country the size of Kansas with 3½ million people.

### **Hiding clamor for reform**

Thus between the ruling Arab oligarchy and the inarticulate masses there exists only a thin layer of struggling professional men, underpaid white-collar workers (most of them in the bureaucracy), and excitable students. Many of the members of this group, proud of being *effendis* (gentlemen) and conscious of their dependence on patronage for advancement, have in the past identified their interests with those of the pashas, and so have failed to constitute a progressive force in politics. Since the war, however, there has been a growing change in the outlook of the Arab middle-class intelligentsia — the most significant development in the Arab world since the time of Lawrence.

The young *effendis* in Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, and Baghdad are beginning to translate volatile clamor for reform into insistent pressure. Despite the repressive policies now in force under the guise of combating Communism, leftist journals and reform movements are sprouting faster than they can be suppressed.

The unanimity and vigor with which rival opposition parties protested the Lebanese and Iraqi elections are symptoms of a new temper among articulate Arabs. They cannot be swindled much longer with artificial excuses for postponing improvement of social conditions and obstructing the march of civilization. The proposed Jewish state will have the effect of quickening the civilizing process. In the course of time, it is bound to stimulate progressive Arabs with the example of an advanced technology, democratic institutions, and a sense of the dignity of human life unknown to the Arab oligarchy.

The Arab's greatest champion, T. E. Lawrence, once wrote: "I am decidedly in favor of Zionism. Indeed, I look on the Jews as the natural importers of that Western leaven which is so necessary for the countries of the Near East. . . . The success of their scheme will involve inevitably the raising of the present Arab population to their own material level, only a little after themselves in point of time, and the consequences might be of the highest importance for the future of the Arab world."



# *The* CHRISTIAN CENTURY

*Published Weekly*

---

U.M.T. Is Conscription

*An Editorial*

## Federal Union Is Not Enough!

By Truman B. Douglass

➡ Palestine and the  
Jew—A Reply

By Philip S. Bernstein

---

15 Cents a Copy

• February 4, 1948 •

Six Dollars a Year



# Palestine and the Jew—A Reply

By Philip S. Bernstein

**N**O ONE can take exception to some of the broad objectives enunciated by Rabbi Lazaron in his article, "Palestine and the Jew," which appeared in *The Christian Century* for November 19, 1947. The reign of God and the obligations imposed by his moral law are recognized by Jew and Christian alike. Both accept the responsibility of working for his Kingdom on earth. However, when Rabbi Lazaron considers the problem of Palestine in detail, he is less than fair to the facts.

His position may be briefly restated as follows: The Zionist movement does not express the wishes of most American Jews; the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine is a political, non-religious act which will destroy the moral authority of Judaism; the fulfillment of Zionism will worsen, not solve, the problem of the Jews; in the long run, the Jew will be better off if he allies himself with progressive forces marching toward freedom than if he sets up a separate state in Palestine.

## I

Let us begin by asking what the Jews themselves want. Elmo Roper, the well known authority on opinion surveys, published on November 22, 1947, the results of the most recent poll on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Jews only were queried. The results were: 80.1 per cent for a Jewish state, 10.5 per cent against, 9.4 per cent undecided. These figures simply confirm what is evident to any objective student of contemporary Jewish life in America. In every community there is a handful of anti-Zionists, but the overwhelming majority of American Jews are either outspoken in their advocacy of a Jewish state or, when presented with a direct question, will express sympathetic approval.

This is true also of the religious leadership. All the rabbinic bodies, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, have strongly repudiated Rabbi Lazaron's position. Of the 311 Jewish chaplains in the United States armed services less than 10 were members of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism.

Between May 1946 and August 1947, while serving as adviser on Jewish affairs to the United States army in Europe, I talked with over a hundred thousand Jewish displaced persons. I did not meet a single anti-Zionist among them. Even those who desired to migrate to the United States to join their families believed in the necessity of a Jewish state in Palestine. From their earliest years they had suffered from anti-Semitism. Since their postwar "liberation," they have seen their hopes blasted by violent pogroms and have faced the obvious unwillingness of every country to open its doors to any considerable numbers of D.P.'s. These Jews are tired of vapid platitudes. They have no faith in international conferences on refugees which simply highlight the reluctance of nations to take them in. They are sick of the humiliation of knocking as beggars at closed doors. Nor do they want a reluctant tolerance which would be followed, according to their

experience, by overt anti-Semitism. They want a Jewish state in Palestine to which they would come as of right, not on sufferance. They wish to live as normal human beings among the free peoples of the world. The anti-Zionist, it should be clear, speaks for a very small minority of the Jewish people.

## II

Rabbi Lazaron's second point is that establishment of a political state will destroy the moral authority of Judaism. He forgets that the overwhelming preponderance of Jewish scholarship inextricably links Jewish nationalism and Jewish theology. From the ancient Hebrew prophets to the latest book of Prof. Salo Barons it is incessantly affirmed that out of Zion shall go forth the Law. Daily the believing Jew prays for the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

To charge Zionism with being anti-religious is not only to contradict the facts, it is to ignore current realities. The leaders in the American Zionist movement are rabbis: Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress; Abba Hillel Silver, president of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine; Israel Goldstein, chairman of the United Palestine Appeal. When the *Herald Tribune* Forum sought an authentic spokesman for modern Judaism, the choice was Chaim Weizmann, revered leader of the world Zionist movement.

Although in Palestine, as elsewhere, there are irreligious people, essentially Zionism has a profound religious motivation. It is based on prophetic teaching and professes a messianic goal. Modern Judaism has been revitalized in Palestine. The ancient ritual practices have already evolved new meaning and new forms. The observance of the Sabbath and the festivals now expresses a living people's soul. New songs and dances and other art forms have emerged which are enriching the religious life of Jews all over the world. With the exception of a handful of old-line Reform temples, all the synagogues of America reveal the fructifying influence of the Jewish renaissance in Palestine. In short, most Jews not only see no conflict between Zionism and Judaism, but find them integrally bound together and complementary.

But Rabbi Lazaron claims that the establishment of a Jewish state will adversely affect the position of the Jews of the world. What are the facts in this connection? First of all, fear of the possible adverse effects of Jewish statehood is irrelevant to the present Jewish position in Europe. Most of Europe's Jews were slaughtered by the nazis. Most of the survivors either huddle in D.P. camps or live in lands where anti-Semitism continues to terrorize them. As the nazis persecuted Jews not for being Zionists but for being Jews, so today Europe's Jew-hatred is unrelated to Zionist aspirations or to the political decisions affecting Palestine. European anti-Semitism is as old as European Jewry. Hitler did not create it; he exploited it. European Jews are worse off today than they have been at



any other time in the nineteen centuries of dispersion. They would smile wryly at Rabbi Lazon's appeal that they ally themselves with the forces that are marching toward freedom. Where? In what country?

The largest surviving Jewish population of Europe is in Rumania. Most of these 400,000 Jews "sit on their suitcases" awaiting the opening of the doors to Palestine. Many thousands could not wait. I saw them in the D.P. assembly centers in Austria and Germany, their bodies emaciated, their eyes terror-stricken. I asked them whether, since UNRRA had been liquidated and the army prohibited by war department directive from providing aid to new infiltrees, they would not have been better off if they had waited in Rumania. Without exception, they said that the security of the D.P. camps under American protection was infinitely preferable to the menace of Rumanian anti-Semitism.

I saw Polish Jews on the march after the Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1946. They had left behind everything they possessed to flee in panic toward safety in the United States zone. They have been waiting a long time in Germany and Austria, but they will not return to Poland, for they regard it as certain that their return in any numbers would evoke again the violence which forced them to flee. The Jews remaining in Poland—90,000 out of the pre-war total of 3,250,000—await the opportunity to move to Palestine.

The second-largest Jewish community in Europe is that under U.S. army care in D.P. camps. Of these, 90 per cent have expressed the desire to go to Palestine. Their eagerness for resettlement has been intensified by the growth of outspoken German anti-Semitism. Recent army studies reveal that six out of every ten Germans would participate in or condone overt acts against Jews. Feeling against the D.P.'s is running high. Nazi songs are heard again. Stones are thrown into the windows of Jewish homes. Jews are abused in trains and other public places. It is generally believed that the removal of the American army would be followed by pogroms.

### III

Informed persons know that most of the Jews of Europe have no future there. (Excluded from this statement are the Jews of Soviet Russia, who live behind the "iron curtain," whose precise condition is unknown and who are not free to express their wishes.) Where shall they go? Again I speak from experience. Disregarding the expressed wishes of the displaced persons, I explored every possibility for their resettlement. Occasionally small numbers could be placed here or there, but the results were canceled out by the increasing birth rate and by new infiltration. There simply was no place to send the great bulk of Europe's surviving Jews.

Anti-Semitism, although a major factor, was not the only obstacle. The countries which needed labor wanted farmers, miners, lumbermen, heavy manual workers. The Jews were chiefly artisans, professional people, small business men. Moreover, there is a soul sickness in the world which has made all nations distrustful of foreigners. Even the United States, the richest country in history, has been unwilling thus far to liberalize its immigration laws. It is no secret that anti-Semitism was the most powerful factor

in blocking the passage of the Stratton bill to admit 100,000 displaced persons a year for four years.

Thus it was that not only Jews but American military and governmental authorities became convinced that Palestine was the only answer to the problem of displaced Jews. And when it became clear that there could be no large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine without Jewish political control, they threw their support behind the proposal for the establishment of a Jewish state.

The claim that the establishment of such a state will worsen the position of the Jews in Europe has no basis in fact. The Jews feel that their position could not be worse. That is why they are ready to brave every danger and hardship in order to reach Palestine. I am inclined to think that if Rabbi Lazon had spent some time among these displaced Jews he would feel different about their future in Europe.

### IV

What really bothers the anti-Zionists, I suspect, is the effect of a Jewish state in Palestine on the status of American Jews. This situation however is not without parallel. Ireland and Czechoslovakia became independent nations only after World War I, but the loyalty of Irish- or Czech-descended American citizens was never questioned on that account. Of course in the case of American Jewry adjustments will have to be made—and can be made. All that is required is a little common sense. Jews must and will remain politically loyal to the United States of America. Spiritually they will have some such attachment to Palestine as the Irishman cherishes for Eire and the Catholic for Rome. If ever there should be a war between the United States and the new Judea—which certainly seems very unlikely—the Jew will be faced with the same conflicts as other groups. This should be no more an insoluble problem for the Jewish-American than it has been for the Italian-, German- or Finnish-American.

On the other hand, the normalizing of the Jewish position in the world should do a great deal to reduce the strain under which the Jew lives in this country. It was the abnormal position of the Jew in Europe which evoked violent anti-Semitism there. Furthermore, the pressure of the unsolved Jewish problem in Europe has been a constant irritant here in America, exacerbating the general problem of refugees and displaced persons for both the taxpayer and the army. Even the burden of guilt on the American conscience, which recognized that something must be done and yet did nothing, was in a sense an irritant.

All this has led to a growing feeling of annoyance with the Jews. The solution of the European Jewish problem will relieve these strains and burdens. The Jewish problem will then be transferred from the arena of controversy to the area of constructive effort. Regardless of the political problems that may arise in Palestine, I envision a more settled condition for the Jews of the United States as a result of the Jewish state.

### V

Finally, I would deal with Rabbi Lazon's charge that Zionism is a reactionary movement and his insistence that the Jews should align themselves with the progressive



forces of the world. Actually, it is the opponents of Zionism who are the known reactionary forces. The grand mufti, who is the leader of the Arab opposition to Zionism, joined Hitler in Berlin during the war to fight Western democracy. He is the spokesman for an unhealthy combination of economic feudalism and religious fanaticism. Before the Jews revolutionized social conditions in Palestine, he condoned a work day of fourteen hours for five cents. He and his like keep the Arab masses ignorant and poverty-stricken, denying them the benefits of modern medicine and modern agriculture. These reactionaries inevitably conflicted with the progressive Western ideas introduced by the Jews into Palestine.

Certainly neither the Arab rulers nor the British colonial administrators in the Middle East represented the forces of social progress. But the Jews did. Into one of the most backward countries of the world they introduced cooperatives, social insurance, universal education, public hygiene, hydro-electrification, newspapers and soap. They established in Palestine one of the most progressive labor movements in the world. Today the Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, has a higher percentage of the population in its membership than is to be found in proportion to numbers in any free country. The other day, I heard Henry Wallace say that the Arabs in Palestine had the lowest wheat yield in the world, even lower than in the time of Christ. Jews, on the other hand, have developed an amazing productivity. They are showing the Arabs the way to prosperity, literacy and good health.

Here is hope for the Middle East. The Jews in Palestine are the progressive forces on the march toward freedom, and it would be well for the Arabs and the world if the Arabs were to join them.

Since Rabbi Lazaron wrote his article his views have taken on a somewhat academic character. The conscience of the world organized in the United Nations has spoken. A clear policy for Palestine has been enunciated. The greatest powers in the world have made the decision and can be relied on to support its implementation. The Jews, having suffered so much and waited so long, and seeing no alternative, will not be turned aside. The Jewish state in partitioned Palestine is on its way.

The question now is, What kind of Jewish state? And what shall our relations with it be?

The new state will face terribly difficult practical problems. At the moment the security problem looms large, but this will become secondary as time passes, while economic and social problems will assume priority. The resettlement and absorption of such vast numbers of Jews will require large funds as well as statesmanship, imagination and social vision. However, it may confidently be expected that the Jewish commonwealth will not only right ancient wrongs and help to bring prosperity and progress to the feudalistic Middle East, but will also yield new insights into life and faith to troubled mankind, once more bringing forth out of Zion the law of God. In an enterprise of such importance and spiritual significance every Jew and all Christians of good will should aid.





Friday, February 6, 1948

## Collective Paralysis on Palestine

Last spring the situation in Palestine appeared desperate enough to necessitate a special session of the United Nations Assembly. A committee was appointed to investigate and report; the regular Assembly session debated the question and, after a bitter fight, adopted a plan calling for the partition of the Holy Land. The British refuse to bear sole responsibility; the Arabs are in arms—and the Jews remain, for all practical purposes, in the same position as when this lengthy U. N. process began nearly a year ago. That is to say, they have no legal defense organization, no legal method of acquiring (or even possessing) arms, no legal method of increasing their strength through immigration. To be sure, they do have a paper promise of statehood from the U. N., but the international organization, apparently exhausted by the effort required to produce this document, is now striking attitudes of languor and embarrassment, waiting for Palestine to explode, or for someone to take the initiative in averting tragedy.

The position of the United States at this juncture is one of peculiar responsibility. Officially and unofficially the United States took the lead in urging a change in the conditions of the British mandate, and later in promoting partition. If Palestine collapses into anarchy upon the withdrawal of the British it will be a terrible reflection upon American policy no less than upon the prestige and authority of the United Nations. It is necessary, therefore, that this country take the initiative in securing U. N. action to implement partition.

The most obvious procedure would be to give the Jews of Palestine the legal right and the means to defend themselves. Mr. David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency, is confident of the ability of his people to protect their interests if they are allowed to form a militia and are armed by the U. N. Such a program, then, should be the first order of business for the Palestine Commission and the Security Council, and the United States could well exert every legitimate influence to secure the adoption of a definite plan toward this end.

If the Jews of Palestine can be armed and organized in time, there may well be no occasion for further U. N. action. But as a matter of insurance the world organization should canvass other methods of enforcing its decision. Palestine could be defended by contingents from U. N. member states. This would involve, in all probability, a Russian unit, as well as American troops. Another method would be through the formation of a distinctly U. N. constabulary, recruited from volunteers who would not represent individual states, but the organization as a whole. Such a force would take time to form and train, but it would be open to fewer objections than any other means of U. N. military intervention.

The U. N. is looking to the United States for some light and leading on the enforcement of partition, and this country cannot afford to withhold it. The keynote of American policy must be collective action; it should not involve unilateral measures that would impose the entire burden on the United States. But the present state of collective paralysis on the Palestine issue is too dangerous to endure—too dangerous for Palestine, for the U. N. and for the United States.



# Washington Memo

EDITOR: Charles Ten Bravender

Associates: Oliver Pilot, James A. Washler  
and William O. Payer Jr.

## Arabs Are Bluffing With Vital Oil, Their Cards Show, and Still We Fall for It

Washington, Feb. 10.

American policy on Palestine is being influenced, and perhaps determined, by one of the most amazing bluffs in history—the threat that this country's access to Middle East oil will be cut off unless we repudiate the United Nations decision to partition the Holy Land.

Fantastic thing about this bluff is that all of the cards are showing—and all that the Arab League and the Mufti's Higher Committee for Palestine have is a busted flush.

Public and private dispatches during the past six months from Syria, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia have agreed on one point: The Arab countries are even more desperately interested than is the U. S. in completion of the pipelines that will bring full development of Arabian oil fields and that will mean dollar prosperity to the Arab governments as surely as it will mean oil plenty to the Western Hemisphere.



FORRESTAL.

The Arab rulers are not interested in francs or pounds, for the obvious reason that nothing much can be bought with those currencies. What they want is dollars. Strangely enough, they are also dependent on this country for distilled oil products to run the thousands of American automobiles, trucks and buses they have acquired in recent years. Gasoline in Syria and Lebanon is now being rationed and is producing from \$1.40 to \$2 a gallon in the black markets.

Little Lebanon, alone, is counting on \$100,000,000 of oil company money being spent in that country during the next few years in completing the Mediterranean pipeline. In Syria, where the pipeline means employment for 60,000 persons, demonstrations against the government have occurred in an effort to speed ratification of the pipeline agreement.

Throughout the Middle East there is a realization that if political difficulties result in U. S. steel being diverted to tankers the pipelines probably never will be built.

Yet there are American officials—of whom Defense Secretary Forrestal is the most important—who have completely fallen for the Arab bluff that the pipelines will be cut off unless the U. S. repudiates the U.N. decision on Palestine. And the frightened propagandists of the oil companies here are actively bolstering the spectres raised by Forrestal.

When the full history of the mysterious and undercover Washington drive against partition is finally written the heretofore unsung name of James Terry Duce may merit an extensive chapter. Duce is the vice-president in charge of operations of the Arabian-American Oil Co. He journeyed to the Middle East soon after the partition vote at Lake Success.

According to information from highly responsible sources, Duce's pilgrimage was a fateful turning point. In conversations with Arab leaders at Beirut he expressed his company's disappointment at the terms of the U.N. decision. They, in turn, suggested that there was a "way out"—the abandonment of partition and the establishment of a Hebrew equivalent of the Vatican state in Jerusalem.

Duce returned to this capital last month. He subsequently conferred with officials in both the State and Defense departments and reported to his company that he has received a "warm response" from some influential dignitaries. Duce reportedly found that the "Red threat" was the most persuasive argument and he played it hard.

Now the words that he recited have become common Washington language and are being echoed by some top-ranking government officials. Lobbyists for Standard Oil and Socony Vacuum are promoting the same campaign, using Duce's "reports" as a major weapon in their underground drive.

But the interesting—and unpublicized—side of Duce's story is that he also is said to have informed his company that there was no early danger of the cancellation of oil leases; that the problem was "long-range."

In any case the chronology is significant. For it shows that the renewed fight against partition here broke loose at just about the time that the unheralded agent of Arabian-American Oil began circulating his scare tales and it also supports the belief that the fire Arab threats to cut off Middle East oil from America are pure bluffs.



## Letters to The Times

### Arabs as Aggressors

#### United Nations Asked to Authorize An International Police Force

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Current pleas for compromise in Palestine are misleading and dangerous. They are misleading because they are based upon two untenable assumptions; dangerous because they becloud the issue and give encouragement to the aggressors.

These two false assumptions are: First, that the Jews and the Arabs are equally or almost equally responsible for the present bloodshed in the Holy Land; and, second, that a substantial group of Arab leaders would accept a compromise if one were offered.

The responsibility for bloodshed today in Palestine is not divided. The Arabs alone are the aggressors. They have rejected categorically the United Nations partition decision voted by more than two-thirds majority of the Assembly on Nov. 29; the Jews have accepted that decision. The Arabs are using or are threatening to use all their available military forces to forestall the implementation of the United Nations judgment. The Jews are using all their strength to uphold that judgment; and are begging the Security Council of the United Nations to implement it. Thus the Arabs have clearly indicted themselves as the aggressors. Under these circumstances, talk of compromise involving a reversal of the United Nations decision can only tend to appease and, therefore, to encourage such aggression.

#### No More Conciliatory

The second assumption of the "compromisers" that there are a number of Arab leaders who would accept a compromise—even if this involved some further weakening of the Jewish position in Palestine—is also untrue. Not the slightest evidence has been adduced to show that the Arab leaders are today any more conciliatory than they were in February and March, 1946, when my colleagues and I of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry spent several weeks investigating opinions in Palestine and in its Arab neighboring states. Then not a single important Arab spokesman dared to support any deviation from the accepted

line that the whole of Palestine must be an Arab state. During the past two years Arab leadership opinion has become, if that were possible, even more intransigent. Any Arab leader who today spoke of compromise would do so at the risk of his life.

Clearly, the Arab leaders would not be satisfied even with the complete reversal of the United Nations action. In addition, they demand that the internationally recognized bases of the Jewish homeland in Palestine, established by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate, be scrapped and the Jews there be reduced to a defenseless minority.

The "compromisers" forget also that the United Nations decision was itself a compromise. In accepting it the Jewish Agency, as representative of the Jewish community in Palestine and of Zionists throughout the world, made large sacrifices of Jewish claims and of Jewish traditional aspirations. The non-inclusion in the Jewish State of Western Galilee, a substantial portion of the Negeb and of Jerusalem were large Jewish concessions in order to secure an international and peaceful solution. The Arab leaders, on their part, offered no concessions during the United Nations discussions and offer none now.

#### No Compromise

There is today only one way to bring peace to the Holy Land. It is for the United Nations to make unmistakably clear to the Arab leaders that there will be no compromise with aggression. This can best be done by the authorization of a relatively small international police force to represent the United Nations in Palestine. Such a force would not have to be large in order to re-establish order and maintain peace, particularly since it could count on the wholehearted cooperation of the Jewish militia, Haganah.

In this crisis our Government, by permitting the impression to prevail—as is indicated in a revealing dispatch on Feb. 10 in THE NEW YORK TIMES—that "the United States policy remains one of theoretical support of the partition plan" is encouraging Arab intransigency and is thereby endangering the peace in Palestine and the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

JAMES G. McDONALD.

New York, Feb. 11, 1948.



# U. S. Stand on Palestine Viewed As Starting U. N. on League's Path

## Sumner Welles Attacks Counselors of Caution, Says Holy Land War Would Realize Their Fear—Soviet Troops in the Middle East

By Sumner Welles

*Former Under Secretary of State*

It is hard to arouse a democracy to impending danger when the clouds on the horizon still seem no larger than a man's hand. Even Winston Churchill could not waken the British people to the menace in the rise of Nazism. The peril to us in Japan's aggression against China and in Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia went largely unperceived. But even if the tragic lessons of the recent past are to be so easily forgotten, the clouds now looming are no longer on the horizon. They are hanging over us.

This government has repeatedly announced that the United Nations is the foundation of American foreign policy. Yet because of the failure of the United States to adopt a consistent and courageous policy on Palestine, the United Nations is today faced with the gravest dilemma in its history.

Save for Britain in the days of Baldwin, it would be difficult to find a more sorry instance of a major power refusing to face facts.

The decision to partition Palestine was taken after full investigation and debate. It was in strict accordance with the provisions of the Charter. The United States was in great part responsible. This country played a leading role throughout the events that led up to that decision.

### Lack of Enforcement

The American government failed however to insist that the United Nations must be enabled to enforce its decision, and to protect life and property in Palestine until the independence of the two new states had been finally established.

For lack of any United Nations police force, the members of the Palestine commission have now been told by the British that they will be assassinated if they set foot in Palestine. Major hostilities between Jews and Arabs are imminent. The United Nations cannot carry out its decision. Because the United States has during the last two months renounced every semblance of leadership, the smaller countries are increasingly reluctant to assume any responsibility.

The Palestine commission has at length been compelled to ask the Security Council to determine that there is a "threat to the peace" and to take action under the Charter. And Washington still remains silent.

It is notorious that there is a sharp cleavage of opinion within the government. The Army and Navy, supported by some officials of the State Department and of other departments, insist that the United States must take no action to back up its words. They allege that our growing controversy with Russia makes it unwise for us further to antagonize the Arab states or jeopardize this country's access to Middle Eastern oil.

### Soviet Troops?

Such arguments are wholly unconvincing. The British government cannot prolong its mandate in Palestine. Once British forces withdraw, war will result unless the United Nations can send an international constabulary to Pal-

estine. If hostilities break out, the Soviet Union will undoubtedly insist that its vital interests require it to send its own forces to maintain order in its neighborhood.

Should our service departments prevail upon the Administration to refuse to exercise any leadership within the United Nations to maintain peace in Palestine, they will pave the way for what they fear most, namely, the extension of Soviet control over the Middle East.

The arguments on oil are just as unrealistic. If a new war breaks out, the Middle Eastern oil resources would certainly not be available to western Europe nor to the United States. Should peace be preserved, since the Arab governments depend upon the royalties from their oil concessions, they are hardly likely to oppose their exploitation.

But we are face to face with a far more fundamental issue.

Japan defied the League of Nations in 1932 and was permitted by the great powers to do so with impunity. The Italian aggression against Ethiopia, the civil war in Spain, and the rape by Hitler of Austria and of Czechoslovakia were the inevitable result.

The Arab states have now defied the United Nations.

### U. S.-Soviet Concurrence

The partition of Palestine is the one major question upon which the policies of the United States and of the Soviet Union have coincided. Yet this government has so far failed to initiate any measures within the United Nations to guard against the Arab aggression which is under way, or even to protest the flagrant violation of their Charter commitments by the Arab states.

If the United Nations is, in fact, the foundation of American policy, the United States must support the United Nations, not only when that is convenient and easy, but quite as much so when such support implies effort, sacrifice and risk.

The League of Nations collapsed because the major powers then members of the League supported the League only when it suited their own ends. They failed to support the League when it seemed that their selfish interests might be prejudiced.

We are seeing exactly the same trend. The Palestine question is a test case. Should the United States persist in its present blind inaction it will be preparing the way for the failure of the new international organization. And if the United Nations fails, the one hope humanity today possesses for the rule of law rather than the rule of force, for the freedom and progress of mankind, and for the establishment of a peaceful world order will vanish with it.



# Brewster Calls Palestine Arms Ban Illegal

## Charges State Dept. Has Usurped Legislative Power

By I. F. STONE

Washington Editor

WASHINGTON

In an exhaustive legal memorandum made public here, Sen. Owen Brewster (R., Me.), calls the State Dept.'s action in denying export licenses for arms shipments to Palestine, "a high-handed, arbitrary, and wholly unwarranted usurpation of legislative authority."

Sen. Brewster disclosed that in the course of his investigation he questioned the chief of the Munitions Division of the State Dept., E. T. Cummins, who is also executive secretary of the National Munitions Control Board, in charge of arms export licenses.

"Mr. Cummins," the Senator reported, "was unable to cite any specific law or any treaty which would be violated by arms shipments to Palestine."

### Challenges Sincerity Of 'Neutrality'

Sen. Brewster not only attacked the legality of the embargo but the sincerity of the "neutrality" policy advanced as its excuse.

Sen. Brewster cited three cases "to show that our State Dept. has not always stood on the sidelines as an impartial observer":

¶ "The assignment of 50 destroyers to Great Britain before our entry into the war, but after Great Britain had declared war on Germany."

¶ "The shipment of arms and ammunition to the Finns during their encounter with the Russians in 1939."

¶ "The Flying Tiger episode [before the U. S. A. entered the war.—Ed.] in connection with which we

supplied large numbers of airplanes, equipped with machine guns and bomb racks, set up a factory for the manufacture of military aircraft for the Chiang Kai-shek government, and continued to supply this factory with the machinery and tools for the construction of military aircraft."

### State Dept. Obligated To Grant Licenses

Sen. Brewster—firing the first gun in what may become a major battle on the Senate floor—pointed an accusing finger at President Truman's message of April 15 last, transmitting a proposal for legislation to control exports and imports of arms.

That message, Sen. Brewster said, "admits that the Secretary of State must grant every application for a license for the exportation of arms unless such action would be in violation of a treaty."

The Senator declared that since Congress had yet to act upon the President's request for stricter controls, the State Dept. "proceeds to exercise that control without authority."

### Reasons For Which Exports Can Be Banned

Sen. Brewster quoted the language of the existing law to show that arms licenses for export may be denied only under two circumstances:

¶ If such export were in violation of "any treaty to which the United States is a party."

¶ If the President had issued a proclamation declaring that the export of arms to any specified country or area "would be con-



Sen. Brewster Gives Legal Brief

trary to the interest of the United States."

Past proclamations of this kind have barred shipments at various times to China, Honduras, Nicaragua and Cuba.

"No such proclamation has been issued," the Brewster memorandum declared, "precluding the shipment of arms to Palestine."

### State Dept. Cites 'Inter-Office Memo'

Sen. Brewster said he had "quizzed the officials of the Munitions Division of the Department of State specifically and exhaustively on this point" but that the only authority they could cite for their embargo action was an "inter-office memorandum from the Secretary of State."

The Brewster memorandum opens the Administration to imputations of hypocrisy, by pointing out that the principal reason cited by the President for asking greater power over arms shipments from Congress last April was to be able to support UN decisions.

"We have committed ourselves," the President said in that message, "to international cooperation through the United Nations. If this participation is to be fully effective this Government must have control over traffic in weapons which will permit us to act in accordance with our position and in the United Nations and will be adaptable to changes in the international situation."

### UN Hasn't Asked Ban on Shipments

Sen. Brewster in comment on this plea asserted: "The United Nations has not, however, by resolution or other action directed or requested its member nations to withhold shipments of arms to Palestine."

The Senator said he had "checked this point thoroughly with the local office of the United Nations."

Sen. Brewster said the discretionary powers asked last April had not been granted, but that "nonetheless the State Dept., presuming to know what is good for the world and this Nation far better than the Congress, proceeds to exercise that control without authority."

The Senator said the State Dept. had not even published an order or regulation as required by law, but had merely issued a press release on Dec. 5, 1947, putting the embargo into effect.



# Straddling the Issue

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1948

## The Straddle

It is difficult to read Mr. Austin's opening statement to the Security Council as anything save a last—a really stupendous—effort to straddle an issue which can be straddled no longer. In its elaborate legal niceties the statement is correct. The General Assembly's decision for partition was a "political" decision; it could have the force only of a recommendation, not of law. To enforce such a decision is no part of the Security Council's duty or authority; it is empowered only to keep peace. It cannot impose the partition plan or any other plan; all it can do is to determine whether Palestine presents a threat to international peace, and then take action necessary to avert that threat.

In suggesting that under the circumstances the first step on the part of the Security Council should be the appointment of another committee to "look into" the matter and further to "consult," the Austin statement, if not correct, is at any rate logical. The Assembly's partition plan was expected to be in effect self-enforcing; the fact that it has not proved so means that in this important respect the plan is a failure and therefore it is a fundamentally new situation which confronts the Council, in which "consultation" is appropriate. The validity of all this careful reasoning must be recognized. Unfortunately, its futility is too obvious even for comment.

The Austin statement does go so far as to say that "if" the Council should decide that

in order to maintain peace it is necessary to use armed force "in connection with" Palestine, the United States will be ready to "consult . . . with a view to such action as may be necessary to maintain international peace." This wobbling stand is unlikely to impress the Arabs, or the other members of the Security Council. It will not counter-balance the proposal for another committee, which can only convince the Arabs that they have partition on the ropes and that with a continuation of their present tactics they may even finish it for good.

The Truman administration has made a mighty attempt to straddle this issue, which it has itself helped to develop into a chasm too deep and wide and dangerous for any straddling. The practical alternatives are as before: either to enforce partition upon the Arabs or abandon Jewish Palestine. As the British learned long ago, one cannot attempt to straddle without seeming to favor one side or the other and earning the bitter enmity of both. The British, speaking through Sir Arthur Creech-Jones, were at least completely forthright. They are through, once and for all; they will spend no more blood on this thankless business and will have nothing whatever to do with enforcement of any kind. If the United States is not to stand by while Palestine slides into chaos, carrying the United Nations with it, then the United States must say with equal forthrightness what it will do and what it will urge the Security Council to do.

## New York Post

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1948.

## Betrayal

By T. O. THACKREY

Stripped of platitudes, the statement of the United States before the United Nations Security Council yesterday cancelled out the plan for the partition of Palestine the United States fought to secure last November 29.

This is betrayal, though quick study of the statement does not disclose it—as it was intended not to disclose it.

The statement is intended to make us believe the United States is merely seeking a method of carrying out the partition decision.

The United States asks the Council to determine whether there is a threat to peace; it offers to consult with the other great powers on the formation of an international army to enforce the peace, if it is found to be threatened; it pledges to support whatever action the Council takes.

This has the sound of a constructive policy, particularly when coupled with intimations that, if the Council decides an armed militia is required to enforce the peace, a way would be found to supply arms.

It was intended to sound constructive.

But it was betrayal.

The first of the significant statements—an outrageous statement containing the very essence of betrayal—was this from the United States:

"The Council's action . . . is directed to keeping the peace and not to enforcing partition."

But if enforcement of the partition decision is not the business of the Council, the only United Nations organ empowered to use force, then it is the business of nobody and is meaningless.

The United States' statement is not content with nullifying the partition decision by conspiring to negate any possibility of its enforcement, however; it goes further.

"The Charter does not empower the Security Council to enforce a political settlement whether it is pursuant to

## An Editorial

a recommendation of the General Assembly or of the Council itself," is what the U. S. delegate said.

This statement terms the action of the General Assembly a recommendation, which it is not, rather than a decision, which it was.

It also embarks on the most dangerous of all concepts—that whether the General Assembly or the Security Council or both, reach political decisions, the United Nations under no circumstances is empowered to enforce them.

Since every question involving a threat to peace is a political question, what the United States has actually said in its anxiety to avoid enforcement of the partition decision is that no decisions can be enforced.

This is another way of stating that the way to nullify any decision is for the opposed group or groups to attack, threaten the peace, and then have the Security Council maintain peace by nullifying the decision that caused the attack.

The United States also proposes a five-power Security Council Commission to study the Palestine problem.

This commission supersedes, of course, the Palestine Commission empowered by the General Assembly to implement a decision which we now deny was a decision.

What really was done at Lake Success yesterday by the United States was to do these things:

1. Kill the partition decision reached by the General Assembly.

2. Take the whole Palestine problem away from the Assembly and place it effectively in British and Arabian hands for "settlement."

Next, we shall no doubt see the spectacle of the United States urging that Great Britain be begged to remain in Palestine "to keep the peace."

It would have been more honest to state flatly that we have placed our foreign policy in the tender hands of the British Foreign and Colonial offices, and have empowered the Nazi-Arab war criminal the ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, our new Secretary of State for Palestine.

If no other course can restore us to honor, perhaps it is not too soon to raise the question of impeachment.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue

New York 17, N. Y.



## Peace in the Holy Land

### *Mr. McDonald Dissents From the Gildersleeve Report*

To the New York Herald Tribune:

My reading in the New York Herald Tribune today of the statement of the Committee for Justice and Peace in the Holy Land and the explanation of the Chairman, Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve, has left me with a feeling of amazement and consternation: amazement that the group of American educators and religious leaders who have endorsed the new Committee should ignore the realities of the Palestine problem and basic Christian interests in the Middle East; and consternation that these leaders should in the name of "peace and justice" invite the United Nations to commit suicide by yielding to Arab aggression and to Arab threats of war.

The sponsors of the Committee are quoted as contending that "the Palestine problem must be solved through conciliation or some sort of compromise agreeable to both the Arabs and the Jews." This is tantamount to asking the Jews to surrender their hopes and their rights in Palestine. The Arab leaders when they appeared to give testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (of which I was one of the American members) were unanimous and unyielding in their demand that the Jews should relinquish all special rights or claims to such rights in Palestine. Unashamedly, these Arab leaders demanded the scrapping of the Balfour Declaration with its clear and solemn pledge to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. They demanded, too, the scrapping of the League of Nations Mandate which incorporated the Balfour pledge and which had made that pledge the international law of the civilized world for decades. In short, the Arab spokesmen would agree to nothing less than that the Jews become a helpless and defenseless minority in their historic, their promised homeland. In the two years since the Anglo-American Committee concluded its hearings, Arab intransigence has not diminished. Instead, if that were possible, it has increased.

In view of this Arab defiance, the call of the Committee for "compromise agreeable to both the Arabs and the Jews" must have the effect of bringing pressure to bear upon the Jews to yield to Arab intransigence. How such pressure can contribute towards "peace and justice in the Holy Land" is a mystery which neither the Committee's statement nor the explanation of its Chairman does anything to clear up. The amazing fact is that the Committee and its sponsors could have so completely disregarded the obvious pro-Arab effect of their call for "compromise."

Similarly, the Committee ignores the miracle of re-creation which the Jews have worked in Palestine under the Mandate and the beneficent effect of that re-creation upon the welfare and the feelings of the masses of the Arabs in the country.

That the Arab worker and peasant are not unaware of the benefits of Jewish enterprise, modern techniques and devotion to the land is evidenced by the fact that in the recent outbreaks of violence the masses of the Palestinian Arabs have had little or no part. On the contrary, the Arab attacks have been spearheaded by guerrillas or members "on leave" of the armed forces from across the frontiers. Surely if the rank and file of Palestine Arabs were as violently anti-Jewish as their self-appointed leader, there would be no need—since the Arabs outnumber the Jews two to one—for assistance from Syria, Iraq and other neighboring Arab states.

Among the sponsors of the new Committee is such a large proportion, if not a majority, of Protestant religious leaders that the reader naturally concludes that Christian interests in Palestine and the Middle East would be advanced by the proposed surrender to the Arabs. Precisely the opposite would be the more likely result of such un-Christian sacrifice of the Jews to Arab fanatical nationalism.

During the investigation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Palestine and the neighboring Arab states, we were given many opportunities to hear either in open session or private interviews, the opinions of Christian leaders. Of all these leaders none impressed me as deeply as did the Patriarch of the Maronites. This venerable head of one of the most important Christian sects in the Middle East was unqualified in his support of the Zionist aspirations in Palestine and in his denunciation of those Moslem leaders whom he charged were, in the name of Arab nationalism, preparing the way for a frontal attack upon Christianity in that area.

The Patriarch's statement made to me in the presence of his advisers was in substance as follows: "In Palestine the Zionists are synonymous with rebirth and fertility; the Arabs have been synonymous with aridity and decay. The only menace to Christianity in this part of the world is from the success of inflamed Moslem nationalists. Tell your American Christian friends the truth about the danger which threatens Christianity here." Very respectfully I suggest to the Christian leaders sponsoring the new Committee that they take account of the Patriarch's warning.

Recently one of the official organs of the Church of England, "The Record," put the case incontrovertibly: "There can be no impartiality between right and wrong, between justice and injustice. . . . The only salutary course would be for the U. N. to declare the Jews as allies and defenders of the world conscience. The Haganah might logically be appointed as the international force in Palestine."

In all fairness is not this approach at once more realistic and Christian than that of the new Committee, which by urging appeasement of Arab aggression, invites the United Nations to commit suicide?

JAMES G. McDONALD.  
New York, March 2, 1948.



# The New York Times

MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1948.

## TO SAVE THE PEACE

On May 15 Britain will give up her Palestine mandate and withdraw her troops from the Holy Land. Unless the United Nations acts decisively before that date this withdrawal will certainly be followed by disaster. The United Nations is now in the position of having issued the partition decree and having taken no steps to enforce it. The tragedy of Palestine will therefore be a shattering blow to the U. N. as well as to world peace. Yet in the face of this grim fact the Security Council on Friday voted a delay of at least ten days by referring the matter to the permanent members of the Council. No postponement of the evacuation date of May 15 was included.

We do not believe ten days should be needed or ought to be wasted while blood flows in Palestine and the situation there steadily degenerates. We believe two steps can be and should be taken, immediately, by the Security Council and member governments which may avert the impending calamity: (1) The United Nations should forthwith urge the British mandatory Power to grant Haganah, the Jewish militia in Palestine, a *de jure* status in place of the *de facto* status already reluctantly accorded. After all, the Zionists, whose lives are now in danger, are in Palestine because of British co-operation. The barest good faith demands that they be allowed to protect themselves. We believe Britain could ill afford to ignore this recommendation of U. N., and that she will rise in the world's good opinion if she follows the wise and humane course. (2) We believe that the United Nations should urge the United States and other U. N. member countries to lift any embargo they may have placed on the supply of arms to the legal Zionist militia, and that they, too, under the pressure of this world recommendation, will act accordingly.

These steps will not relieve the United Nations of the ultimate responsibility for policing Palestine and for protecting it against invasion from without. Haganah, however, officially recognized and supplied, may be able to hold the line until further help can be organized or until the Arab dissenters realize that they cannot defy the power and public opinion of the rest of the world. But action must be swift. The lives of many people, the prestige of the United Nations and peace itself depend on this decision.



*This advertisement is sponsored by AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE, 41 East 42nd St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.*



TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1948

# The United Nations and Palestine

The Implications of the American Stand Would Impair U. N.'s Charter

By Benjamin V. Cohen

Formerly Counselor of the Department of State

THE statement made by Senator Austin in the Security Council on Feb. 24 indicates that the State Department doubts the authority of the Security Council to maintain peace in Palestine on the basis of the plan adopted by the General Assembly. The statement seems to go further and to cast doubt on the authority of the Security Council to remove a threat to the peace in any case by requiring the parties to the dispute to accept a political settlement of their differences. Because the issues thus raised affect not only Palestine but the future effectiveness of the United Nations, I feel impelled to express dissent from the apparent implications of that statement. Those implications would go far to make the charter impotent and to relieve the members of the United Nations of any real responsibility thereunder. In these critical days, it is not in our interest or in the interest of freedom and law in the world for us to read the life out of the charter of the United Nations.

Before considering the legal issues, however, I should like to point out that the State Department's present position represents a departure from the approach to the United Nations heretofore taken by President Truman, as well as by Secretary Byrnes and Senator Austin himself. Heretofore the approach of the American government to the United Nations has been not to inquire what we legally and technically are obligated to do, but what we legally and practically can do, to make the United Nations effective.

When Iran was threatened with aggression in the spring of 1946, Secretary Byrnes did not say we were helpless because the Soviet Union could and would veto anything we proposed, but he solemnly announced that we would defend the purposes, principles and policies of the United Nations, veto or no veto.

In their addresses before the General Assembly in the fall of 1946, both President Truman and Senator Austin averred that the large states as well as the small states were bound to live up to the obligations they had assumed under the charter and that the veto did not give them the right to absolve themselves from these obligations.

Heretofore it has been the policy of the United States to seek to realize the great potentialities of the charter and not to exaggerate and magnify its limitations.

THE statement of Feb. 24 admits the authority of the Security Council to remove a threat to international peace and security whether arising from within or without Palestine; but the statement goes far toward undermining the authority of the Security Council to do so by asserting that the Security Council has no authority to enforce partition or any other political settlement.

Certainly the Security Council, with the active support of our government, took a different view when it accepted the responsibilities to be vested in it in relation to the Free Territory of Trieste under the Italian Treaty. In the Trieste case the Security Council recognized that there were situations in which it could act not only under Article 39 with reference to specific threats to the peace but under Article 24 which vests in it primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. As is clearly pointed out in the President's recent "Report on the United Nations: 1947," on page 24, the Security Council supported the view expressed by the Secretary-General in a formal legal opinion on this question according to which "the Security Council was not restricted to the specific powers set forth in chapters VI, VII,

VIII and XII of the charter but was held to have powers commensurate with its responsibilities in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security."

Leaving aside the special circumstances affecting the Palestine situation it is highly disturbing for the future of the United Nations that the State Department in the Austin statement should question, as it seems to question, the authority of the Security Council to impose or enforce a political settlement under Article 39 if the Security Council deems such settlement essential to the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security. In a practical world the problem of peace and the problem of settlement are frequently one and inseparable.

Certainly the general language of the charter requires no such unrealistic interpretation. And if we wish the United Nations to live and grow we should avoid abstract interpretations which may seriously hamper the practical efforts of the Security Council to keep the peace. Our own Supreme Court has wisely refused to interpret our own Constitution save as it is necessary to decide concrete cases. It would be equally wise for our State Department to refrain from attempting to limit by broad generalization in advance of controversy the authority of the Security Council to maintain international peace or security.

UNDER Article 39, the authority of the Security Council, in event of a threat to the peace, is to maintain or restore international peace and security; its authority is not limited to the mere stopping of hostilities. There is no need or justification for insisting at this time that the Security Council has authority only to stop fighting or threatened fighting. In the world in which we live, threats to peace and security cannot be removed without regard to the causes which have produced those threats.

Certainly it cannot lightly be assumed that the Security Council must in all cases maintain peace on the basis of the status quo even though the Security Council is convinced and agreed that the status quo has been irreparably destroyed by events, or has become practically intolerable and morally indefensible.

Article 37 of the charter obligates the parties to a dispute which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security to refer the dispute to the Security Council if they are unable to settle it by peaceful means, and it authorizes the Security Council when it deems that a continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate. If the Security Council does act under this article and its recommendations are not accepted and a breach of peace occurs, it is very unrealistic to believe that the Security Council was intended under Article 39 to call upon the members of the United Nations to stop hostilities with no power of any kind or in any circumstance to maintain peace on the basis of its own recommendations.

ARTICLE 40 expressly authorizes the Security Council before making recommendations or deciding upon measures under Article 39 to call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as the Council deems necessary and appropriate without prejudice to their rights, but the Council is expressly empowered duly to take account of their failure to comply. It would seem strange indeed that the Council should have authority to call upon the parties to comply with provisional measures

and not have authority after full deliberation to require continued compliance with those measures or compliance with such other measures as the Council determines to be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

PARAGRAPH 7 of Article I provides that nothing contained in the charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the charter. But there is this very important proviso: that this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII. This clearly indicates that when there is an actual threat to international peace the Security Council may even require the settlement of matters claimed to be within the domestic jurisdiction of members. In truth, peace cannot be maintained and war averted without regard to the causes of the threats to the peace.

If the charter is to live, we must not exalt the letter which killeth and destroy the spirit which giveth life. To paraphrase the words of Chief Justice Marshall, we must remember that the charter was intended to endure for ages to come, and to be adapted to the various crises in human affairs.

[This is the first of two articles by Mr. Cohen. The second will appear in this space tomorrow.]

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1948

# The United Nations and Palestine

General Assembly's Resolution on Partition Should Be Supported and Implemented.

By Benjamin V. Cohen

Formerly Counselor of the Department of State

IN ATTEMPTING to make broad generalizations of doubtful validity, the State Department has thus far neglected to consider very significant aspects of the Palestine case.

The State Department refers to the partition plan as if it were a mere recommendation of the General Assembly. That is a very partial or fragmentary statement of the case. It omits consideration of vital developments of great legal significance.

Palestine is under mandate and to be administered as a sacred trust of civilization. The United Kingdom is the mandatory power for Palestine. It is the only sovereign state, the only member of the United Nations having substantive rights in Palestine. The charter contemplated, if it did not require, that a mandatory power desiring to retain its mandate should accept a United Nations trusteeship to be worked out by agreement between the mandatory power and the General Assembly. But the United Kingdom, before the United Nations became effective, created an independent state out of Transjordan which was under the Palestine mandate, and sought, unsuccessfully, to devise a settlement for Palestine which would not involve a continuation of the mandate. Failing to devise a settlement, the United Kingdom notified the General Assembly of her intention to abandon the mandate and requested the General Assembly to recommend a solution under Article 14 of the charter.

Certainly there can be no question of the authority of the General Assembly under Article 14 to make its recommendations for the peaceful adjustment of the Palestine situation as one which if not adjusted is likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations.

TO AVOID suspicion that its solution might be influenced by the power politics or the domestic political considerations of some of the great powers, the General Assembly excluded the great powers from the Special Commission which it appointed to recommend a solution. The majority of the Special Commission recommended a Partition Plan with Economic Union. The General Assembly adopted a resolution recommending "to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory power for Palestine, and to all other members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the plan of partition with Economic Union" which is set out at length in the resolution and is a revised form of the plan recommended by the Special Commission.

The resolution took note of the declaration by the mandatory power that it intended to complete its evacuation of Palestine by August 1, 1948. The resolution provided that the administration of Palestine should, as the mandatory power withdrew, be turned over to a United Nations Commission composed of representatives of five member states to be designated by the General Assembly.

While refusing to accept any special responsibility for carrying out the plan, the United Kingdom has officially announced that she will accept the plan, terminate the mandate on May 15, 1948, and turn over the administration to the United Nations Commission. The United Nations Commission has been appointed by the General Assembly and its members have agreed to serve.

At the present time the Security Council therefore is not dealing with a mere recommendation of the General Assembly. It is dealing with a recommendation which has not only been supported by more than two-thirds of the member states vot-

ing, but which has been accepted by the mandatory power, the only sovereign state having substantive rights in Palestine. So far as the authority of the Security Council to assist in the implementation of the plan is concerned, the Palestine plan created by the resolution voted by the General Assembly and accepted by the United Kingdom is not essentially different legally from the plan for the Free Territory of Trieste created by the peace treaty and accepted by Italy. The maintenance of peace in each of these countries is significantly related to the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 24 of the charter, conferring upon the Security Council primary responsibility for international peace and security, is as much applicable to the one plan as to the other.

THE recommended plan for Palestine which has been accepted by the mandatory power provides the only regime of law that will exist for Palestine after May 15, 1948. If that plan is not recognized there will be a legal vacuum in Palestine, and anarchy and terror—an obvious threat to international peace and security—will prevail. The law abhors a vacuum and the principles of the charter cannot and do not tolerate it. Since the mandatory power has accepted the plan and agreed to transfer its administration to the United Nations Commission, no state has the right to use force or the threat of force, or to encourage the use of force or threat of force, to obstruct its execution. International peace and security cannot be maintained in Palestine except on the basis of a regime of law. And certainly those states which voted for the plan are under a moral obligation to recognize that regime.

If, avoiding legal sophistry, the State Department would devote its efforts to the devising of measures which our government, and other governments, individually and collectively, might properly take to assist in the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution on Palestine, we might even at this late date preserve the authority of the United Nations. The time is short for collective action by the Security Council, however desirable that would be. Individual action in support of the General Assembly's resolution and in cooperation with the United Nations Commission is not unilateral action. Failure of the Security Council to act does not relieve member states of their individual responsibility.

The threat to international peace in Palestine arises in large measure from doubt as to the United Nations Commission's ability to maintain law and order in Palestine while the plan is being implemented. The United Nations Commission needs guidance and assistance in developing a dependable militia to act as its defense arm and to protect it in taking over the administration of Palestine. Nothing in fact has undermined the authority of the United Nations Commission so much as the American arms embargo denying arms to those willing to support the Commission as well as to those threatening to use force to obstruct its work and to destroy its authority. If the United Nations Commission was aided to organize a dependable local militia from those elements willing to support its authority, the need for outside national contingents would be minimized, if not eliminated.

THE Jewish militia, the Haganah, is the strongest organized force in Palestine. It is committed to the support of the United Nations Palestine settlement. Properly equipped and directed, and supplemented to some extent by voluntary recruitment from abroad, it should be able

to protect the United Nations Commission and on the Commission's behalf maintain order in Palestine. The most urgent need in Palestine is not troops, but a United Nations Commission's Command and United Nations' arsenal, for those troops who are ready and willing to subject themselves to the United Nations Commission's Command. What is required are practical arrangements between the United Nations Commission and Haganah to assure the supremacy of the United Nations Commission's Command and the Command's control of the Commission's arsenal. Naturally the Command would not wish to use Jewish troops in the Arab State except when necessary to break up concentrations directed against the Jewish State or the Jerusalem area. Of course the United Nations Commission should be prepared to incorporate into its militia Arab forces which are willing to subject themselves to its Command. And it would, of course, be of great moral assistance to the Commission to have a small token international force if such a force could be promptly recruited on a voluntary basis, preferably from the states which are members of the Commission.

IF THERE is to be peace on the basis of law in Palestine, the United Nations Commission, which will on May 15 become the provisional administration of Palestine, should have the support of the Security Council and of all members of the United Nations in carrying out its difficult task. The members of the Council should make it clear that they will assist and not hamper the commission in implementing the plan and in enforcing law and order. The first step should be to assist and encourage the United Nations Commission to organize a Palestine militia as its defense arm and to provide it with an effective command with adequate arms and equipment. To achieve this and to preserve the authority of the United Nations, the United States can do much if those in our government charged with the responsibility have the will and resourcefulness to do so.

[This is the second—and last—of two articles by Mr. Cohen.]



# Munich 1948





# New York Post

## THE HOME NEWS

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1948

An Editorial

### Betrayal Reaffirmed

By T. O. THACKREY

Full responsibility for America's plan for dishonorable and hypocritical betrayal of Palestine partition and of the integrity of the United Nations must be taken by President Harry S. Truman, who posed as the friend of partition—and of honor.

It was the President who ordered full use of the tremendous power of the United States to bring about the General Assembly's majority decision on partition last November 29.

It was the President who, a week later, took the first step to defeat that decision by ordering an embargo on arms to Palestine, in the face of the arming of Arabs by the British for open warfare on Jewish families, in defiance of the United Nations.

It was the President who reversed our support of partition by an attack on the legal validity of General Assembly decisions as such, when no other method of blocking it was handy; whose determination to kill partition was so great that he was willing to wreck all United Nations' machinery if need be to gain that end.

When the United States presented its rambling and confused series of legal quibbles to the Security Council we called it promptly exactly what it was—betrayal.

If confirmation were needed then for some who were misled by the deliberate effort to confuse, none can conceivably remain after the United States demand to the Security Council last night.

The United States now seeks to kill the plan outright. Listen to the words of betrayal:

"My government believes a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council . . ."

"This would require an immediate special session of the General Assembly, which the Security Council might call under the terms of the charter.

" . . . We believe that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its efforts to implement the proposed partition plan."

Could the conspiracy to kill solution rather than enforce it be more clear than these words, read by Senator Austin but ordered by President Truman?

How much faith can be placed in the assurance that the trusteeship would "be without prejudice to the character of eventual political settlement"? Or in the weasel word "temporary"? Has anyone forgotten that Britain's mandate from the League was also temporary—and the British have not yet relinquished their overlordship?

The United States calls attention to the great powers held by the Security Council, and boldly states that all of them should be used without hesitation "to stop the fighting"; but these are the very powers we refused to invoke to support the Assembly decision.

Further—we are now calling for a new Assembly decision—but we refuse to support the decision of the Assembly already on record: thus we are entitled to ask, Mr. President:

"Will the new decision be enforceable, if it is to our liking; is the old unenforceable just because we reversed our policy?" It won't wash . . . and the new effort deserves to fail.

The United States recommendation does make it clear that we really believe the General Assembly has the power which we denied it possessed just fifteen days ago.

If it does have the power now claimed for it—and we believe it does—to alter its decision, then the first decision must still be in force, and binding.

Merely because the United States has made another all-out effort to implement betrayal does not, and must not, end the matter.

The fact is that the United Nations, through the General Assembly, has assumed responsibility already for Palestine, and has authorized the Palestine Commission to carry out its decisions.

The mere fact that the United States now suggests another course—indeed is working actively for another course—does not remove the Palestine Commission's authority or its responsibility.

The Security Council may be blocked in actively working as a security force to back up the Commission, but it has no right and no power to reverse the Assembly's decision, or usurp the Palestine Commission's authority. Only the Assembly itself can do so.

Therefore, the Palestine Commission can, and must, continue to act.

For example, the Commission, having appealed without success to the Security Council for arms to enforce the peace, is still not wholly without power.

The Commission can and should carry out its mandate from the Assembly.

First, the Commission should organize a provisional government for Palestine, grant that government recognition as a de facto government, and demand in its behalf the right of all nations under the charter to bear arms in its own defense.

If neither the United States nor Great Britain will respond to that plea, there are still the resources of those nations who hold the rights of small nations to defend themselves as a vital right, and will respond.

Indeed, it is difficult to believe that even the present administration of the United States could find enough excuse before the people and the Congress to refuse assistance under such circumstances.

The Palestine Commission's action should, of course, come promptly.

The members of the commission must not let themselves be coerced into abandonment of their duties and responsibilities.

Furthermore, as President Truman's sorry effort to betray the United Nations into impotency continues its tragic but fumbling course, it becomes increasingly clear that our foreign policy has become so scandalous that a full-dress Congressional investigation will not be much longer delayed.

There are important and pertinent questions which must be asked; the Congress and the people have a right and a duty to know the answers.

Democratic Sen. Dennis Chavez of New Mexico has already courageously taken the lead in getting at the heart of the scandal.

He has made the flat charge that there is a conspiracy



sponsored by the State Department and the Department of Defense, with the President's approval, to divert short steel supplies to Saudi-Arabia for oil exploitation on the plea of security—while we have refused to permit Mexico to have any steel whatever to develop the vast Mexican oil reserves which are just across the border.

Already 33,000 tons of precious steel has gone to Arabia . . . for the tax-free profits of the American-Arabian oil combine sponsored by friends of Secretary of Defense Forrestal . . . on the excuse that we need the oil vitally; but

this is no explanation for our refusal to help develop Mexican oil resources on this continent.

Mexican oil is government controlled.

Saudi-Arabian oil is privately exploited.

This is a first-class scandal, and should be investigated to the hull. If Senator Chaver's charges are true, our security is really being seriously imperilled by the very Administration men who have used it as an excuse for scuttling Palestine!

## The New York Times

SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1948.

### THE SWITCH ON PALESTINE

There can be little doubt that the partition of Palestine is being blocked by the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. A land once known for milk and honey now flows with oil, and the homeland of three great religions is having its fate decided by expediency without a sign of the spiritual and ethical considerations which should be determining, at least in that part of the world. Ancient Palestine was once described as "not the land of philosophers but the home of prophets." It would take a prophet sitting on a rapidly spinning turntable to have foreseen the course which our Government has pursued during these last few months.

Three things need to be said, and to be said at once, concerning the present shift of American policy on Palestine. The first is that it comes as a climax to a series of moves which has seldom been matched, for ineptness, in the handling of any international issue by an American Administration. The second is that it is a plain and unmistakable surrender to the threat of force. And the third is that it holds little promise of being able to avoid the very hazards which it is intended to circumvent.

So far as the first point is concerned, it may be said that all of the critical considerations now enumerated by Mr. Austin as reasons for our Government's change of policy—namely, the strength of Arab opposition to the partition plan, the necessity of providing a large international armed force to implement that plan, the reluctance of the small nations and all of the large Powers, with the sole exception of Soviet Russia, which has its own objectives in the Mediterranean, to provide that force—were inherent in the situation when the original decision in favor of partition was made last Nov. 29. Nevertheless, it was primarily on the initiative, and under the pressure, of our Government that the decision for par-

tition was adopted. Somewhere along the line there has been a shocking lack of liaison and of common purposes between the American State Department and the American delegation in the United Nations, with the White House itself apparently utterly at sea. Inept, uncertain and confused, the prestige of American foreign policy has suffered a severe blow in the handling of this issue.

As for the second point—the surrender to the threat of force—it is obviously and admittedly Arab intransigence that has forced the American Government to change its policy and to bow to Arab threats, and to propose that the whole United Nations retreat with us in the face of Arab scorn and fury. Unfortunately, if this is done, it will not be the first time that the United Nations has had to yield to the threat of force. It has been bludgeoned out of Northern Korea by Soviet Russia, and out of the Balkans by Soviet Russia's satellites, but each surrender of this kind is a blow to the authority of the United Nations. Meantime, we have played a shabby trick on the Jewish community in Palestine, which put its faith in our promises.

Finally, where does this new decision leave us? It leaves us still under the inexorable necessity of helping to furnish that international armed force which we have been so reluctant to provide. For to maintain what Mr. Austin describes as a "temporary trusteeship" over the whole of Palestine will certainly require an armed force. It may well require an even larger armed force than would be required for partition, for, as Secretary General Lie notes, the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine drew the conclusion that "a trusteeship for Palestine would be fought by two parties instead of one." This is the prospect with which the whole series of moves now culminating in Mr. Austin's announcement leaves us.

## The Boston Globe

Published by GLOBE NEWSPAPER COMPANY  
242 Washington St. Boston 7, Mass.  
Established March 4, 1872. Evening edition first issued  
March 9, 1878. Sunday edition first issued Oct. 14, 1877.

MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1948

### Palestine

Mr. Harold Stassen describes the reversal of this nation's policy on partition of Palestine as "outrageous." His views are verified in the gloom which has descended upon the United Nations at Lake Success.

During the better part of the past two years the directors of American policy have repeatedly, publicly, declared that, while willing to make generous concessions, our nation's government would flatly refuse to compromise basic principles in the name of expediency. Yet two fundamental principles of publicly professed American policy have been mutilated by this about-face on partition.

The first principle wrecked—the integrity of solemn pledges maturely given—underlies the whole policy of the United States regarding Palestine these past twenty years—a principle defined and championed by every American President since Woodrow Wilson; a principle enshrined in our treaties; a principle supported even by successive British Governments up to 1939, when Chamberlain abandoned it; a principle backed by the present Labor Government of Britain also—until it took office in 1945.

The second principle demolished by the decision of President Truman (for he, not Secretary Marshall, is responsible for policy decisions) is that this move levels a devastating blow at the U.N., which Mr. Truman was championing only last Wednesday. In the name of expediency, armed defiance of a decision taken by the U.N. Assembly under American leadership is being appeased.

This will not bring peace to the Holy Land. It leaves our nation's prestige in the Middle East low indeed and the stature of the U.N. diminished.



TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 1948

# U. S. Stand on Palestine Called Sacrifice of Moral Leadership

## Sumner Welles Says the 'Vital Elements in Our National Security' Which Swayed Marshall Cost Us Repute With Small Nations

By Sumner Welles

Former Under Secretary of State

The official explanations of the reversal of our policy on Palestine at least make two points wholly clear. There is no shadow of justification for this reversal; and the position which the United States now occupies is profoundly humiliating.

Secretary Marshall states that our action is due to "vital elements of our national security." He implies that the enforcement of partition would bring about the dispatch of Soviet troops to Palestine, and that the resulting situation would "touch off the powder keg."

If this government had had the foresight, when the Assembly adopted its partition resolution, to insist upon the creation by the Security Council of a United Nations constabulary for Palestine composed of contingents from the lesser powers, there would have been no possibility that Russia or any other major power could seek to police Palestine. The Arabs would never have resorted to extreme measures. Today Arab aggression is increasing. Encouraged by the way the mighty United States has weakly given in to their threats, the Arabs have flouted the United Nations. They reject any suggestion of a trusteeship. They will try to seize the whole of Palestine as soon as the British withdraw.

### Jews Seek to Hold Area

The Jews are defending the areas granted them under partition. They have announced the establishment of a provisional government to assume control of those areas the day after the British leave. They are abiding by the terms of the Assembly's decision. But they will resist any proposal that does not give them their promised freedom.

Because of our previous vacillation, partition may now mean local hostilities. But a trusteeship would touch off the very "powder keg" of which we are told to beware. In that event Russian intervention would be certain.

Are military dispositions the only "vital elements of our national security?"

To many of us the good faith of the United States, the preservation of its moral leadership among the nations of the world, the confidence that other peoples possess in its dependability and the survival of the United Nations are elements that are also vital. It is these elements that the reversal of American policy on Palestine has flagrantly disregarded.

The legalistic arguments that the American delegate was instructed to deliver to the Security Council represent a flat denial of the responsibility of the United Nations for the preservation of world peace. That denial undermines the very foundations upon which the United Nations was built. The action of the United States in regard to Palestine can be as far-reaching in its results as the refusal by the League of Na-

tions to protect China when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. We are destroying the faith of the peoples of the world in the efficacy and authority of the United Nations.

### The U. N. as a "Vital Element"

Are the American people willing to agree that the United Nations has already ceased to be a "vital element of our national security?"

What confidence can the weaker nations have in our good faith when the government waffles on its commitments?

The United States was chiefly responsible for the adoption by the Assembly of the partition resolution four months ago. Since that time the President, the Secretary of State and the American delegate to the United Nations have given repeated assurances that the American government stood foursquare behind that decision. The Jews of Palestine have relied on those assurances. Their entire course has been governed by that faith. Yet those assurances have now been deliberately violated.

The lesser members of the United Nations are already in open revolt.

The effect upon the confidence of the smaller nations in American leadership can best be illustrated by the published statement of a representative of one of the Latin-American republics: "First they convinced us that partition was the only answer. Now they are trying to convince us that partition is insane. It is true that I represent a small nation which cannot stand alone. I am willing to accept United States leadership. But this is treachery. By this latest reversal the United States has forfeited whatever moral justification it once had for leading the small nations."

### War Danger Aggravated

At this crucial moment when we seek to rally the countries of Eastern Europe to our leadership in the face of Russian expansion, are we prepared to agree that our moral prestige and the confidence of other peoples in the good faith of this country are no longer "vital elements of our national security?"

This reversal by the United States will increase, and not diminish, the danger of a major war in the Near East. It deals what may well be a death blow to the United Nations, and to our hope for collective security. It shakes confidence in the United States throughout the world.

For what is alleged to be momentary expediency we have thrown away national assets that were essential to our safety. And these, unfortunately, are not assets which can be soon regained.

Copyright, 1948, New York Herald Tribune Inc.



# SILVER EXHORTS US TO BACK PARTITION

Holds Truce, Trustee Moves  
for Palestine Futile—  
Presses Defense Rights

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declared yesterday that the latest United States proposals for a truce in the Holy Land and further consideration by the United Nations of the future government there are wholly unsatisfactory and futile.

What is needed, he said, is adherence to the partition plan sanctioned by the General Assembly of the United Nations last November, and the organization and equipment of a Jewish militia to support the provisional government scheduled to be set up in Palestine not later than May 15. To this end he urged the removal of all embargoes in the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine.

The statement was delivered over a network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, which announced that Ambassador Warren R. Austin, representing the United States in the United Nations discussions, has been invited to reply on April 7.

## TEXT OF STATEMENT

Last November the United Nations Assembly, under the leadership of our Government, overwhelmingly approved the recommendation of its special committee to solve the Palestine problem by the setting up of two independent states in Palestine, one Arab and one Jewish, within an economic union, and the internationalizing of the Jerusalem area.

This action came in reply to a request which was made in April of last year by Great Britain, the mandatory for Palestine, asking for a Special Assembly of the United Nations to make recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

The recommendations made by the United Nations in November, 1947, were accepted by Great Britain which later announced its intention to relinquish the mandate on May 15 next and to complete the withdrawal of its troops from Palestine by Aug. 1.

In the meantime the United Nations appointed a commission to implement the plan. This commission has already done an enormous amount of work in connection with the execution of the plan. A committee of experts is already at work in Jerusalem. Were it not for the refusal of the mandatory government to permit it to come any earlier than May 1, the commission would now be in Palestine completing the arrangements for taking over all governmental and administrative functions.

April 1 was the last day set for the announcement by the commission of the Provisional Council of Government for the new states. The Jewish Community of Palestine has already informed the commission of its suggestions for the composition of the Provisional Council of Government for the Jewish State.

It was on the eve of the summation of this plan that the United States Government, on March 19, requested that the Palestine Commission should suspend its work and that a Special Assembly of the United Nations be called to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine pending an eventual political settlement. The explanation given for this sudden reversal is that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means and that a further opportunity should be given the interested parties to reach an agreement regarding the future government of Palestine.

It was, of course, never anticipated that the partition plan or, for that matter, any plan for the settlement of the Palestine problem, could be carried out entirely by peaceful means, and that no force whatsoever would be required to back up a settlement. In fact, it was the United States delegation itself, last November, which first spoke of the need for an international constabulary made up of volunteers to enforce a United Nations decision.

Throughout the long discussions which preceded the vote at

the Assembly, the representatives of the Arab States and of the Arabs of Palestine made it unmistakably clear that they intended to resist by force any decision of which they did not approve. It was in the full knowledge of this resolve of the Arabs to resort to violence that the Assembly of the United Nations, inclusive of our own Government, nevertheless took the step which it did.

## Militias Provided For

State militias were provided for in the plan to preserve law and order, and the Security Council, it was understood, would step in if a breach of peace developed, exercising all the power assigned to it under the Charter.

Equally misleading is the other reason given for suspending work on the partition plan and the calling of a Special Assembly, namely to afford another opportunity to Jews and Arabs to reach an agreement regarding the future government of Palestine. In this connection it would be well to recall what the representative of the United States, Ambassador Harechel Johnson, said last November when this subject was being discussed in the Assembly:

"Much has been said during the course of these debates on the desirability and necessity of presenting to the General Assembly a plan which would command the agreement of both the principal protagonists in this situation. I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented either to the Assembly or to the mandatory Government during its long years of tenure or in any other place which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented."

At the General Assembly last November, the British representative, Sir Alexander Cadogan, stated: "After years of strenuous but unavailing effort, His Majesty's Government have reached the conclusion that they are not able to bring about a settlement in Palestine based upon the consent of both Arabs and Jews, and that the mandate is no longer workable."

As far back as ten years ago the Royal Commission on Palestine, which made a thorough study of the situation and recommended partition as the only practical solution, declared:

"Neither Arab nor Jew has any sense of service to a single state . . . The conflict will go on. The gulf between Arabs and Jews will widen . . . The hope of harmony between the races has proved untenable. We would suggest that there is little moral value in maintaining the political unity of Palestine at the cost of perpetual hatred."

When in the face of this overwhelming testimony, the United States Government now requests the abandonment of a plan which has been approved by the United Nations and which is in process of implementation, in favor of renewed consultations in order to reach an agreed solution between Jews and Arabs, it is not making a serious contribution to the subject. It is, in fact, engaged in an act of inept political improvisation which is dictated by no responsible statesmanship and by concern neither for basic national interests nor for the larger interest of the world community.

## Sumner Welles Is Quoted

No one can help but agree with the sentiments expressed on Monday last by Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, who stated:

"There is no shadow of justification for this reversal; and the position which the United States now occupies is profoundly humiliating. . . . The United States was chiefly responsible for the adoption by the Assembly of the partition resolution four months ago."

Since that time the President, the Secretary of State and the American delegate to the United Nations have given repeated assurances that the American Government stood foursquare behind that decision. . . . This reversal by the United States will increase and not diminish the danger of a major war in the Near East. It deals what may well be a death blow to the United Nations, and to our hope for collective security. It shakes confidence in the United States throughout the world."

The United States Government has requested a Special Assembly of the United Nations to reconsider the Palestine problem.

To what end? What can another Assembly do that the last Assembly failed to do? What new facts are available now that were not previously known? This problem and this little country of Palestine have been investigated by more commissions in recent years than any other problem or any other spot on the face of the globe.

What new solutions can be pulled out of the bag? There are none, and the Palestine problem cannot be solved by postponements and procrastinations. That way lies continued strife and growing chaos.

The United States has proposed a temporary trusteeship for Palestine, although in its formal resolutions introduced yesterday in the Security Council it made no reference to trusteeship. It avows that this is no substitution for partition. The President still maintains that he is for partition, and so does the Secretary of State.

The United States feels that emergency action is needed inasmuch as there will be no public authority in Palestine after May 15, and that large-scale fighting among the people of that country will be the inevitable result of the vacuum thus created.

But if the plan of the United Nations is carried out faithfully in letter and spirit, there will be a public authority in Palestine on May 15. There will be a commission of the United Nations to take over. There will be an organized Jewish militia in the Jewish State to maintain law and order, provided the mandatory regime fulfills its obligations loyally and permits this militia to be organized and adequately equipped in time.

## Government Set-Up Ready

The Jewish Provisional Government on May 15 will be prepared to take over all the responsibilities of administration of the proposed Jewish State under the guidance of the United Nations Commission. There is no need for a temporary trusteeship to fill any vacuum.

An international trusteeship will require as much force, if not more, to maintain itself as would the partition plan. Where is this force to come from? Is the United States prepared to send troops into Palestine to impose a trusteeship upon that country when it is unwilling to send troops to back up the United Nations decision on partition? If so, why? Why is it willing to send in troops to back up what is clearly a temporary arrangement which leaves the basic solution still unsettled, and why is it unwilling to make such a contribution in troops toward a final and permanent settlement? Palestine has lived under a trusteeship (the British mandate) for twenty-five years. If, through this long period, a trusteeship has not been productive of any agreed solution for Palestine, why are we now to expect a solution to result from another and temporary trusteeship?

It is clear that no trusteeship is contemplated without British participation. Great Britain would not permit any other power to come to Palestine before May 1. It has denied that right to the United Nations Commission. How then will a trustee power, other than Great Britain, be able to take over in time and fill the so-called vacuum? For all practical purposes it is to be either a new British trusteeship supported by the United States or a direct Anglo-American trusteeship with or without France.

In any such event the trusteeship will be drafted on British terms. British policy in the Middle East is firmly wedded to the sponsorship of the Arab League. Consultation with "states directly concerned" called for under the trusteeship rules of the Charter would be interpreted by Great Britain as consultation with the Arab states.

An unfriendly mandatory power and hostile Arab states would thus, in the main, determine the terms of the agreement upon which the new trusteeship is to be based. Is it not clear that this new trusteeship would be directed against those fundamental Jewish rights in Palestine which the United Nations, under American leadership, has but recently approved. The task of suppressing a disillusioned and resentful Jewish population which has been prepared for independence and statehood would inevitably involve the individual or collective trustees in heavy military liabilities.

The American Government is

proposing a trusteeship without any assurance that a trustee is available, that the special General Assembly to be convened will approve of such an arrangement, that any section of the population will cooperate, or that adequate means of enforcement can be secured. The partition plan admittedly involves difficulties, but these can hardly compare with the accumulation of hazards and difficulties involved in its abandonment.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine feels that the cause of justice and the cause of Palestine will best be served by carrying out the decision taken by the United Nations last November. That decision represented a major compromise. Partition was never the Jewish solution. It represents a grievous abridgement of Jewish rights. Nevertheless, the Jewish people reluctantly but loyally accepted that decision because it appeared reasonable to the United Nations.

## Acting on U. N. Decision

Relying upon the collective judgment and authority of the United Nations, the Jewish people of Palestine has been moving forward in the spirit of that decision. It has notified the Security Council that it must oppose any proposal designed to prevent or postpone the establishment of the Jewish State, and that it rejects any plan to set up a new trusteeship regime.

It informed the Security Council that upon the termination of the mandatory administration, and not later than May 15 next, a Provisional Jewish Government will commence to function in Palestine. This decision of the organized Jewish Community of Palestine was taken after the most searching and serious deliberation. It may involve a measure of conflict after May 15. It still hopes that there may be no need for prolonged conflict in Palestine.

The Jews of Palestine hope that the Arabs of Palestine will come to accept the United Nations decision and thereby put an end to the scourge of strife and bloodshed which can only do incalculable hurt to both peoples. But in the face of the mounting threats and the incursion of armed bands across the frontiers from neighboring Arab States bent on war, the Jewish people of Palestine is compelled to make all necessary preparations for self-defense.

It asks that it be permitted to organize and equip its own militia. This is an elementary moral obligation of the United Nations in view of the decision which it took. It is likewise an elementary moral obligation on the part of those nations who have approved the plan, to remove all embargoes on the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine who have accepted the decision, and to deny such arms to those who are violently resisting it.

The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves, but their hands must not be tied. They plead with the United Nations to remove all obstacles in the way of their self-defense. They are carrying out the purposes of the United Nations. They should not be penalized for doing so.

They appeal to the United States, the greatest democracy on earth, whose people have, through the years, manifested deep understanding and sympathy for the historic right of the Jewish people to rebuild its national life in its ancient homeland, to cast from a course of action which is calculated to do them grievous wrong, prolong strife in the Holy Land and discredit the United Nations as an instrumentality for solving grave international problems and making its decision stick. They appeal to the people and the Government of the United States to help them in their desperate struggle toward freedom and independence.







# America and Partition

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1948

## The Fact of Partition

The report of the Palestine Committee of the United Nations reveals candidly how little has been accomplished by this body in implementing the partition resolution of last Nov. 29. It foresees in Palestine, unless adequate outside help is forthcoming, "administrative chaos, starvation, widespread strife, violence and bloodshed." At the same time, in a solemn declaration, the General Zionist Council has asserted that an independent Jewish state will be established on May 16, the day following Britain's departure. The vacuum left by the Palestine Commission is thus being filled by the Zionists themselves; and partition, which has had its setbacks as a theory, is being transformed into a solid fact.

That the Zionists have been driven to act without the official blessing of the international organization is regrettable; yet it is difficult to see how any other result could have been anticipated. The partition resolution of the United Nations fanned to consuming flame the long-held hopes of the Jewish world; it was not to be supposed that Zionists could wait indefinitely upon the hesitations and delays of outside powers. As the Arab opposition to a Jewish state forced upon them the need for military action, so the Western indecision has forced on them the political initiative. Though we dislike to see the international authority by-passed, we cannot as Americans be wholly insensitive to the reasons which impel a people to declare its independence, not wholly unmoved by the courage which makes such a declaration possible.

The rapidly developing situation in Palestine calls our policy-makers to a re-examination of their course. They still tend to act as if partition were something which depended on their will, and could be given or withdrawn by turns. They talk, if reports from Washington are correct, about sending troops to maintain security in the Holy Land only if a truce between Jews and Arabs has first been achieved—ignoring the fact that the Arabs will make no truce with partition, and that the Jews will not surrender the goal they have desired so long and which they have seen coming so near. The United States must seek to limit its involvement in this troubled area and apply its force in the most efficient possible way. But the time has come when a course must be laid which accepts our full responsibility and is shaped to the unescapable factors—military and political—of the Palestine situation as a whole.

## On the Other Hand

By Lowell Mellett



Washington.

When the United Nations convenes in a special assembly on Friday, strangers in the visitors' gallery should be able to pick out the representatives of the United States of America by the color of their faces. Their faces will be, or should be, red.

The American representatives will occupy a humiliating position, humiliating to themselves and to the great country for which they undertake to speak. They will have come to argue that the world organization should crawl before the threats of a coup of small Arab countries and reverse itself on a decision made a little more than four months ago. This decision, the partition plan for Palestine, was reached in large part because of the public and private urging of these same American representatives.

On orders from Washington the American delegation back in November worked day and night, in the Assembly chamber and in hotel rooms, to line up a majority of the nations for the partition plan—the only plan that seemed to contain the elements of justice and practicality. They were completely successful. Even the Soviet Union agreed.

Now, on a change of orders from Washington, the embarrassed Americans must undertake to undo one of the truly constructive jobs thus far accomplished within the U.N. This of itself would contain no cause for humiliation if anything had happened to reveal that the original action was unwise, unfair or in

any way improper. But nothing of that kind has happened.

The Arab countries, to be sure, have declared they will not accept the authority of the U.N., of which some of them are members; that they propose to keep on killing off the Jews and nobody can stop them. But no great power—certainly not one that professes itself prepared to "contain" Russian aggression wherever it may show itself—could be expected to capitulate to such threats and ask the rest of the world to join in the capitulation.

To replace the partition plan the American government will suggest a trusteeship under the U.N. This is acceptable to neither the Arabs nor the Jews. For one thing, there is no reason to believe that it can be made to work or can even be set up before the date of May 15, when Great Britain is due to relinquish her Palestine mandate. For another, it is a flagrant affront to both the Jews and the Arabs.

"It certainly seems to imply," said Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Australian Foreign Minister, "that the peoples to be placed under trusteeship are not sufficiently 'advanced' for self-government. Such a suggestion would seem to be untenable in relation either to

THE EVENING STAR.  
Washington, D. C.

and

NEW YORK POST

TUESDAY APRIL 13 1948

the Palestinian Arabs or to the Palestinian Jews."

If it seems that way to the Australian statesman, it is easy to understand how it seems to the Jews and the Arabs. The Jews have reason for pride in the capacities they have shown in developing their corner of Palestine. The Arabs could take pride in their ability to throw a great power such as the U.S. off its stride. Both can feel they are capable of governing themselves. In any case both are dead set against the trusteeship idea and that means double trouble if the plan is forced on them.

The U.S. is engaged in a series of brave adventures—all part presumably of a concerted whole—to win the world to our concept of democracy. What doth it profit us that we gain the whole world and lose our own soul? has long been asked. An even more devastating question, however, is raised by this proposed abandonment of our self-respect. It is: What will it profit us if we lose our soul and yet fail to gain the whole world? That is one risk we should not even calculate.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue

New York 17, N. Y.



# 100,000 Hear Attacks on Palestine Action

## 8,000 March In Protest Here

More than 100,000 persons jammed the Congress st. Plaza and lined Michigan av. Sunday afternoon in a parade and demonstration for a free Jewish state in Palestine.

Leaders of Jewish organizations and Republican officials shared the speaker's platform. They denounced the Truman administration for withdrawing its support of the Palestine partition plan in favor of a U.N. trusteeship.

The parade started north of the Michigan av. bridge and proceeded southward past the Congress st. reviewing stand.

The 8,000 veterans who marched included placard-carrying members of all local posts of the Jewish War Veterans. Individual units of other veteran organizations also participated.

### Green Hits Plan

Gov. Green told the rally that President Truman's trusteeship proposal for Palestine 'gives freedom and security to neither Arab nor Jew.' He added:

'Our national administration lacks the capacity and the courage to stand up for

the convictions of the American people.'

Dr. Israel Goldstein, chairman of the World Confederation of General Zionists, condemned the 'State Department pro-Arab policy.'

'The Jewish community in Palestine is prepared to fight for its life,' he said.

### Scatter Leaflets

Rabbi Morton M. Perman of Temple Isaiah Israel, chairman of the Chicago Zionist Emergency Council, called for U.S. recognition of the new Jewish state which will be proclaimed May 16.

Other speakers included Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, national commander of the J.W.V., Representative Twyman (Rep., Ill.) and Mrs. Bertha Rissman, head of the Chicago Hadassah, or women's Zionist organization.

As the parade started, leaflets signed by the Stern Group were scattered from an upper window of the Congress Hotel.

## Chicago Daily Tribune

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER



Several thousand members of the Jewish War Veterans held a memorial and parade in Congress st. plaza and Michigan av. yesterday for comrades who died in World War II, as a protest to the retreat by Truman's administration on the Palestine issue. (Tribune Photo)

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

## 100,000 Urge Free Palestine



Jewish organization, war veteran and Republican leaders share the platform as 100,000 jam Congress st. Plaza and line Michigan av. Sunday afternoon in parade and demonstration for a free Jewish state in Palestine. Left to right: Senator Abe Marovitz, Col. Edward C. Hayes, Gov. Green, Brig. Gen. Julius Klein and Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the World Confederation of General Zionists.



Thousands hear Free Palestine speakers at Congress st. Plaza.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES



### 10,000 VETS IN ZION RALLY

In one of city's biggest mass demonstrations, more than 100,000 Chicagoans jam Congress st. plaza at Michigan Ave. Col. Julius Klein (arrow), national commander of Jewish War Veterans, addresses huge crowds rallying in support of UN partition of Palestine. Speakers protest U.S. policy reversal after 10-block-long parade of 10,000 war veterans. (SUN-TIMES Photos by David Mann)



NEW YORK  
**Herald Tribune**



Thursday, April 21, 1948

### **The Mandate of Events**

The extraordinary, and profoundly dispiriting, contrast between the realities in Palestine and the arguments, illusions and facilities at Lake Success drags itself along. While the United Nations committees wrangle in their vacuum of either statesmanship or courage, events in Palestine continue to shape a future daily assuming a greater and greater aspect of inevitability. The U. N. may talk trusteeship as against partition, but the Zionists have already formed the independent government which will have to take over (because there will be no alternative) on May 16 and make partition a fact. Yesterday the British were evacuating most of Haifa, and the Haganah troops were moving in, as they will have to move in on the heels of British withdrawal elsewhere. Even more significant is the report that a special administration is being formed for the Jews in Jerusalem distinct from the proposed Jewish state and responsible not to its government but to the World Zionist Organization.

Such an administration is again a recognition of facts—of the same facts which led the General Assembly, in its partition resolution of last year, to set Jerusalem aside from the proposed Jewish and Arab states, placing it under international control. Jerusalem and its holy places are an international heritage, while the proposed Jewish state, centered along the coast, neither can carry nor should be asked to carry the burden of protecting Jerusalem's Jewish community, cut off in the depths of Arab territory. The Jews of Jerusalem are thus confided not to the nascent Jewish state but to the World Zionist Organization, making possible their ultimate incorporation in the international control of some kind which is the only practicable answer to the problem of Jerusalem.

While the talk continues at Lake Success, the future is being indelibly etched by events. A Jewish state can no longer be prevented. U. N. trusteeship for Jerusalem, backed by whatever forces are necessary to maintain order and essential services, can no longer be avoided. The Arabs can no longer be dissuaded from war merely by words, hopes or "moral" pressures. These are facts. They express the actual forces at work upon the ground; they are the materials with which statesmanship has to operate. Statesmanship cannot alter them by dreams of "truces" or "trusteeships" that have no basis in realities. What statesmanship can do is to recognize them and build on them concrete proposals that will so far as possible limit the bloodshed and hasten the achievement of practical equilibrium among the forces actually at work in that tortured country.

---



# Thomas Mann Discusses Palestine

Dear Sirs: I have been asked for my opinion of the decision of the United States to withdraw its agreement to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine—a stand which had been initiative of and responsible for the decision of the United Nations.

It is difficult for me, an American citizen of short standing, to say that this reversal, this undignified surrender to brazen Arab threats, is the most humiliating and shocking political event since the democracies betrayed Czechoslovakia in 1938. It is an act of despicable and low expediency, a murder of faith and loyalty. It makes us realize, with considerable alarm, how far the ideals of democracy—truth, liberty, justice—have been degraded, how they have been abused to serve the naked interests, not of a people, for the American people is benevolent and just, but of a group striving ruthlessly for power and profit which has imposed its will upon our government.

Has anyone considered the blow this deplorable decision has dealt the authority of the United Nations and its ability to maintain world peace? One cannot help feeling that the prospective betrayal of a people which has endured boundless suffering and is yearning for justice, the breach of hundreds of official promises, has brought us one step nearer to

world disaster.

The small Jewish state in Palestine would have been a democracy of people willing to work and striving for culture. It should have had, as a matter of course, the sympathy of a country with American traditions. Why have we been condemned everywhere to support the bad, the foul reaction, that which the people hate—in this instance the feudalism of Arabian oil magnates—and to ruin democracy while pretending to defend it?

It is a grave responsibility how to advise, how to encourage the Jews. I leave it to others to spur them to a desperate continuation of bloodshed, to the defense of their already established state—under the notorious embargo which gives arms to the Arabs but not to them. Perhaps the indignant outcry of a moral world will lead to a revision of the shameful decision. If not, it proves that the immense disappointment of all hopes for a better, juster world has turned to apathy, to a numbed submission of mankind to the threatening disaster.

As for us intellectuals, we can only protest in the derisive words of Flaubert, that despiser of humanity: "*Ab, le progrès, quelle blague! Et la politique—quelle saleté!*"

THOMAS MANN

Pacific Palisades, Cal., March 25



# America

VOL. LXXIX. NO. 4  
MAY 1, 1948

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK



15 CENTS A COPY - 6 DOLLARS A YEAR

## ➔ BLUEPRINT FOR A PALESTINE POLICE

*Shanghai's International Police faced similar problems*

JAMES J. TWOHY JR.

## THE SOVIET STATE: WAR ON IDEAS

*Thinking is a dangerous luxury in a dictatorship*

WALTER DUSHNYCK

## POOR MAN'S BUTTER

*The dairy interests draw the color line*

JAMES B. KELLEY

WASHINGTON FRONT

*Wilfrid Parsons*

THE WORD

*Pierre Charles, S.J.*

UNDERSCORINGS

*A. P. F.*

THEATRE

*Theophilus Lewis*



# Blueprint for a Palestine police

**James F. Twohy Jr.**

*James F. Twohy Jr., now working for his M.A. in education at New York U., was cited for his work in protecting Settlement property during the Japanese-Chinese fighting in 1937.*

*From 1938 to 1942 he served as an agent of the Treasury Department's Narcotics Bureau.*

In the quiet halls of the United Nations building at Lake Success, a few weeks ago, two diplomats were discussing the impending partition of Palestine.

They agreed that partition would certainly precipitate a Jewish-Arab civil war unless a third force—an international police force—were established to suppress disorder as the British Army had done for a generation.

But one diplomat was wary of even this expedient.

"The British are getting out of Palestine," he said. "No great Power wants to see the armies of another in the Middle East. No small nation possesses the manpower or money to police the Holy Land."

"The truth is," he said, "there is no United Nations Police Force. There never has been such an instrument. And, in the little time we have left, we don't even know how to make one."

The diplomat was wrong on two counts. The world has seen international police forces in operation—in Tangier, Shanghai and, in a limited way, in Danzig. And, in the greatest of these multi-national communities, the pre-war International Settlement in Shanghai, there was drawn up a blueprint, confirmed by twenty years of trial and error, for the United Nations Palestine Police.

I was an officer of the International Settlement Police from 1935 to 1938, years when the flames that burst into the Second World War first flickered in the winding streets of Shanghai.

We kept the peace in a city of a million and a half souls—half the population of Palestine—while the Japanese Kwantung divisions and the Chinese Eighth Route Army fought in 1937 the first great battle of World War II a few yards away from our cops on the beat.

We made Shanghai the one city in China where the classic virgin with a sack of gold could hope to travel unmolested from one border to the other.

We maintained order in a community where citizens of twenty nations, many only a few months away from turning upon each other in all-out war, lived and worked in a patchwork array more confusing than the hodge-podge of Jerusalem today.

In the background was a vast region torn by civil war and beset by foreigners avid for its riches, even as they now struggle for the mineral wealth of the Middle East.

The 5,000-man International Settlement Police—one-fourth of the New York City force—became expert in curbing the clash of communal and national passions at one of the earth's sorest points.

Similar conditions in China and Palestine gave rise to the need for a multi-national police force, but the immediate causes that produced the International Settlement Police have no parallel in the Holy Land.

In the waning years of the Manchu Emperors, foreign nations rushed into China to exploit that rich, undevel-

oped land. Bearers of the white man's burden, they refused to abide by the laws of the "barbaric" Chinese and even staked out private domains at key points on the China coast. Thus was created a characteristic instrument of the colonial era—extraterritoriality.

Hong Kong, exclusively British, and Shanghai, sliced up by four nations, became the beachheads over which Western men, military power and machines poured into China, and raw materials and wealth flowed out.

Sixteen nations claimed extraterritorial rights in Shanghai. The Chinese Government was permitted no authority over their nationals. And four great Powers, Britain, France, Russia and the United States, carved out private sectors where Chinese became the "foreigners."

Financial and military strains of the First World War forced three of the big nations to combine forces and jointly administer an International Settlement. It was an L-shaped segment of downtown Shanghai, nine square miles of splendid skyscrapers and teeming slums supporting 1,500,000 inhabitants, 50,000 of them Europeans. Japan brought in its quarter, Hongkew, but the French Concession remained apart.

Possessed of a rich, crowded city whose most powerful citizens recognized no authority outside their own consulates, the four big nations had to work out an administration to guarantee essential services and public order.

And, despite their dubious moral position, the occupiers did establish a system that made Shanghai one of the best governed cities in the Orient.

They established a fourteen-man International Settlement Council consisting of five British representatives, five Chinese, two Americans and two Japanese. This body administered six municipal departments—Schools, Public Health, Public Works, Revenue, Fire and Police.

The police force itself was organized along conventional lines, but with significant variations that will bear study when and if the United Nations begins the task of blueprinting the Palestine Police Force.

The bulk of the force made up the uniformed division—constables, station personnel and their officers. The plainclothes section, the Criminal Investigation Division, numbered about 500 men. Most labored at routine detective chores, although Shanghai's blend of international intrigue and a native genius for crime made them among the busiest—and least secure—men in their profession.

In the CID, however, there was also a small, inconspicuous group that worked behind a door labeled "Political Division, I.S.P." These astute detectives had the task of observing and retarding the political axe-grinding that was so much a part of Shanghai life in those years. Dissident Chinese, passionate Korean patriots, impecunious war-lords, patient citizens of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich and a dozen other such conspira-



torial factions met, schemed and sometimes fought in Shanghai streets.

Many an assassination, gun-running plot and transfer of illicit gold was thwarted by betrayal to the sensitive ears of the Political Division agents. An incident at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War dramatically illustrated their role.

In November, 1937, the Japanese had just expanded the Manchuria unpleasantness into the "China Incident" by driving Nationalist forces from the Shanghai area. By way of celebration, they staged a victory parade down the Settlement's Nanking Road. Tension was high all over the city. Chinese feared even to enter the Japanese district, Hongkew. Silent, apprehensive, they lined either side of Shanghai's Fifth Avenue as Japanese Army units swung by.

Suddenly a home-made bomb exploded amid the marching troops, mangling half a dozen. A Settlement policeman's bullet mortally wounded the terrorist almost before the bomb left his hand, but the damage was done.

The parade stopped. A word from a Japanese officer would instantly have turned the celebration into a massacre of helpless Chinese.

But a Political Division agent had rushed to the body of the fallen assassin. He ripped a ring from the dying man's finger and thrust it under the nose of the nearest officer. The Japanese paused, studied the ring, then trotted over to his superior. In a few minutes the parade resumed.

The ring had identified the terrorist as a member of a secret Korean revolutionary society. Koreans then were Japanese subjects. The Army had lost no face to a foreigner. There was no pogrom.

As long as Jew and Arab contest the final status of Palestine and continue to plot fiercely toward their own ends, there is work for a Political Division in the Holy Land.

A potent influence for peace in those years in Shanghai was found in the Force's Reserve Units—riot squads. Twenty-four hours a day one of the units was on duty at central police headquarters, ready for a headlong dash to a trouble spot. A half-dozen times I have seen these thirty-six constables and a sergeant end a street-fight that was only minutes away from involving hundreds of men.

The Reserve Units exemplified a key principle in policing an emotion-charged community. Quick, forceful action by a small group will stifle smoldering disorder. A delay of a few minutes can multiply casualties by dozens and require fifty times as many police. Prevention, not suppression, is the policeman's role.

The quality of speed and mobility is all-important to the police of an internationalized area. In Shanghai all but the top officers lived in centrally located barracks. Lower ranks were forbidden to marry during the first five years on the force. Precinct stations were liberally scattered over the city, averaging almost two for each square mile of the Settlement. Imperfect communications in Shanghai—and Palestine—sharpen the need for such fire-engine preparedness.

One important requirement for efficient policing we

thoroughly appreciated, perhaps because we could never fulfill it. There was no central police authority in metropolitan Shanghai, nor even close liaison among the Settlement Police and the French, Chinese and River Police that, respectively, patrolled their own sectors.

One day when patrolling the Bund, a spectacular river-front avenue, I spotted a suspicious object half concealed in the flowing sleeves of a passing Chinese. When I approached him, he bolted down the Bund. With me in close pursuit, he suddenly darted onto a jetty and skipped nimbly aboard a junk that lay a few feet out in the Whangpoo River.

I was helpless to make the arrest. The shrewd gunman was now under River Police jurisdiction.

Divided authority impedes solution of even minor annoyances. We had the perpetual and noisome "beggar problem." Thousands of professional beggars congregated in the Settlement, Shanghai's wealthiest district, to ply their ugly trade. When their interference with normal city life became intolerable, we would round up a few van-loads and haul them to the edge of the Settlement. Chinese officials refused responsibility, and we had no authority to dispose of them further. Sometimes the beg-

gars beat the police back to the heart of the Settlement.

In Palestine there is already a tendency to cede to Arabs and Jews authority over certain areas—autonomous sectors where the Palestine Government has virtually abdicated in favor of extra-legal forces. If that trend is permitted to continue in areas eventually to be internationalized, the task of the Palestine Police will be multiplied manifold.

On a quiet Sunday morning last February two closed trucks drew up before the Atlantic Hotel on Ben Yehuda Street in a Jewish quarter of Jerusalem. Several unidentified men jumped out and fled down the street. A few minutes later an earthquake-like explosion shook the city. The Atlantic Hotel and several other buildings were devastated. More than fifty persons died in the explosion, and twice that number were injured.

The aftermath was no less tragic. Within twenty-four hours Jews, convinced that anti-Semitic British soldiers were responsible, assassinated nine Britons and wounded a score throughout Palestine. Nor have the reprisals ceased. Every day brings new threats and attacks on British security troops.

That unhappy event symbolizes the British failure in Palestine. And it points a moral the UN cannot ignore.

Palestine has become the arena of a three-cornered struggle among Jews, Arabs and British. Zionist and Arab groups vie in charging the mandatory Power with supporting the enemy. Rightly or wrongly, Palestinians no longer believe that the prime mission of the British is keeping the peace in the Holy Land.





Peace may some day come to that embittered country under the aegis of a United Nations Police Force. But it must be a force that makes unmistakably clear that it is apart from the complex moral, legal and political issues that beset Palestine, that its only mission is to guarantee to every Jew and Arab the right to a normal life free from sudden bullets or hidden bombs.

The Settlement Council faced a similar problem. It solved it successfully with a Police Force so cosmopolitan that it was patently impossible to identify it with any of Shanghai's contending factions.

During my training period, seven nations were represented in the barracks I lived in. Hungarian bunked with Englishman. Black-eyed Italians sat at the same table with blond Russians. I spent a holiday with a recruit who claimed to be Portuguese—and maybe he was. A few of us could lay no legal claim to any nationality.

Most of the 500 sergeants were former soldiers or police, and the recruiting authorities asked only incidentally where our homes were. Physical vigor, intelligence and know-how were the qualities that admitted a man to the Settlement Police.

Equally important was the need clearly to set apart the Constabulary, the rank-and-file cops, from local issues that divided Shanghai. So 3,000 "foreign" Chinese, big country lads from distant Ssantung Province, were sworn in as constables. A thousand Sikhs came from India to round out the Force.

These tall, rugged constables were admirably fitted for their task. They came from remote regions whose local prejudices and enthusiasms did not reach so far as Shanghai. Most were politically unsophisticated and took little personal interest in the clashes of nations and peoples. And they were countrymen who did not take easily to the blandishments of city slickers.

Every Shanghai citizen knew that a Settlement cop would view a situation first in terms of the municipal laws he was required to memorize—that is, in terms of peace and order. Armed only with a baton, I once dragged a Chinese suspected of spying for the Japs from the hands of a lynch mob. I failed to join the culprit in his fate, I am sure, only because those angry Chinese realized that the Settlement Police had as little enthusiasm for such illegal activities as they did.

The problem of partiality is much more acute in Palestine. The mustering of a homogeneous group, such as Sikhs or Shantungese, would be politically difficult in the Holy Land. But a truly uniform force, responsible in fact and in spirit only to the UN, is possible and essential.

A force patched together from segments of the great Powers' armies will founder; one need only consider the unhappily internationalized city of Trieste.

A police authentically derived from the United Nations—that is, recruited individually from citizens of many countries—is the best long-term hope for peace in internationalized Palestine.

One day soon a group of United Nations experts is expected to sit down to blueprint the military force whose mission will be to keep the peace in the Holy Land. I recommend to them four principles that were tried and

proved during some anxious years by Shanghai's ISP.

First, the United Nations Palestine Force must be a closely knit organization, intensively trained and thoroughly professional. It must use a common language—probably English. Individually and collectively, its members must know every trick of an ancient and complex trade. An Intelligence section should be created to keep it a jump ahead of disruptive elements. The closer it adheres to a strictly military discipline, at least in its early stages, the better its chances of success.

Second, it must be deprived of all power of making policy. The basic decisions charting Palestine's future should be made in the council rooms of Lake Success and by such governing units as are established in the Holy Land. Let the partisan battles be fought out in diplomatic salons, lecture rooms and the press, not in the ranks of a semi-military organization unequipped for the task.

The third principle derives from the second. The Palestine Force must be stonily impartial. If it is led by politicians, if its officers belong to interested parties, if its ranks are split by pro-Arab or pro-Jew cliques, it will only aggravate already violent dissensions.

Finally, it must establish a precedent of quick, firm, predictable action both as daily routine and in any emergency. All sorts of pressures from Jews, Arabs, Christians and a dozen peripheral interests would beset such an organization. Unsuccessful parties would charge it with favoritism or enmity. A time-honored tactic of disruptive groups is to exploit a single unfortunate incident to support a general condemnation. Hence, police policies must be clear-cut, unchanging, understandable. When contending factions learn that an authority cannot be manipulated or driven, its gravest problem is solved.

This is the blueprint for a Palestine Police. Poorly organized or weakly administered, it could become just one more uncertain force in Middle Eastern chaos. But it also could become a powerful influence for unity and stability—perhaps the only such influence for years to come—in a sadly divided land.



# Proclamation of the New Jewish State

TEL AVIV, Palestine, May 14 (AP)—Following is the text of the Declaration of Independence of the Jewish state:

The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish People.

Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from Palestine, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and restoration of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain statehood. In recent decades they returned in their masses. They reclaimed a wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages and established a vigorous and ever growing community, with its own economic and cultural life. They sought peace, yet were ever prepared to defend themselves. They brought blessings of progress to all inhabitants of the country.

In the year 1897 the First Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl's vision of a Jewish state, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to a national revival in their own country.

## Balfour Declaration Cited

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917, and reaffirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their national home.

The Nazi holocaust which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe proved anew the urgency of the re-establishment of the Jewish state, which would solve the problem of Jewish homelessness by opening the gates to all Jews and lifting the Jewish people to

equality in the family of nations.

Survivors of the European catastrophe, as well as Jews from other lands, claiming their right to a life of dignity, freedom and labor, and undeterred by hazards, hardships and obstacles, have tried unceasingly to enter Palestine.

In the second World War, the Jewish people in Palestine made a full contribution in the struggle of freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and efforts of their workers gained them title to rank with the people who founded the United Nations. On Nov. 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution for re-establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine and called upon inhabitants of the country to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put the plan into effect.

This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent state may not be revoked. It is, moreover, the self-evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation, as all other nations, in its own sovereign state.

Accordingly we, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the Zionist movement of the world, met together in solemn assembly by virtue of the natural and historic right of Jewish people and of resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, hereby proclaim the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine, to be called Israel.

We hereby declare that as from the termination of the mandate at midnight this night of the 14th to 15th of May, 1948, and until the setting up of duly elected bodies of the state in accordance with a Constitution to be drawn up by a Constituent Assembly not later than the first day of October, 1948, the present National Council shall act as the Provisional State Council and its ex-

ecutive organ, the National Administration, shall constitute the Provisional Government of the State of Israel.

## Equality to All Promised

The State of Israel will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on precepts of liberty, justice and peace taught by the Hebrew prophets; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of shrines and holy places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The State of Israel will be ready to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementations of the resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about an economic union over the whole of Palestine.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building of its state and to admit Israel into the family of nations.

In the midst of wanton aggression we call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to return to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the state, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions, provisional or permanent.

We offer peace and amity to all neighboring states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all. The State of Israel is ready to contribute its full share to the peaceful progress and reconstitution of the Middle East.

Our call goes out to the Jewish people all over the world to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development and to stand by us in the great struggle for the fulfillment of the dream of generations—the redemption of Israel.



# BEHIND THE PALESTINE REVERSAL

BY JORGE GARCIA-GRANADOS

**T**HE violence now taking place in Palestine is the direct result of vacillation, appeasement and the wish on the part of persons in high places, here and abroad, to sabotage the United Nations' decision to partition Palestine. This sabotage began long before the ink was dry on the resolution of November 29, 1947, in which the General Assembly of the United Nations, by more than a two-thirds vote, accepted our recommendation to divide Palestine into two independent states—one Arab, one Jewish.

I am convinced, and I believe I express the opinion of the majority of my colleagues on the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, that partition was, and is, the only possible answer to the problem. Any stopgap formula that may be advanced regardless whether it be described as "trusteeship" or "federated state" or "unitary state," can only lead to further tragedy.

History itself has already partitioned Palestine. That was the reality our committee found as we traveled the length and breadth of the Holy Land and spoke with Arab and Jew, Briton and American. We discovered two distinct peoples, each rooted in the land, each with its own religion, its own language, its own culture; two separate national entities inspired by distinctly separate needs for national survival.

From the beginning it was apparent that any solution we would recommend would have to be imposed. There could be none upon which both Arabs and Jews would agree.

This was recognized by the British High Commissioner in Palestine, Sir Alan Cunningham—in striking contradiction to the official British position that Great Britain would cooperate in any solution we recommended if it were agreed to by both Arabs and Jews.

By setting a condition that even its own representative on the spot knew was impossible of fulfillment, Britain began the process of sabotage which continues to this moment.

## A Jury without Self-Interest

My colleagues and I went to Palestine as an impartial jury acting for the civilized nations of the world. None of our eleven countries was a great power; none had oil concessions in the Middle East and none had political or economic interests in Palestine; and the majority of our countries had not even religious or cultural ties with the majority of Palestine's inhabitants.

In casting about for a solution during our public hearings in Jerusalem, Vladimir Simic, Yugoslavia's representative on UNSCOP, pursued the idea of binationalism, envisaging a unitary state in which Jews and Arabs would enjoy political parity—that is, an equal number of representatives in the government.

"Would this not be an answer to

the problem?" he asked David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

"The result would be a permanent deadlock in government," Ben-Gurion replied. "It would be ten Jews versus ten Arabs, or three Jews versus three Arabs, on every question requiring positive action, from immigration to land development. I cannot imagine how the government would function."

Karel Lisicky, Czechoslovakia's representative on UNSCOP, asked, "Then you are definitely pessimistic about Arab-Jewish agreement?"

"On the contrary," Ben-Gurion replied. "I am definitely optimistic, but there must be a Jewish State first. Co-operation between the Jewish people as a people and the Arab people as a people will be possible only when we have the same status as they—that of an independent nation."

That co-operation was possible I saw time and again as we toured the country in twenty-four U.N. cars, driven by twelve Jewish and twelve Arab chauffeurs.

On one occasion while we were visiting in the Mosque of Abraham in the ancient town of Hebron, our drivers entered an Arab café to refresh themselves with Turkish coffee. The proprietor was ready to serve the Arabs but not the Jews. He had evidently had his instructions.

One of the Jewish drivers told me, "We Jews walked out. A moment after, the Arab drivers joined us. They refused to accept the coffee unless we also were served. The proprietor, to save face, sent his boy out with 24 cups of cold water for all of us, Jew and Arab alike."

"You see, Señor Ambassador, we ordinary folk get along . . ."

Later, as I was driving, with an Arab chauffeur, through a remote area of Palestine, I saw a figure on the road before us.

It was a lone Arab Bedouin, wrapped almost to his ears in a heavy robe reaching to his ankles. As we came alongside him, I had my driver stop the car and put several questions to him.

The Bedouin listened for a few moments, then suddenly replied in a torrent of rapid Arabic, now and then pointing angrily off into the distance.

In this article, Collier's presents one side of an important controversy leading up to the scheduled May 15th withdrawal of British forces from Palestine and the plans for setting up a Jewish State.

Jorge Garcia-Granados, a member of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, is a former president of the Guatemalan congress, and was ambassador to the United States at the time of his appointment to UNSCOP. The committee went to Palestine and the Arab states last summer, charged by the United Nations, at Britain's request, to find a solution for the Palestine problem. The committee's majority recommendation—partition—and its shelving by the U.S. are detailed in this article, which is taken from the author's forthcoming book

Then, his tirade finished, he flung his scarf across his face and over one shoulder and indignantly stalked off.

Puzzled, I asked my driver, "What is it?"

"Sir," he answered, obviously embarrassed, "I will give you his words. He said, 'I hear on the radio about the Jews. My sons they read in the press about the Jews. Somewhere off in that direction'—and he gestured violently as the other had done—they tell me, there live some Jews. But I have never seen a Jew, I have never met a Jew, I have never talked with a Jew! The Jews do not concern me and I do not concern them. Now please go away and let me be in peace."

Later on, we went to Lebanon to hear testimony by spokesmen of the Arab states. We arrived in Beyrouth, Lebanon's capital, amid charges that the Lebanese government was in power illegally, because of falsification of ballots and terrorization of the electorate. Soon after we reached our hotel, word came to me that one of the highest ranking leaders of the opposition with his aides wished to speak with us.

They claimed that the government was not supported by public opinion; that the majority of the Lebanese—who were Christians—did not wish Lebanon to be a member of the Arab League, but rather a link between East and West; and that it was to the interests of the Christian Lebanon that the Jews should have a Jewish State. Lebanese Christians and Palestine Jews would mutually protect each other from being engulfed in a Moslem sea.

Later, the Lebanese opposition leader spoke to me privately.

"I will be frank," he said. "I feel very warm toward a Jewish State, but I cannot say so openly now because I would have trouble with certain persons in this country. We have a dictatorship here and that is why we must speak to you in this fashion."

The testimony later given us by the Arab states' spokesmen made perfectly clear that the only political solution for Palestine they would accept was its establishment as a unitary Arab State.

What, we asked, would be the status of the Jews in such a state? Hamid Frangie, Lebanese foreign minister,

and Emir Adel Arslan of Syria replied in effect that all Jews who had come to Palestine after the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917—which the Arabs consider illegal—would have their citizenship re-examined.

Those who had entered Palestine without "permission of the Mandatory Power" should be expelled from the country, Frangie added. Those who had entered legally but had not acquired Palestinian citizenship, would have their status determined by the Arab government.

The implication was clear: The majority of the 700,000 Jews now in Palestine had entered since 1917; most of these would be subject to deportation, depending upon the rigidity or benevolence of the future Arab multi-dominated government of Palestine.

A few days later, I had a private conversation with Camille Chamoun, chief Lebanese delegate to the United Nations and one of the most enlightened of Arab leaders. "The Arabs will never accept any further Jewish immigration," he said.

## Days of Debate in Geneva

Our minds full of testimony, we flew to Europe. In Geneva, we spent long days debating the possible solutions. We began by agreeing that the mandate for Palestine had failed and that both Jews and Arabs were ripe for independence. The mandate must terminate. No other trusteeship scheme should take its place. We agreed that we could not accede to the complete demands of either Arabs or Jews. Palestine could not be wholly Arab, nor wholly Jewish.

This brought us finally to partition. We called in our economic experts; we studied the number of immigrants that could be absorbed within ten years, fifteen years, twenty years. As we probed deeper, we examined the possibility of a common fiscal system, currency and transportation, as well as a customs union—searching for an arrangement which would bind the two states together, not politically but economically, and thus ensure their ability to survive. And after all our studies, we agreed that the only solution was partition with economic union.

This concluded, we flew to Lake Success, where the partition vote itself is a matter of history. It has been said that this vote (33 to 13 with 11 abstentions) was the result of improper pressures, but I should like to make it clear that the Arabs, who have been especially vehement in such accusations, were actively working behind the scenes to procure anti-partition votes.

I myself can testify to this. A few days before the vote I was accosted in the delegates' lounge by a group of the Arab spokesmen, among whom were Fares Bey el-Khoury of Syria, General Fares el-Said and Dr. Mohamed Noury el-Said of Iraq and Camille Fadhil Jamali of Iraq and Camille Chamoun of Lebanon.

(OVER)

## U.S. and Britain Urged to Arrest Their 'Reversion to Nationalism'

Welles Says the Need Is for a Getting Together, Not Between Washington and Moscow, but Between Washington and London

By Sumner Welles

Former Under Secretary of State

An identity of purpose on the part of the United States and Great Britain is essential if the English-speaking peoples are ever to see that kind of a world order for which they have fought in two world wars.

Notwithstanding Prime Minister Attlee's summary denial, the relations between the two countries have suffered serious damage.

What needs searching inquiry on both sides of the Atlantic is whether Palestine is not a symptom rather than a cause of this deterioration in Anglo-American understanding.

Both countries continue to assert that their policies are primarily directed toward the growth of the United Nations so that it may afford security, freedom and prosperity to all peoples.

In reality both countries are reverting to nationalism. They have sought increasingly to use the United Nations as an instrument to serve their individual interests rather than the interests of the international community. The policies of Britain and the United States, like those of Russia, are contributing to the breakdown of the United Nations. All three governments are following the example set by the major powers after the first world war, when their shortsighted selfishness destroyed the League of Nations.

## Disruption of Economy

The \$3 billions credit and the help now being given under the European Recovery Program have been granted Britain because we know that the British economy must be bolstered for the sake of world recovery. Yet during this same critical period the United States disrupted Britain's economic planning by canceling lend-lease without notice; attached conditions to the original credit which nullified many of its benefits, and is now inclined to employ E. R. P. as a means of influencing Britain to shape her economic policies to suit American prejudices. To cap the climax, the House of Representatives has emasculated the trade agreements act.

If Smoot-Hawley isolationism dictates American tariff policy, neither Britain nor any other democracy will recover. At the same time that we are appropriating billions of dollars in order to further British recovery, we are simultaneously insisting upon a series of narrowly selfish measures which threaten to make our help of little, if any, lasting benefit. While we are paying lip service to the cause of economic and financial co-operation under the United Nations, in our bilateral relations with other countries we are frequently taking action which impedes international co-operation and stifles world recovery.

## Britain's Contribution

Although the nature of the harm which British policy has done to the United Nations is distinct, its extent is even greater. Mr. Bevin seems to be convinced that British interests will be better served by the re-establishment of a balance of power than by the

construction of a world order that can guarantee collective security. For this reason that close-knit federation of the sixteen nations of western Europe which could be the most salutary of the results of the European Recovery Program has been blocked by British opposition.

In order to insure British domination of the Middle East, Mr. Bevin is determined that Cyprus must be kept from Greece and that the former Italian colonies of North Africa must not be returned to Italian administration, however much this might conduce to Mediterranean stability and world peace. These territories are to be British bastions.

For the same reason neither justice to the Jews nor the welfare of Palestine has had any weight with Mr. Bevin. There is no sorer chapter in the history of American foreign policy than the record of this country's policy toward Palestine. But British policy, impregnated as it has been by Mr. Bevin's bitter prejudices, has dealt the greatest blow yet struck at the structure of the United Nations. By the financial and military support she has given to the Arab states, by her efforts within the Security Council to condone their aggression and their defiance of the authority of the United Nations, the Britain of Mr. Bevin has done as much to lessen humanity's chances of attaining collective security as did the Britain of Sir John Simon a generation ago when she prevented the League of Nations from halting Japan's aggression against China.

## Make a Split Possible

By persisting in policies that they so shortsightedly regard as being to their individual advantage, both Britain and the United States are undermining the foundations of the United Nations. They are also thereby preparing the way for conflicts of interest between them which would soon make impossible any enlightened form of co-operation.

Palestine is primarily a dramatic warning that the English-speaking nations are failing to put first things first.

There is a loud demand that Moscow and Washington get together. Is it not even more urgent that London and Washington get together upon a common policy which will make their acts correspond to their oft-reiterated assertions that the success of the United Nations is their first objective?

Unless such an identity of purpose determines the policies of the English-speaking powers that ideal of a United Nations capable of maintaining peace under law, of maintaining the hopes of all free peoples have been fixed, will once more become increasingly remote, more become increasingly remote.

Copyright, 1948, New York Herald Tribune Inc.



## BEHIND THE PALESTINE REVERSAL

General As-Said was smiling: "What would you do if your government would instruct you to change your position and vote against partition? Would you resign?"

Somewhat surprised, I replied, "I cannot even contemplate such a possibility. You can be sure that I act with the backing of my government and my people."

"Nevertheless," interrupted el-Khoury, "if such would be the case, what would you do?"

"I tell you it is impossible."

"But suppose it would happen, what would you do?"

"I tell you it will not happen, but if you want to know what I would do in that impossible case, I would resign before I would act contrary to my convictions."

"Well," said Jamali, "you may have to resign, because we are working very hard on your government."

No new instructions ever came to me. But I was not surprised when Ricardo Fournier, delegate of Costa Rica, told me indignantly that the Arabs had offered to support his country's candidacy for the U.N. Trusteeship Council providing he would change his propartitionist stand. "I told them flatly that I would not sell my vote or sacrifice my honor," he told me.

Partition could not be killed in an open vote of the nations, but secret forces were at work to kill it even before the vote was taken. Day after day our four-nation working group labored strenuously to fit the partition plan to Britain's program of withdrawal, and day after day Britain refused to make clear precisely what that program was.

On November 20th, nine days before the vote, I was unable to endure this any longer. I declared before the United Nations:

"We are confronted here by a situation forced upon us. The United Nations did not ask for the Palestinian question to be brought here. It was Great Britain herself who dropped this problem into our lap."

"We can only conclude that although the United Kingdom had said it would not oppose the partition plan, it is, in fact, opposing it by devious means."

"The United Kingdom's plan and behavior will lead only to bloodshed in Palestine. I warn you that there will be torrents of blood and I tell you now, before it is too late, that the only responsible party for that blood will be the United Kingdom."

Even as I spoke an intrigue was developing behind the scenes to prevent the commission which was to go to Palestine and supervise the setting up of the two independent states from being composed of men who were actively propartitionist. This commission was to be composed of the representatives of Iceland, Norway, Poland, Uruguay and Guatemala. It was no secret that Professor Enrique Rodriguez Fabregat of Uruguay and I, who had both been members of UNSCOP, would do our best to see that partition was carried out faithfully.

Pedro Zuloaga, a delegate of Venezuela, was approached by a liaison man attached to the United States delegation who suggested that to place two Latin Americans as strongly propartitionist as Fabregat and I on the commission

"would hamper its work."

A few days later the chief Norwegian delegate announced that Norway considered the present composition of the commission unsatisfactory, and must reserve its acceptance of a post.

### Power Politics Like Football

I was angry. I thought it unfair for my country to become a football of the big powers. There was only one course I could take consonant with dignity. It might not be diplomatic but it would be honest. I asked Herschel Johnson of the U.S. delegation to join me for a private conversation.

Once we were alone, I began:

"Mr. Johnson, I hope you will excuse me for being frank and even rude. I have reasons to believe that your government objects to the inclusion on the commission of Uruguay and Guatemala. I know too that your delegation controls sufficient votes to bar our election. I have no right to expose Guatemala to a rebuttal from the Assembly. If through the corridor and lounge propaganda of the United States we shall be rebuked and humiliated, I prefer to withdraw the name of my country from the list of candidates."

Johnson said: "I appreciate your speaking frankly to me and I shall be perfectly frank with you, Mr. Granados. The State Department feels that to include both you and Mr. Fabregat on the commission would arouse Arab animosity. I tell you this is not my feeling but I must carry out the instructions given me."

"I think the United States is making a tremendous mistake by following this policy of appeasement," I said. "If the Arabs are not shown that a real intent exists to carry out the United Nations resolution, they will be encouraged to oppose it."

Our conversation made it obviously impossible for this concealed game to continue. Thus, later that afternoon Fabregat came to me and said soberly, "A few moments ago I was informed that the American government thinks it very inconvenient for both of us to remain on the commission. At least one of us should be withdrawn, I am told. What do you say?"

I replied with great indignation:

"I think neither you nor I have the least chance of being elected. The Big Powers are maneuvering partly to please the Arabs and partly to please the British. It is a shameful and sordid business!"

There was nothing we could do. We agreed that when the moment came, we would withdraw the names of our countries, and we did so.

In place of the original five countries, Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and the Philippines were appointed.

Let me stress that I am convinced that partition ultimately will become a fact, no matter what decisions may be taken on paper. Let me emphasize that the choice before us was never one between a solution leading toward disorder, and one leading toward peace; it was a choice between disorder leading toward a solution, and disorder without a solution.

This was the choice at the time when the British, facing bloodshed, put Palestine into the hands of the U.N. It is still the choice today.

THE END



# ***Tug-of-War in Berlin***

***Bud Kane***

# ***Jack London's Prophecy***

***H. R. Knickerbocker***

# ***Oil Diplomacy in Zion***

***Eliahu Ben-Horin***

# ***How We Fed the Russians***

***Lt. Gen. William N. Haskell (Ret.)***

***(Complete Contents Inside)***

---

***Liberty to Destroy Liberty***

***Isaac Don Levine***



# Oil Diplomacy in Zion

By ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

AS IF out of nowhere, Arab princes in picturesque robes and head-gear stepped into the royal suite of the Waldorf Astoria in New York about three years ago, stepped into the conference rooms of the United Nations, walked as honored guests into the White House, relaxed in the seats of the "Sacred Cow" obligingly placed at their disposal by the President of the United States. Just a short while before, they had been aligned with Hitler in a war against mankind and against America. Suddenly they had become the favorites of the United States, the much-courted allies whose desires and whims must be satisfied.

What is the story behind this? What is the story behind the hazardous fluctuations of American policy on Palestine, the deep American involvement in the Middle East?

Middle East oil has grown almost into a legend. Its sinister influence is seen behind every clash, conflict and controversy in that strategically crucial area between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. And time and again, Middle East oil appears as a factor in world issues.

By now, most people know that the Persian Gulf area is rich in oil deposits, but the actual extent of these deposits remains anybody's guess. Only five years ago the Petroleum Administrator in Washington estimated the Middle East reserves at fifteen and one-half billions of barrels, out of an estimated world total of about 50 billion barrels. A year later, however, an American oil mission dispatched to

the Middle East stated upon its return that the reserves there amount without question to about 27 billion barrels. Off the record, they added that they would not be surprised if it were proved that the Middle East reserves amount to between 50 and 100 billion barrels.

In other words, the Middle East may possess more oil than all the oil-producing countries in the world put together (United States reserves are around 20 billion). For the possession or control of incomparably smaller oil resources, governments have been overthrown and revolutions have been staged. Is there a limit to what people would do in order to command the richest source of petroleum in the world?

AMERICAN oil companies went to the Middle East in the legitimate quest for business, and they are still there on that legitimate mission. Petroleum is their business, and they cannot possibly remain indifferent to any place on earth which contains considerable oil deposits. This is natural, and there is no mystery about it. The mystery begins at a much later stage, when the United States Government, in the days of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, actively stepped into the picture.

American interest in Middle East oil dates back to the first World War. When the Mosul district of the late Ottoman Empire was incorporated in the newly founded state of Iraq, two of the largest American companies—



Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum—succeeded in getting a share in the Iraq Petroleum Company. Their share was and still is only 23.75 percent, and even that was obtained through pressure of the State Department. Great Britain, which was politically, economically and militarily predominant in that area, was not eager to give the American competitor a foothold on the Persian Gulf.

Only with the gradual decline of British power in the world and in the Middle East, did American oil interests manage to penetrate more and more into that vital region. The Gulf Company obtained half of the Kuwait Concession (in partnership with the Anglo-Iranian), and then two American companies—Standard Oil of California and Texaco—bought the Bahrain concession and received an exclusive concession in Saudi Arabia. The latter concession was something of a gamble. The British, who had done some prospecting in Saudi Arabia, were skeptical about it. This explains their agreeing to an American concession, granted by King Ibn Saud who was in the pay of the British and under their thumb.

However, the main reason for a gradual change of heart on the part of Britain is to be found in her weakness in the years immediately preceding World War II and in her fear of Russian expansion. Britain knew that sooner or later she was bound to have an encounter with the Russian bear somewhere in the Arabian desert, and she could not visualize it as a pleasant *tête à tête*. Encouragement of increased United States oil holdings seemed to provide the best guarantee for American backing of Britain

against Soviet penetration into the Middle East.

With the subsequent discovery of large deposits in the wholly American-owned concession in Saudi Arabia, the United States was transformed from a junior partner in the Iraq Petroleum Company into one of the two major partners in Middle East oil. This was not welcome news to Britain. If Saudi Arabia was to become a major producer of oil, it would conceivably hurt the interests of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British Government holds the controlling interest. Britain had refrained from developing numerous Iraqi oil fields near the Persian Gulf, fearing that their oil would challenge the place held by her own company's products in the markets of eastern Asia.

#### *FDR's Secret Deal*

THIS WAS the state of affairs when President Roosevelt appeared on the Saudi-Arabian stage. This he did, of course, in a truly Rooseveltian, dramatic manner. On his way from the Yalta Conference, FDR made a little trip to the Suez Canal. While his cruiser was waiting in Great Bitter Lake on the Suez, another U. S. cruiser was dispatched to Jidda, to fetch King Ibn Saud, the ruler of Saudi Arabia. On February 14, 1945, less than two months before Roosevelt's death, Ibn Saud came aboard the President's cruiser.

What exactly took place during this parley between the head of the greatest democracy on earth and the despotic chieftain of a medieval desert principality is still veiled in secrecy. All that was duly publicized was the exchange of pleasantries in the most



pompous oriental manner and the royal trimmings of Ibn Saud's trips, the twelve sheep the king brought with him, the coffee he drank, the handshakes he bestowed on the officers of the cruiser and the presents he gave them.

King Ibn Saud's "angle" in these negotiations is apparent. This ruler of a desert country, which has no industry, no agriculture, no commerce and no income, was virtually *in extremis* at that time. Because of the war, the main source of Saudi Arabia's national income—the yearly pilgrimage of Moslems to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina—was completely dry. The other source of income—a yearly "political" subvention from the British Treasury—was both inadequate and insecure, in view of Britain's impoverishment and the deterioration of her power. The discovery of oil by an American company and a solid tie-up with the richest and most powerful nation was a virtual godsend to Ibn Saud. He was eager to make a deal with America and get the money which he needed for his government, and—what was even more important—for his personal luxuries and those of his 160 wives and their progeny.

Long before the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud rendezvous, emissaries of Ibn Saud had been in Washington soliciting an American subsidy. In April, 1941, James A. Moffett, who at the time represented the California and Texas companies in the management of the Saudi concession, approached President Roosevelt with the request that Saudi Arabia be granted an annual subsidy of six million dollars—which, together with the British subvention of four million dollars, would cover

Ibn Saud's ten million yearly budget. To be exact, what the representatives of the Arabian-American Oil Company (now known as Aramco) offered the U. S. Government, was a commercial transaction. They offered cheap oil for a yearly advance of six million dollars. That they subsequently did not live up to their offer and have overcharged the Navy to the tune of about 38 million dollars, is a story in itself.

### *Hopkins Had Scruples*

ONE EPISODE in the Washington negotiations is worth mentioning, for it throws light on both the moral and financial positions of Ibn Saud. When the Government did not accept the Aramco offer, Mr. Moffett and others continued to plead with the President, with Jesse Jones, with Harry Hopkins, to find some way to pass on some cash to the poor king in Jidda. If the Government was not willing to pay in advance for cheap oil, wouldn't it give some money to Ibn Saud under lend-lease? This request provides us with a piquant quotation from a letter by Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's alter ego, to Jesse H. Jones, at that time Federal Loan Administrator.

In a personal and confidential letter on White House stationery, dated June 14, 1941, Mr. Hopkins stated:

Dear Jesse,

The President is anxious to find a way to do something about this matter. I am enclosing confidential correspondence from the White House so you can see what goes on. Will you return it as soon as you have read it.

I am not sure what techniques



there are for us to use. It occurred to me that some of it might be done in the shipment of food direct under the Lend-Lease Bill, although just how we could call that outfit a "democracy" I don't know. . . .

Despite Mr. Hopkins' scruples, "that outfit" ultimately succeeded in obtaining lend-lease. At first the Government chose to aid Saudi Arabia through indirect subsidies. The United States gave money to Britain and asked the British to pass on some of it to Saudi Arabia. But on February 18, 1943, President Roosevelt issued a directive to Edward Stettinius, Lend-Lease Administrator, asking him to arrange for lend-lease aid to the Government of Saudi Arabia, as "I hereby find that the defense of Saudi Arabia is vital to the defense of the United States." In all, Saudi Arabia received from the United States financial assistance amounting to \$99,469,000, of which the Senate Investigation Committee lists \$72,469,000 as "Probably Nonrecoverable" and the balance as "Probably Recoverable."

#### *Wooing the Debtor*

THUS, when King Ibn Saud ascended the cruiser at Suez, he was already the recipient of considerable amounts of American lend-lease and other financial assistance. He hoped to secure further American support and protection after seeing President Roosevelt.

Seen from the viewpoint of a sound and constructive American foreign policy, President Roosevelt's aims and designs are somewhat enigmatic. It is difficult to explain his trip to Great Bitter Lake in the very midst of the

war. If he wanted to see Ibn Saud, the latter could have been summoned to Washington. This inexplicable and exaggerated "courtesy" on the part of President Roosevelt set an unfortunate tone for American-Saudi relations. If the President of the United States considered King Ibn Saud important enough to go all the way to the doorstep of the Arab Peninsula in order to meet him, why should not Ibn Saud and the other potentates of the Arab League consider themselves powerful and important?

When in reply to a letter to Roosevelt, officially, properly and modestly addressed as "Your Excellency," Ibn Saud got a reply from Roosevelt, addressed to "Great and Good Friend," why on earth should Ibn Saud not have considered himself "great" and set his demands as high as possible in talking to the American President?

There are, of course, cases in life when the creditor has to court and woo his debtor. This, however, was by no means such a case. Ibn Saud was not only saved from bankruptcy by American financial support, but his very well-being in the future depended on American protection and backing. Without America, he could neither solve his financial problems, nor develop his oil deposits, nor gain respectability in the world and admission into the United Nations. One could hardly imagine more ideal conditions for FDR to lay down the law to Ibn Saud.

Actually, the reverse happened. For there was a third partner to these negotiations, a silent partner, but a past master in imperialistic and colonial intrigue. When Great Britain agreed to American penetration into



the Middle East, it was to be on Britain's terms. If Britain's foreign policy in that area was solidly orientated on the Arab League, it was imperative to bring about the adoption of a similar orientation by the United States. The Pan-Arabic clique and the individual Arab chieftains had to be built up in the eyes of the world as a great and united force. The Roosevelt-Ibn Saud interview was to clinch this British-American-Arab Alliance in the Middle East. And that is exactly what it did.

#### *Words vs. Deeds*

IT WAS after the Suez Canal interview that the zigzags of American policy on Palestine took the form of high acrobatics. Even prior to that a trained eye could have discerned discrepancies between the declared pro-Zionist position of the U. S. Government and the actual line of policy pursued by the Government. As far as verbal expressions of sympathy and declarations of support were concerned, the Zionists could not expect any more than they were continually receiving in pledges, speeches, resolutions, party planks and Presidential statements. But whenever the U. S. Government or the President had to do something tangible to help Zionism in Palestine, this was not forthcoming. On the contrary, the same President Roosevelt who repeatedly declared his endorsement of Zionist aspirations was the man who blocked the adoption of a pro-Zionist Congressional resolution. Expressions of sympathy for Zionism were for public consumption; behind the scenes was nullification of Zionist aims by the White House and the State Department.

In October, 1944—four months before his meeting with Ibn Saud — President Roosevelt sent a message to the annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Atlantic City, in which he said: ". . . We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." Then, FDR met Ibn Saud, and had the following to say on Palestine, in his speech to Congress on March 1, 1945: ". . . Of the problems of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem, the Moslem problem, the Jewish problem, by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes than I could have learned in exchange of two or three dozen letters."

This was, of course, a perplexing statement. One could have queried Roosevelt as to the sources of Ibn Saud's expertness on the Jewish problem. As is well known, there is not one Jew in Saudi Arabia. Ibn Saud has never ventured outside the Arab Peninsula. Nor is he a man of learning, who might have acquired theoretical knowledge of the Jewish problem from books and study. However, this was not important. Obviously this was a far from adroit effort on FDR's part to flatter Ibn Saud. But if one could question Ibn Saud's expertness, there was no room for doubt as to his vicious anti-Zionism. What did Roosevelt "learn" from him in five minutes? . . .

Public opinion in the United States was seriously upset by this passage in Roosevelt's Congressional speech, and the White House political acrobatics came into play again. One of the top



leaders of American Zionism, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, came to see the President on March 16, 1945, and on his emergence from the White House issued a statement, in which he quoted the President as saying: "I made my position on Zionism clear in October. That position I have not changed and shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization." The October declaration to which the President referred was, of course, the above-quoted message to the Zionist Annual Convention in Atlantic City.

### *The Truth Comes Out*

IT WAS NOT until October, 1945, six months after President Roosevelt had passed away, that the true content of the "lesson" learned by Roosevelt from Ibn Saud became known. When President Truman started advocating the immediate immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, the Arabs accused him and the U. S. Government of breaking President Roosevelt's promises to King Ibn Saud, and demanded the publication of the Roosevelt-Ibn Saud correspondence on the subject. To this Washington answered that there was no record of any such promises by Roosevelt to Ibn Saud. Only after Ibn Saud threatened to release the letters, did Washington find the "record," and, on October 18, 1945, the full text of Ibn Saud's letter to Roosevelt, dated March 10, 1945, and of Roosevelt's reply, dated April 5 (one week before his death), were published.

What Ibn Saud had to say in his lengthy letter is easy to guess. It was a repetition of the usual line of Arab propaganda, although it contained a few unique "pearls." Thus, accord-

ing to Ibn Saud, the Jews in Palestine "are preparing to create a form of Nazi-fascism." The Arab Middle East, on the other hand, "has proved itself loyal to the Allied cause in these critical times. . . ." Altogether, Ibn Saud's dissertation on Jewish and Palestinian history was valuable from one viewpoint only. After reading it, one could know exactly what President Roosevelt had learned from him on Great Bitter Lake.

Precisely what was the promise given by Roosevelt to Ibn Saud? The answer to this question is contained in Roosevelt's reply: ". . . Your Majesty will recall that on previous occasions I communicated to you the attitude of the American Government toward Palestine and made clear our desire that no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. . . ."

President Roosevelt, by the way, did not find it necessary to react in any way to the insinuations against the Jews contained in Ibn Saud's letter. He seemed to have swallowed the king's "interpretation" of Jewish history and of Zionist plans hook, line and sinker. His letter to Ibn Saud was not intended for publication. . . .

This then was the deal made by Roosevelt in his interview with Ibn Saud, when FDR sold Zionism down the river. Only twenty days after authorizing Dr. Wise to state that the President will "seek to bring about the earliest realization in Palestine of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth," Roosevelt reiterated in his letter to Ibn Saud his secret Suez Canal pledge not to decide anything basic on Palestine without consulting



the Arabs and the Jews. Translated from double talk into straight talk, this can only mean that Roosevelt undertook indefinitely to frustrate all efforts for the realization of Zionist aspirations in Palestine.

The picture of the Anglo-American-Arab alliance in the Middle East is now complete. The United States was to have oil. Britain was to retain its political control over this strategic area, plus oil, plus American backing against Soviet penetration. Ibn Saud and the Arab chieftains were to receive financial assistance and oil royalties, sponsorship in the United Nations, a new prominence in the world and the preservation of a feudalistic setup in the Middle East under an underwritten British-American protectorate. If this alliance has not worked out exactly the way it was planned, the blame or the credit for this failure is not to be attributed to Britain's Foreign Office or America's State Department, and certainly not to Ibn Saud and the other oil barons of Arabia.

Time and again, Americans have been told that Ibn Saud would cancel the American concession; that Soviet Russia would take America's place in the affections of the Arabs; that

America is running short of oil and is vitally dependent on Arabian oil for its domestic requirements; that in case of a new world war, it is simply vital for the United States to have Middle East oil.

Is the United States vitally dependent on oil supplies from the Arab lands? Or are the Arab lands much more dependent on American capital, industry and skill, in general, and specifically for the profitable development of their petroleum deposits? Would Middle East oil be a major factor in American security in case of a new world war? In the light of the best national interests of the United States, should large quantities of steel—so scarce at home—be sent for the construction of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline? Or should this steel be saved for the increase of oil boring and production in the United States and elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere? What is the plain truth about the role played by oil companies with interests in Arabia in shaping American policies in Palestine and in the Middle East?

---

*These questions will be discussed in a second article in an early issue of PLAIN TALK.*

THE EDITORS

---

\* \* \* The sordid story of our *Oil Diplomacy in Zion* is recited in full by an expert on the subject, a veteran and outstanding journalist, ELIAHU BEN-HORIN, whose work, *The Middle East*, gained for him wide recognition. He lived in the Middle East for sixteen years.

THE EDITORS



**Bartley  
Crum:**

# Israel Turns Anarchy Into Solvency

(Copyright, 1948, by The New York Star, Inc.)

TEL AVIV, Sept. 15 — Four months ago, the State of Israel was proclaimed. Today its budget is balanced. Its affairs are in order.

The importance of this achievement cannot be underestimated in view of the Herculean three-fold task the Israelis face:

- ¶ Building a state.
- ¶ Fighting a war.
- ¶ Bringing in 120,000 immigrants a year — equivalent to the U. S. A. absorbing 17,000,000 annually.

How Israel has met its problems so far and its economic blueprint for the future was told to me in detail by Israel's Finance Minister, Eliezer Kaplan, and David Horowitz, economic adviser to the Israeli government.

## Fulfills Dream

The blueprint not only fulfills the dreams of American businessmen, but, in view of the astounding development here of the trade union movement, gives equal satisfaction to Israel's industrial and agricultural workers.

"We believe in paying our own way," began Kaplan, a heavy-set, slow-speaking man, who might well be the chairman of the board of any large American enterprise.

"Since the republic was established four months ago, I have been able also to balance our budget, save only for the extraordinary and non-recurring expenses of war and immigration.

"Our outgo doesn't exceed our income. We propose to keep the budget balanced."

"How do you do it?" I asked.

## Tough Job

"It has been hard," he replied. "We had to curtail services and increase local taxation. We will have to go into rationing. There has been a tremendous increase in the cost of living. Since we set up the state four months ago it has gone up 15 per cent. But it must be remembered that in the six months preceding it went up a similar percentage under the British mandate.

"I don't like it. We see the danger, but nevertheless we have kept our economy going and sound. If anything, this war has proved that we are a going concern fiscally and economically, and this under the most difficult conditions."

Both Kaplan and Horowitz made clear that the official policy of the Israeli government will be to encourage and promote private investment of capital—and to extend special privileges in the way of taxes and rebates to attract and keep this capital.

Horowitz, who has an enormous command of facts and figures, added:

"You can't realize what Israel is

capable of doing in the future unless you know precisely what we were up against when the British left this country on May 14. They literally walked off with the cash-box. They left the country in a state of total anarchy.

## Paralyzed Exchange

"They paralyzed monetary exchange, for example, by taking away all small change and currency. They left us with no telephone or telegraph system, no communications, no inland railway, no local administration.

"They burned the postal stamps, they cancelled our international postal union agreement. They left us cut off from communications from abroad.

"We have had to re-establish all this in the middle of a war—to restore postal services, internal and foreign communications, and monetary circulation.

"The British believed that 10 days after their evacuation of Haifa we would be militarily defeated—and if not defeated militarily, then defeated economically, forced into bankruptcy within a month.

## Remove Currency

"They left the country without any foreign currency, and without foreign currency you can't buy goods from abroad. Our shipments from overseas were confiscated by Egypt, Lebanon and others. Lloyd's wouldn't insure us and we had to introduce our own insurance.

"We were faced simultaneously with a sharp drop in imports and a tremendous upsurge in the demand for services and food because of incoming immigrants and a large soldier population which consumes three times as much food as the civilians.

"All this came simultaneously."

He paused.

"But we met it. That's why we have confidence in the future."

Kaplan pointed out that Israel would use private capital wherever possible, using public and semi-public funds only in enterprises where the profit isn't sufficiently great to attract private capital.

Horowitz explained:

"For example you can't make a great profit out of mixed farming, but since we must have eggs, milk, etc., we jump into the breach with public capital and extend loans to groups and individuals for a period of 20 to 40 years at two to four per cent interest.

"We discriminate in no way between Arab and Jew. We have granted a loan to the township of Nazareth, an all-Arab community, for them to establish a modern water supply. For 30 years the mandatory government refused to do it.

"Our loan record has been good, our loans have been repaid to us. Where we have borrowed ourselves, we have repaid promptly with interest."

We moved on to discuss the economic blueprint for the future.

"We see Israel as the center of a great trading area," Kaplan said. "We are a small country and we must have intensive foreign trade."

"We have a general three-point plan:

"First, we will develop enormously our citrus industry, which represents more than 50 per cent of our exports. This means selling to world markets, untouched by your California, Texas and Florida industries, such citrus products as pectin, jams, marmalades, fruit-juice concentrates, and so forth.

## Dead Sea's Resources

"Second, we will utilize fully the vast resources of the Dead Sea, which means selling bromides, magnesium and badly needed potash fertilizer, which we are able to export because our soil is rich in potash and we need none for ourselves.

"Third, the development of all industries will be based not so much on availability of raw materials as upon ingenuity, skill and intelligence."

He cited the manufacture of precision and scientific instruments, textiles and leather goods; furs, which are imported from Iran and other countries and processed in Israel; and particularly the polishing of gem diamonds which represents an annual \$15,000,000 in exports to the U. S. A. alone.

## DPs a Big Factor

"An important industrial factor," Horowitz pointed out, "is the displaced persons arriving here. While absorbing them at a tremendous rate places a huge financial burden on us, we have discovered that they are fitting into our economy more rapidly even than expected."

"You see, Hitler kept alive only those Jews who possessed skills useful to him — builders, metal and textile workers, artisans — and their labor is precisely what we need in this pioneer country. So when we take in DPs, we are not only relieving the American taxpayer of the tremendous cost of maintaining them in European camps, but we are bringing into Israel human assets for the future.

## Human Values, Too

"This does not take into consideration the human values that are saved by rehabilitating men and women and making them into self-supporting human beings again."

As these two experts see the economic promise of Israel they divide the uses of public and private funds as follows:

¶ First, the development of Israel's harbors, any of which could become the "New York of the Middle East."

¶ Second, public works including road-building, schools, hospitals, community centers and vast public housing.

The latter would mean enormous orders to the U. S. A. for building materials such as steel, iron bars, pipe and timber.

¶ Third, the development of communications, including railroads and airplanes.

Private capital will go into the expected tremendous tourist trade, the establishment of hotels and resorts along Israel's Mediterranean coast, where the climate is the same as the Riviera, Florida and California.

"The Tiberias area, with its natural hot springs, literally cries out for development," Horowitz said.

"It is a natural spa area. You can build a hotel high above the springs. You would have snow-capped Mt. Hermon above you. The Lake of Tiberias spreads out at your feet, with the ancient hot springs where Roman emperors took their cures below."

## Many Climates

Kaplan added that Israel has a wide variety of climate over a small area.

There is semi-tropical Tel Aviv, at sea level, and within an hour's auto ride, either Jerusalem, 2000 feet above sea level, or tropical resorts by the Dead Sea 1300 below sea level. You can choose your own climate at any time of day or year.

Private capital is also going into investments and government securities, which are likely to bear a higher interest than these in the U. S. A., as well as in every kind of private industry.

While painting this picture of the future, both Kaplan and Horowitz did not underestimate the tremendous initiative and energy needed to turn their blueprint into reality.

I said it would not be easy, that it was quite literally a pioneering life, complicated by Levantine intrigue, power politics, and the fact that Israel is at the military crossroads of the world.

Kaplan nodded, saying:

"We are confident. Everybody thought we would be defeated militarily; now our enemies hope we will collapse through the economic warfare being waged during the truce."

"It is a vain hope. We Jews had little military experience in the past, but we proved we could handle ourselves militarily."

"Economically, the Jews have been known by their ability; certainly, Israel will not fail."



Bartley Crum:

# Israel Safeguards Christian Shrines

(Copyright, 1948, by New York Star, Inc.)

NAZARETH, Sept. 18

Here in Nazareth, where 16 Christian churches and scores of holy places have attracted pilgrims

through the centuries, all remain as before — unchanged, unmolested, under the most scrupulous protection the Israeli government can provide.

## Spoke With Priests

I must confess that as a Christian and a member of the Roman Catholic Church, I was most anxious to obtain the true story regarding treatment by Jews of these holy places.

I spoke with priests throughout Israel, with Franciscan friars who are answerable to the Vatican and who oversee and manage sacred institutions, hospitals and schools, and with the military governor in Nazareth. I have documentary evidence in my possession which I propose to show to church authorities proving that the government of Israel announced even in the midst of war, that any Jewish soldier found looting or interfering with church property "would be subject to penalty of death."

All through Israel today one finds tacked on doors of church property, Protestant and Catholic alike, such warnings as "Holy Site—Entrance Forbidden" or "Holy Place—Out of Bounds." At the village of Ein Karem, where a Roman Catholic Church stands at the site of the birth of John the Baptist,

Father Ferdinand, a Spanish Franciscan priest, showed me priceless relics so delicate, a mere touch would destroy them.

## 'Relations Excellent'

"Our relations with Israeli forces and the government are excellent," Father Ferdinand said. "We don't like war, but I must say Jewish forces have been most correct."

Although Israeli troops were only a stone's throw away in the town, the place where I stood chatting with Father Ferdinand was as peaceful and remote from the alarms of war, as one could imagine.

In this particular village most people, under spurtings from the Mufti, had fled, but the Franciscans had remained. Houses of the villagers were left untouched and locked. The Israeli government had appointed a custodian to oversee the rights of the villagers.

In Nazareth, on the other hand, practically the entire population—more than 13,000 Arabs—have remained. As in ancient times, women of the town continue to draw water from "Mary's Well," the fountain from which the Mother of Jesus drew water for Her needs and those of the Holy Family.

Women, dressed very much the same as 2000 years ago, filled clay and copper water containers, and chatted animatedly in the noon day sun.

Here I spoke first with a bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church who had been appointed to represent the Latin, Greek and Protes-

tant churches in their relationships with the military governor at Nazareth, Elish Salz.

The bishop, dressed all in black, stood with me in the town square holding a black umbrella over his head against the hot Nazareth sun and with many smiles and gestures and fingering his black beard, said:

"Everything that happened here in the early days of the war were things you would expect to happen in the course of any war. But as you can see, there has been no damage to church property whatsoever."

## Just Two Requests

During the entire hostilities he had to make only two requests to the military governor. The first was for permission to go through the fighting lines to assist a woman about to give birth. The second was to have a requisitioned car returned to him; I was assured by the military that the car would be returned as soon as possible.

He was optimistic and certain that finally peaceful relations would be established between the Arabs and the Jews, and added: "All men speak the same words in their hearts, but alas, the interpretations are different."

Salz uses his power to a minimum extent. We spoke over small cups of Turkish coffee brought from a near-by Arab coffeehouse. He revealed that his greatest wish is to return to a Kibbutz (collective settlement) where he is a farmer.

"The sooner that time arrives, the happier I will be," he said. He

showed me the written terms of surrender signed two months ago when Israeli armies drove out Iraqi troops who had occupied the city. These terms granted to all inhabitants of Nazareth and the surrounding territory full Israeli citizenship. Nazareth today is run by Arabs, with an Arab mayor and judge and an Arab council.

With the co-operation of the Israeli authorities, they have achieved the following:

¶ Raised the wage scale of Arab workers to parity with Jewish workers.

¶ Are installing a modern water system for the first time in 2000 years through a loan given by the Israeli government to the town of Nazareth.

¶ Demonstrated that Arabs and Jews can live and work together in peace to the benefit of both.

Before I left this sacred city of churches and convents, I visited the vicar of the Franciscan order in charge of the See of Galilee and the Church of the Annunciation where, according to Christian scriptures, it was announced to the Blessed Virgin that she would be the mother of Jesus.

A pleasant and personable Sicilian priest, Father Gaieeppe explained that, of course, the final decision of the Vatican regarding the protection needed by the churches must as yet be made. He added: "If I may speak personally, I would like to say our relations are excellent. We had a few complaints at the beginning but within an

hour after Israeli occupation, the Israeli commander, showing great deference to the religious and holy places, made all arrangements for their protection here.

I also spoke with him regarding the disturbing stories which had appeared in the U. S. A. He shook his head vigorously and gestured sharply. "That is absolutely untrue here," he said.

As I left, the bells tolled over Nazareth and the echo resounded musically through the narrow, winding streets lined with the tiny shops of coppersmiths, grocers and cobblers — the immemorial and changeless Nazareth that Jesus knew, preserved and protected by the people from whom He sprang.

Bartley Crum, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, and author of *BEHIND THE SILKEN CURTAIN*, has just visited the new State of Israel, reporting on his observations for the "New York Star."

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE  
41 EAST 42ND STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.



# High Mass in Last Supper Room Probably First Since Year 1552

National  
Edition

## THE REGISTER

National  
Edition

(Name Registered in the U. S. Patent Office)

MEMBER OF AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

This Paper is Connected With NCWC Washington News Headquarters by Its Own Leased Wire, Also International News Service Daily Wire, Its Own Special Service, Religious News Service, Inter-Catholic Press Agency, Film Service, Religious News Photos, International Illustrated News, and NCWC Picture Service

VOL. XXIV. No. 39.

DENVER, COLO., SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1948

## Jews Allow What Moslems Forbade

By BRO. ANTHONY BRUYA, O.F.M.

Jerusalem. — For the first time in centuries, probably since 1552, a High Mass was sung in the Cenacle, place of the Last Supper.

This great event came about as an unexpected happy result of the present conflict in the Holy Land—a paradox that only God could fashion.

It happened in this way:

The Jewish forces captured the Mount Sion area of Jerusalem. In this section of the city are located the Angelic Delegation, the Benedictine Dormition abbey, the Franciscan Chapel of the Cenacle, and the actual room of the Last Supper.

### Monks, Friar Get Offer

Interned in the Dormition shrine were three Benedictines and one Franciscan priest. When the Jews took over, they offered the four religious the opportunity to hold services in the Muslim "Tomb of David," as the non-Christians called the place that witnessed the institution of the Blessed Sacrament.

The religious quickly availed themselves of this opportunity. One morning shortly thereafter, a portable altar, candlesticks, and all the necessary articles for the cele-

bration of Mass were carried into the Cenacle.

While the Benedictine priest celebrated a High Mass, the Franciscan and two Benedictine Brothers sang the sacred chant. Afterwards, the Franciscan, who a few days later reached the 50th jubilee of his ordination, was celebrant of a Low Mass of Thanksgiving.

High Mass had been offered in the Cenacle on rare occasions by visiting prelates and others but it had never been celebrated furtively. Always costly "arrangements" had to be made with Moslem custodians of this venerable shrine, the very center of Catholic faith. The Franciscans were expelled from the shrine in 1552. (NCWC Radio and Wire)



***Inside Story of  
Our Soviet Underworld***

*Isaac Don Levine*

***Stalin's Jazz Artist***

*Jury Jelagin*

**➡ *The Arabian Oil Rush***

*Eliahu Ben-Horin*

***Laski: The Planners' Ordeal***

*John Chamberlain*

*(Complete Contents Inside)*



## THE ARABIAN OIL RUSH

By ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

*Here is the second article by Mr. Ben-Horin on our oil diplomacy in Zion. The first appeared in the July issue. The author of this informative and authoritative article misses, it seems to us, the crucial point in his discussion of America's interests in Middle Eastern oil in relation to our national defense in time of war. Assuming that no oil shortage threatened the United States in an emergency, it is still vital to our security to prevent a potential enemy from seizing and exploiting the rich Arabian oil fields.*

THE EDITORS

WHEN ONE starts digging below the surface of the story of Middle East oil and its farflung political influences, one finds a set of facts and figures which have the makings of a thriller. To begin with, there is the case of two of the largest oil companies which did the United States Treasury out of over one hundred million dollars. The two companies in question are the Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company, the original owners of Aramco—the Arabian-American Oil Company—as well as of the Bahrain concession. This concession is operated by them through the Bahrain Company (a Canadian corporation) and the Cal-Tex (a Bahama corporation).

The joint earnings of Cal-Tex and Bahrain have amounted to \$117,000,000 on a total joint capital of only \$1,000,000. According to the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, "as much as ninety percent of the earnings of \$117,000,000 would have been paid into the United States Treasury by way of taxes had these corporations been

subject to United States corporation taxes." Ninety percent of \$117,000,000 is \$105,300,000.

No wonder the Chairman of the Senate Committee commented on this phenomenon as follows:

It is a liberal education on how corporations organized under foreign flags yet seek the shelter of the American flag, and were constantly coming here seeking the United States to take an interest in and to protect your investments over there. Meanwhile through the device of these two corporations over \$100,000,000 of your earnings were escaping entirely taxation in the United States. I am sure that the American people will be very much interested to acquire an increasing knowledge of methods by which these things are carried on and particularly when you found it necessary in 1945, when we were still at war, to raise the price to the American Navy over the price you had been previously charging. . . .

Or let us take the case of Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, Congresswoman from Cleveland, Ohio, who is an ardent admirer of Ibn Saud and of the Arab cause. In September, 1945, Rep. Bolton, after having been received by Ibn Saud in his kingdom, told the



United Press: "He's powerful, he's terrific, he sees everything. I was deeply impressed with his appearance, sense of humor and knowledge of world affairs. The king gave his version of the Arab problems which seemed very reasonable and sound and full of good sense." Time and again, Rep. Bolton has arisen in Congress, on Congressional committees and on public platforms to voice the pro-Arab viewpoint concerning Palestine. On November 14, 1947, she told the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on foreign aid that it "was the responsibility of the United States to take note of the Arab attitude which, she asserted, had had little ailing in this country. She said the Mufti was growing in popularity and power, and that xenophobia was "very much on the increase" in all countries of the Near and Middle East.

Is this attitude due solely to her convictions on the subject? According to Volume 14A of the Temporary National Economics Committee Report, the United States Trust Company, New York, as of December 31, 1928, held in trust for the benefit of Frances P. Bolton, stocks of the following oil companies: Standard Oil of Indiana, Standard Oil of Ohio, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Atlantic Refining Company and Socony-Vacuum Company. The value of these holdings amounted, as of March 26, 1948, to a total of \$6,604,344. The dividends for 1947 on Mrs. Bolton's oil stocks amounted in all to \$353,505, for \$264,715 of which Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum were responsible. By way of a memo to the uninformed: Standard Oil of New Jersey and So-

cony-Vacuum are now partners in the Aramco concession.

This information on Mrs. Bolton's oil holdings is not intended to cast doubt in any way on the character, integrity or personality of the Congresswoman from Ohio. However, we are all only human. It merely shows that Mrs. Bolton has a vested interest in oil in general, and in Middle East oil in particular.

I REMEMBER the hush which fell over the room and the smiles which appeared on many faces, when certain disclosures were made at a session of the Senate Investigation Committee in Washington. A representative of the U. S. Navy was on the witness stand. In answer to questions by Senator Owen Brewster, the chairman, he had to admit that some of the key men in charge of Navy oil purchases during the war were now either in the direct or indirect employ of the big oil companies.

Here is what the report of the Brewster Committee has to say on this subject:

The following persons are mentioned who were affiliated with the Government and who also were connected with the companies involved. . . . James Terry Duce, vice-president of Aramco since 1940, and formerly associated with its parent company, the Texas Company, for 25 years, was at one time Director of the Foreign Division of the Petroleum Administration. D. E. Bodenschatz, assistant manager of the Export Department of the General Petroleum Products of Los Angeles, California, a subsidiary of Socony-Vacuum, was the naval officer who wrote the justification for the purchase of Aramco crude oil at \$1.05 a barrel. [This refers to the



excessive price paid by the Navy for Aramco oil, resulting in an overcharge by Aramco to the tune of about \$38,000,000, as mentioned in my first article. E.B.H.] J. J. Walsh, one of the naval procurement officers who worked on the Aramco contracts, is now associated with Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Admiral Andrew Carter, recently president of the Overseas Tank Ship Company, a Texas Co., and Social subsidiary, was formerly executive officer of the Army-Navy Petroleum Board. Ralph K. Davies, formerly an officer of the Standard Oil Company of California, was formerly the executive petroleum administrator for war. Max Thornburg, a vice-president of Bahrain Petroleum Company, Ltd., was special assistant to the Under Secretary of State.

Of all these people mentioned, the Brewster report has a good word to say only about Ralph K. Davies. Although he too received remuneration from his company during his government service, he made a full disclosure of this fact to all concerned and disqualified himself from all negotiations involving his company. Max Thornburg, on the other hand, while serving in the high position of Special Adviser on Oil to the Department of State, continued to receive a larger salary from the oil companies than that paid to him by the government. Furthermore, this fact was kept secret. Dr. Herbert Feis, economic adviser to the State Department from 1931 to 1943, testified that although he had participated in the appointment of Max Thornburg, he was unaware of the fact that Thornburg was receiving compensation of any significance from the oil companies during his government service. Certain letters introduced in the record of the Senate investigation indicated that Thornburg continued his

interest in the oil companies while in government service.

The stand adopted by Aramco and its agents, as well as by private investors in Arabian oil, on political issues in the Middle East and on Palestine partition in particular, is simple and understandable. The only criterion which the owners of the Saudi Arabia concession apply to any Middle East issue or development is its possible affect on the companies' business interests and profits. This is the narrow though natural approach of the businessman, and is understandable, particularly when one remembers that Saudi Arabian oil has already provided many millions of net profit to Aramco and is likely to supply many more millions.

Applying its yardstick of business and profits to the Palestine problem, Aramco soon arrived at the conclusion that, as far as it was concerned, Jewish need and hope for national rebirth in their restored homeland were of no help and might possibly prove disturbing. But American big business behind Aramco went much further. Over a number of years, our policy makers in Washington had been skillfully impressed with the idea that America's national interests are necessarily and always identical with Aramco's business interests. Was this supposed identity of interests present when Aramco made the American Navy pay excessive prices for petroleum supplies, or when some of the oil companies manipulated affairs so as to deprive the United States Treasury of large sums in corporation taxes?

The technique employed by the oil companies was to plant Aramco's



own men in key government positions where they could promote the company's interpretation of American national interest in the Middle East. It was the job of the Aramco men in Washington to present and interpret events in the Middle East in such manner as to secure the fullest backing of the Government for Aramco and its Arab protégés. As we shall see, they have not been overly discriminating in their choice of arguments to achieve this end.

THE FIRST THREAT promulgated in the interests of Aramco was the alleged shortage of oil in America. Is there any substance to this threat?

Many authorities on oil can be quoted to the effect that the United States possesses enough domestic oil resources and has access to enough oil deposits in geographically close areas to supply all our peacetime requirements for a long time to come. To quote one authority among many, Joseph E. Pogue, vice-president of the Chase National Bank of New York, and member of the National Petroleum Council, in addressing the Economic Club of Detroit on November 17, 1947, stated:

The United States will face a shortage of oil only if we create it out of a shortage of understanding and imagination. . . . The current short supply of oil is linked to our industrial expansion, but there is more smoke than fire in any interpretation of this as an indication of rapid failure of oil resources. . . .

Estimates of proved underground oil reserves for the entire world now stand at 73 billion barrels, distributed as follows: In the United States, 24 billion; Caribbean Basin, 9 billion; Russia, 8 billion; Middle East, 30 billion; and the

rest of the world, 2 billion. The oil of the Middle East is not primarily required in the United States, and no large quantities of it in the foreseeable future need come here. . . . Most of that oil will be consumed in the Eastern Hemisphere, gradually relieving the dependence of that area upon the oil of the United States and the Caribbean and increasing the availability of the latter for consumption in this country.

Mr. Pogue should know. His connections with one of America's leading banks and with the National Petroleum Council, place him in a good position to judge the requirements of our industrial expansion and the extent of our oil reserves. The figures which Mr. Pogue quotes speak for themselves. Of an estimated world total of 73 billion barrels, the United States has in its own territory and at its doorstep (in the Caribbean Basin) 33 billion barrels which represent over 45 percent of all the oil on the globe.

Eugene Holman, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, is no less emphatic in his evaluation of the situation. In a letter to the editor of *The New York Times* of February 4, 1948, he says:

That future discoveries in the United States will be large is generally agreed. One estimate is that as much oil remains to be discovered in the land area of continental United States as has been discovered since the beginning of the industry. . . . Thus, the nation's oil "resources" are much larger than its "reserves." Clearly, we have far more than—at least several times—ten years to count on for very large-scale domestic oil production.

Mr. Holman goes on to evaluate optimistically the large quantities of petroleum to be found under offshore areas, as well as the prospects of synthetic oil production.



While the magnitude of Middle East oil resources is undeniable, the sober truth emerges that the United States is not threatened by an oil shortage at present or in the foreseeable future, and that America does not need Middle Eastern oil for its domestic requirements.

America has, as a matter of fact, at no time been dependent on Middle Eastern oil. On the other hand, the Arab potentates in the Middle East are in no position to threaten America with oil sanctions. Ibn Saud and the Sheikh of Bahrein are dependent on American capital, industry, oil royalties and various other subventions. Nor do they have anyone else to turn to to take the place of the American concessionaires. Britain, as we have seen, acquiesced in America's penetration of the Middle East, and for obvious reasons would not now compete with the United States in case of a political conflict between America and the Moslem potentates. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, is absolutely unacceptable to the Arab chieftains on political and social grounds, even if Russia were in a position to outbid America in commercial terms. There is an old saying that "The cow is more eager to be milked than the calf to have the milk." The figure of speech may be a rather homely one, but it applies perfectly to the relationship between American oil interests and the Arab potentates.

**A**FTER the failure of the attempt to create an oil panic in the United States and thus stampede the government into unconditional acceptance of the political dictates of Ibn Saud and the other Arab potentates, a new argu-

ment was put forward: the possession of Middle East oil was described as imperative for U. S. security in case of a new world war.

This claim has as little substance as the first. The map will tell us what our military experts must know by heart—that Russia is the only great power whose home territory is directly adjacent to the Middle East. The United States is about 6,000 miles away. Even Great Britain has the whole length of the Mediterranean and a slice of the Atlantic to cover before its ships reach the oil on the Persian Gulf.

Experience has shown that formal ownership of oil fields, pipelines and refineries is of no account in time of war. Accessibility is what matters. The Rumanian oil fields in Ploesti were owned mainly by American and British companies, but in World War II Ploesti was accessible to the *Wahr-macht* and not to the Western Powers. It was Hitler who used the oil of Rumania. Similarly, for many crucial months in the last war the oil of Iran, Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries was inaccessible to Allied tankers, and American and Caribbean reserves were drawn upon disproportionately. In the first World War, the British Fleet succeeded in defeating the German Fleet, not because Winston Churchill had acquired 51 percent of the stock of the Anglo-Persian Company for the British Government, but because British control of the seas enabled the oil tankers to reach Scapa Flow from the Persian Gulf.

In sum, should there be a new world war our strategists would be prudent to realize that we should not



count on the oil reserves of the Middle East. In fact, both Congress and the general staff realize this simple truth. When the U. S. Commerce Department recently cancelled Aramco's export permit for the large quantities of steel required for the construction of the trans-Arabian pipeline, it was stated that "U. S. military chiefs were said not to be confident that the pipeline could be defended in a war with Russia." The well-informed *Wall Street Journal* arrives at the same conclusion:

Military men count oil supplies from the Middle East, where about 40 per cent of the world's known crude oil reserves are located, as lost to the United States in a major war.

Such are the plain and irrefutable facts of the situation. The United States has more than enough oil for its peacetime needs right here at home and at its doorstep: in the Caribbean

and Latin America. In case of a war against Russia, Middle East oil will be inaccessible to the Western Powers. Ibn Saud and the other Moslem potentates are entirely dependent on the United States politically, industrially and financially, and are in no position to employ sanctions against America.

In the light of these facts, one is entitled to wonder at the considerable diplomatic successes attained by the Aramco-Arab-British front in their determined attempt to prevent the creation of the Republic of Israel and to place as many obstacles as possible in the way of the full-fledged recognition of Israel by the nations of the world. In this the Aramco lobbyists have been aided by pro-Arab U. S. Government "experts" in Washington whose background in Middle Eastern affairs has made them willing receptacles for Aramco's propaganda.





Friday, October 1, 1948

# EDITORIAL

## Reader Response to Prior Editorial

### In Opposition to Bernadotte Report

Readers Take Issue With Editorial Supporting Principles of Slain Mediator's Plan

#### The Bernadotte Report

When Count Bernadotte's posthumous report on Palestine was published, this newspaper approved Secretary Marshall's support of its general principles. We print on this page today a sampling of the correspondence we have received from readers taking issue with our stand and with the substance of what is now referred to as the Bernadotte plan. These letters oppose violently what their writers consider further concessions to the Arabs. At the same time they overlook the fact that support of the general principles of this plan is not the same thing as indorsement of every suggestion contained therein, and certainly does not mean underwriting specific boundaries. Indeed, Bernadotte himself submitted his suggestions in a tentative manner, evidently intending them as a basis for further discussion by the United Nations.

Bernadotte's proposals were based on recognition that "a Jewish state called Israel exists in Palestine and there are no sound reasons for assuming that it will not continue to do so." The fact that this has been set down as the basis of policy and has now been accepted as such by the British government is of extreme importance. Bernadotte proceeded to suggest a modification of the original partition boundaries, his criterion being in general a recognition of the existing military situation. Thus, Western Galilee, a large part of which has been occupied by the Israeli Army, was to go to Israel.

The Arabs are to be "compensated" by getting the Negeb—the wedge-shaped desert area of southern Palestine. This has been condemned as grossly unfair by friends of Israel who point to the great difference in the respective areas of the two territories. While size is not a true measure of their importance, we agree that the plan should be modified to give a part of the Negeb to Israel, since it offers the best possibilities for development and for the accommodation of new settlers. The Jews should be allowed to keep a northern strip, where they have already established settlements, and they should not be deprived of the land at the southern end of the Dead Sea, where one of Palestine's two large potash plants is situated. The other plant is already in Arab territory.

Another objection raised is to the internationalization of Jerusalem, although this was included in the original United Nations partition plan and was accepted by the Israeli leaders. While their changed attitude may be accounted for by the bitter experience of the Jews during the Jerusalem fighting, an international status for the city must still be considered the only fair solution and the only one the United Nations can in good conscience attempt to enforce. The Jews do have a right to expect that it should be effectively enforced and that the Jewish population of the Holy City should not run the risk of being submitted again to blockade and the threat of starvation.

Whatever changes may be desirable and necessary in the details of the Bernadotte plan, it provides the basis for a solution behind which the United Nations can and should throw the whole weight of its moral authority.

To the New York Herald Tribune:  
The Herald Tribune's editorial, "A Palestine Policy," of Sept. 23, 1948, expresses the opinion that the adoption of the Bernadotte report "is the most hopeful course which now opens," and "should now be followed with all firmness and consistency." I must respectfully but vigorously dissent.

The posthumous report destroys with one stroke the painstakingly built partition plan as adopted by the United Nations on Nov. 29, 1947, although the report favors recognition of the new State of Israel, it proposes crippling amendments to the original United Nations decision, a decision arrived at only after bitter debate and extended compromise.

The most glaring inequity is the recommendation that the Jews give to the Arabs the Negeb in exchange for Western Galilee. For it is the Negeb where the Jewish "skill and tenacity," which so impressed the Mediator, worked its greatest miracle. For here, in three million acres of desert, out of the sea of lifeless sand, the Jews have brought forth the green of vegetation and fertility. They have dug water from its arid depths, peopled its loneliness with more than 300 agricultural villages, discovered vast, untapped mineral beds. Here, on the Negeb, the Jews worked, and are working (the job for them is only begun) with a fever that is almost beyond belief. As many as fourteen points were settled in one night. Because the reclamation of the Negeb means peace and provision for the reclamation of their brethren, suffering and homeless in the concentration camps of Europe. It is in the Negeb that they are working with the passion of men and women who know they are their brother's keeper. They are working with a love of the land born out of 2,000 years of yearning.

The Bernadotte proposals come after months of a truce which is no truce. It is a bloodless, dangerously effective offensive in an Anglo-Arab war of attrition. The truce holds intact the Arab sword poised over Israel's heart. Enemy armies still ring her borders with the steel of death and devastation. The truce is draining Israel's economic strength, compelling her to mobilize her man power for defense and her industry for armaments. While our government procrastinates and delays, Israel's sea have been working overtime to wither her economy, to wring from her weakness the political and territorial concessions they could not win on the field of battle. And now they are distorting the memory of Bernadotte by seeking to perpetuate the inequities of his report under cover of world sorrow at his death.

Israel must be granted the measures necessary to implement her statehood so she can negotiate directly with the Arabs as an equal and sovereign state. To make this a reality these measures are necessary:

1. Partition as voted by the United Nations must be upheld.
2. The United States extend immediate de jure recognition to the Israeli government.
3. The United States lift the unilateral arms embargo, which works solely to the advantage of the aggressor.
4. The Export-Import Bank grant Israel the \$100,000,000 loan to enable her to strengthen her economy and rebuild her devastated areas.
5. The United States sponsor the admission of Israel into the United Nations at the Paris session of the General Assembly.

These are the factors that must be recognized by the United Nations in determining a just solution for Palestine. If there is to be justice in the Middle East, the rule of equity must win.

JULIAN J. JACOBIN,  
Republican Candidate for Congress, 10th Congress District,  
New York, Sept. 23, 1948.

To the New York Herald Tribune:  
When the "Balfour declaration"

was issued in 1917 all of Palestine, from Dan to Beersheba, about 40,000 square miles was supposed to constitute the future Jewish national home. In 1922 Winston Churchill, who calls himself the "architect of the Jewish future," issued a white paper and cut off 30,000 square miles of Trans-Jordan, leaving only 10,000 square miles of old Palestine. Recently "the great friend of humanity," Ernest Bevin, suddenly declared Abdullah as the King of Trans-Jordan. The United Nations after exhaustive study of the numerous commissions finally, by a great majority, split up Palestine and gave the Jews 5,500 square miles. Through British connivance and trickery, helped by our State Department, a mediator was suddenly appointed, who again split up the 5,500 square miles and left for the Jews 2,500 square miles, taking away the 3,000 square miles for the Arabs, who do not use it for centuries and will not use it for many centuries to come.

What a mockery of justice and fair dealing to a people who have waited for two thousand years to get back to their ancient homeland—a people who have lost more than six million of their men, women and children through the barbarism of Hitler and indifference of the entire civilized world, a people who were promised 42,000 square miles and now reduced to 2,500 square miles! Millions of unfortunate refugees waiting in every part of the world to come and settle in a country which will have no room, no space and no opportunity to live or do anything in order to grow and prosper.

AARON LEVINTONER,  
Newark, N. J., Sept. 23, 1948.

To the New York Herald Tribune:  
Many of your readers, I feel certain, knowing of your sympathetic attitude toward Zionist aspirations, will take exception to several points in the editorial entitled "A Palestine Policy," especially with your advice that they accept what is known as the "Bernadotte plan."

The so-called Balfour Declaration "favored" making Palestine a national homeland for the Jewish people. Later came the mandate of the League of Nations to Great Britain, charging the latter with the obligation to carry out the manifest wish of the fifty-two nations.

Britain soon initiated a totally different policy, on the one hand coddling the Arab nations of the Middle East, helping them in many ways and permitting them to enter Palestine freely so that they were encouraged to make claims to the land and to threaten to deprive Jewish settlers and would-be settlers.

If there is now a State of Israel it is not because Britain has carried out its mandate to help toward such a consummation, but in spite of all hindrances and because the Jewish people had the will and energy, the firm determination, again to become a people.

They agreed, for the sake of peace, to accept a much smaller portion of Palestine than they were entitled to. But now, to appease the Arabs, they are asked to give up the Negeb, the southern portion of the land, just what they need to make room for the many thousands waiting to enter Palestine, and this would leave them without room to grow.

Your suggestion that the foul assassination of Count Bernadotte should lead Israel to accede to the plan will not be accepted.

ISAAC POLACK,  
New York, Sept. 23, 1948.

To the New York Herald Tribune:  
I read your leading editorial today on Palestine with a deepening sense of shock and bewilderment. You indorse completely Count Bernadotte's final proposals and state that the mediator's report is unacceptable both to the Arabs and to the Jews and therefore, apparently, because both sides reject it, the report must necessarily be endowed with singular virtue. Apart from, and in addition to, this I detect in your attitude a feeling of weariness about the entire

situation and a desire to see an end to the Palestine problem regardless of the justice of the solution.

What rules of logic dictate the conclusion that because both the Jews and the Arabs reject the mediator's report, it provides, ipso facto, for a necessarily just solution? It has never yet been held that merely because there are two parties to a dispute who both adopt irreconcilable points of view, both points of view are erroneous and therefore some alleged middle position is correct.

The Palestine mandate of the League of Nations originally encompassed a territory consisting of both the Israeli and the Arab portions of what we commonly recognize as Palestine today and also the territory of Trans-Jordan. The partition report adopted by the United Nations in November, 1947, represented vital and material territorial concessions wrung from the Jews with the promise that now a final solution had been reached. In Bernadotte's last report, providing for a truncated Israel, to be held up as just and proper because it would attempt to coerce the Jews the more?

I can well understand the desire of all right-thinking people to see an end to the conflict in Palestine. War, with its attendant horrors, is an ugly thing. Peace is, obviously, so much the better state that there can never be an argument against it. But the Jews did not start the war, they did not invade Arab territory.

The people of Israel will not bow now to pressure which will deprive them of what they gained through their blood, even pressure exerted upon them by some people who profess to be their friends.

ALEXANDER E. ROSENTHAL,  
New York, Sept. 23, 1948.



TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1948.

### ISRAEL AND THE NEGEV

The Israeli Government has protested, and we believe rightly, against that part of the proposals of the late United Nations mediator, Count Bernadotte, which would give the Negev—the desert area south of Beersheba—to the Arabs. It is no reflection on the martyred Bernadotte's memory to say that he erred in suggesting his division. He was attempting, to the best of his abilities and with the utmost courage, to suggest a settlement that both parties to the Palestine dispute would ultimately accept. But what he did in this instance was to dash some of Israel's highest hopes.

The Negev, from one-third to one-half of Palestine, depending on how Palestine is defined, may have supported as many as 300,000 people in ancient times. In modern times it has been largely uninhabited, except for a few thousand Arabs who raised and pastured camels there. Within the past few years Jewish settlers, pushing south, have irrigated a little of this long-sterile land. Like our own Southwest, much of it will produce crops if it can have water; and there is on paper a well-thought-out plan to bring water to it from the upper Jordan. It might support from half a million to a million or more pioneers, who would enrich the whole country without displacing large Arab populations.

Secretary Marshall has accepted the Bernadotte proposals as "a generally fair basis for settlement" and has urged the General Assembly to "accept them in their entirety." We believe this is one of those times when a bit of inconsistency will do our foreign policy no harm. The development of the Negev by Zionist pioneers—and they are the only people likely to do it on a large and scientific scale—would enrich the whole Middle East. It would not injure the Arabs, unless they feel that any Israeli prosperity would hurt them.

---



OCTOBER 12, 1948

# U.S. Support of Bernadotte Plan Is Criticized as Poor Expedient

## Welles Says Proposal to Give Negeb to Trans-Jordan Is Scheme to Restore British Power in Levant; Small Nations Urged to Balk Plot in U. N.

By Sumner Welles

Former Under Secretary of State

The British and American attempt to stampede the United Nations into immediate adoption of the Bernadotte plan for Palestine was fortunately blocked. But the narrow margin by which the Assembly's Political Committee defeated this maneuver emphasizes the urgency of the need for a just and final settlement.

The failure of the United Nations to show itself capable of establishing an independent, secure and viable Israeli state diminishes confidence in its authority, increases doubt that justice inspires its proceedings and deprives the survivors of the European mass murders of hope for the future.

So long as uncertainty enshrouds the fate of Palestine the acts of violence that are due to that very uncertainty will help the sowers of hate to stimulate anti-Semitism here and be advanced as reasons why this country should disinterest itself in the fate of Israel.

The present situation can only incite Arab imperialists and Jewish terrorists to renewed aggression. It tempts both the Soviet Union and the Western powers to intervene in Palestine as a strategic move in their contest for control of the Near East.

Count Bernadotte rightly saw that the Palestine problem, as he said, was "a spark capable of setting off a mightier conflagration." By accepting the task of mediator he served the highest interests of humanity.

### Israel Called Justified

Yet the British government is disingenuous in claiming that his assassination constitutes any valid reason for the approval by the United Nations of his plan for Palestine.

The government of Israel is wholly warranted in rejecting the Bernadotte recommendations. The insuperable obstacle to their acceptance is the proposal to take the Negeb from Israel, and to reduce the territory of the Jewish state to less than one-half of that allotted to it by the Assembly's partition resolution of a year ago.

Were this proposal to be accepted, a basic feature of the original partition resolution would be nullified, for Israel would then be unable to provide new homes for more than a handful of refugees.

If a Palestine solution is to prove lasting, Israel must become a prosperous and a contented nation. With Israel deprived of the agricultural and mineral resources that the Negeb affords, of its port on the Red Sea, and of its opportunities for resettlement and for expanding development, the new state cannot even be viable.

The Negeb proposal represents the latest in the long series of attempts made by Mr. Bevin, with the support of the British Foreign Office and Imperial General Staff, and of the State Department and National Security Council in Washington, to restore British hegemony over the Near East. By the cession of the Negeb to Trans-Jordan, Britain would obtain the use of that territory for her own military and economic purposes.

If any major power is now per-

mitted to monopolize this strategic area, the peoples of Palestine can have no assurance of real freedom and there will be scant likelihood of peace in the Near East.

Secretary Marshall's endorsement of the Bernadotte plan affords further cause for disension between the Soviet Union and the United States. It provides new and powerful motives for the growth of anti-American sentiment in Israel.

### American Policy Criticized

The United States was chiefly responsible for the Assembly's approval of the partition resolution of last November. Time and experience have demonstrated that this government was wholly justified in the official statement it then made, "that this partition plan . . . offers the most practicable and most just present solution of the Palestine problem." They have confirmed the wisdom of its further declaration that this partition plan represented "a decision which comes very close to being law."

Yet, in line with its sorry record of the past eleven months, the United States now again ignores what it so recently considered "the most practicable and most just present solution" for Palestine. It spurns a resolution which less than a year ago it termed a "decision which comes very close to being law." And under the guidance of those military influences now primarily responsible for American foreign policy, the United States supports Mr. Bevin in his insistence that Israel's boundaries be revised not for the sake of economic stability, not for the sake of justice, not for the sake of peace, but solely to suit Britain's strategic plans.

We are witnessing the same tragic spectacle as that seen in the League of Nations in the early thirties, when Britain and France placed momentary expediency above collective security by refusing to repress aggression. That subordination of the permanent interests of all peoples to what were so mistakenly considered national interests destroyed the League of Nations and made the second world war inevitable.

There is presented a great challenge to some courageous and far-sighted spokesman for the lesser powers, like Herbert Evatt, to arouse the smaller countries in the United Nations to the need of making their impartial judgment prevail over all efforts of the great powers to further their selfish interests at the expense of the long-term interests of humanity.

By demanding both in the Political Committee, as well as in the Assembly, that the original partition resolution be upheld, and by insisting upon its enforcement by the Security Council, the lesser powers can strike a mighty blow for the United Nations and for future peace.

Copyright, 1948, New York Herald Tribune Inc.



# Religious Freedom in Nazareth

Conquest by Israeli Leaves Christian Shrines and Worship Unmolested

By Ruth Gruber

**N**AZARETH, barely two months after its capture by the Israeli Army, is as bustling and thriving a Christian Arab city as it was in the days before the war. The sacred churches are full of women and children praying. Nuns hurry through the winding narrow streets on which Christ walked, making their rounds of mercy. Monks study peacefully and offer mass. Each day the faithful come to pray in the beautiful Church of the Annunciation, built on the site where the Angel Gabriel appeared before the kneeling Virgin and announced to her that she would give birth to the Christ Child.

All over Israel there are signs of war and destruction—in Nazareth there are almost none. The only reminders here that this land has been rocked by war, and even now hovers on a tenuous truce which may be broken at any moment, are the Israeli soldiers on leave, sightseeing in the holy places like American G. I.s in Rome. They sit in the cafes with young Christian Arabs, sipping coffee or eating Arab kebab and discussing Arab-Jewish-British relations. They browse along the curbstones flea markets in front of the ancient churches, where old Arabs in striped robes and head-dresses sit barefoot selling old keys, rusted nails, fascinating locks and Jewish-made olive wood egg spoons marked in English "Souvenir of Palestine."

Nazareth has adjusted itself with alacrity to Israeli rule. It was amusing but not at all anachronistic to have barefoot Arab boys running after my car shouting in Hebrew, "Cold soda, buy my cold soda."

**T**O FIND out what was happening to the Christian churches and the Christian Arab refugees who had fled here from other Palestinian cities and who had remained when the Jews conquered Nazareth without a single civilian casualty, I returned to the city where Christ had lived and preached. Standing in the peaceful ancient courtyard of the Church of the Annunciation, I talked with the "icar of all the Galilee, Monseigneur Antoine Vergati, an Italian-born priest who had lived in Palestine for thirty-eight years. He had dark hair, dark eyes and a small black Italian beard framing his chin. He wore a black vicar's hat and a long black frock buttoned all the way up the front.

"Not a single church or holy place has been molested in Nazareth," he answered my questions about the preservation of the holy places by the Israeli forces. "Indeed, in the whole Galilee, across which I travel constantly, there has been only one small incident. An Israeli soldier took down a cross in the Mount of the Beatitudes in the Capernaum. As soon as we reported it to the army, the soldier was punished immediately."

"In all of Galilee," he said, "the Israeli Army has occupied only two places, the Sanctuary of Mount Carmel in Haifa and the Sanctuary of the Mount of the Beatitudes in Capernaum. I think they will soon give up both of them. I am in negotiation now with the Department of Religious Affairs of the Israeli government, and they will soon return the Sanctuary of Mount Carmel to us. The other one is being dealt with by the Italian government, since it is Italian property."

**A**PPOINTED by the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the vicar of Galilee has constant contact with the patriarchate in the Arab-held Old City of Jerusalem through the Red Cross and the United Nations; he is also in regular contact with the Vatican. He told me that all religious schools of the Catholic congregations soon would be opened and in Nazareth alone 1,200 children would attend Catholic schools. "We are in negotiations now with

the government and they will undoubtedly pay as much as the former government did toward the education of our children."

"There are now about 20,000 Arab refugees living in Nazareth," he said. "About one-third are Catholic, one-third are Greek Orthodox and one-third are Moslem. Before the influx Nazareth's population was 12,000. There are about 300 Protestants here. Almost no one was taken prisoner from here and sent to Haifa. Most of the refugees are being cared for by the Catholic Church and the Nazareth Municipality, not by the Red Cross or the United Nations. About 1,000 refugees are being housed in religious buildings. At the beginning some local Arab doctors arranged a community kitchen to feed the people. Later the local Catholic Belgian Committee took the kitchen over and enlarged it. The Church of England is also here, and the English staff, too, is working with the doctors' committee."

Leaving the vicar, I walked across the road to see the Arab refugees who were housed in an Arab school. Miss Zakie Andraus, a middle-aged Arab refugee from Tiberias, who spoke excellent English and Hebrew and who was "mukhtar," or chief of supplies in the building, took me through. Cots had been placed in the former schoolrooms; the refugees' belongings stood against the walls. There were graceful Arab jugs for water.

"Our greatest problems in Nazareth," Miss Andraus said, "is water. But the father of the Church of the Annunciation helps us; he gives us water."

When I asked her why she had chosen to remain in Nazareth, instead of fleeing to Trans-Jordan or Syria, she said, "I don't want to go to other Arab countries. I am happy with Jews. I'd like to go back to my own home in Tiberias, where we have water, but if not Tiberias, then I shall stay here."

**T**HE air of Nazareth was like Saturday afternoon in Paris. Shoppers hurried home with their weekend supplies. Beautifully dressed Arab women, wearing gay yellow and blue gowns, and carrying jugs on their heads, moved beside their donkeys. The cafes were crowded with male cafe gitters drinking Turkish coffee and watching the Nazareth world go by.

I entered one of the cafes to escape the afternoon sun while an Arab shoemaker took my sandals to repair them. Three young Western-dressed Arab men, who were sitting at a near-by table, asked me in English why I was barefoot. Had I made a vow, they wanted to know, that if I ever reached Nazareth I would walk barefoot upon its streets? Apparently many pilgrims coming here had taken and fulfilled this vow. Soon we were deep in politics. All three were articulate, educated young men. One of them had been the secretary of the commanding officer of Kaukaji's Arab Army of Liberation in Nazareth. Two were Christian, one was Moslem. All three reiterated that there had been no desecration of holy places by the Jews. "There has been no trouble at all," one of the Christians said, "between the Church and the Jews. The Jews have respected our holy places very well."

"We're not happy," they said, "because we have no jobs. There's not much work in Nazareth—just a little tobacco and some lemonade made in a small factory with about five laborers."

**I** ASKED them what solution they would like to see at the end of the war. The three Arabs had three different solutions. One of them said, "Most Arabs now would like to accept the partition plan of the United Nations. But they know the British are against it, so they are waiting to see what will happen. Most of the Arabs want to live

peacefully with the Jews in a peaceful nation."

The second one said, "I am against partition. I want a Palestinian state."

The third one said, "I would like a fifty-fifty government, with a Jewish president for five years and an Arab president (Christian or Moslem) for five years. This is not the bi-nationalism of Dr. Judah Magnes, but a real fifty-fifty government."

"I will tell you this," the third one said, "our leaders always told us the Jews don't exist. But the inhabitants knew this was not realistic. The Jews are here and we are bound to live with them. But mind, we speak as members of the people, not leaders."

"Do you have any means of getting news?" I asked.

"We have no newspapers," they said. "But we listen to the radio all the time. We get the Arab side from Ramallah Radio, the Jewish side from Kol Israel (The Voice of Israel) and the British side from the British Broadcasting Corporation. We don't trust either the Jewish or the Arab radio, but the London one is the worst of all."

"Some Hebrew newspapers come to us printed in Arabic—'Al Hamishmar' and the paper of the Histadruth, the General Federation of Labor, called 'Davar Emet.' The first one," the Moslem Arab said, "is better. It explains Arab-Jewish relations."

**D**O YOU have any political parties among the Arabs here?" I asked.

"The British never permitted us to have political parties," one of the Christian Arabs answered. "So there were none. There was only the Arab Higher Committee."

"That's not quite true," the other one interrupted. "There were three parties—the Arab Communists who were very small in number. The Arab party under Hussein and Al Difa under Nashashibi. Later the second and third parties joined together so now there are only two parties operating."

"We have no Communists at all," the third one, the Moslem, said. "People call them Communists, but they are laborers. It is a labor party. They have an office and directors. The government hasn't yet permitted them to hold a meeting, but they are applying now for permission."

"Remember this," the first one said, summing up the Arab political picture, "we have no parties in Palestine. We have families. That is the source of all our troubles. I'm not interested in the problem of my grandfathers. Yet it was they, with their kuds, who made our politics."

The other two men agreed with him. "Our problem is," one of them added "that about 90 per cent of our people are uneducated. The majority of our people can't express their own opinion."

"Do the people feel they were misled by the Arab Higher Committee?"

"No," one of them answered. "They were misled by the press of the whole Arab world, which in turn was misled by some Arab states and, most of all, by Britain."

"Now," he continued, "the English are gone, and, if the extremists of the Jews and Arabs would leave, our youth could agree. The moderate people could get along."

The shoemaker brought my sandals back. The three Arabs with all the courtesy of the Middle East, shook my hand, wished me bon voyage and helped me into my car. I drove away from Nazareth at dusk as the faithful began to enter the churches for evening mass. The sun set behind the hills where Joseph had been a carpenter and Christ had preached the doctrine that the meek would inherit the earth.



NOVEMBER 16, 1948

**Basic Principles in Palestine**

The confusion in the United Nations over the problem of Palestine is not improved by the fact that the General Assembly and the Security Council are presently and simultaneously discussing it. Possibly some light may emerge from the debates, but this does not seem likely unless the debaters can break away from preoccupation with day-to-day developments and return to some basic principles.

When the war first broke out in Palestine, the U. N. General Assembly was already on record as favoring a plan for partition. The U. N. did nothing to protect this plan against the chances of war; it did call for a temporary cessation of hostilities—which was accepted. When the term of the first cease-fire order expired, and fighting was resumed, the Security Council issued another order, without time limit, and backed by a hint of sanctions. Then Count Bernadotte, acting as U. N. mediator, drew up a new partition plan, based roughly upon existing battle lines. It deviated in many respects from the original Assembly plan, particularly in that it gave the Negeb region to the Arabs. This proposal the Israeli government rejected, and in fighting which broke out on Oct. 14, the desert area was largely conquered by Israeli troops.

The Security Council and Count Bernadotte's successor, Dr. Ralph Bunche, have since that time appeared primarily concerned with the results of the Negeb battles. On Nov. 4, the Council ordered a retirement of both sides to the positions occupied before Oct. 14, and Dr. Bunche has issued a directive to implement the order, but leaving a substantial no-man's-land between Israeli and Egyptian troops.

The Council order might have moral force if it was issued in defense of the original Assembly plan, and if it was intended to demonstrate that neither side in Palestine would be allowed to profit by any of the fighting since the British mandate ended. As it is, the order defends accidental boundaries achieved at an arbitrary date—that of the imposition of the second truce. It might be argued that those boundaries are not final, that they are simply intended to stabilize the situation until a permanent settlement can be reached. But in view of the U. N.'s refusal, or inability, to enforce its original Palestine plan, as well as its favorable reception of Count Bernadotte's plan to recognize a military status quo, it is hardly surprising that Israel should feel that Israeli troops are the only guarantors of its frontiers.

The practical basis of the Bernadotte report has broken down. Unless the Arabs and Israelis can reach a settlement on their own—which is improbable, so long as the Arabs believe that the U. N. will give them better terms—the Security Council and General Assembly alike should either accept the present situation, as Count Bernadotte accepted the situation confronting him, or return to the original partition plan, which at least was a solemn pronouncement by the Assembly. Any attempt to build a great moral case on the boundaries of Oct. 14 will certainly fail.

NOVEMBER 17, 1948

**The Latest U. N. Order**

The United Nations Security Council has called upon the warring parties in Palestine to negotiate an armistice. We hope this means that the international body has finally decided to shift the direction of its efforts from truce enforcement and the punishment of alleged violations to the more constructive task of translating truce into peace. True, the famous Negeb withdrawal order has not been withdrawn. We hope, however, that it will now be forgotten, as it can easily be if the truce is replaced by an armistice.

This latest order is in one sense no more than a recognition of what is already happening. Informal peace discussions between Israel and at least two of the Arab states have been going on for some time. The Arab leaders may prefer to continue along these lines rather than negotiate through the U. N. The resolution leaves it open to the interested parties to adopt either method.

The success of armistice negotiations is likely to depend on the extent to which the Arabs are ready to recognize the fundamental weakness of their position. Militarily it is weak, and every one of the countries whose armies have invaded Palestine must be feeling the ever growing economic strain of keeping armies mobilized even though not always fighting. The Israeli government feels that strain, too, but has no alternative to staying on a war footing. Egypt and Trans-Jordan and Syria and the rest have the alternative of cutting their losses by pulling out of a war which is becoming increasingly unprofitable. It seems quite likely that the only thing that is now preventing them from doing this is the hope that the U. N. will hand them on a platter what they have been unable to take by force of arms. In that case the quickest way to end the Palestine war would be for the U. N. to inform the Arab states that there is no prospect of sanctions against Israel and that the negotiations must be conducted on the basis of the military realities.



## Haifa Refugees

NOVEMBER 29, 1948

Arab Broadcasts Blamed for  
Exodus of Natives

To the New York Herald Tribune:

On the question of the Arab refugees, there has been much confusion of thought and a general tendency to blame the Israelis for the plight of the refugees. The opposite is nearer the truth. I point out "The London Economist" recently printed an article "to ascertain how much of the present plight of the refugees is of Jewish and how much of Arab making and whether it could have been avoided." "The Economist," whose standing is of the highest, says:

"The events of the first exodus are described as follows by a British eye witness:

"During the subsequent days the Israeli authorities who were now in complete control of Haifa . . . urged all Arabs to remain in Haifa, and guaranteed them protection and security. So far as I know, most of the British civilian residents whose advice was asked by Arab friends told the latter that they would be wise to stay.

"Various factors influenced their decision to seek safety in flight. There is but little doubt that for the most potent of these factors was the announcements made over the air by the Arab Higher Executive, urging all Arabs in Haifa to quit. The reason given was that upon the final withdrawal of the British the combined armies of the Arab States would invade Palestine and drive the Jews into the sea, and it was clearly intimated that those Arabs

who remained in Haifa and accepted Israeli protection would be regarded as renegades. At that time the Palestinian Arabs still had some confidence in the ability of the Arab League to implement the promises of its spokesmen."

At a meeting of the Security Council on April 23, Jamal Bey Hussein for the Arab Higher Committee said, "The Arabs would not submit to a truce . . . but they rather preferred to leave their homes in the town . . . and leave the town, which they did. We have never concealed the fact that we began the fighting."

Again, Emil El-Ghory, representative of the Arab Higher Committee at the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in a press interview published on Sept. 6, 1948, in the Arabic newspaper "Telegraph" of Beirut, said, "The problem of these refugees is the direct result of the policy of resistance to partition and to the establishment of the Israeli State. This policy was unanimously adopted by the Arab governments, and it is they who have to bear responsibility for the solution of the refugees problem."

These reports have not been stressed or published here. They should remove the misconception that the Israelis are the cause of the Arab refugee plight.

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE

New York Nov. 26, 1948.



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH  
212 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N.Y.

SEC. 562, P. L. & R.

**NEW YORK POST  
HOME NEWS  
on  
"COMMON SENSE"**

*to*

Reproduced here are 4 of a series of 5 articles  
published by the NEW YORK POST HOME NEWS.

Copyright—1948, NEW YORK POST CORP.



# Jersey Hate Sheet Shipped to Arabs For Use in U.N.

By IRVING LIEBERMAN AND MALCOLM LOGAN

Benjamin H. Freedman, the pro-Arab publicist, was directly connected today, by information obtained by the Post Home News, with an attempt to spread among United Nations delegates in Paris the blatantly anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist propaganda published by "Common Sense."

This semi-monthly paper put out in Union, N. J., by Conde McGinley has been disseminating racial and religious hatred for three years. As this newspaper has revealed in previous articles, it has begun concentrating on anti-Semitism since Freedman became interested in it recently.

While Freedman has remained in the background, his interest in "Common Sense" coincided with an enormous increase in its unpaid circulation. Issues of Oct. 3 and 31 were sent by the hundreds of thousands to influential persons and organizations in all parts of the country.

Most of these were mailed from McGinley's office, but on Nov. 29, the day that Israel applied for admission to the U. N., Freedman himself took a hand in the distribution of the Oct. 31 issue which described the Palestine Jews' fight against the Arab invasion as "an armed insurrection . . . by U. S. A. financed immigrant revolutionist Jews from eastern Europe."

On that day, Freedman went to the Benart Mail Sales Service, Inc., 231 E. 45th St., with 500 copies of the issue. Max Swank, a shipping clerk there, said that Freedman had him make them up into two packages and send them on a TWA plane to F378 El Kour, Hotel Continental, Rue Rivoli, Paris.

El Khouri is the Syrian delegate to the U. N., the representative of the Arab bloc on the Security Council, and the elder statesman of the Arab League.

This venture of Freedman's indicates that he has found McGinley's hate sheet a handy weapon in his bitter fight against recognition of Israel, now that Freedman's own League for Peace and Justice in Palestine has been discredited because of its founder's close connections with Arab League representatives.

Prior to its connection with Freedman, McGinley had a long record of publication of anti-Semitic and pro-fascist material.

A native of Oklahoma, McGinley worked in a Union war plant during World War II. When he lost his job there on Aug. 24, 1945, he began publishing a small paper "Think Weekly" which later became "Common Sense." In it he consistently used an anti-Communist approach to preach racial and religious hatred.

When it was known as "Think Weekly," the executive committee of the American Legion, Dept. of Illinois, had this to say about it: "This publication pretends to have as its principal purpose the combating of Communism. However, a careful reading of its issues and the lists of its contributors gives abundant evidence that it is not so much interested in the legitimate fight against Communism in America, but is 'grinding an axe' for Fascism instead of democracy."

Almost every topic dealt with in the columns of "Common Sense" is used as a weapon against racial and religious minorities. Last Mar. 31, it published an article called "The FEPC Message," a reprint of a newsletter by Merwin K. Hart, the pro-Franco head of the National Economic Council, Inc., containing open appeals to the prejudices of Negro-haters.

In 1935, Hart wrote the Communist Party published a pamphlet urging Southern Negroes "to rise in bloody revolt."

"This is the source of the FEPC," he said, and later in the article he said that President Truman appointed his Committee on Civil Rights "in an obvious bid for the Negro and Jewish vote."

In a subsequent issue dated Apr. 23, Hart wrote, "In our opinion, the demand for FEPC and other similar legislation has been largely stirred up by left-wing Jews."

Hart also got a generous amount of space in which to attack the admission of displaced persons to this country. He asserted that in immigration "the preference has invariably been in favor of left-wing D.P.'s, especially if they are Jews."

He also charged that millions of illegal immigrants, "an overwhelming proportion of them Jewish," have come into the country in recent years.

But the quality of McGinley's brand of "Americanism" is best illustrated by his relations with Robert H. Best, now serving a life sentence for treason.

Best, an American newspaper man, deserted to the Nazis dur-



ISSUE OF "COMMON SENSE" landing Reps. Thomas and Hankins and attacking the publication's favorite fantasy, the "Invisible Government" of Jews and Communists.

"Common Sense" is used as a weapon against racial and religious minorities.

Last Mar. 31, it published an article called "The FEPC Message," a reprint of a newsletter by Merwin K. Hart, the pro-Franco head of the National Economic Council, Inc., containing open appeals to the prejudices of Negro-haters.

In 1935, Hart wrote the Communist Party published a pamphlet urging Southern Negroes "to rise in bloody revolt."

"This is the source of the FEPC," he said, and later in the article he said that President Truman appointed his Committee on Civil Rights "in an obvious bid for the Negro and Jewish vote."

In a subsequent issue dated Apr. 23, Hart wrote, "In our opinion, the demand for FEPC and other similar legislation has been largely stirred up by left-wing Jews."

Hart also got a generous amount of space in which to attack the admission of displaced persons to this country. He asserted that in immigration "the preference has invariably been in favor of left-wing D.P.'s, especially if they are Jews."

He also charged that millions of illegal immigrants, "an overwhelming proportion of them Jewish," have come into the country in recent years.

But the quality of McGinley's brand of "Americanism" is best illustrated by his relations with Robert H. Best, now serving a life sentence for treason.

Best, an American newspaper man, deserted to the Nazis dur-

ing the war and broadcast from Berlin for them. "Common Sense" not only published some rambling and almost incoherent articles by Best but defended him and his treasonable activity.

A preface to the first of his articles describes him as "an idealist" and a "Christian American" who was being persecuted "because he has committed acts of patriotism in defense of his country."

"The Invisible Government is the power behind the persecution of Mr. Best," the introduction said. "The Invisible Government," according to McGinley, is a "super-government" of the Jews which controls the U. S. government and is the motivating force behind Communism.

In another issue, "Common Sense" said that Best had "exposed and corrected several flagrant abuses by which the Moscovism-mocking term lies who disgrace the Dept. of Justice from those indicted by war-hysterical rubber-stamp Grand Jurors."

The jury which heard the evidence in Federal Court in Boston did not agree with McGinley that Best was a persecuted patriot. It convicted him last Apr. 16, on his 324 birthday. When his attorney pleaded that Best was a fanatic "doing what he thought best for his country," Federal Judge Ford replied:

"He knew what he was doing. When a man intends to betray his country, his motive is immaterial."

# Pro-German Group Linked To Hate Sheet

By IRVING LIEBERMAN and MALCOLM LOGAN

Conde McGinley, who has become the foremost merchant of hatred and reaction in the East, has behind him an organization as well as his bi-monthly newspaper, "Common Sense," to spread his propaganda.

The organization bears the usual patriotic label affected by American pro-fascist outfits—the Loyal American Group.

Its "director" is William O'Brien, but the real moving spirit is McGinley, who uses it not only to promote "Common Sense" but also to give circulation to some of the most vicious anti-Semitic and pro-German propaganda published in this country.

The headquarters of the Loyal American Group is at 2003 Pleasant Parkway, Union, N. J. This address is part of the office at 2001-2003 Pleasant Parkway from which McGinley puts out his newspaper.

As The Post Home News has shown in previous articles, this hate sheet's unpaid circulation has suddenly jumped into the hundreds of thousands, coincidentally with the appearance as an associate of McGinley of Benjamin H. Freedman, the anti-Zionist propagandist and admirer of the infamous Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

The Loyal American Group, in a membership application circulated to persons attending its meetings in various parts of New Jersey, represents itself as an organization devoted to fighting Communism and "organized atheism" and persons who join are asked to contribute a dollar every three months.

A note at the bottom of the application says, "We urge you to subscribe and ask your friends to subscribe to the anti-Communist paper 'Common Sense'—at a cost of \$2 for a year's subscription or \$3.50 for two years. 'Common Sense' returns the compliment by carrying large notices of meetings of the Loyal American Group."

The featured speaker at one meeting this year, attended by almost 500 persons, was John Howard Snow, managing editor of former Rep. Hamilton Fish's monthly, "Today's World." Snow is also the author of "The Case of Tyler Kent," a defense of the American Embassy code clerk in London who was imprisoned by the British for disclosing war-time communications.

Snow attacked the Marshall Plan and asserted that Christian Germans were the only Europeans entitled to American aid "because the Germans kept their churches open and were the cleanest people in Europe." The anti-Semitic tone of his speech was illustrated by a statement that President Truman "got where he is by Jewish wire-pulling."

Nothing is offered to substantiate this statement. The pro-German bias of the Loyal American Group has been evident not only at its meetings but in announcements printed in "Common Sense." The advertisement of the meeting at which Snow spoke, contained this statement:

"The Christian Relief Committee has been instrumental in sending many bundles of cold and starving families in Europe. If you would like to help, bring food or clothing to the above meeting."

A report on this committee subsequently published in "Common Sense" makes it clear that his aid was given entirely to Germans. Lisbeth Horn of Union, N. J., the committee director,

told that letters from Germany "seem to be more pitiful all the time" and called these ex-Nazi supplicants "victims of the Morgenthau plan."

**Fascist Pamphlets on Hand**

Another speaker at Loyal American Group meetings is John J. Hennihan, a war veteran who at one meeting opposed the draft, attacked Gen. Eisenhower and belabored both President Truman and Gov. Dewey as bi-partisan "internationalists."

At these meetings a wide variety of publications are offered for sale, ranging from the restrained "Facts About Communism," by the Rev. Edward Lodge-Curran, former Eastern representative of Father Coughlin, to violent attacks upon American policy in Germany by A. O. Thimann, a Germanophile pamphleteer of Middlebury, Vt.

In one of his pamphlets or "The Nuremberg Trials," Thimann asserts that the object of the trial of Goering and other leading Nazis was "through the arrest and elimination of the legal German government to enable the victors to usurp its functions, dress themselves in its garb and make of the military government its pretended successor in order to legalize all of their usurping acts and especially the criminal acts of stealing German investments and assets in Germany itself and in the rest of the world."

"It is not surprising that the idea of 'trying' the leaders of the vanquished nations," he went on, "should have stemmed from a Jew, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, the unofficial 'adviser' of Roosevelt and later of Truman, himself in close liaison with Bernard Baruch, multimillionaire and famous 'park-bench politician,' according to Henry Hilda, well-known New York attorney and defense lawyer in the notorious Washington 'sedition trial,' chief agent of the Sanhedrin and dominating both the executive and law-making part of our government."

**Urged 'Sicilian Vespers'**

This anti-Semitic defender of the Nazis in 1947 wrote to a New York City woman, "Within Germany the only hope, in my opinion, is for them to start a Sicilian Vespers and bring their tormentors down with them."

The "Sicilian Vespers" occurred on Easter Monday, Mar. 30, 1282, when, at the first stroke of the vesper bell, the people of Palermo, Sicily, rose up and wiped out the entire French garrison established there by Charles of Anjou. The equivalent of the French garrisons in present-day Germany is the occupation forces, including those of this country. Accordingly, Thimann would appear to be advocating the massacre of soldiers of the occupying armies, including American soldiers.

This is the kind of company that Conde McGinley keeps.

It is quite understandable that Freedman, the pro-Arab intriguer, has found McGinley an ideal collaborator in spreading anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish propaganda.

# GROUPS ON "COMMON SENSE"

## Legion Organ Warns Posts on Hate Sheet

Members and branches of the American Legion in New York State today had been officially warned by the parent organization to have nothing to do with "Common Sense," the Union, N. J., hate sheet published by Conde McGinley.

The warning was issued in Legionnaire, official publication of the Legion's Dept. of New York. It came after publication in The Post Home News of a series of articles by Irving Lieberman and Malcolm Logan exposing "Common Sense."

One of The Post Home News articles reported that McGinley had obtained the backing of 136 president of the New York Dept. Auxiliary for one of his money-raising schemes and that the endorsement was revealed. The sideline was the sale for \$10 of 5,000 stickers denouncing Communism.

**Called Hate Sheet**  
The Legion publication referred to "Common Sense" as "a hate sheet" and to the sticker sale as "a racket." The paper said that "Common Sense" is "violently anti-Semitic and in direct conflict with the principles of the American Legion."

The woman who recommended purchase of the stickers, Mrs. Mae E. Matthews, was criticized for not having first consulted the Legion about the character of the organization she was backing.

The Legionnaire went on: "It might be well for the Auxiliary to know that the American Legion is the parent organization and should be accorded the courtesy of consultation in matters of this kind. If that had been done, they would not have fallen into this trap."

## Catholics in Bronx Denounce Hate Sheet

"Common Sense," the anti-Semitic hate sheet which was recently exposed by this newspaper, has been condemned by the Third District of the Holy Name Society, representing nine Bronx Roman Catholic parishes.

"Although the paper does not directly attack Catholicism, it is anti-Semitic," said the Rev. William M. Daly, moderator of the district organization. "If it would attack one religion, it would attack all."

The publication, a semi-monthly, is published in Union, N. J., by Conde McGinley. Under the pretext of fighting Communism, it has consistently attacked Jews and has recently been used by Benjamin Freedman, the pro-Arab propagandist, to spread anti-Zionism.

"A delegate, James A. Gerra, found a copy on the Third Ave. St." Father Daly said. "Although it was the first copy we have seen, we wanted to warn our people against it. Such doctrines have no place in America and we hope to see no more in The Bronx."

"I recommended the censure, and it was unanimously approved."

This action, which took place at the meeting of delegates last Tuesday, was the latest of a series of public protests. Recently the New York State American Legion warned its members that it was a "hate sheet."

DEC. 9, 1948

DEC. 10, 1948

JAN. 16, 1949

JAN. 10, 1949



PRPPT

# Mystery Funds Make N.J. Hate Sheet Mouthpiece of Anti-Jewish Groups

By IRVING LIEBERMAN and MALCOLM LOGAN

During recent weeks the country has been flooded with copies of "Common Sense," a four page semi-monthly published in Union, N. J., which uses an anti-communist approach to spread virulent anti-Semitic and anti-liberal propaganda.

A sudden, mysterious prosperity has transformed it abruptly from an obscure and struggling tabloid into the most widely circulated mouthpiece of racial and religious hatred in the East and verily likely in the entire nation.

["Common Sense" has no connection with any other past or present publication of the same name."]—E.L.]

This success has promoted Conde McGinley, owner and publisher of "Common Sense," into the front ranks of the purveyors of bigotry and promises to make his locked and curtained office in Union the center of their activity in this region.

The Nation's Anti-Communist Newspaper, had only about 7,000 paid subscribers during the year ending last October, according to McGinley's sworn statement.

Huge Free Distribution

But somewhere McGinley has found the funds to print and circulate huge quantities of the last two issues of "Common Sense"—so many that as late as Nov. 30 he was still mailing out free

copies of the Oct. 31 issue. McGinley himself would not say how many he has mailed, but it is estimated that 300,000 copies of the Oct. 3 issue and perhaps 500,000 of the Oct. 31 issue went out to influential persons and organizations in all parts of the country.

This would put the circulation of "Common Sense" at a figure considerably higher than Father Charles Coughlin's now defunct "Social Justice" had at the peak of its prosperity. And according to McGinley's own figures, the overwhelming bulk of this circulation represented a dead loss in publication costs and postage.

The sudden improvement in McGinley's fortunes coincided with a departure in the content of "Common Sense"—a complete preoccupation with anti-Zionism, which McGinley represents as a Communist and Jewish conspiracy against the U.S. and its great and good friends, the Arabs.

McGinley founded his sheet about three years ago under the name of "Think Weekly." From the beginning the publication paralleled the usual line of the native hate-mongers by charging that Communism was one phase of a worldwide Jewish "plot" and conjuring up the shadowy menace of an "invisible govern-

ment" (run of course by Jews) which dominates the present American government.

"Common Sense" defended the American deserter to Hitler, Robert H. Best, who is now serving a life sentence for treason, and published some of Best's almost incoherent outpourings.

It has promoted fear and hatred of Negroes by charging a Communist plot to create a "Black republic" in the South and by violent attacks upon the FEPC, which it labeled as another Jewish Communist scheme.

Fought Admission of BPs

It has been assiduous in promoting sympathy for Germany; it has fought the admission of displaced persons, particularly the surviving Jews of Europe.

In addition to Best, its own tributors have included: Merwin L. Hurt, apologist for Gen. Franco who has recently become increasingly bold in his attacks upon Jews.

Rep. William Lemke of North Dakota, who ran for President in 1936 as the candidate of the Union party with the support of Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith.

William E. Richardson, counsel for pro-Arab propagandists and apologist for the pro-Nazi rabble rouser.

Samuel B. Pettengill, a leader of Frank E. Gannett's reactionary Committee for Constitutional Government.

Rev. Edward Lodge Curran of Brooklyn, once Father Coughlin's representative in the east.

Soon after McGinley established himself as a publisher, he formed an organization called the Loyal American Group to promote his paper. This organization has held numerous meetings in New Jersey at which the

sponsors have offered for sale some of the most poisonous hate literature published here. The meetings have also been used to solicit funds for food and clothing for Germans.

Concentrates on Zionism

After "Common Sense" abandoned its other anti-Semitic approaches for a concentrated attack upon Zionism as a Jewish Communist plot, McGinley devoted every line of the Oct. 3 and the Oct. 31 issues to this theme.

"Zionism Threatens Nation's Security," screamed the huge black headline of the Oct. 3 issue. The headline on Oct. 31 said "Communist and Zionist hyphenated Americans corrupting loyalty to important U.S.A. groups, endangering Nation's security and world peace."

This sudden policy change may be explained by statements made to The Post Home News by persons in a position to know that Benjamin H. Freedman, the well-known pro-Arab propagandist, took an active interest in publication of these two issues.

Freedman is the founder of the League for Peace and Justice in Palestine who spent money lavishly in 1946 for a series of full-page advertisements in newspapers here supporting Arab claims to all of Palestine. He was subsequently revealed by his own testimony as a close associate and co-worker of Arab League propagandists and lobbyists and as a fervent admirer of Hitler's collaborator, the "Grand Mufti" of Jerusalem.

DEC. 6, 1948



WHAT THE OCT. 31 edition of "Common Sense" looked like.

# Freedman, Mufti's Admirer, Named Backer of New Jersey Hate Sheet

By IRVING LIEBERMAN and MALCOLM LOGAN

Several months ago Conde McGinley, owner and publisher of the semi-monthly, "Common Sense," began outgrowing the office in Union, N. J., where he puts out his anti-Semitic and anti-liberal publication.

For almost three years he had occupied a one-story building at 2001 Pleasant Parkway. Then he took over the two adjoining one-story offices at 2003 and 2005 and had passage ways cut through to make the three buildings into a single office.

During the same period, according to Mrs. Jule Douglas, the Union Postmistress, there was a tremendous increase in the number of copies of "Common Sense" sent through the mails. Mrs. Douglas described his present postoffice business as "terrific."

Since early this year, McGinley has had second-class mailing privileges which he uses for sending "Common Sense" to his subscribers. These, according to McGinley's sworn circulation statement in the issue of Oct. 31, averaged 7,072 during the preceding year.

But this class of mailings constitutes only a fraction of McGinley's present postal business. Hundreds of thousands of copies have been sent free to influential persons and organizations in all parts of the country on a postal meter permit at third-class rates, which are higher than second-class.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, free copies of the Oct. 3 and Oct. 31 issues, both devoted entirely to violent attacks upon Zionism and upon Jews, have been received by members



FOR NEARLY THREE years, the semi-monthly "Common Sense" struggled along in a one-story building at 2001 Pleasant Parkway, Union, N. J. More recently, the publication took over the two adjoining one-story offices at 2003 and 2005 with passageways to make the three buildings into one single office.

of Congress, United Nations delegates, parent-teacher organizations, Kiwanis and Rotary clubs, American Legion posts, college librarians, newspapers, radio stations and business organizations.

It is estimated that McGinley may have mailed out as many as 300,000 copies of the Oct. 3 issue and that his present circulation, nearly all of it unpaid, may be close to half a million.

Taking an average of 400,000 free copies, the cost of this flood of propaganda would run into thousands of dollars for each issue. Printing costs for 400,000 copies of the four-page paper would be about \$1,200, exclusive of delivery costs, and at one-cent a copy the mailing would be \$4,000.

This indicated that McGinley had found new financial support far exceeding any he had received in his previous three-year experience as an obscure purveyor of racial and religious hatred.

The first hint concerning the source of this backing came when persons on the mailing list of Benjamin H. Freedman, anti-Zionist propagandist, began receiving copies of "Common

Sense" through the mail.

Freedman founded the League for Peace and Justice in Palestine in 1946 and bought several full-page advertisements in New York newspapers attacking Zionism and upholding the Arab claims to all of Palestine.

In testimony in a libel trial before Magistrate Bushell last May 3, he admitted sending a cable to an agent of the Arab League in which he said he was giving "full cooperation" to Hitler's friend, the infamous "Grand Mufti" of Jerusalem.

In an attempt to learn whether Freedman had financed the enormous expansion in the circulation of "Common Sense," a Post Home News reporter went to McGinley's office in Union on Nov. 24.

The glass doors and all the windows of the three adjoining buildings were covered by shades, venetian blinds and cardboard

To further questions, he said, "I'm not answering any questions about the people who are working with me." He then showed the reporter out.

A telephone call to Frederic Nelson Phillips, Inc., of 303 E. 45th St., which set the type for Freedman's full-page advertisements of the League for Peace with Justice in Palestine, was more productive.

Phillips, asked if he was printing "Common Sense," replied that he had done some typesetting for the paper—"just little odds and ends." He was doing this work, he added, for Freedman.

Walter Sykes, assistant manager of the New York City plant of the Western Newspaper Union, 304 E. 45th St., said that his firm had printed the Oct. 31 issue of McGinley's sheet. The type had been set elsewhere, he said, but his firm had put it into forms, made mats and printed the paper from the mats at its Pittsburgh plant.

"It was a job we did for Mr. Freedman," he said.

Jack Lowry, manager of this company's Pittsburgh plant, told the reporter in a long-distance telephone conversation that the Oct. 31 issue was printed for "Freedman and McGinley and others in that group."

Asked how many copies he had printed, he replied, "Even if I knew offhand, I wouldn't tell you because that is confidential information. Why don't you talk to Freedman? He'll be able to tell you how many copies we printed for him."

DEC. 7, 1948

ANTI-DESEMINATION LEAGUE CP 87641 B'ETH  
212 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.  
SEC. 562, P. L. & R.

NEW YORK POST HOME NEWS  
on  
"COMMON SENSE"



# Text of Proposed Constitution for State of Israel

Following is the text of the proposed Constitution for the State of Israel, made available here yesterday:

## Preamble

WE, THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL, Humbly giving thanks to Almighty God for having delivered us from the burden of exile and brought us back to our ancient land;

Recalling the tenacious endurance of the generations of the Exile and their heroic sacrifices for the survival of our People and the preservation of its spiritual heritage;

Gratefully remembering the faithful remnant who maintained the continuity of Jewish settlement in Palestine throughout the centuries, and the inspired efforts of the pioneers of the national revival;

Resolved to rebuild our Commonwealth in accordance with the ideals of peace and righteousness of the Prophets of Israel, to welcome home every Jew who seeks entry, and to promote the security and well-being of all who dwell within our gates.

HAVE ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING CONSTITUTION:

## I. General Provisions

### ARTICLE 1

The name of the State is ISRAEL.

### ARTICLE 2

The State of Israel is a sovereign, independent, democratic republic.

### ARTICLE 3

The State of Israel is designed to be the National Home of the Jewish People and shall admit every Jew who desires to settle within its territory subject to such regulatory provisions as may from time to time be enacted by the Chamber of Deputies.

### ARTICLE 4

(1) All persons within the jurisdiction of the State of Israel shall be entitled in equal measure to the protection of the law. No discrimination of any kind shall be made by the State between the inhabitants of the State on the grounds of race, religion, language or sex.

(2) All citizens of the State shall enjoy equal civic and political rights. No citizen shall be at a disadvantage as a candidate for public office or employment or in the matter of promotion, on account of his race, religion, language or sex.

(3) No land, buildings or other property may be expropriated except for public purposes. In all cases of expropriation full compensation, as prescribed by law, shall be paid.

### ARTICLE 5

The official language of the State of Israel is Hebrew. Adequate facilities shall be given to Arabic-speaking citizens for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, in the legislature, before the courts and before the executive and administrative authorities.

### ARTICLE 6

(1) The following persons shall be citizens of Israel and shall enjoy the rights and privileges and be subject to the obligations of such citizenship:

(a) All Jews who were resident in the area of the State at the time of the enactment of this Constitution.

(b) All Jews over the age of 18 years resident in that part of Palestine which is not included in the State of Israel who, within one year, opt for citizenship of Israel. The exercise of this right of option shall include the wife and children under 18 years of age of the person so opting.

(c) All residents of Israel other than Jews who were citizens of Palestine at the time of the termination of the Mandate, provided that any such person being over the age of 18 may, within one year, elect not to accept the citizenship of Israel. The exercise of this right of option includes the wife and children under 18 years of age of the persons so opting.

(2) The conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the State of Israel shall be determined by a Nationality Law.

### ARTICLE 7

The flag of the State of Israel is a white banner with two horizontal blue stripes and the Shield of David in the centre.

### ARTICLE 8

All natural resources within the jurisdiction of the State of Israel shall belong to the State subject to any rights therein vested in any person or body, and shall be controlled and administered by the Government of Israel in accordance with such regulations and provisions as shall from time to time be approved by legislation.

### ARTICLE 9

The State shall enact legislation to ensure the proper conservation and economic utilization of the soil and water for the benefit of the people.

### ARTICLE 10

The Antiquities in Israel, being a precious heritage of the past, shall be considered as a trust to be conserved by the State for future generations, and the State shall enact legislation to this end.

### ARTICLE 11

The State of Israel shall seek to settle all international disputes of whatever nature or origin in which it may be involved by pacific means only. The generally recognized rules of international law shall form part of the municipal law of Israel.

## II. Fundamental Rights

### ARTICLE 12

The State shall ensure the sanctity of human life and uphold the dignity of man. There shall be no penalty of death, nor shall anyone be subjected to torture, flogging or humiliating punishment. The application of moral pressure or physical violence in the course of police interrogations is prohibited; evidence obtained by such methods shall not be admissible in Court.

### ARTICLE 13

(1) The liberty of the person is inviolable. No one shall be detained except pursuant to an order or judgment of a Court of Law, or when apprehended in flagrant delicto, or for the purpose of bringing him before a Court on a charge of having committed a crime.

(2) Preventive detention by executive order shall be unlawful except when authorized by specific legislation in time of war or national emergency and subject to continuous parliamentary control.

(3) Any person arrested shall be informed in writing within twenty-four hours by what authority and on what grounds he is being detained, and shall be brought up for trial not later than two days from the date of his arrest. Upon complaint being lodged by or on behalf of any person to the High Court or any Judge thereof, that any such person is being unlawfully detained, the High Court or the Judge to whom such complaint is made shall require the officer in whose custody such person is detained, to produce him without delay and certify in writing the grounds of his detention. If satisfied that the detention is not in accordance with the law, the Judge shall order the immediate release of the detainee.

(4) No person under arrest shall be held incommunicado.

(5) No person shall be deprived of his liberty on account of a debt or other contractual obligation except for fraud.

(6) No one shall be tried save by due process of law. Extraordinary courts shall not be established. No person other than members of the Armed Forces of the State on active service, shall, at any time, be subjected to the jurisdiction of military tribunals.

(7) No one shall be convicted of any infringement of the law which did not constitute an offense when it was committed, nor shall any amendment of the law increasing the penalty for any offense or altering the rules of evidence to the detriment of the accused, have retroactive effect.

(8) Anyone wrongfully arrested, convicted or punished shall have an enforceable claim for compensation against the State.

### ARTICLE 14

The dwelling of every person is inviolable and shall not be entered or searched except in accordance with the law and in the manner therein prescribed. Private correspondence as well as telegraphic and telephonic communications shall not be intercepted.

Any temporary suspension of these guarantees in time of war or national emergency shall require specific legislative authorization and shall be subject to parliamentary control.

### ARTICLE 15

(1) Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, shall be insured to all.

(2) Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired. The liberty of access, visit and transit to Holy Places shall be guaranteed, in conformity with existing rights, to all without distinction, subject to the requirements of national security, public order and decorum.

(3) No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which is exempt from taxation on the date of the establishment of the State. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed prior to the establishment of the State.

(4) The Sabbath and the Jewish Holy Days shall be days of rest and spiritual elevation and shall be recognised as such in the laws of the country. The Holy Days of other religious denominations shall equally be recognised as legal days of rest for the members of such denominations.

### ARTICLE 16

Freedom of speech and the free expression of opinion in writing or in any other form, are guaranteed. This constitutional guarantee shall not extend to utterances or publications which are libellous, slanderous or obscene, or which are designed to stir up racial or religious hatred, or to incite to violence or crime, or which advocate the suppression of human rights, or of the democratic system of government, or which reveal secrets of national defence. The institution of a preventive censorship shall be unlawful save in time of war or national emergency and shall require specific legislative authorization and be subject to continuous parliamentary control and review.

### ARTICLE 17

All citizens of the State of Israel shall have the right to assemble peaceably without arms and to form associations, subject to such regulatory provisions as may be enacted from time to time by the Chamber of Deputies. Such enactments shall contain no discrimination on grounds of race, religion, language or political belief.

This constitutional guarantee shall not extend to assemblies or associations aiming at the suppression of human rights or of the democratic form of government.

### ARTICLE 18

Any officer of the State of Israel who, contrary to the provisions of this Constitution, knowingly violates the rights and liberties of any person shall be liable to prosecution under the civil and criminal law.

### ARTICLE 19

Every citizen of the State of Israel has the right, either individually or in association with others, to petition the President, the Government, the Chamber of Deputies, or any other public authority for the redress of grievances or for the enactment of legislation.

### ARTICLE 20

No one may be extradited to any foreign country where he is liable to be deprived of such fundamental personal and political rights as are guaranteed by this Constitution. The Government of Israel may in its absolute discretion refuse to deliver up any of its subjects to a foreign government for prosecution or punishment.

### ARTICLE 21

The economic order of the State of Israel shall be based on the principles of social justice. Every citizen shall have an equitable share in the national income and

a right to social security. The State shall encourage and aid every form of cooperative effort.

### ARTICLE 22

Every one has the right to work. The State of Israel shall endeavor to ensure to all its citizens without distinction a decent standard of living and a fair and equal opportunity of earning a livelihood. Legislation shall be enacted making provision for reasonable wages, working hours and conditions of work and for the provision of state insurance against the risks of accident, sickness, disablement, unemployment, old age and other causes of undeserved want. Special protective measures shall be enacted for the benefit of working mothers and children, and of widows and orphans.

### ARTICLE 23

The right of workers to form trade union associations, to enter into collective bargaining contracts and to strike in defense of their economic rights and interests is guaranteed by the Constitution. Any provision embodied in a contract of employment which involves renunciation or diminution of these rights shall be null and void.

### ARTICLE 24

Care for the health of the population is a primary duty of the State. Legislation shall be enacted providing for the establishment of a national health service, protection of motherhood and child life, the promotion of public and personal hygiene, and the grant of state aid towards the construction of hygienic workers' dwellings.

### ARTICLE 25

(1) The State shall provide adequate facilities for primary and secondary education to be given to Jews and Arabs in their own language and cultural traditions.

(2) The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the State may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

(3) Foreign educational establishments shall be allowed to continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

## III. The Legislature

### ARTICLE 26

The legislative power in the State of Israel shall be vested in the Chamber of Deputies.

### ARTICLE 27

All citizens of the State who have reached the age of twenty-one and are not subject to any legal disability or incapacity under the electoral law shall be entitled to vote in the elections to the Chamber.

### ARTICLE 28

All citizens of the State who have reached the age of twenty-five and are not subject to any legal disability or incapacity under the electoral law, shall be eligible to the Chamber. Judges, civil servants, members of the Armed Forces of the State of Israel serving with the colours, and persons who are also citizens of a foreign state shall not be eligible.

### ARTICLE 29

The Chamber of Deputies shall be elected by equal, direct and universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation. The mode of election shall be determined by an electoral law. The country shall be divided into a number of electoral districts, each 10,000 of the population approximately to be represented by one deputy. The electoral districts shall be revised once in three years, having regard to intervening changes in the numbers and distribution of the population. Vacancies caused by the death, resignation, or disqualification of any deputy shall be filled in accordance with the provisions of the electoral law.

### ARTICLE 30

Elections shall be held within two months from the expiration of the term or the dissolution of the preceding Chamber. They shall be held on the same date throughout the country.

### ARTICLE 31

The Chamber shall meet within one month of its election. It shall hold two sessions every year, beginning in the first week of Cheshvan and Iyar, respectively. The sessions shall be convened by the Chairman on the day fixed by the Chamber upon its adjournment. At the request of one-third of the deputies, an extraordinary session shall be called.

### ARTICLE 32

On taking their seats, deputies shall make the following solemn declaration: "I pledge myself to be faithful to the State of Israel and to uphold its Constitution and its laws."

### ARTICLE 33

The Chamber shall be elected for a period of four years, but it may extend its term in case of war or emergency, but for not more than one additional term.

### ARTICLE 34

The President of the Republic may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies prior to the expiration of its term if the Executive Council in office has resigned and no alternative Executive Council can be formed commanding the support of a stable majority in the Chamber.

### ARTICLE 35

No legal action shall be taken against any deputy in respect of any statements made or votes taken in the Chamber or in respect of any opinions expressed by him outside the Chamber in his official capacity. No deputy may be required, even after having ceased to be a deputy, to give evidence in any court of law in regard to matters confided to him in that capacity. This provision shall not apply to any investigation conducted by a committee of enquiry appointed by the Chamber.

### ARTICLE 36

No criminal proceedings may be taken against any deputy except with the consent of the Chamber. No deputy may be arrested except if apprehended in flagrant delicto. If any deputy is so arrested, the chairman shall be immediately informed and shall bring the matter to the notice of the Chamber. Unless the Chamber within a fortnight approves

of the detention and authorizes the institution of legal proceedings against the deputy, he shall be released.

### ARTICLE 37

Deputies shall receive a remuneration to be fixed by the Chamber.

### ARTICLE 38

Official reports of proceedings in the Chamber and its Committees, as well as true reports of such proceedings wherever published, shall be privileged.

### ARTICLE 39

The Chamber shall adopt Standing Orders for regulating its procedure, maintaining internal discipline and protecting its members from any molestation, interference or attempt at corruption. It shall elect a Chairman and Vice Chairmen and fix their powers and remuneration.

### ARTICLE 40

The proceedings of the Chamber shall be held in public. Upon a motion supported by two-thirds of the deputies present, the public may be excluded.

### ARTICLE 41

Save as otherwise prescribed in this Constitution or in the Standing Orders, decisions shall be by a majority of those present. In case of any equality of votes the presiding officer shall exercise a casting vote.

### ARTICLE 42

The initiative in introducing legislation shall rest with the Executive Council. Deputies may propose legislative measures, but such proposals shall be referred to a Select Committee of the Chamber. They shall be introduced by the Executive Council if recommended by a majority of the Select Committee and in the form recommended by that Committee.

### ARTICLE 43

All revenues of the State, from whatever source arising, shall form one Consolidated Revenue Fund and shall be appropriated by the Chamber of Deputies for the purposes of the State in the manner and subject to the charges and liabilities imposed by this Constitution.

### ARTICLE 44

The Chamber shall consider the estimates of income and expenditure for the current financial year submitted to it by the Executive Council, and shall enact the Finance Act prior to the end of the financial year. No resolution for the appropriation of funds or for the increase of any grant or charge may be moved except by a member of the Executive Council.

### ARTICLE 45

After a Bill has been passed by the Chamber, two copies of it shall be transmitted by the Chairman to the President of the Republic for his signature. One copy shall be deposited in the Record Office of the Chamber and the other shall be transmitted to the Registrar of the High Court to be enrolled for record in his office. It shall come into force upon its publication in the Official Gazette.

### ARTICLE 46

The recruiting and maintenance of the Armed Forces shall be subject to the control of the Chamber of Deputies.

### ARTICLE 47

Treaties and other agreements with foreign countries shall not be binding on the State unless approved by the Chamber of Deputies. By such approval these treaties and agreements shall become part of the municipal law of Israel. All such treaties and agreements shall be published in the Official Gazette.

## IV. The Executive Power

### ARTICLE 48

The executive power in the State of Israel shall be vested in the President of the Republic and in the Executive Council.

### (1) THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

### ARTICLE 49

Any citizen of Israel, who is eligible to the Chamber of Deputies and has reached the age of 35, may be elected to the office of President.

### ARTICLE 50

The President of the Republic shall be elected by the Chamber of Deputies by secret ballot. If, in two successive ballots, no candidate receives an absolute majority of votes the candidate for whom, in the third ballot, a relative majority of votes is cast, shall be deemed to have been elected.

### ARTICLE 51

The term of office of the President shall be five years. He may be re-elected on the expiry of his term, or at any subsequent election, but only for one additional term of office.

### ARTICLE 52

The election of the President shall take place not later than one month prior to the expiration of the term of the President in office. If the latter dies, resigns, is removed from office or becomes permanently incapacitated, such incapacity being established by a decision of the Supreme Court, the election of a new President shall take place within one month thereafter.

### ARTICLE 53

If the office of the President becomes vacant as a result of the death, resignation, removal, or permanent incapacity of the holder, the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies shall exercise the functions of the President until the election of a new President.

### ARTICLE 54

The President, upon entering his office, shall make the following declaration in the presence of members of the Executive Council, the Chamber of Deputies and the Judges of the Supreme Court and the High Court: "I solemnly promise that I will maintain the Constitution and the laws of Israel, that I will dedicate myself to the service and welfare of the People of Israel and that I will act justly and rightly to all citizens of Israel."

### ARTICLE 55

Every official act of the President shall be countersigned by the Prime Minister or a member of the Executive Council who shall thereby assume responsibility for it.

### ARTICLE 56

The President shall, after consultation with the leaders of the

parliamentary parties, appoint the Prime Minister and upon his advice, the other members of the Executive Council. The President shall appoint the ambassadors and ministers of the State of Israel. The President shall appoint the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of Israel and issue commissions to the officers of these Forces.

### ARTICLE 57

The President shall receive the diplomatic envoys accredited to the State of Israel and shall issue exequaturs to foreign consuls.

### ARTICLE 58

The President shall promulgate the laws enacted by the Chamber within ten days from the date of such enactment. If the law was enacted as an urgent measure it shall be promulgated within three days.

### ARTICLE 59

The President shall exercise the prerogative of mercy.

### ARTICLE 60

The President shall, upon the advice of the Executive Council and with the assent of the Chamber of Deputies, conclude treaties with foreign states.

### ARTICLE 61

The President shall be removed from office on impeachment by two-thirds of the Chamber of Deputies and on conviction by the Supreme Court of high treason, bribery or culpable violation of the Constitution.

### (2) THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

### ARTICLE 62

The Executive Council shall consist of the Prime Minister, the heads of the Departments of State and such Ministers without Portfolio as may from time to time be appointed. The total number of Ministers shall not exceed fifteen. All Ministers shall be members of the Chamber of Deputies and shall be appointed in the manner prescribed in Article 26.

### ARTICLE 63

The Prime Minister shall preside over the meetings of the Executive Council. He shall be responsible for the coordination of activities of the Executive Council and for the execution, by the Departments of State of the policies adopted by the Executive Council. He shall keep the President of the Republic informed on all major questions of domestic and foreign policy.

### ARTICLE 64

The Executive Council shall be collectively responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. It shall resign if it ceases to retain the support of a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, but shall continue in office until its successors have been appointed. The resignation of the Prime Minister shall entail that of the Executive Council as a whole. Individual Ministers may resign from office by placing their resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister for submission to the President of the Republic.

### ARTICLE 65

No Minister may be a member of the Board of Directors of any Joint Stock or Limited Liability Company carrying on business for profit.

### ARTICLE 66

The organization of the Departments of State, the designation of Ministers and their remuneration shall be regulated by law.

### ARTICLE 67

The organization of and admission to the Civil Service shall be regulated by law. After the enactment of this Constitution, all appointments to the Civil Service shall be by examination to be conducted by a Civil Service Commission. In exceptional cases the Civil Service Commission may authorize the appointment of senior officers without examination.

### ARTICLE 68

The Executive Council and any of its members shall have power to make orders and regulations within the framework of existing laws. Such orders and regulations shall be tabled in the Chamber of Deputies and shall become inoperative if a motion to that effect is adopted by the Chamber within two weeks thereafter.

### (3) COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR GENERAL

### ARTICLE 69

There shall be a Comptroller and Auditor General to control, on behalf of the State, all payments and to audit all accounts of monies administered by or under the authority of the Chamber of Deputies. He shall not be a member of the Chamber of Deputies nor hold any other office or position of emolument. The manner of his appointment and the length and conditions of his tenure of office shall be fixed by law.

## V. The Judicial Power

### ARTICLE 70

The judicial power shall be vested in and exercised by the Courts of Law established under this Constitution. They shall comprise:

- (a) Magistrates' Courts;
- (b) District Courts;
- (c) A High Court with original and appellate jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, and with exclusive original jurisdiction in all questions relating to the validity of any law having regard to the terms of the Constitution;
- (d) A court of final appeal to be called the Supreme Court;
- (e) Religious courts of the Jewish, Moslem and Christian communities exercising jurisdiction in matters of personal status and of religious foundations and endowments.

### ARTICLE 71

The organization and jurisdiction of the courts, the remuneration, pensions and age of retirement of the judges, and all matters of procedure shall be regulated by law.

### ARTICLE 72

All judges, other than the members of the Religious Courts, shall be appointed by the President of the Republic on the advice of the Minister of Justice who, in tendering such advice, shall be guided by the recommendations of a Selection Board consisting of a member of the Supreme Court, a High Court Judge, two senior officers of the Department of Justice, three deputies chosen by the Chamber and three representatives of the Bar Association. The Selection Board shall be recon-

stituted annually. The judges of the Religious Courts shall be appointed by the President of the Republic acting on the advice of the Minister for Religious Affairs who, in tendering such advice, shall be guided by the recommendations of the Supreme Religious Council of the community concerned.

### ARTICLE 73

No judge of the Civil Courts shall be removed from office except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity upon a resolution supported by two-thirds of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. No judge of the Religious Courts shall be removed from office except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity upon a motion of the Supreme Religious Council of the community concerned and upon a resolution supported by two-thirds of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. The removal shall be effected by an order of the President of the Republic.

### ARTICLE 74

Where any action of personal status involves persons of different religious communities, the President of the Supreme Court shall decide which court shall exercise jurisdiction. In deciding

such issue, he shall invite the assistance of assessors from the Religious Courts of the communities concerned. Whenever the question arises as to whether or not a case is one of personal status within the exclusive jurisdiction of a religious court, the matter shall be referred to a special tribunal, the constitution of which shall be prescribed by law.

## VI. Amendment of the Constitution

### ARTICLE 75

The Chamber of Deputies shall have power to amend the Constitution but every such amendment shall require the assent of two-thirds of the total membership of the Chamber and shall not come into force unless passed by that majority in two successive sessions of the Chamber, and unless not less than six months have elapsed between the two successive enactments.

## VII. Constitution and Legislation

### ARTICLE 76

No law shall be enacted which is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of this Constitution. If the Courts pronounce any law or any provision thereof to be repugnant to the Constitution, such law or provision shall, to the extent of such repugnancy, be therewith absolutely void and inoperative.

## VIII. The Law

### ARTICLE 77

The laws in force in the State of Israel at the time of the enactment of this Constitution shall continue in force to the extent to which they are not inconsistent with the terms of this Constitution until the



THIS STATEMENT APPEARED IN A FEW LEADING NEWSPAPERS

# Another Open Letter To Prime Minister Attlee

**WE TAKE** the liberty of addressing this, our second open letter, to you at this time so that you may have the benefit of the views of an overwhelming majority of Americans on a matter of life or death for an entire people. We refer to the question of Palestine, which will surely figure in your conversations with our President.

We assume that your officials in this country have informed you of America's reaction to the reports that your Government plans to continue with slight modification the Chamberlain Government's inhuman White Paper policy on Palestine. If you were presented with an accurate picture, you must know that the voices of millions—Jewish and non-Jewish voices—are today raised in angry protest.

We trust that you have been reading the cables, letters and resolutions which leaders of American public opinion have been sending to 10 Downing Street during the past weeks; that the British Embassy in Washington has kept you posted on the communications sent to your Government recently by countless thousands of American citizens, and that you have seen accounts of the unprecedented mass demonstrations held throughout America—all of them demanding that your Government now fulfill its oft-repeated pledge of a Jewish Palestine.

If all this be known to you, there should be no doubt in your mind that the American people will continue to insist that justice be done to the Jews, and will not be deluded by devices which repudiate your country's solemn obligations in order to appease feudal Arab rulers.

## We Have a Right to Speak Plainly

It is ironic and tragic that these words must be addressed to you—a Prime Minister who was swept into office on a platform which endorsed all Jewish aspirations in Palestine without qualification or equivocation. We recall with what forthrightness and courage the leaders of the Labor Government once denounced the very policy which is today being implemented in Palestine. And we believe that the horrible death of almost six million Jewish men, women and children, as well as the suffering of the remnants of European Jewry, entitle us to speak as plainly as we do here.

A great responsibility rests upon you today, Mr. Prime Minister. The decisions you make now will influence the course of human events for generations to come. If all our hopes for a world of peace and security, all our plans for democratic progress and economic prosperity are not to be shattered once again, we must build today on the solid foundation of justice. For without justice there can be no peace. *And unless the remnants of the Jewish people are given the opportunity to live a normal life in their own land, free from the horrors of persecution and homelessness—there will be no justice, and there can be no peace.*

## The Choice Is Yours

You must choose now, Mr. Attlee. You can try to build Britain's power and prestige along the lines laid down by Tory Colonial Imperialism. In the Middle East that would mean continuing Britain's present unreliable alliance with Hitler's supporters and sympathizers—the potentates, tyrants and desert chiefs who have been made to seem respectable by officials of your Colonial Office and our State Department. You can serve the enemies of progress and democracy, who keep their unfortunate subjects enslaved in a feudal society and who fight the very ideals proclaimed in England by your Party and practiced in Palestine by the Jewish people. The British Colonial Office, which, alas, sponsored the Arab League as an instrument to block Zionist progress, can continue to bolster this reactionary group to power and influence. That would undoubtedly please men like Ibn Saud and the pro-Nazi Mufti.

But we submit, Mr. Prime Minister, that the results of such a course will be tragic in the extreme—not only for the Jewish people, but for Britain as well. We hope you noticed that the mobs which rioted in Cairo, Alexandria, other cities of Egypt and Tripoli—mobs incited to violence by the Arab League—began by shouting and attacking Jews alone; later, however, as their fury increased, the rioters attacked Christian churches and shouted for the withdrawal of British forces from Egypt . . . And so, the Arab League, though a product of the 18th century mentality of the British Colonial Office, may prove to be something of a Frankenstein monster.

What, then, shall it be, Mr. Attlee? A free and democratic Jewish State, in which all men regardless of race, color or creed shall enjoy equal civil and religious rights—which will provide a permanent solution for the Jewish problem—which will bring democratic practices and a richer, fuller life to all the peoples of the Middle East?

Or the old imperialistic method of power politics—callously disregarding international commitments—trading blood for oil—first nurturing, then appeasing, and finally suppressing pro-fascist Arab chieftains?

*And if the latter course is followed, will Britain's honor survive?*

The American people can understand and sympathize with your Government's request for help in the solution of Britain's economic problems. But many Americans are now asking themselves whether this country is not being called upon to support a bankrupt imperialist policy at variance with everything your Party stands for. It is to be regretted that recent events in the Middle East have not served to allay such fears.

## Proposed Investigation Is a Mockery

Americans are also disturbed by recent reports that it is now proposed to create a Joint Anglo-American Commission to "study" the situation of the Jews in Europe and their emigration needs. What facts do you suppose will emerge from such an inquiry that have not been fully established at the various international conferences on refugees or by the Harrison Report—other than the information that additional numbers of Jews have died because the Western Democracies have decided to "study" once more, rather than act.

What is urgently needed, Mr. Attlee, is not another roving expedition or a further time-consuming investigation, but immediate concrete measures in conformity with a policy long established and clearly defined by valid international agreements.

## A Constructive Program

What is called for is:

1. *The immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine as requested by President Truman, as a first step.*
2. *The abandonment or revocation forthwith by the British Government of the White Paper of 1939.*
3. *A joint reaffirmation by the British and American Governments of their intention to pursue a Palestine policy in keeping with the original purpose and intent of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate.*
4. *Following such a joint pronouncement, it would be most fitting to constitute a Joint Commission to explore ways and means by which both countries may cooperate in the implementation of the announced policy in the light of their respective responsibilities and interests. We hope, too, that the United States may find it possible to cooperate in such economic projects as would be of benefit not only to the people of Palestine and to the possibilities of Jewish settlement there, but to the peoples of the entire Middle East, whose countries are poverty-stricken and under-developed.*

We ask, Mr. Prime Minister, that you act now. We pray that common sense, decency and honor will prevail.

Abba Hillel Silver, Stephen S. Wise  
Joint Chairmen

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL  
342 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Consistent Organizations: Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi Organization of America, Poale Zion of America, B'nai B'rith Organization of America.



# KEEP AT IT, MR. PRESIDENT!

**W**E ARE confident that we speak for an overwhelming majority of the American people when we say: more power to you, Mr. President, in your efforts to bring about the immediate immigration to Palestine of the homeless Jews of Europe. Such action is long overdue. The failure to permit those pitiful men, women and children to emigrate to their internationally-guaranteed National Home is a blot on the conscience of the civilized world.

Nearly two years have elapsed since V-E Day marked the triumph of the armies of democracy and the liberation of Europe. The Jewish survivors had clung to life within the concentration camps and ruins — where six million of their number had been murdered—in the belief that with the victory of the democratic nations, the healing qualities of democracy itself would replace the horror and degradation of fascism.

But they still wait for liberation in the DP Camps. Their hope has turned to bitter disillusionment. They have been "investigated" and "studied." Voluminous reports on their condition gather dust in the archives of the victorious powers. A seemingly endless series of "conferences" and "negotiations" has been sponsored by the British Government—all of them having one objective: to delay the action so desperately

needed by the Jewish people and to evade Great Britain's obligations under the Palestine Mandate to encourage and facilitate Jewish immigration and development.

To cap his record of broken pledges and brutal repression in Palestine, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bevin, has sought to shift responsibility for his ignominious failures to you, Mr. President. His insulting references to your humanitarian requests for the immediate immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine merited the contempt with which they were received by the American people. We applaud your firm and dignified reply to the British Foreign Secretary. In pointing out that you had merely reaffirmed America's traditional policy, you once again served notice on those who would betray the Jewish people that the United States means to honor its commitments.

We believe, Mr. President, that you will meet the challenge of this desperate situation. Pending a final settlement of the question by the United Nations—which may consume many months or years—*there must be no further delay on Jewish immigration and land purchase in Palestine.*

We urge you, Mr. President, to stand firm on this pressing matter. We assure you that we will support a vigorous program of action to achieve its realization.

Isidor Achron  
June Allyson  
Maxwell Anderson  
Dana Andrews  
William Auerbach-Levy  
Lloyd Bacon  
S. M. L. Barlow  
Will Barnet  
Mari Barova  
Richmond Barthe  
Marion Bauer  
William Rose Benet  
Stanley Bergerman  
Elisabeth Bergner  
Leonard Bernstein  
George Biddle  
Max Brand  
Irving Brecher  
Carl Bricken  
Arthur Caesar  
Taylor Caldwell  
Eddie Cantor  
Vera Caspary  
Jerome Chodorov  
Will Cowan  
Jean Darling  
Anton Dolin

Melvyn Douglas  
Paul Douglas  
Katherine Dunham  
Julius Ehrlich  
Lehman Engel  
Betty Field  
Carl Gaertner  
Rudolph Ganz  
John Garfield  
John Gart  
Ruth Gordon  
Morton Gould  
Barry Gray  
Charles Grayson  
E. Y. Harburg  
George Heller  
Judy Holliday  
Arthur Hornblow  
John Huston  
Sam Jaffe  
Victor Jory  
Garson Kanin  
Paul Katz  
Gene Kelly  
Charles Kingsford  
Alexander Kipnis  
Charles Korvin

Michael Kraike  
John Latouche  
Richard E. Lauterbach  
Sol Lesser  
William Ludwig  
Bela Lugosi  
Mana-Zucca  
Thomas Mann  
Wandy Barrie Meyer  
Jo Mielziner  
Nathan Milstein  
Pierre Monteux  
Mrs. Pierre Monteux  
Marianne Moore  
Henry Morgan  
Zero Mostel  
Paul Muni  
Dudley Nichols  
Arch Oboler  
Paul Osborn  
Irving Pichel  
Willy Pogany  
Dick Powell  
Rosa Raisa  
Gottfried Reinhardt  
Lionel Reiss  
Anne Revere

Vernon Rice  
Robert Riskin  
Allen Rivkin  
Edward G. Robinson  
Casey Robinson  
William N. Robson  
Bernard Rogers  
Harold J. Rome  
Daniel Saidenberg  
William Saroyan  
Maurice Schwartz  
Elie Siegmeister  
Mary Small  
Alexander Smallens  
Izler Solomon  
Kenneth Spencer  
Leonard Spiegelgass  
Donald Ogden Stewart  
Helen Traubel  
Mark Van Doren  
Jerry Wald  
Franz Waxman  
Max Weber  
Cornel Wilde  
Billy Wilder  
S. J. Woolf  
William Wyler

(Incomplete List)

## AMERICAN ARTS COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

ROOM 707, 41 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.



# Britain's "HONOR" — !



PLATFORM OF BRITISH LABOR PARTY — APRIL, 1945.

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now."

**BUT**

today British warships, tanks and guns are used to bar the pitiful Jewish survivors of the European holocaust from their National Home. How brave, how noble Britannia!

ARTHUR CREECH JONES, UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES — JANUARY, 1945.

"It will be for American friends of Zionism to go on building up opinion, strengthening the cause, closing their ranks, being more insistent in the days to come, so that the National Home may flourish. It will be for us in London to carry on our work in Parliament and elsewhere so that there is no misadventure, so that the White Paper policy is reversed, so that the Jews can be sure that at last their National Home is being established firmly and securely and they can realize their own Commonwealth . . ."

**BUT**

because the American people are resolved to achieve these noble objectives, Foreign Secretary Bevin uses cheap, anti-Semitic slander to mislead us: "Regarding the agitation in the United States, and particularly New York, for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine . . . that was because they did not want too many of them in New York."

CLEMENT R. ATTLEE — NOVEMBER, 1945.

"The British Labor Party recalls with pride that in the dark days of the Great War they associated themselves with the ideal of a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people, and that, ever since, the annual conferences of the Party have repeatedly affirmed their enthusiastic support of the effort toward its realization. They have never faltered, and will never falter, in their active and sympathetic cooperation with the work of political and economic reconstruction now going forward in Palestine."

**BUT**

today Mr. Attlee's "active and sympathetic cooperation" consists of a shameful war against Jewish Palestine—arrest of distinguished leaders of the Jewish people in true Nazi fashion—terror and intimidation against the only truly democratic community in the Middle East—a rule of brutal force in which the machine-gun, the censor's gag and the concentration camp are the law of the land.

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



# America must not consent to Another British Delaying Device

"LONDON, April 2.—The British have definitely decided not to relinquish their mandate in Palestine to the United Nations when the General Assembly meets to consider the Palestine problem, it was learned in an authoritative quarter today.

"In fact, the British seem determined to reserve their position all along the line and . . . they point out that the General Assembly can make only recommendations, not decisions.

"Hence, any decision must, in the final analysis, be made by the British Government and not by the United Nations. This means that the British, in effect, have given up nothing so far as Palestine is concerned. Moreover, it was made clear that they consider the present situation as 'frozen' until the United Nations makes its recommendations, if any."

—Herbert L. Matthews, *New York Times*

"LAKE SUCCESS, L. I., April 2.—Great Britain has reserved her right to reject any United Nations decision on the future of Palestine, it was made clear today.

"The British request for General Assembly consideration of the Holy Land does not automatically commit London to acceptance of whatever the Assembly decides. At the same time, officials of the British delegation explained this afternoon, Great Britain is ready to give thorough consideration to any Assembly recommendation."

—Kenyon Kilson, *New York Herald-Tribune*

**B** RITISH official spokesmen have thus themselves laid bare the tactics of His Majesty's Government.

Should the findings of the United Nations prove acceptable to Great Britain—that is to say, should the British Government be permitted to evade its obligations to the Jewish people under the Palestine Mandate—it will lose no time in putting such recommendations into effect.

However, should the United Nations declare that Great Britain has failed to facilitate Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine in accordance with the clear provisions of the Mandate, has violated international and moral law by imposing the notorious 'White Paper' policy on the country, and should it summon Great Britain to remove all barriers to the continued development of the Jewish National Home—then the British Government will reserve to itself the right to reject these recommendations.

This maneuver is part of a well-established British technique. The most recent example was the cynical disregard of the unanimous recommendations for immediate action by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. This Committee was proposed by Great Britain in lieu of President Truman's request which was made more than a year and a half ago, that 100,000 homeless Jews be permitted forthwith to enter Palestine. Through it, Great Britain sought to create an impression of impartiality and fair-mindedness. Foreign Secretary Bevin assured the Committee that if its recommendations would be unanimous they would be implemented immediately.

It is now more than a year since this Committee, composed of six Britishers and six Americans, unanimously recommended that 100,000 Jewish refugees be admitted into Palestine at once and that the outrageous racial land laws which Great Britain has imposed upon that country be abolished. These recommendations have been completely ignored and Mr. Bevin's pledge lies unfulfilled.

Great Britain has now brought about another inquiry as a substitute for action. It has achieved another investigation of a problem which has been studied and investigated innumerable times. While these investiga-

tions and discussions will go on—probably for months—in the United Nations, hundreds of thousands of weary, suffering men, women and children, the pitiful survivors of a people which suffered most during the war, must continue to languish in DP Camps.

And for what? So that the British Government may be given more time to try to break their morale, scatter their numbers or force the Jewish people to accept the outrageous solution which Mr. Bevin is resolved to impose?

Should not the first act of the United Nations when it meets in Special Session be to demand that, pending its final decisions, the Mandatory Government of Palestine be required to abrogate its illegal immigration and land laws and to fulfill its original obligations under the Mandate?

The tragic situation brooks no delay. The deliberations of the United Nations may drag out indefinitely. There is no guarantee of a decisive solution, even at the end of these deliberations. In the meantime a terrible human tragedy is mounting to a disastrous climax in the Displaced Persons Camps of Europe.

Will not our own Government now take a vigorous stand on this pressing issue and on the permanent solution, in accordance with America's traditional policy?

Is the human problem involved in the plight of these myriad victims of the war of little concern to mankind? Is the explosive political situation in Palestine of less urgency than that of Greece and Turkey, which has called forth such vigorous, determined and quick action on the part of our State Department and of all the agencies of our Government?

The American people, who have time and again indicated their profound and sympathetic interest in this problem, have a right to expect that their Government, whose Executive and Legislative Branches have committed themselves repeatedly to a policy of free Jewish immigration into Palestine and the continued development of the Jewish National Home, now take the initiative in the United Nations, and that it speak and act with forthrightness, earnestness and determination.

**AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL**  
New York 17, N. Y.  
342 Madison Avenue



Appearing in a number of leading American newspapers

# THE TESTIMONY OF OUR NATION



"I have before this expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

— President Woodrow Wilson



"It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home and there enter on a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity."

— President Warren G. Harding



"I...express again my sympathy with the deep and intense longing which finds such fine expression in the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. The proposed plan furnishes to the Jewish people an opportunity to devote their great qualities to the upbuilding and preservation of their own homeland and in their own sphere, and I feel sure that the people of the United States will not fail to give that earnest and substantial aid which will be necessary if it is to meet with a full measure of success."

— President Calvin Coolidge



"I...add my expression to the sentiment among our people in favor of the realization of the age-old aspirations of the Jewish people for the restoration of their national homeland."

— President Herbert Hoover



"I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

— President Franklin D. Roosevelt



"The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of a Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations. The United States, which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of, or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these peoples should be prepared for self-government and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine. I am happy to note that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

"It is only natural, therefore, that this Government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish national home."

— President Harry S. Truman

## American Zionist Emergency Council

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

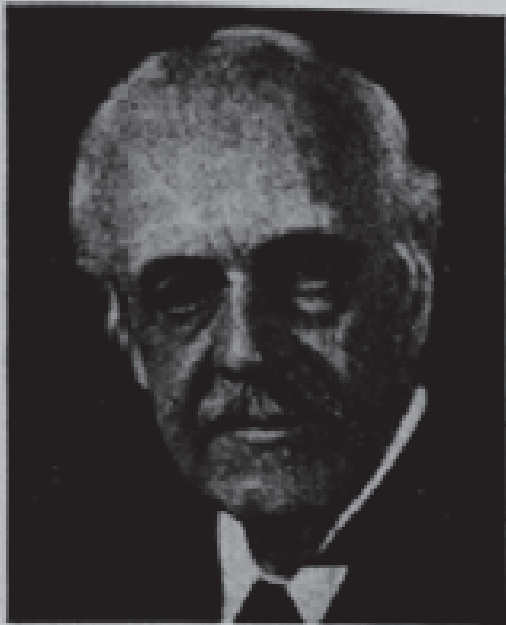
### CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:

Hadassah, Labor Zionist Organization of America—Poale Zion, Mizrachi, United Zionists-Revisionists of America, Zionist Organization of America



THIS ADVERTISEMENT APPEARED IN A NUMBER OF LEADING NEWSPAPERS

# Testimony of the British Nation

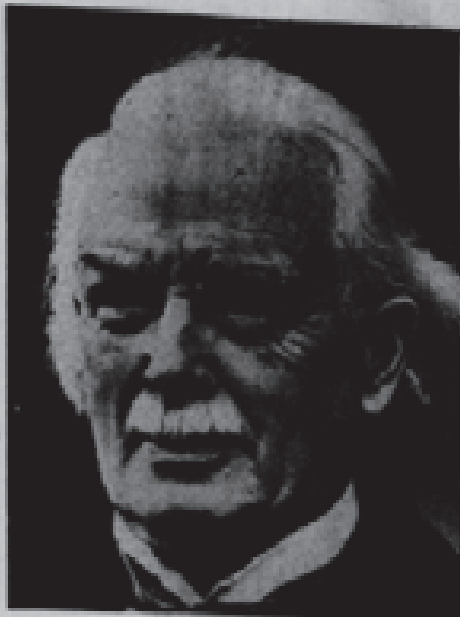


"Dear Lord Rothschild,

"I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

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

— Arthur James Balfour  
(The Then Foreign Secretary)  
November 2, 1917



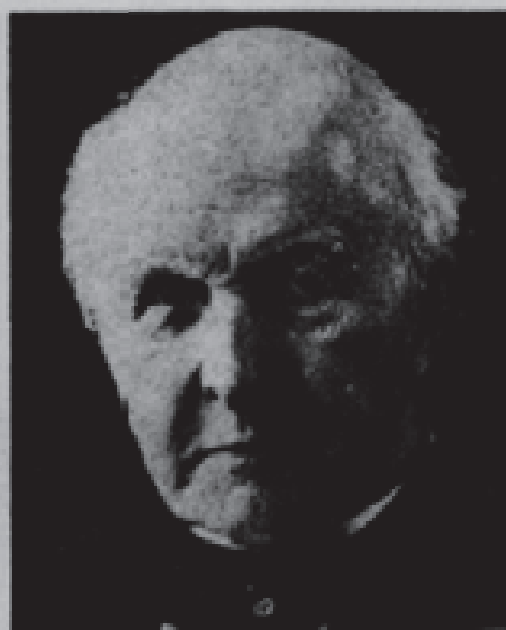
"There has been a good deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine... It was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

— David Lloyd George (Former Prime Minister)  
*The Truth About The Peace Treaties*



"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our own life-time by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

— Winston Churchill (Later Prime Minister)  
February 8, 1920



"If immigration for the next five years is confined to the limits of the White Paper... the position is that the Jews are reduced to the status of a permanent minority in a preponderantly Arab State. After all their hopes, they shall return in their National Home to that minority status which has been their lot through long centuries in every part of the world! I venture to think that it was precisely from this permanent minority status that they had hoped to escape."

— The Late Rev. Cosmo Gordon Lang,  
Archbishop of Canterbury—May 23, 1939



"We regard this White Paper and the policy in it as a cynical breach of pledges given to the Jews and the world, including America... If we do this thing today we shall have done a thing which is dishonorable to our good name, which is discreditable to our capacity to govern and which is dangerous to British security, to peace and to the economic interest of the world in general and of our own country. Moreover, it will not work..."

"I do not know what Government will be in power in ten years, and it would certainly be wrong for me to indicate what such a Government would do in circumstances that we cannot foresee and cannot know, but I think it ought to be known by the House that this breach of faith, which we regret, this breach of British honour, with its policy, with which we have no sympathy, is such that the least that can be said is that the Government must not expect that this is going to be automatically binding upon their successors. They must not expect that. I will go no further than that, but they must understand that this document will not be automatically binding upon their successors in office, whatever the circumstances of the time may be."

— Herbert Stanley Morrison  
(Now Lord President of the Council)  
May 23, 1939



"The British Labor Party recalls with pride that in the dark days of the Great War they associated themselves with the ideal of a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people, and that, ever since, the annual conferences of the Party have repeatedly affirmed their enthusiastic support of the effort toward its realization. They have never faltered, and will never falter, in their active and sympathetic cooperation with the work of political and economic reconstruction now going forward in Palestine."

— Clement R. Attlee (Now Prime Minister)  
November, 1935

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

as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land, and their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they should not seek to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, which is less than the size of Wales."

— Platform of the British Labor Party—December, 1944

## American Zionist Emergency Council

342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS: Hadassah, Labor Zionist Organization of America—Poale Zion, Mizrachi, United Zionists of America, Zionist Organization of America



# MR. TRUMAN:

## WHERE DO YOU STAND ON THIS ISSUE?



**1917**

*Area originally designated as the Jewish National Home in Palestine.*  
**45,000 square miles**



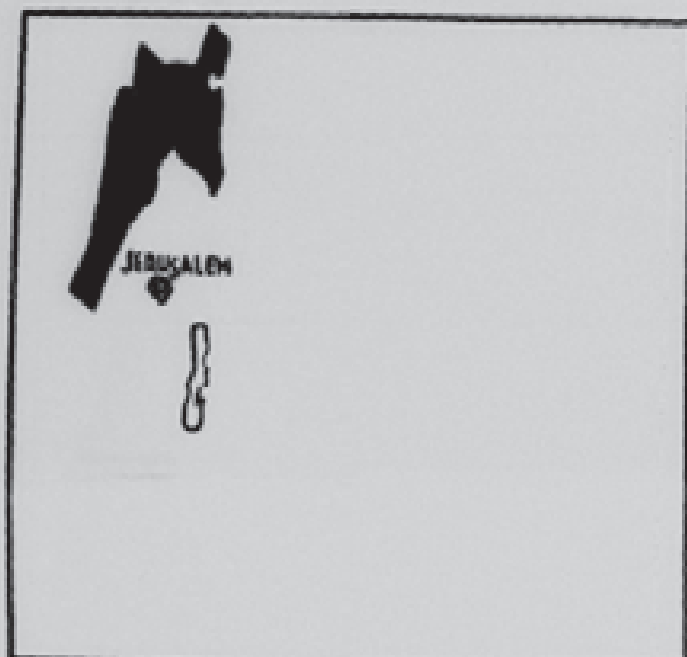
**1922**

*Area of Palestine following the amputation of Transjordan by Great Britain.*  
**10,000 square miles**



**1947**

*Area of the State of Israel as set up by the partition decision of the United Nations.*  
**5,678 square miles**



**1948**

*Area of the State of Israel under the proposed Bernadotte plan.*  
**2,180 square miles**

**The** 1948 platform of the Democratic Party states: "We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations Resolution of November 29 and consider that modification thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel."

There was every reason to believe that this declaration—and our Government's leadership in bringing about the United Nations partition decision of November 29, 1947—represented American policy on Israel. Nevertheless, Secretary of State Marshall has urged acceptance "in their entirety" of the unjust territorial changes proposed in the Bernadotte report. No justification of this sudden and unwarranted reversal of policy has been offered by the Administration.

A glance at the last of these maps, depicting Israel's size under the proposed Bernadotte plan, makes it obvious that this pitifully small territory cannot absorb the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees who must emigrate there; nor can it provide for Israel's normal growth and development.

Is this what you had in mind, Mr. President?

If this is *not* what you had in mind, we respectfully submit that you should say so now, since the Bernadotte proposals are at this very moment under discussion by the United Nations General Assembly and its decision will be largely determined by the attitude of the American Government.

Which is it, Mr. President? The policy which you have stated in the past, which determined our Government's stand in November, 1947 and which is also the declared policy of your party—or the policy most recently expressed by Mr. Marshall, which is in violent contradiction to it?

We respectfully await your answer.

**AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL**  
342 Madison Avenue New York 17, N. Y.



# Zionist Victory Traced to Will Power

## Political Scientist Says Jews Escaped Defeatism Now Infecting West

By HEDLEY V. COOKE,  
Asst. Professor of Political Science,  
University of Wyoming.

**J**UST four years ago, when I was still one of the American consuls at Jerusalem, it seemed to me that Zionism was a dead cause. I found it difficult to understand that the Jews of Palestine could not see this.

### A Guest Editorial



Cooke.

Having this conviction, I thought it pitiable that the fine community spirit which had developed was soon to be dissipated in the general grief and bitterness of the ailing world. Miracles had

been wrought in the way of converting the Palestinian land from desert to garden, in creating a new and worthy culture, and in doing away with the fears and morbidity of the ghetto.

Utopias, however, must often yield to unpleasant facts. And, in late 1944, the facts were these:

The British government was determined to unite the various rival Arab leaders; and there was no conceivable basis upon which to unite them, other than opposition to Zionism. Large numbers of Arabs, meanwhile, had been brought by Axis propaganda to the point of wishing for the extermination of all Jews. Most other Asiatics, interpreting the Arab-Jew conflict as a conflict between Asiatic and European,

were strongly inclined to support their Asiatic brethren.

The Soviet government was vitriolic in its denunciation of Zionism as "bourgeois nationalism." France, seeing her north African colonies as the main bases of her future security, could not afford to dissent from the pro-Arab standpoint of the other leading powers.

As for the United States, our state department was adamant as to the necessity of allowing the British to determine the future of Palestine. There was much pro-Zionist sentiment among Christians in this country, but it was at the same time certain that American public opinion would never support the use of American armed force for protection of Jews. The state department knew this, and therefore was not afraid to challenge pro-Zionist declarations by presidents and congressmen.

**H**OW could the Jews possibly survive without armed assistance from outside? As for the international experts, such as Sumner Welles and James MacDonald, who demanded American support of Zionism as a moral obligation and a practical necessity, these men were looked upon by the state department as harmless has-beens. Finally, the American Christians living in the near east were, almost to the last man, staunch opponents of Zionism.

What followed should provide an object lesson for all those Americans who are now ridiculing, and branding as "impracticable" all constructive solutions for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of our civilization. For, surely, our present problem does not offer nearly so many seemingly hopeless obstacles

as did the Zionist problem of 1944.

Indeed, from the viewpoint of "objective political science," the Zionist task was an impossible one. The Zionists, however, approached the question with that same spirit which had transformed the barren soil. To them it was not a question of possibility or impossibility, but of absolute necessity. And, in this spirit, the job which had to be done was done.

**A**S time went on after 1944, the situation did not improve for the Jews. Favorable developments in international politics were invariably canceled out by subsequent events. Finally the inevitable happened. The united Arabs of the near east, outnumbering the Jews by fifty to one and equipped with modern British armament made an all-out attack on the Jewish position in Palestine. This constituted defiance of the United Nations, but the great powers were unable or unwilling to stop the Arabs. The Jews, however, did stop them, thereby becoming the first victims of aggression to prove to their opponents that the course of wisdom would have been to heed the world organization.

Because they had managed to escape the defeatism which now infects the western world and paralyzes us as we contemplate the "forces of wickedness and stupidity" arrayed against us, the Jews won their victory in short order. The walls of Jericho have once more yielded to the blast of a trumpet.

Perhaps the main lesson is that forces which truly emanate from wickedness and stupidity often prove amazingly weak in a real showdown. It is only when they operate against defeatism, escapism, and greed, that they seem invincible.

*The Denver Post*  
January 3, 1949



# Minorities in Israel

*For These the New State Exhibits a Spirit of Good Will and Equality*

*By Eliahu Ben-Horin*

**H**AIFA, Israel.—I once heard a story about a man who claimed that he visited four countries, without ever having stepped out of the city limits of his home town. This sounded unlikely, until the man explained that he was born and lived all his life in Chernovitz, Bucovina. True enough, Bucovina has been in succession part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of Poland, Romania and Russia—and all these transformations have taken place within three decades.

Many a man in Israel today could claim almost a similar record. Thirty-odd years ago Palestine was still a province in the Ottoman Empire. Then, for over a quarter of a century, it was a League of Nations territory under a British administration. Now, it is no longer Palestine but Israel.

**T**HIS is most certainly not a change in name alone. The changes are tremendous and you see them wherever you turn. This time, however, I want to point to one radical change which amounts to a veritable revolution in the entire structure of the land. I refer to the ethnic composition of Israel and the overwhelming Jewish majority created almost over night, mainly through the flight of the bulk of the Arab population.

Only one year ago, when the United Nations was shaping its partition plan for Palestine, its deliberations were greatly affected by the desire to prevent the existence of a large Arab minority in the Jewish state. This consideration exercised considerable influence on the carving up of the country and the delimitation of frontiers in the original partition plan. Still, under the partition resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, about 400,000 Arabs were to remain in the Jewish state. Who could believe then that one year later Israel would have a seven-to-one Jewish majority of population?

It was not planned this way and it still sounds unbelievable, but it is true all the same. In round figures, Israel's population today consists of 700,000 Jews and 150,000 non-Jews. The large-scale Jewish immigration will further augment the Jewish majority of the land. On the other hand, constant infiltration of Arab refugees into Israel is taking place even now, despite strict war-time border control. When the Arab-Jewish war ends, the final settlement of the Palestine problem will undoubtedly provide for the return of a certain amount of Arab refugees.

**T**HE census of the Israeli population, recently taken, is not yet entirely completed. The situation still being fluid, even governmental offices are in no position to quote exact figures. Approximately, there live in Israel at present about 110,000 non-Jews, divided as follows: 15,000 Druses, 6,000 Circassians, 10,000 Bedouins and about 80,000 Arabs. Of the latter, there are about 50,000 Christians and the rest Moslems. The Druses have a religion of their own, Islamic in origin but still different. The Bedouins, of course, are Moslems, and so are the Circassians. One may therefore say that the minorities in Israel are about equally divided between the Cross and the Crescent.

The Druses and Circassians are about the only non-Jewish communities of former Palestine whose numbers and positions remained completely intact. They refused to submit to the panic of Arab flight from Palestine. They stayed on in their villages, attending to their fields and flocks, and eventually they became an integral part of Israel. The Druse villages in the vicinity of Haifa and Acre and the Circas-

sian villages in Galilee underwent no changes. For them, Israel is the same old land in which they lived for so long under a variety of regimes.

Judging by all indications, the Druses and Circassians have no reason to regret their decision. Instead of being today part of a mass of homeless, hungry and bewildered humanity, unwanted and neglected wherever they are—whether in Lebanon, Syria, Trans-Jordan or Egypt—they with their wives and children are at home, enjoying as much safety as their Jewish "conquerors." In fact, the two communities, the Druses and Circassians, have their own units in the Israeli Army and fight together with the Jews.

It is no accident that, in proportion, incomparably more Christian Arabs than Moslem Arabs have chosen to remain in Israel. This is primarily a war of Pan-Islam against the Jews. It is true that Christian Arabs, especially of the educated class, have participated prominently all through the years in the committees of the Jerusalem ex-Mufti and have served in the diplomatic facade of the various Arab kings and chieftains. But they could never be sure of their own future. Pan-Islam is equally hostile to Jew and Christian, and the day of its victory might have been the day of doom for Christianity in the Middle East. It is not in vain that the Christian leaders of Lebanon have time and again declared themselves in favor of a Jewish state in Palestine, for the existence of Israel spells security for Christian Lebanon. It is therefore understandable why the Christians of Palestine, although overwhelmingly Arabs, were less inclined to flight than their kinsmen brothers. One may also predict that, if and when the hour of return comes for the Arab refugees, the Christians among them will come back to Israel in proportionately larger numbers than the Mohammedans.

**T**HE non-Jewish population of Israel does not enjoy freedom of movement in the country, because the war is still on and the Israeli authorities have no way of knowing who among the Arabs is a peaceful friend and who is a potential fifth columnist. This seems to be the only discriminatory restriction against the non-Jews. Otherwise, the minorities enjoy the same rights as the Jewish majority. They are recognized as full-fledged citizens and they can elect and be elected in the forthcoming elections to the Israeli Parliament. Whether they will exercise this right to any considerable extent remains to be seen. Because of the novelty of the situation, the non-Jewish participation in the first elections might be slight.

According to an internal report not yet published, which I had a chance to read, by the end of December, 1948, thirty-one schools for Arab children were established in twenty-nine towns and villages by the Government of Israel. Four thousand two hundred and fifty Arab children are attending these schools, which engage 120 teachers. The financial burden of this education program, which runs already into hundreds of thousands of dollars, lies on the shoulders of the Israeli government. Yet, the educational program for the Arabs is in the process of gradual expansion, which in turn would mean greater expenditure for the state budget. In light of the present, very acute financial difficulties of Israel, this may be considered a sincere expression of the spirit prevailing here with regard to the minorities.

Not is this the only testimony. The wages of the Arab workers, in

the past, far below those paid to the Jews, are being raised to the same level. Arab laborers are being organized into unions and co-operative groups, for better protection of their rights and interests. The old and the infirm of the Christian communities in Jerusalem and in other places are being fed at the expense of the government—and this under conditions of shortage of food in the country and of severe rationing of the entire population.

**O**N CHRISTMAS DAY I visited the largest prisoners-of-war camp. Among the visitors were also Monsignor Botros Fakoury, head of the Greek Catholic Church in Haifa, and Victor Khayat, a wealthy Christian Arab from Haifa who serves also as the Spanish Consul for Northern Israel. We attended a nice Christmas party arranged for the 100 Christians among the 1,200 prisoners in that camp. The Monsignor, Mr. Khayat and speakers from among the prisoners have spoken very praisingly of the treatment accorded to them in that camp. Even if one refuses to be impressed by speeches of prisoners made in the presence of their jailers, one could see there enough signs of humane and considerate attitude toward the inmates. Mr. Khayat did not hesitate to state that the Arab P. O. W. are treated by the Israeli authorities with much more generosity and fairness than Jewish and Arab prisoners used to be treated by the British. It was on my way back to Haifa that I heard the news that the night before, on Christmas Eve, Egyptian planes scored a direct hit at the Children's House in a Jewish settlement not far from Acre killing four and wounding four. Still, Arab prisoners of war were given their Christmas party.

There is of course a great deal of overlapping in government machinery. There is a Ministry of Religions and a separate Ministry of Minorities, whereas many functions still fall under the jurisdiction of the military authorities. But the State of Israel is still young, and is still fighting a grim war. The spirit of good will, of democratic equality and freedom for the minorities is there. And this is what counts.

NEW YORK  
HERALD TRIBUNE

JANUARY 5, 1949



## Control of Negeb

### Suggestions Offered for Prevention of Further Large-Scale Fighting

To the Editors of The New York Times:

I respectfully submit that the steps most urgently needed to prevent further large-scale fighting in Palestine are the following:

1. The immediate dispatch—in line with Dr. Bunche's recent announcement—of an adequate number of U. N. observers to the area between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba, there to be permanently stationed both on the Trans-Jordanian and the Israeli sides of the border.

2. The request by the United States Government on the one hand, and by the Security Council on the other, of formal and public assurances from the British Government that no British forces will be used in "repelling the invasion of Trans-Jordan by Israelis" unless and until the fact of such invasion has been publicly confirmed by the U. N. observers.

The reason why the above steps appear to be the most important requirements of the moment is that, ever since early September, 1947, the British Government has made clear that, while the Jewish State as a whole was unpalatable to it and its liquidation if conditions were propitious would be welcomed, British control over the Negeb is the principal objective of Britain in the Palestine controversy. Throughout the past year, this objective has remained unaltered. Only the methods of achieving it have changed from time to time. In October, 1947, and in July, 1948, the British hoped to obtain voluntary Jewish renunciation of the Negeb through the discreet influence of the United States. In September, 1948, Britain expected to gain the same end by means of a United Nations resolution. For a time Britain hoped that Trans-Jordanian military prowess would wrest the Negeb from Israel—a contingency quite satisfactory to Great Britain, since Trans-Jordan is controlled by Britain in all but name. In recent months Britain was prepared to see Egypt get all or part of the Negeb on the assumption that the Egyptians would acquiesce in the military control and economic exploitation of the area by the British.

None of these stratagems worked. Only recently Britain, hinting at its readiness to come to the aid of Egypt under a defunct treaty, was rebuffed by the Egyptians, who made it clear that, after having tried for decades to get rid of British troops, they would not like to see them return. The logic of events makes it more than probable that the next attempt by Britain to secure for herself the control of the Negeb will come by way of invading that area in the course of repelling an Israeli attack on Trans-Jordan somewhere between Aqaba and the Dead Sea.

Since an incident of that kind would provide the only foreseeable excuse for British invasion of the Negeb, the temptation to announce to the world that the incident has occurred, even though it has not occurred in fact, or, alternatively, to provoke such an incident by sending Trans-Jordanian forces across the border and engaging Israeli troops in the course of any counter-attack on their part, might be too great. The recent reports of British land and air reinforcements sent to Trans-Jordan lend further credence to this fear. In view of the British tendency to state facts and interpret her rights and duties on the basis of unilateral findings, and haughtily to dismiss any challenge of the accuracy of the British position (the continued detention of Jewish refugees of military age on Cyprus, allegedly on the ground that the United Nations Security Council and mediator have sanctioned such detention, in brazen disregard of the true state of facts, is a good example of this tendency), it would be far too dangerous to rely on British information services as the sole source of news regarding that area.

Dr. Bunche's announcement that U. N. observers are being sent to the area fulfills part of the program.

Surely, if Britain does not wish to resort to the means suggested above in order to gain control of the Negeb she can have no objection to giving binding assurances that no action will be taken by Britain except on the basis of those observers' findings. And surely, the Government of the United States could take no action more correct in substance and in form than to ask for the sending of such observers and for corresponding assurances from Great Britain.

BENJAMIN AKEIN.

Forest Hills, N. Y., Jan. 10, 1949.



## The Mighty British Empire vs. Struggling Israel

It must be regarded as a singularly strange development, surely, in the tragic course of events in Palestine, that the great British Empire should find it necessary to marshal its military strength in opposition to a tiny new State that is struggling for its right to live.

Just why, it must be asked, should Great Britain at this juncture send powerful forces to the Israeli borders? Why the landing of troops at Aqaba, the port of the Negeb? Why the filling of the Israeli-Egyptian borderland's skies with fighting and reconnaissance planes? Why the dispatch of an aircraft carrier, cruisers and other warships to the eastern Mediterranean?

Is all this show of force intended as a warning against Israel and its hopes for peaceful existence as a sovereign state?

It is unfortunate that five British planes should have been shot down by Israeli fighters. But it will be much more regrettable if this incident should be permitted to interfere with the negotiations about to start between Egypt and Israel for settlement of the peace.

What were the planes doing in that region in the first place? It is said they were as-

signed to seek information on Israeli forces. For whom were they seeking the information? The Egyptians, badly defeated, had consented to discuss terms. And the Egyptians further stated that they had not called on Britain for aid under the mutual assistance pact. It is evident that the British forces in that territory are not there to safeguard Egyptian interests, but Britain's.

Great Britain wants to tighten its hold on the Sudan. It wants to maintain and strengthen its bases in the Suez Canal region right up to the Negeb. It wants to secure its controlling position in Trans-Jordan.

Its protests at Israeli's "invasion" of Egyptian and Trans-Jordan territory are transparently hypocritical. When Arab troops invaded Palestine there was no outcry from Britain about breach of the peace. The British helped train and arm the Arab invaders, and they called for a truce only when the Arabs were being chased from the Holy Land.

Hope of settlement of the Palestine issue lies in direct negotiations between the two sides. That is about to happen now on Rhodes—if the British don't succeed in messing it up.



# BRITAIN'S NEW WAR AGAINST ISRAEL

**T**HE British Government appears to be preparing for a new war against Israel—even as direct armistice negotiations between Egypt and Israel are getting under way.

The evidence is clear and unmistakable:

Great Britain has admitted that British troops have been sent to the port of Aqaba in Transjordan. A long-standing truce has been in effect between Israel and Transjordan. It would seem that the British Government is concerned lest this truce eventuate into a permanent peace between the two countries. If the British-dominated Transjordan Arab Legion should re-enter the war at any time in the future, it will be clear that Great Britain alone will be responsible.

There are reports that large numbers of British fighters and bombers are being landed at Mafrak, Transjordan, and that British armed strength is being concentrated on the Egyptian-Palestinian frontier. Large units of the British navy are being moved into the area and are maneuvering not far from Israel's shores. In addition, Israeli spokesmen have disclosed that Britain has been training troops in Tripolitania under conditions identical to those to be found in Israel.

British propagandists are trying to make it appear as if current British military moves were "provoked" by the shooting down of R.A.F. planes by the Israelis. It should, therefore, be remembered that the aforementioned British troop movements to Aqaba were first disclosed by Israel almost two weeks ago.

Great Britain has persisted in sending planes into the battlefield areas of the Palestine war, but assumes an air of righteous indignation when the inevitable happens and British aircraft are shot down. It will be recalled that both Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden recently arose in the House of Commons to question the necessity and propriety of sending Royal Air Force planes over such a "dangerous and delicate" area. Nevertheless, Mr. Bevin continued to send British planes into this "dangerous and delicate" area. Why?

Furthermore, it has now been revealed that British arms deliveries to Egypt during the last few months have amounted to £50,000,000 (\$200,000,000) and included shipment of the most modern jet fighter planes, naval vessels, heavy artillery tanks, heavy caliber shells and aviation gasoline. All this took place at a time when Great Britain was publicly avowing "strict neutrality" and maintaining that it was not sending arms to the Arab countries.

## The Political Offensive

These military moves should be considered in relation to the panic propaganda which British officials had attempted to disseminate in this country on the basis of Israel's so-called "invasion" of Egyptian territory and the consequent "obligation" of Great Britain to come to Egypt's aid under the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Great Britain had obviously hoped to induce the United States to join a renewed British move to bring about the imposition of sanctions against Israel by the Security Council. In order to achieve this, Britain warned that if she failed to bring about the international action she desired, she would be "compelled" to act unilaterally in support of Egypt.

But—to the great embarrassment of the British—Egypt, while confirming that Britain had offered to provide her with military aid if she would invoke the 1936 Treaty, decided to let the British do their own fighting for a change. Instead of invoking the Treaty, Egypt proceeded to reaffirm her earlier denunciation of it and, at the same time, asked for direct armistice negotiations with Israel.

Great Britain has thus been forced into the open and stands revealed before world opinion in her true role—the real enemy of Israel. She can no longer cloak her own selfish ambitions behind the actions of the Arab states whom she had encouraged to make war on Israel. The Arab aggressors have been defeated, and Britain must either become reconciled to a settlement which will keep Israel's political independence and territorial integrity intact, or commit British arms and troops to a new war against Israel.

Britain is seemingly choosing the latter course and is currently distorting the facts about the real situation in the Middle East. We believe, therefore, that the American people would profit from a review of the facts in the war Britain has waged with the primary objective of obtaining the Negev for her own use and exploitation.

## This Is The Record:

1. Immediately after the adoption of the partition resolution by the United Nations General Assembly on November 29, 1947, the British authorities in Palestine systematically and deliberately opened the frontiers of that country to armed Arab bands who entered for the express purpose of engaging in a military struggle with the Jews in order to upset the decision of the United Nations by force of arms.

2. Britain also actively participated in this aggression by supplying the Arab states with financial aid, by creating a stockpile of war supplies and equipment for the Arabs, by providing officers and administrative help to the invaders. Simultaneously, Britain made every effort to prevent the Jews from arming for their own defense.

3. When—despite all of these British maneuvers—the Arab attacks did not succeed and the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, Great Britain encouraged the Arab governments to launch full-scale military invasions of Palestine with the declared aim of over-running and subjugating Israel. The attack was led by the Transjordan Arab Legion, a military force completely equipped, financed and officered by Great Britain.

4. In the early days of the war, when the invaders were on the move, Great Britain did nothing to bring hostilities to a halt, but, on the contrary, maneuvered ceaselessly in the Security Council to keep the Arab states from being punished as aggressors. At that time Great Britain saw no violation of the United Nations Charter, although the action of the Arab states in invading Palestine was explicitly denounced as international aggression by United States Delegate Warren Austin (May 22, 1948). Then the British worked indefatigably to induce the Security Council to refrain from taking the action which was clearly indicated.

5. However, when the tide turned and the Israeli Army repelled the aggressors, there were immediate British moves for truces, Israeli troop withdrawals and—finally, the bitterest irony—attempts to impose sanctions against Israel for successfully defending its own territory.

6. After Israel inflicted a series of decisive defeats on the Arab armies and, in the course of one military engagement, attacked legitimate military objectives on Egyptian soil, Great Britain threatened unilateral military action against the Jewish state.

It is against this background that Britain's current moves should be viewed.

## America Must Take A Stand

Whether or not Mr. Bevin continues his vendetta against Israel depends largely on the stand which our own Government will now take. The United States, which has accorded recognition to Israel and which has pledged itself to support Israel's claims to territorial integrity, will surely not ignore the latest British efforts to renew the political and military offensive against Israel. Nor can our Government overlook the fact that Great Britain's current moves to frustrate the peace which now seems to be in the making between Israel and the Arab states, along with her threats of unilateral military action, flaunt the United Nations and its efforts to hasten a settlement between the Arab states and Israel.

American interest in peace in the Middle East can best be served by a firm warning to the British Government to desist from its present policy of war and intrigue against Israel.

# AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.



## CHIEF PROVISIONS OF ACCORD ON PALESTINE



The New York Times.

Feb. 24, 1948.

The Israeli-Egyptian armistice permits Egypt to keep defensive forces in the shaded coastal strip (1) running southward from the Gaza area. In the northern tip of this strip the Israelis are to withdraw from Beit Hanun, but may maintain an outpost at Deir Sunaid. Egyptian troops will be evacuated from Faluja (2), while the status of Beersheba (3) is left for later negotiations. The Israelis will withdraw from Bir Asluj (4) and both sides will take their troops out of the shaded area around El Auja (5). This area will be the neutral seat of an armistice commission made up of Egyptians and Israelis.



## FALUJA REFUGEES SWELL ARAB TOTAL

Tel Aviv Circles Puzzled by  
Apparent Failure to Advise  
Its Civilians to Remain

By GENE CURRIAN

Special to The New York Times.

TEL AVIV, Israel, March 3—Inasmuch as Palestine's Arab refugees have already flocked into neighboring countries in barely manageable numbers, many observers here are puzzled that apparently nobody did anything to dissuade the civilian Arabs from evacuating Faluja.

Observers feel that with proper counsel after the Israeli-Egyptian armistice, the Arab population might have advantageously remained. They state that the Israeli Government had given guarantees of security of person and property. However, no effort was made by Egypt, Transjordan or even the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission to advise the Faluja Arabs one way or the other.

The commission has asked all Arab states accommodating the Palestinian refugees to meet in Beirut on March 21 to try to resolve the problem—now made that much more difficult by the evacuation of expected evacuation of about 2,500 of Faluja's 3,000 civilian Arabs.

Transjordan, belatedly and somewhat reluctantly, accepted her share of the newest refugees, and Egypt let them know that they would be well received and adequately housed when they came. Israel did not encourage them to remain as they were otherwise inclined, but in some Tel Aviv circles it is held that the Conciliation Commission should not have left the Arabs totally uninformed as to the possibilities of a livelihood in Israel.

While it is apparent to any observer that the Israelis are not particularly upset over the Arabs' flight, there seems little doubt that if the Faluja Arabs had been informed of what the Israelis have done and plan to do for their Arab fellow-citizens who remained in Beer-sheva, Jaffa, Ramleh and Lydda, the Arabs would not have been so easily stampeded into leaving the country.

Mosques have been restored, religious courts are again operating and their archives reassembled under a special committee working for the restoration of the holy places. There is a subcommittee for Arab food control, which gives preference to Arab merchants serving Arab areas. In the Beer-sheva area, at the top of the Negev desert, where Bedouin tribes have been constricted and prevented from indulging in their seasonal nomadic wanderings, there is another committee that supplies staple foods to them.

Ten consumer cooperatives have been organized in towns as Jaffa, Acre and Lydda. Wages of \$4.50 daily are being paid to Arab workers, against the previous scale of \$1.60. There are social welfare programs operating now, and hospital clinics set aside for Arabs with Arab and Israeli doctors working side by side. There is an ambulance service to remote Arab sections, and mobile clinics that reach every distant Arab farm. Six thousand Arab children are attending fifty-five schools under a budget of almost \$250,000. Jaffa has its own Arabic newspaper and the Israeli radio station transmits Arab news items and programs daily.

The Israeli Government has been too busy to propagandize this Arab program, but many here feel that if Faluja inhabitants had known of it they would not have been so eager to join the distressed refugees in the neighboring countries.



# Iraq Urged as Refuge for Arab Refugees

By Eliahu Ben-Horin

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ The Christian Science Monitor

What has the future in store for the Arab refugees from Israel? Can Israel reabsorb them? Or can they be permanently resettled in a new land?

Perhaps 600,000 Arabs have fled from Palestine to non-Israeli territory. They are not wanted in the lands to which they have fled. Nor are they able to find a place in the economy of their present home.

Whether the Arabs fled from fear of Jewish fighters or whether they were badly advised by Arab leaders who wished to clear the field, the fact remains that they have gone. Except for the 100,000 who stayed behind, the Arabs are no longer in Israel. By the time peace is fully restored, they will have been gone for at least a year.

## Homes Taken Over

During my recent trip through Israel, I was interested particularly in seeing what had happened to prewar Arab homes and positions. Thus examined, the practical prospects for a mass Arab return emerge as poor.

Let us start with the question of Arab homes, whether in the mixed and strictly Arab cities or in the Arab villages. In Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Safed, Tiberias, Acre, Ramleh, Arabs owned many modern houses. As a result of the great onrush of Jewish immigrants during the past nine months, all the housing fit for habitation have been taken over.

Today, Katamon, the Arab quarter of new Jerusalem; Ein Karem, a township outside of Jerusalem; the new city of Acre; the modern sections of Jaffa and Haifa are inhabited by Jews to full capacity.

The slum sections in most of these cities either have been destroyed by warfare or dynamited

## A Jewish Answer

The plight of Arabs who have become refugees as the result of the Palestinian war is one of the vexing problems of the Middle East. The following article presents a Jewish assessment of the situation and explores one of the possible solutions.

in order to clear the way for city planning. About 30 blocks of houses in Jaffa, adjoining Tel Aviv, now present a mass of ruins and masonry, while a similar picture is to be seen in the Arab parts of Haifa. In other words, if the Arab refugees should return to Israel, not one could reoccupy his former home. The same is largely true of the bigger and more prosperous Arab villages.

Not only Arab homes but also Arab economic positions either have become nonexistent or non-available to the Arabs. Arabs used to form the majority in the lower officialdom of the Palestine government. Thousands of them were in the employ of the railways, the police, or the road repair service. Without suggesting in the least that the Israeli Government will be "Arabless"—in fact, there are already some Arabs in its employ—one must conclude that only a limited number of Arabs can look forward to government posts.

The large decrease in the size of the Arab rural community must cause a decrease in the Arab urban population. The Arab intelligentsia is bound to find a much narrower scope of activity. Arab lawyers, doctors, architects, teachers, or musicians never had a Jewish clientele, though Jewish professional men had many Arab clients. As things now have de-

veloped, the prospects of Arab professional workers have shrunk by 90 per cent. The same applies to the Arab café and restaurant, cinema, newspaper, grocery store and the entire spectrum of city life.

The Arabs of Palestine are entitled, of course, to financial compensation for property they have left behind them. This means that Arab refugees from Palestine will have money coming to them from Israel. Whether it will be much or little, it will not be homes, jobs and farms.

It appears from the foregoing that it would be better for them, for the Jews, and for Middle East tranquility if they used these sums elsewhere.

## Refugee Plan Charted

And such a possibility exists. A plan has been devised for a constructive solution of the Arab refugee problem. I mean the Hoover Plan, set forth by Herbert Hoover long before the Palestine war, and before the Arabs of Palestine became refugees. The fact that the summary of Mr. Hoover prescribed predated the problem in no way detracts from the practicability and urgency of his plan. As Mr. Hoover explained in 1945:

"... In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys supported probably 10,000,000 people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about 3,500,000 people in modern Iraq..."

"My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to complete this great land development on the consideration that it be made the scene of resettlement of

the Arabs from Palestine..."

## Mutual Benefit

"There is room for many more Arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race, which is Arab-speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab population of Palestine would be the gainer from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer, for it badly needs agricultural population... It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict..."

Many millions of dollars have been spent and many more will be spent for the upkeep of the Palestine refugees. The United States has granted \$16,000,000 as its share of the \$22,000,000 allocated by the United Nations. All these millions will not solve the problem of the Arab refugees or produce any permanent adjustment. To avoid misunderstanding, let it be stated that I heartily endorse the most generous relief for Arab refugees, but I see no reason to ignore the fact that charity unaccompanied by constructive planning is no remedy for a social ill.

President Truman has proposed large-scale aid to undeveloped and underprivileged areas of the world. One hears of plans for a \$1,000,000,000 appropriation for the Middle East alone. The permanent resettlement of 500,000 men, women, and children, who lost their homes, fields, and shops, should be an integral part of these plans.

What Mr. Hoover visualized as a one-sided transfer can be developed into a plan for an exchange of populations. About 250,000 Jews live in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Yemen. An

exchange of populations is indicated, and it is seen as a benefit for all concerned.

The formula of Mr. Hoover seeks "a solution by engineering instead of by conflict." Unless it is accepted a bad socio-political irritant is preserved, which would prove to be a serious obstacle on the road to peace and stability in the Middle East.



## 'TRUTH' GOAL SET FOR ISRAEL TOUR

Dr. C. H. Voss Asks Study Group  
to Get Facts to Dispel  
'Misinformation' Here

Eleven persons who will visit Israel and neighboring areas on a "study tour" under the sponsorship of the American Christian Palestine Committee were urged yesterday to bring back the truths that would dispel "misinformation and untruths about Israel."

Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, chairman of the group's executive council, spoke at a luncheon at the Barbizon Hotel for the delegates, who will sail today on the Queen Mary.

The delegates, to whose expenses local affiliates of the committee have contributed, include the following:

The Rev. Karl Bachr, executive secretary of the committee; Mayor Stanley W. Church of New Rochelle, N. Y.; Marshall N. Dana, editor of The Oregon Journal, Portland; Mrs. Louise S. Freese, columnist on The Sioux City (Iowa) Journal-Tribune; Judge George E. Holt of Florida's Eleventh Judicial Circuit; Spencer D. Irwin, associ-

ate editor of The Cleveland Plain Dealer; Dean Thomas Clark Pollock of the Washington Square College of Arts and Sciences, New York University, and the Rev. Reuben K. Youngdahl, pastor of Mount Olivet Lutheran Church, Minneapolis.

Three others who will make the trip were unable to attend yesterday's "bon voyage luncheon." They are W. W. Edal, president of Dickinson College; the Rev. Harvey W. Hollis, executive secretary of the Albany Council of Churches, and the Rev. Dr. John Paul Jones, minister of the Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn.

"You are going with open minds and sensitive spirits, but with no preconceived notions or pre-established conclusions," Dr. Voss said. "We ask you to return with only one requirement fulfilled: come with facts and established truths so that misinformation and untruths about Israel may be dispelled."

"Too often is Israel inaccurately and inadequately interpreted; too many times is Israel unjustly accused of wrong-doing and unfairly described to the general public. By your reports you can right the balance."



### President Weizmann on Jerusalem

President Chaim Weizmann, at the dinner given in his honor on Saturday, made clear Israel's position on the problem of Jerusalem, and also indicated that "a harmonious solution can swiftly be secured with international consent."

Dr. Weizmann asked that the international community understand "the direct and inescapable responsibility which Israel bears and exercises in the daily life and administration of Jewish Jerusalem." But he also pledged Israel "to insure full security for religious institutions in the exercise of their functions; to grant the supervision of the holy places by those who hold them sacred; and to encourage and accept the fullest international safeguards and controls for their immunity and protection." This is less than the separate international administration for Jerusalem and its environs, which was projected in the original Palestine plan of the United Nations Assembly, and which was repeated in later directives. There are many who will regret that the U. N. was unable to establish this neutral control at the outset, and so avert the fighting which raged in Jerusalem, the siege and counter-siege of the Holy City. However, the suggestion of Israel's President does offer the elements of a practical compromise.

Religious institutions would be left in the hands of their founders; the holy places in New and Old Jerusalem would be under the immediate control, in Dr. Weizmann's words, "of those who hold them sacred." And some form of U. N. commission, with headquarters in Jerusalem and a sufficient staff, could be made available to see that the rights of all religions were fully maintained. Doubtless, the task of carrying on this system, and co-ordinating it with Israeli and Arab secular administration of the divided city, would be delicate. But it is doubtful whether the complications would be much greater than those involved in full U. N. control of the Jerusalem area. In any case, good will and good sense could make the plan work, and no international arrangements are proof against the lack of these qualities.

## New York World-Telegram

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1949.

# Arab Refugees

By Eleanor Roosevelt

I was interested to read in one of our metropolitan papers the other day a plea that we insist that the new state of Israel pay for resettlement of the Arab refugees.

No one who served at the U. N. session in Paris last fall will forget the impassioned plea of the British in behalf of the humanitarian objective of immediate relief for these refugees and their final settlement. This plea met with great sympathy and the United States was among the nations which pledged a great part of the funds to be used for these purposes.

In this newspaper article the writer, who says she has just returned from several months in the Near East, intimates the Arabs were driven from their homes. It is odd that she did not happen to find in Israel the many communities in which the Arabs remained and are quite happy living side by side with the Jews and even taking part in the government of the

community. This fact makes some of us wonder why the Arab refugees ran away from a "danger" which was certainly no worse than the danger they took themselves into.

...

There was a time when perhaps the best solution would have been for these people to return to Israel. However, now with the great influx of Jewish immigration from Cyprus and central Europe, the Arabs probably will be better off if the funds already in hand are used to resettle them in some of the Arab countries where there are vacant lands that need people to work them.

The article is very hostile to the new state of Israel. It seems regrettable that this whole problem cannot be examined in an entirely objective and calm manner in the same way that the negotiations for the armistices have been carried on. The people in those troubled areas should not be the target of too much criticism; they must make the decisions that seem to them wisest.

...



Mrs. Roosevelt.



# ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

by BENJAMIN AKZIN

  
(Reprinted from the April, 1949 issue  
of AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE)

FOUNDATION FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
1116 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.



# ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

by BENJAMIN AKZIN

## I

A little less than a year ago a new state, the State of Israel, appeared on the international scene. The course of events which culminated in this result was in some respects fairly typical of the circumstances leading to the birth of most new states, but in others it was most unusual—even unique.

The stages in the process of Israel's birth which are similar to experiences elsewhere can be reduced in the main to three: pioneer colonization of an undeveloped territory; revolution against what is regarded as an unjust and oppressive foreign government; and a war undertaken in defense of independence. In all three respects important differences can be denoted between the developments in Palestine and those that accompanied the birth of other states, but in the main all three features are familiar phenomena in political history. All the states of the western hemisphere and, if one goes sufficiently far back into history, quite a number of states in Europe are the result of a colonization process. Revolution of the local population against a foreign government is at the root of the majority of states: all American republics, two of the British dominions,<sup>1</sup> Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, all the countries of east-central Europe and the Balkans, the Arab countries, Burma and, now in the formative state, Indonesia. Wars in defense of a newly won independence, though less frequent, are also a familiar feature in history.

It is the unusual features of the Palestine question that have caused widespread comment. As a matter of fact, so exclusively was attention focused on these features that the whole picture was somewhat distorted in the public eye, causing the parallels between the developments in Palestine and similar developments elsewhere to be almost com-

<sup>1</sup> South Africa and India. In both cases, the revolutionary pattern showed interesting variations. In India, the tremendous weight of the population made it possible to conduct a bloodless revolution by non-cooperation. But it constituted nonetheless an attempt, ultimately successful, to get rid of a foreign government by systematic defiance of its authority. In the case of South Africa, the show of force was both an internal revolution and an international war in defense of the country's independence. In South Africa, just as in the American war of independence, resistance to Britain was confined to the colonials alone, without involving the aborigines, another similarity with Palestine where the revolution of 1945-47 was conducted by the Jewish colonists alone.



pletely overlooked and making the Palestine conflict appear erroneously as being altogether *in genereis*.

There are three main features of the question which can be described as unique. One has to do with the unprecedented spectacle of a people, who lost political independence and became territorially dispersed almost two thousand years ago, maintaining their group identity and organizing a large-scale movement to return to the former site of their national existence. The chief instrumentality that kept the group alive was its distinct religion. The widespread hostility encountered by this group, resulting more often from religious intolerance than from ethnic antagonism, strengthened its internal cohesion. The final urge of Jews to settle in Palestine, like almost all mass migration movements in history, was the result of economic need or of physical persecution. These facts help to explain the process, but the general result—the survival of a dispersed ethnic-religious group for two thousand years and its national renaissance and territorial concentration at the end of the period—remains without parallel.

A second unique feature has to do with the special character of Palestine. For Christianity and Judaism, Palestine is the Holy Land, the goal of countless pilgrimages and the location of venerated shrines. It never played quite the same part in Islam, but a certain aura of holiness does envelop Jerusalem for the Moslems as well. It is true that for the governments of the great powers Palestine figures principally as a strategic area valuable for its proximity to the Suez Canal, to huge oil bearing deposits and to the centrally located Middle East area. Still, the religious connotation of Palestine has influenced public thinking on the subject and is reflected in the phraseology of governments.

A third unique feature of the Palestine question is the overwhelming part played in its solution by the international community. Although international conferences have occasionally taken a hand in the formation of new states, their intervention was invariably a phenomenon of power politics. The establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and its culmination—the setting up of the Jewish State—are cases where the international community as a whole, acting through the League of Nations and the United Nations, has recommended the addition of a new member to the family of nations.



## II

The resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews<sup>2</sup> was one



PARTITIONED PALESTINE

<sup>2</sup> The principal sources of the participation of the United Nations in the solution of the Palestine conflict, both before and after the partition resolution of November 29, 1947, are: U.N. *Official Records of the First Special Session of the General Assembly, 1947*, vol. 1-3; U.N. *Official Records of the Second Session of the General Assembly, 1947*, vol. 1-8 and supplements; U.N. *Official Records of the Second Special Session, 1948*, vol. 1-8 and supplements.

Much light on the deliberations in the United Nations is shed in three books written by Richard Crossman, *Palestine Mission, 1947*; Bartley C. Crum, *Behind the Silesia Curtain, 1947*; Jorge Garcia Granados, *The Birth of Israel, 1948*.



in which, in accordance with international usage, both principle and expediency played a part. As far as principles are concerned, the British position, seeking to maintain direct or indirect control of Palestine under the guise of a disinterested and neutral guardian, was untenable.<sup>3</sup> The choice has to lie between the claims of Arabs and Jews. A strong case could be made out for either of them. Arabs could base their case on the elementary fact that they constituted the majority of the population of Palestine and, therefore, were entitled to rule it.<sup>4</sup> Jews could plead their historic connection with Palestine and the recognition by the world of their need for a homeland in that country.<sup>5</sup> The partition compromise which received formal approval by the United Nations was based on the idea of self-determination, not in the form of a plebiscite, which tends to disregard the wishes of groups no matter how important and politically mature they are as long as they do not form a majority in the territory as a whole, but in a more perfect form in which the desires of human beings are given priority over the tradition of territorial integrity.

This principle is not a new one. It was the principle under which the North American colonies claimed independence from England, under which Ireland demanded home rule and under which Ulster obtained separation from the rest of Ireland. It was under the same principle that first the Christian peoples of the Balkans and then the Arab speaking peoples of the Middle East were separated from the Turkish Empire; and, after the first World War, the principal ethnic groups in central and eastern Europe were allowed to separate from the empires of Austria-Hungary and Russia. In our day the same principle was adopted to permit the Moslem minority in India, rightly or wrongly fearful of domination by a Hindu majority, to set up its own state—Pakistan. This principle was also applied to

<sup>3</sup> A relatively frank discussion of the British attitude will be found in Philip Graves, *Palestine—the Land of Three Faiths*, 1922; John Marlowe, *Rebellion in Palestine*, 1940; Nevill Martin, *Palestine—State or Covenant?*, 1947. A critical discussion of the British attitude will be found in Benjamin Aknin, "The Palestine Mandate in Practice," 25 *Israel Law Review* (1959) and Paul L. Hanna, *British Policy in Palestine*, 1942.

<sup>4</sup> The Arab case is expounded best in G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, 1938; Frank C. Sakran, *Palestine Diarchy*, 1948; in testimony by Arab spokesmen given to the British Royal Commission, see *Palestine Royal Commission, Minutes of Evidence*, 1936, and to the Anglo-American Committee, see *Hearings Before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry*, 1946 (mimeographed); and in the speeches of Arab representatives at the sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 and 1948.

<sup>5</sup> The Jewish case has been set out by Jewish spokesmen before the British Royal Commission, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, and the United Nations, see note 4.

See also Leon H. Feust, *Why a Jewish State*, 1940; and Ernst Frankfurter, *Justice for My People*, 1954.

A most comprehensive bibliography of the Palestine question, embracing all possible points of view, will be found in: Ecco Foundation, *Palestine—A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies*, 1947, vol. 2, pp. 1228-1290.



the partition of Palestine: giving the Jews an opportunity to form their own state in a part of the country in which they formed a majority, but keeping the rest of the country under a different regime.

A second issue of principle had to come into play in the case of Palestine—the issue of mankind's religious interests, centered to such an important degree in Palestine. It was clear that whichever of the two nationalities on the spot, Arabs or Jews, was to rule all or part of the country, the Christian world would know how to safeguard its holy places and religious interests.

Christian opinion was divided whether Palestine should be allowed to absorb a large Jewish immigration, becoming in consequence a predominantly Jewish country, or whether its population should be frozen, thus crystallizing as a Moslem country. Christians do not form the majority of Palestine's population, nor do they aspire to this position. As far as the bulk of its people is concerned, Palestine seems destined to remain either Moslem or Jewish. Some Christians leaned toward the Jews, others toward the Arabs, and still others were indifferent to the country's political destiny and demographic pattern as long as specific Christian interests were safeguarded.

Principles were, of course, not the only guide. Political expediency, in the form of power politics, continued to play a most important part. After centuries of rivalry among the great powers, Great Britain emerged as the paramount power in Palestine. Flirting at first with the idea of keeping the country within their sphere of influence through a friendly Jewish State, British statesmen gradually veered to the thought that a predominantly Arab Palestine would prove a more convenient and pliable ally. There ensued a bitter conflict between Britain and the Jews in Palestine. The American Government was torn between conflicting emotions: considerations of humanity drove it to support the Jews; a desire to strengthen its bonds with the Arabs and to placate Britain pulled it the other way. American oil interests and educational institutions in the Middle East, disposed to favor the Arabs for material and sentimental reasons, were a strong influence in swinging American policy toward the Arabs, while the aroused opinion of American Jewry caused America to favor the Jews. The Soviets, who had bitterly fought Zionism for decades, changed their position to one of support for the Jewish State when it appeared that this would annoy and weaken Britain.



The country that has given rise to all these conflicts is rather small; in the original estimate of the statesmen of the first World War it covered 44 thousand square miles, about the size of Pennsylvania, of Cuba or of Belgium, Holland and Denmark combined. After the separation of Trans-Jordan, the country shrank to 10 thousand square miles, the size of Maryland or somewhat smaller than Belgium alone. Under the partition resolution adopted by the United Nations in 1947, this territory was to be divided into a Jewish State of about 5,500 square miles (a bit larger than Connecticut), and Arab state of about 4,400 square miles and an international district embracing Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings. The refusal of the Arab States to accept partition and their attempt to vitiate that solution by force of arms led to further changes, ironically enough in favor of the Jews: the boundaries of Israel were somewhat enlarged; the large Arab population that formerly lived in what is now Israel has shrunk to a little over 100 thousand as a result of the flight of most Arabs in connection with the war. The exact future of the Arab portion is as yet undecided. The future status of Jerusalem remains to be settled.

### III

The appearance of a new state does not usually excite much outside attention. Most of the citizens of the new state go through a comparatively brief period of exultation. Those who were actively engaged in bringing it about and have risen in consequence to positions of leadership have a special reason to feel pleased. Those who have lost dominion over the area are sullen and resentful. The world at large, without taking too much interest in the proceedings, assumes a rather benevolent attitude. There is a tendency among outsiders, unless their own interests are adversely affected, to smile upon a new state as they would smile upon a bride. Somehow people feel that if a group of human beings sets sufficient store by its independent existence to undergo the risks and sacrifices necessary to achieve its goal (for usually a new state does not emerge without its adherents undergoing considerable risk), it is entitled to it.

About two dozen states have appeared on the international scene since the beginning of the twentieth century. Out of the British Empire, but still retaining some connection with it, have come Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Eire, India,



Pakistan and Burma. Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania were three independent states created in Europe; and for a time Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were in the same category. Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia have undergone great changes since the nineteenth century, making them for all practical purposes new states. Finland changed from vassaldom to independence. Panama has come into existence in the western hemisphere; Iceland in the far north has attained independence, and Indonesia in the Far East is groping toward it. In the Middle East, seven Arab States (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Trans-Jordan and Yemen) were created anew or emerged from a former shadowy existence. Except for the opposition of the former rulers, the world has welcomed these new states into the family of nations as a matter of course.

Quite different was the reception accorded the latest arrival on the international scene, the State of Israel. In addition to the normal opposition of those whose interests were adversely affected by the new state's formation—in this case a wide assortment of Arab leaders, British civil servants, certain commercial interests—wide spread and acrimonious opposition arose in many other quarters. The Jewish State, like the Jewish people, seems to inspire strong likes and dislikes, but remarkably little indifference.

There are, of course, several facts which might account in some measure for the controversy aroused by the emergence of Israel: conflicting Arab-Jewish claims in respect to Palestine, the presence in our midst of partisans on both sides who keep the issue alive, the religious rather than national character often ascribed to Jews, the religious connotations of the Holy Land, and, of late, the question of Arab refugees.

All these elements are important, but they do not really suffice to explain the intensity of the controversy. Similar elements were present in other cases without causing a similar reaction. Conflicting claims are a feature of almost every territorial dispute, but outsiders do not care too much. Devoted adherents can be found among us on both sides of practically every issue, but their debate fails to arouse the public at large. The very same people who fear a Jewish theocracy and refuse to acknowledge the right of the Jews to form a state because they regard Jews as a religious community do not object in the least to Moslem theocracies, such as Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and accepted with complete equanimity the division of India into two



states which differ from one another in religion only. The argument that a land holy to three major religions may not be allowed to fall under Jewish rule seems to have merit until one notices that the prospect of putting Palestine under Moslem rule does not shock people nearly so much. The fate of Arab refugees created by the partition of Palestine excites an interest immeasurably greater than the fate of the far more numerous refugees created by the partition of India.

Finally, there is the argument that a Jewish State would represent a step backward, since in our enlightened age internationalism is the motto and sovereignty is outmoded. Oddly, this argument is reserved exclusively for the Jewish State. From Iceland to Siam, from Albania to Korea, national sovereignty is quite acceptable, but in the case of the Jewish State it is the very existence of that state that is deemed obnoxious.

In the face of these glaring inconsistencies, the real explanation of the widespread opposition to Jewish statehood must be sought elsewhere.

#### IV

It is often said in Jewish circles that Zionism has revolutionized the thinking of Jews about themselves. There is a great deal of truth in this. For centuries Jews led an existence which depended wholly on the good or bad mood of the majority groups among whom they were dispersed. Many of them prayed for a national life of their own, but there seemed no practical way to do anything about it. In practice, there were only three things a Jew could do: to plead with the non-Jews to be nice to him; to pick up his feet and go elsewhere in the hope that the non-Jews in the new country would prove more friendly than those in the old; and to seek peace for himself at the price of leaving the Jewish community altogether. Zionism provided a different approach; it sought to relieve the fundamental condition of Jewish insecurity by creating a territorially concentrated society in which Jews would form the majority of the population. It was an attempt to substitute organized self-help for the old devices of flight, of appeals to Christian charity and of abnegation. It was indeed a revolution.

Equally true is the fact that Zionism is causing a revolutionary change in the thinking of the non-Jewish world about the Jew. The Gentile world is a world in which individuals and families are



neatly grouped into integrated ethnic groups. These groups do not live in water tight compartments. There are Italians in England and Englishmen in Italy, Turks in Greece and Greeks in Turkey, but the predominant fact is the existence of fairly homogeneous groups; minorities introduced an element of variety and somewhat complicated the picture, but that is all. Similarly, not every ethnic group enjoys political independence. Many of them exist as subordinate nationalities, for self-rule—as a natural phenomenon.

Jews did not fit into this pattern. Beyond the individual Jew and the Jewish family there was something that escaped definition—was it a nationality, a religious community, a cultural group, an exclusive clan? It partook of the nature of all of these, and yet somehow it was different. The extreme religious non-conformity of the Jews, both in the Christian and in the Moslem world, contributed enormously to the feeling that Jews were an alien group and afforded a plausible justification for intolerance and discrimination.

The venerable past which the Jews had as a nation, a past made familiar to all by the Bible, seemed to have no bearing on the present. In the absence of territorial concentration, it was inevitable that the religious character of the Jewish community overshadowed its character as an ethnic group, even though the latter was never quite extinguished and was at times very pronounced.

On this basis, there emerged the principal types of Gentile attitudes toward the Jewish question. The liberal was willing to grant Jews individual equality unconditionally but thought of them as a mere denominational group, not as an ethnic group entitled to political independence, and rather expected them to facilitate their cultural integration with their surroundings by dropping all features that made for clannishness. His was a program of individual equality and cultural assimilation. The religious bigot stood for discrimination against Jews as long as they insisted on retaining their religion but was willing to accept them into the community as equal members if they forsook Judaism. His formula for equality was religious assimilation. The racial anti-Semite (the phenomenon is much older than the term) did not want to accept Jews on any terms, and neither did the ordinary Jew-hater whose bias was not bolstered by any particular theory. Most people of this type did not bother unduly about a solution of the Jewish question, although some of them put all squeamishness aside and preached or actually worked for the



physical extermination of the hated group. Few were the people who, instead of treating the Jews as a *sui generis* problem in need of *sui generis* solutions, sought to apply to them the solution which is normally applied to other groups—a solution compounded of independence on a given territory for the group as such and of equal rights as individuals to those of the group who choose to live outside of that territory. Those who thought in these terms invariably named Palestine as the territory of the Jewish State. They were an interesting group of people—Prince de Ligne, Napoleon, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Disraeli, Cardinal Gibbons, Russell Sage. But their number was small.

To the Gentile world at large, Zionism came as a jolt. Those to whom anything Jewish was unpalatable, or to whom the inferior status of the Jews was a necessary proof of their own superiority, could not quite stomach the idea of a Jewish State occupying a position of equality and dignity with other states. Some of those whose dislike of the Jew is mainly motivated by religious intolerance (their number in our day is far smaller than is generally believed) were shocked by the idea of a Jewish State in the Holy Land. Most interesting of all was the reaction of the liberal: the Jewish community as such had always seemed to him an anachronism, and to see this community boldly put forth its claim to existence was rather discomforting. Jews have become to him a symbol of internationalism in this sad world of greedy nationalities, and it was too bad to see Jews succumb to the common failing of nationalism. To the American liberal, who traditionally viewed progress in terms of a melting pot rather than in terms of group self-determination, Zionism was especially strange. It was almost as if the Jews despaired of the liberal creed and put their hopes in self-segregation on a gigantic scale.

The resistance to Zionism was further swelled by the interesting phenomenon of anti-Zionist Jews. Once again reasoning varied, but the principal overtone was fear of upsetting the familiar *status quo*: anti-Zionist Jews felt that Gentiles would be more likely to grant individual equality to Jews in their midst if Jews kept more or less quiet about their Jewishness. A Jewish State might give the Gentiles the idea that instead of accepting and assimilating their Jewish neighbors, they could send them "back to Palestine," thus undoing the efforts of two centuries of the fight for equal rights. Naturally, each time the virulence and longevity of anti-Semitism was demon-



strated anew, the Jewish anti-Zionists found their reasoning weakened. And naturally, the staunchest defenders of the *status quo* were those to whom fate had been kindest. This is why anti-Zionist trends were particularly strong among the most prominent, i.e., successful, Jews who were able to exercise an influence quite out of keeping with their numbers.

When, to these two groups of anti-Zionists, is added those who believe that a Jewish state would threaten their interests—Arab leaders, British officials, American oil men and educators anxious to please the Arabs, strategists worried about the effect of a Jewish State in the military and political picture—one gets a truly formidable array of opposing forces. But even this is only half of the story. The other half is represented by the numerous technical, financial and psychological obstacles in the way of the settlement of a heterogeneous, urbanized and to a large extent impoverished Jewish mass in a small and arid country such as Palestine. If Zionism has overcome both this opposition and these obstacles to the point of getting 800 thousand Jews into Palestine and of establishing a state in part of the country, this achievement is due very largely to the terrific pressure of Jewish misery which left the mass of Jews with no alternative.

## V

The mere fact that the Jewish State has been born does not, of course, destroy the opposition. Jewish anti-Zionism, which was compounded in large measure of skepticism and the fear that "it can't be done" is very much on the wane. But the other factors that opposed the Jewish State are still active. States have been known to disappear as well as to appear, and a number of persons, especially in Arab countries and in England, undoubtedly harbor the hope that sooner or later the Jewish State, too, will vanish from the scene. Most of those who view Zionism with concern will not go so far as to connive in any schemes for its overthrow. It will take them time to adjust their thinking to the new reality. In the long run, however, the change which has occurred in the conditions of Jewish group existence is bound to have a salutary effect. It is a change from the unique pattern which leaves both Jews and non-Jews distrustful of one another to the familiar pattern of a territorially concentrated nationality with its normal attributes of political sovereignty on the one hand and on the other a kindred mass living elsewhere as citizens



of their respective countries. This pattern is known and understood the world over. There are many peoples with a large number of kinsmen living outside their national territory, such as Germans, Italians, Greeks and Irishmen. The ratio of Jews outside of Israel to those living in Israel would still be far higher than in the case of any other group, but this is a question of degree only. In the case of the Irish, too, the diaspora exceeds the population of the national homeland many times over.

The reduction of the Jewish question to a more common pattern cannot help but reduce the peculiar phenomenon of Judeophobia to the proportions of some other, far less virulent, group antagonisms. A trend toward this can already be observed. In Europe the struggle of the Jews of Palestine for independence has already lent dignity and brought active sympathy for Jews in places where they were hitherto held in disdain or active hatred. The legend of the wandering Jew illustrates vividly the distrust with which settled peoples hold a group without a home of its own. With the vagabond becoming a home owner, the other home owners will gradually cease to distrust him even if, to begin with, they are shocked by his impudence in seeking to set himself up as one of them.

The question whether Jews outside of Israel constitute a nationality—which until recently was the subject of animated debate—will become somewhat academic. It was important as long as it was inextricably linked with the other question, whether a Jewish nationality existed at all. Now this latter issue has been resolved. Jews in Israel, or as they are called now—Israelis, undoubtedly constitute a nation. Those outside of Israel, in so far as they are citizens of other countries, are of course nationals of those countries in the legal sense. As for any cultural links with the Jewish nationality in the ethnic sense, they will presumably share the prevailing fate of other minority groups in the given area. In central Europe and the Middle East, where ethnic nationalities show a tendency to retain their group identities, this trend may manifest itself among Jews too. In the western hemisphere, where the pattern is one of assimilation, this pattern will presumably be followed by many Jews as well. It is odd but true; for the first time those who wish to be identified as Jews by religion only, without any connotations of belonging to a distinct ethnic group, will be free to do so precisely because a full-fledged Jewish nationality will exist within clearly fixed boundaries.



## VI

All these points give the issue of the Jewish State more than the usual amount of interest. Once they have been clarified, the other issues will dissolve into the usual problems typical of the formation of a new state in difficult circumstances.

The Jewish State is as yet in a state of flux; its precise boundaries are far from settled; and the exact nature of its relations with neighboring countries, with the great powers, and with the international community are still uncertain. Like all states in our age, it faces the problem of combining theoretical sovereignty with the realities of economic and military interdependence. Like all small states, it faces the special problem of how to achieve even relative security without becoming a puppet of one of the great powers. Born in strife with its neighbors and against the stubborn opposition of Great Britain, it faces the problem of general reconciliation. In addition, it must shoulder the heavy burden of the economic absorption and the social integration of a wave of mass immigration which is truly unique in relation to the size of the state. Starting with a present day population of under a million, the state is certain to attract a minimum Jewish immigration, in the course of the coming decade or two, of about 1,500,000. Since the absorption of Jews impelled to emigrate from other countries is one of the principal reasons for the state's existence, Israel will not be free to modify its immigration laws to suit its own convenience, but will have to keep its gates open for Jewish immigration at all times.

A particularly important practical aspect of the question concerns American interests. In these days of international tension, this is an aspect of the Palestine question upon which a great deal of attention is justly focused in this country. There is a school of thought in Washington, well represented in the Department of State, among the military, and among oil firms and educational establishments with Middle East connections, which until recently opposed the formation of the Jewish State on the ground that this would prejudice the interests of America and of the West generally. The reasoning of this school of thought is rather complex. At times it emphasizes that Arab friendship and Arab oil are essential to America and that American sponsorship of Israel might lose both to Russia. At other times it points out that Israel might prove susceptible to Soviet penetration. Before the trial of strength had come off between Arabs and



Jews, the thought was expressed that Israel would be defeated unless either American or Russian troops were sent to protect it—two equally undesirable contingencies from the point of view of Washington policy makers. After the trial had taken place and Israel had proved her military superiority, the argument was modified to emphasize the need to "save the face" of the Arab governments. At times these political considerations were advanced even though the merits of the Jewish claim were acknowledged, while at others, the position was taken that the Arabs deserved to rule all of Palestine on the merits of the case and that the Jewish claims were utterly unjust.

It is difficult to distinguish in this mass of arguments what are real views and what are the conscious or unconscious rationalizations of the attitudes reviewed earlier in this article. However that may be, these arguments played an important part in the development of American policy on Palestine, explain most of that policy's vacillations and account in large measure for the efforts to reduce the territory of Israel to a minimum.<sup>6</sup>

Now that the Jewish State has come into existence, many of these arguments are seen to have been grossly exaggerated. Arab opposition to the Jewish State has clearly been less widespread and intense and far more artificial than one was led to believe. When all is said and done, Arab states will continue to see in America the most powerful political ally, the richest economic partner and the least selfish of all the great powers. The threat of an Arab-Soviet Alliance is clearly unreal, since feudal Arab society is anathema to all that the Soviets held dear, and vice versa. As Bartley Crum put it, the Arab potentates are no more likely to invite the Soviets to their part of the world than John D. Rockefeller is likely to ask Stalin to aid him in getting his income tax reduced. As for the Jews, when one realizes that a large part of the Jews already in Palestine, and most of those seeking to go there, leave eastern Europe precisely because they don't want to live under the regimes prevailing there, one will understand that Israel, if given a choice, will elect to stay within the orbit of western civilization. Within the philosophy of western life, the predominant trend in Israel seems to be toward democratic socialism, of the kind practised in Australia and New Zealand, Sweden and

<sup>6</sup> For an example of an anti-Israel view based on an interpretation of American interests see *The Partition of Palestine: A lesson in pressure politics*, in *The Middle East Journal*, January 1948. For an opposite viewpoint see *Summer Welles, We Need No's* Fall, 1948.



more recently in Great Britain. On the international scene, the leaders of Israel appear to wish for a permanent neutrality similar to that of Switzerland.

## VII

To our eyes, accustomed to the huge size of modern empires, the concentration of drama in so small an area appears somewhat incongruous. Yet size is not everything. One need only think of the endless variety of political drama on the miniature scenes of ancient Greece and Palestine, where the tiny states of Athens and Thebes, of Sparta and Troy, of Judea and Israel furnished mankind with some of its fullest experiences, both good and evil.

The future of Israel is not, in itself, a subject of overwhelming general interest, any more than the future of Denmark or Paraguay. Its record may be neither better nor worse than that of a number of other small states. For all we know, it will be compounded of the usual ingredients which go by the name of statesmanship: a lot of muddling, a number of errors, occasional flashes of wisdom. It has, in fact, been said that if and when Israel consolidates its position, Jewish history will settle down to the doldrum existence of any out of the way small nation and will lose the sense of high drama habitually connected with it. This may be all to the good.



# From Palestine to Israel

*Eliahu Ben-Horin*

THE Arch of Titus still stands on the Summa Sacra Via in Rome, on the way from the Roman Forum to the Colosseum. It is the Arch which, like the *Judaea Capta* coins of Titus, commemorated the victory of great Rome over little Judaea nearly nineteen centuries ago.

On a Sunday last December, I was touring the antiquities of Rome, including the Arch of Titus. Two hours later, an altogether different picture arose before my eyes. I was taken to the villa of an Italian nobleman outside of Rome. There and on a nearby airfield, forty Israeli boys were studying aviation in a special school organized by the government of Israel. Twelve instructors, including some Italians—some of them possibly descendents of Titus—were teaching them how to conquer the skies. The clock of history has worked with depressing slowness but its circle is now about to be completed. There on the outskirts of Rome, in the Israeli aviation school, one could hear a voice proclaiming: *Judaea non capta est*.

Nineteen centuries have gone by. The young state of Israel appears as a reality even before one sets foot on its soil. And when one arrives in Israel, goes across the small country, sees what has been achieved through statehood in nine short months, talks to people in the government and to the proverbial

"man in the street," listens to proud Israelis and to cautious foreign diplomats—one is driven to the conclusion that Israel is not only very real but that it probably represents the one sound reality in an otherwise extremely unstable Middle East.

If I were to be asked what impressed me most during my first visit to Israel in December 1948 I would answer: "It works!" The Arab-Israeli War was still on. There were casualties on the battlefronts and mourning in the rear. There were—and still are—strict rationing and acute shortages. Even fruit, including locally grown bananas, is rationed and scarce. Life is extremely expensive, the purchasing power of the Israeli pound is small, and the average man's earnings are insufficient. At sunset, the cities, villages and roads were blacked out and one groped in the dark, fell down, murmured under his breath "visibility nil," got up and went on. Somehow, however, all these difficulties do not mar the impression that "it works."

One may say about the State of Israel as a whole that it, too, gropes in the dark, stumbles here and there, but invariably gets up and goes on. For if there was a blackout of light in Israel, and often also a blackout of news from the battlefronts, there was certainly no blackout of spirit and of dynamic vitality in this new republic.

*Mr. Ben-Horin had lived for many years in Palestine before it became the new state of Israel, and he was at one time the head of the Palestine News Service.*



THE difficulties on the state and governmental levels are in no way easier than those which face the individual Israeli. If the breadwinner in Tel Aviv cannot produce a pay envelope large enough to feed and clothe his family, and if his wife does not know how to make ends meet, the Treasury of Israel has been facing the problem of maintaining a large army and financing a war, out of the very limited resources of a small land and of a population which has not yet reached the million mark. Heavy taxation—and it is very heavy in Israel—and high customs duties can no more solve the Treasurer's problems than an increase in salary can take care of the breadwinner's troubles.

Likewise, if the newly arrived immigrant faces the almost insoluble problem of finding a roof over his and his family's head, the government faces the problem of housing on a much larger scale. The immigration of Jews into Israel is now unrestricted. By the end of the first year of its independence, Israel will have absorbed over 150,000 new immigrants, which amounts to a twenty-five per cent increase of population. That is equivalent to absorption by the United States of thirty-five million immigrants in one year!

The scope of the housing problem can be grasped only when one remembers that all through World War II very few new homes were built, and that thereafter the Arab-Jewish War necessitated total mobilization of all resources for the war effort. There is a terrific housing shortage in the face of a constant and large stream of immigration. Even people in high government positions, who have had to move to Tel Aviv, the present capital, cannot find apartments. A current joke in Israel has it that ownership of a good apartment is one of the main qualifications for an Israeli diplomatic appointment: when a man is sent abroad, his apartment can conveniently be taken over by a high official in the government. As a matter of fact, the Foreign Secretary now lives in the house of the Israeli commercial attaché in Moscow, and one of the Secretary's top assistants occupies the apartment of the Israeli minister to Bucharest.

There are problems and difficulties wherever you turn. Yet, looking back at the past few years of Palestine's tragic history, at the

conditions under which the new state was born, and at the obstacles which it had to overcome in the nine months of its existence, there is no escape from the conclusion that Israel is a going concern.

## II

THE last time I was in the country—in April 1948—it was still Palestine. It is true that five months earlier the United Nations General Assembly had adopted a plan for the partition of the Holy Land into two independent states, and that the British were scuttling their administration and preparing to evacuate their large garrison. But the land was Palestine and its future seemed uncertain.

A reversal had taken place at Lake Success. Some of the very powers which had promoted the partition plan a few months earlier were now advocating an international trusteeship over a unitary Palestine. Whether the lack of an international military force capable of enforcing UN decisions, or systematic opposition on the part of Great Britain to the partition of Palestine, was responsible for the wavering of the United Nations is immaterial. The fact remains that the future of Palestine was cloaked in uncertainty. The day I left Palestine on my way back to the United States—only twenty days before the fateful May 15 on which the British mandate was to end—not even David Ben-Gurion, the future prime minister of Israel and the most dynamic personality in the new nation, could say with certainty that the Republic of Israel would come into being on May 15.

There were too many unknown and unpredictable elements in the situation. What would the policy of the great powers be? Would the six hundred thousand Jews of Palestine be able to stand up against an organized invasion by the armies of seven Arab states with a combined population of over thirty million? Would the Jews be able to set up the machinery of government in a country torn by internal war and threatened by invasion, by an oil blockade, by shortage of arms and shortage of food?

The march of events between April and December 1948 disposed of many of those doubts and uncertainties. But victory over the odds that seemed almost insuperable last



spring was no simple, inevitable matter: many of its aspects can hardly be explained rationally. It is no accident that the word "miracle" appears so often in the accounts one hears about this or that crucial battle in the Arab-Jewish War. There is more of miracle than modern logistics about many of them.

**T**AKE Negba, for instance. It was a Jewish *Kibbutz*, a collective settlement, on the northern fringe of the Negev, Palestine's southern desert. Some two hundred men, women, and children lived there, working the land, growing apples and plums in their fruit groves, attending to their cows and poultry. On May 14, 1948 the State of Israel was proclaimed; on May 16, in the dark of the night, the children and some of the womenfolk were evacuated northward; next morning the Egyptian air bombardment of Negba began.

The Egyptian attack developed into a full-fledged siege which lasted for five months. The settlement was cut off from the Jewish hinterland, except for one road, which was well under the fire of Egyptian batteries occupying commanding heights. It has been estimated that nearly thirty thousand aerial bombs and shells from three Egyptian batteries of heavy artillery were dropped on Negba. At times, the defenders counted from five to ten explosions a minute. Life above ground was absolutely impossible, and the whole population lived in trenches and small underground bunkers all through the five months' siege. Hospital, kitchen, living quarters were all subterranean.

The spirit of the defenders of Negba and the story of their life and suffering would make a great epic. It is characteristic, for instance, that while shells rained from all directions, houses were destroyed, cattle killed, fruit groves badly damaged, and the whole *Kibbutz* lived underground, the defenders of Negba published a daily typewritten bulletin of world and Palestinian news. It was called *Kol Negba* (The Voice of Negba).

When I visited Negba last December, an American lady who accompanied me on the tour expressed her amazement at the endurance and heroism of the people. Her effusive admiration was parried by a remark of one of the villagers: "... There was nothing

exceptional in it. If you had been in the same position, you would have acted in the same way." Half an hour later, when the same man was conducting us across the settlement, showing us the total destruction of the place, he turned round and said: "... But I must tell you that before the Arab attacks and the destruction, Negba was one of the finest agricultural settlements in the country ... ." It was his village's agricultural achievements that he was proud of, not its military prowess.

The crowning miracle took place on June 12, 1948, when the Egyptians opened a concentrated onslaught on Negba, aiming at the occupation of the place. Six thousand shells and bombs were dropped on Negba that day. The Egyptians advanced in three equal columns, with twenty-four tanks and armored cars. All that Negba possessed by way of defensive weapons was one anti-tank gun with ten rounds of ammunition. A Jewish boy from Mexico, who was in charge of the gun, managed to hit seven of the eight armored vehicles in the first column. That proved enough to make the Egyptians change their minds and turn back. They did not know the secret of the ten rounds of ammunition. ...

A miracle?

**T**HERE were many other incredible episodes; I need cite only one, which concerned the defense of Ramat Naftali in Galilee. This is a young settlement on one of the Galilean hills. It was dangerously exposed and isolated. The invading armies of Lebanon and Syria commanded all approaches to the place. After shelling the village and destroying the wooden barracks and huts of the settlers, the attackers set forth to occupy Ramat Naftali. Several tanks came up the hill, straight to the gate leading into the settlement. Complete silence reigned in the place. The defenders were few, their arms poor and scarce, and, feeling absolutely doomed, they held their fire.

The quiet must have reassured the attackers. When the first tank came up to the gate, the officer in command must have decided that the place was deserted. Under the circumstances, he wanted to do it the easy way. He went out of the tank to unlatch the gate. It was at that moment that one of the defenders—Ada, a twenty-two-year-old girl from Haifa



—said to her comrades in one of the trenches: "I am going to pick off this fellow." She killed the officer with her first shot, and he remained sprawled on the barbed wire of the gate. His crew almost immediately turned round and fled, followed by the entire attacking column. The defenders of Ramat Naftali could not believe their eyes.

### III

As we live in an enlightened age which does not readily accept explanation by miracle, we must look for a rational interpretation of the series of miraculous events typified by the episodes here recorded.

It should not be difficult to find the sober reasons underlying the Jewish victories and the Arab defeats. It is true that Palestine Jewry was very inadequately prepared for the war. Neither psychologically, nor militarily, was there readiness to meet the onslaught of the converging armies of all the Arab states. Zionism has always prided itself on being a peaceful, constructive effort aiming at the re-establishment of the Jewish people in their historic homeland and aspiring to harmonious relations with the Arabs in Palestine and in the Middle East. Hence, the psychological unpreparedness of Jews for a war with the Arab peoples.

The military unpreparedness was due only in part to psychological unpreparedness, for, despite their peaceful intentions, the Jews of Palestine during the past three decades had many opportunities to read the handwriting on the wall. But the British were in command in Palestine until May 14, 1948, and they did not allow either the formation of a regular Jewish Army or the importation of weapons. A clandestine army armed by contraband weapons could not attain formidable proportions.

If, despite their unpreparedness, the Jews won the Palestine war against terrific odds, it was mainly for two reasons: the spirit of the Jewish youth and of Palestine Jewry in general, and the low fighting quality, bad organization, and lack of unity in the attacking Arab armies. The Jews of Palestine fought not only for the cause of Zionism, but for their very lives. For them, their *Kibbutzim* were truly the last bastions behind which was only death. The Arabs boasted of

pushing the Jews into the sea, and that is what they intended to do. The savagery displayed by the Arabs in the early stages of the war, when they paraded the heads of their Jewish victims on sticks, could leave little doubt in the minds of the Jews as to their fate in case of an Arab victory. I have not the least intention of belittling the natural bravery of Palestine Jewish youth, but their bravery during this war was intensified by desperation. Thus it reached unprecedented heights.

The Arab armies fought without heart; some of them not even half-heartedly. It was not a matter of life and death to them, as it was to the Jews. Nor was there unity of purpose in the direction of the Arab war effort. On the contrary, every Arab king, chieftain, and politician had ambitions of his own, and all acted at cross purposes. In addition, corruption was rampant in all the Arab armies. Less than fifty per cent of the financial allocations and supplies ever reached the armies in the field.

There were a number of other factors which helped the Jews. The industrial possibilities of little Palestine were incomparably greater than those of all the Arab countries put together. The Jewish youth, Western in its education and outlook, many of them with war experience, made first-rate soldiers, capable of using to the best advantage every weapon known in modern warfare. The Syrians, Iraqis, Transjordanians, Egyptians, and Sudanese, being for the most part illiterate, underfed, and underpaid, lacking in discipline and in organization, were no match for the Palestinian Jewish Youth. Furthermore, the Jewish defense forces were bolstered by volunteers, Jewish and non-Jewish, from all over the world.

The exact number of the foreign volunteers is still unknown. The Christians who came to help Israel regain its independence were not too numerous, but some very touching cases are recorded. There was an Australian who was in Suez with the British forces at the time the fighting in Palestine broke out. He joined a British convoy to Jerusalem, then crossed the lines from the Arab to the Jewish part of the Holy City, joined the Jewish forces and later commanded an Israeli battery in crucial battles. There



were Americans who helped to establish the Israeli Air Force. Young Christian lives were lost in the battle for Israel.

The Jewish volunteers came from fifty-two lands, from the four corners of the earth. They came in the hundreds from countries with large Jewish communities, such as South Africa and the United States. Dozens of them came from smaller communities, like those of Finland, Canada, Australia. Even the remotest lands were represented. One found Jewish boys and girls from Greenland, Java, India, New Zealand, Afghanistan. One Jewish girl from Kabul, Afghanistan, started out for Palestine on November 30, 1947, on the morrow of the United Nations partition decision. It took her a few months to reach Tel Aviv and join a detachment of the Israeli Army.

No, it was not a miracle or a series of miracles that determined the outcome of the Palestine war. The outcome could have been foretold and was indeed foretold, by people who knew the realities of the Middle East and the forces at play on both sides.

Nor was this war a picnic for the Jews of Palestine. Their sacrifices and privations were very heavy. They could not achieve victory without total mobilization of all the manpower and resources of the country, strict regimentation of civilian life, and the sacrifice of many of the best of the Palestine youth. Despite the help from abroad, which was essential and very helpful, it was Palestine Jewry and Palestine youth that carried the brunt of the war. There is almost no family in Israel which has not been bereaved. Leaders and rank and file have suffered equally. The former president of the *Vaad Leumi* (the National Council of Palestine Jewry) lost his son. The president of the provisional parliament of Israel lost his son. An outstanding leader in Palestine agriculture lost two sons. The daughter of the military governor of Jerusalem was killed in the Negev. This list could be continued indefinitely. The people of Israel have paid the full price for freedom and independence.

#### IV

**L**ONG before the Arab war, Tel Aviv was overcrowded and had outgrown itself. Its founding fathers never dreamt that in less than four decades their little suburb

of Arab Jaffa would grow into a metropolis of a quarter of a million inhabitants. The town's narrow streets cannot hold half the traffic hurrying through Israel's capital today. As compared with Allenby Road in Tel Aviv, Fifth Avenue in New York is a driver's paradise.

The queues for the busses are often a block long. They were even longer during the periods of battle in the Negev, for the municipal busses were used to transport troops to the front. The moment one was told that Line 6 or Line 9 would not operate on a certain day, one knew that a battle in the Negev or elsewhere was imminent. The government's strict blackout on news was thus neatly defeated. Deductions based on bus schedules were invariably correct, which simply goes to show how difficult it is to keep secrets in a small country.

The proud minority who own private cars no longer look so proud, for most of them have lost their cars to the Army. Only those in charge of public utilities and essential services can still travel comfortably under their own power. The rest would not even recognize their limousines if they saw them. Covered with a coat of khaki paint, bearing a huge "Z" on their license plates (*Z* stands for "*Zava*," *Army*), hundreds of once private cars now carry officers of the Army on hurried missions across the small land.

Army uniforms, still makeshift and not very uniform, are omnipresent. In the streets, in the busses, restaurants, bars, cinemas, one meets the Israeli soldiers, boys and girls. For mobilization in Israel has reached an almost unprecedented totality. Even people over the age of conscription have part-time war duties. The cafés of Tel Aviv are still open until midnight, but behind the blacked-out doors and windows there is less commotion and less light talk and laughter than in the old days. The one all-night café of Tel Aviv, "*Kasit*," which used to be the hangout of all the Bohemians, is still overcrowded, but even there it is the young soldier on leave from Jerusalem or from the Negev who is more noticeable than the poet or the artist.

**T**HE Whitehall of Israel is actually not Tel Aviv itself but a suburb called Kirya. For decades, the place was known as "*Sarona*"—a flourishing settlement



founded by German Templars. Tel Aviv, in its phenomenal growth, surrounded Saronā from all sides, and was ready to swallow it. Now, with the Germans of Saronā in exile, many of them in Australia, Israel has turned Saronā into the seat of the central government. A case of poetic justice—the Germans of Saronā lent active aid to Hitler's program for the destruction of the Jewish people, and now this German colony houses the offices of the Jewish state.

Although on the roads that have been built throughout the length and breadth of the Kirya, automobiles drive in and out, and people with attaché cases hurry in all directions, the Kirya still looks more like a village than a seat of government. If Mr. Sharet lets you wait too long in his ante-chamber and you get thirsty, you can reach out through the window of the Foreign Office and pick a tangerine straight off a tree.

Inside the small buildings of ex-Saronā, however, a government machine is busily at work. There is already a bureaucracy, red tape, rank, and formality, like those in any other government in the world. Still, the novelty of the situation has not yet worn off. While the Israelis have proved that they are capable of performing all the tricks of statehood, they still feel more at home in an open Russian shirt than in evening dress and top hat. On this subject, an amusing story is told about Ben-Gurion, the prime minister.

Straight from a state reception, Ben-Gurion hastened to a meeting of his Labor party in Tel Aviv. He arrived there in his diplomatic attire, striped trousers and all. In response to the surprised looks and laughter of his colleagues, he solemnly excused himself for coming to the meeting "in his working clothes."

## V

ISRAEL's achievement of organized, orderly statehood in the first nine months of its existence is no less surprising than its military victories. An American, born and bred here, in a peaceful, orderly, highly efficient land which has not experienced a revolution or a war within its borders in almost a century, would not comprehend the extent of that accomplishment as quickly as those of us whose past experiences provide them with a wider range of parallels.

Seeing Israel in 1948 took me back thirty years to the days of the Russian Revolution. I recalled the complete disorganization of civilian life in Russia, the disruption of transport, mail, telegraph and telephone communication, the hunger and epidemics which did away with millions of people, the anarchy and lawlessness which ruled supreme for many long months. It took two years and more before the new regime succeeded in establishing its authority. It took five years and more before it could conquer hunger. It took longer before the Soviet government could claim that the new order was firmly established.

It is true that Russia is a vast empire, whereas Israel is a very little country. But this works both ways. Russia has unlimited resources and great natural wealth; Israel has almost none. Russia has practically inexhaustible reserves in manpower.

I could not help remembering the anarchy of Russia when I heard that on May 14, 1948, one opened the tap in Israel and water ran; one lifted the receiver and got his telephone connection; one turned the switch and electricity functioned. The postal service, the harbors, the roads with their repair service, the railroads (except for the parts passing through Arab-held areas); indeed, the entire machinery of government was taken over swiftly and put into operation almost overnight. Not one man died of hunger or exposure, despite the terrific shortages in food and housing.

These achievements are the more formidable when one recalls that the outgoing British administration of Palestine made no effort to hand over an orderly machinery of government to the new regime. On the contrary, because of their determined opposition to the creation of a Jewish state, the British did their utmost to make the job of Israel as difficult as possible. Until the last day of their withdrawal, they tried to prevent the formation of a new authority in the Holy Land. They scuttled the affairs of the various departments of government as if to make sure that with their departure from Palestine orderly government would stop forever.

Yet the British left Israel not only a negative but also a positive legacy. The positive legacy was of no mean proportions, and it has considerably facilitated Israel's speedy achieve-



ment of statehood. Whether the leaders of Israel know it or not, the present forms of government in the Jewish state are largely an imitation and adaptation of the forms established by the British administration. In an Israeli court of justice, the judge, prosecutor, and defense attorney address one another as "my learned friend." They speak in Hebrew, but it is translated from English. Not only the words, but the forms of exchange in the courtroom are English, not Jewish.

This is just one example of the adaptation of British forms, but many could be cited. The three decades of British rule in Palestine have left their imprint. Although the Israeli Government has eliminated English from Israeli passports, which are printed in Hebrew and French (probably as an act of political retaliation against England), the English language is widely used in the Israeli government. Officials trained in the various departments of the old Palestine administration are now active in the corresponding departments of the Israeli government. What could be more natural than to bring with them the forms, habits, routine, and language which they used for years in the same land and in the same work, though under different auspices?

**T**HERE WERE also other factors which helped Israel to overcome the critical months of early statehood. One of those factors was completely unexpected. I refer to the flight of the bulk of the Arab population of Palestine.

There is not the slightest reason to doubt that, on the day of the British evacuation of Haifa, the Jews did not even dream of the

occupation of the entire city. I know it on the best authority that the Jewish defense forces on that day moved to advance positions in order to prevent any Arab invasion of the Jewish parts of the town. Only when they saw that the Arabs were fleeing, deserting their homes, did the Jews move on and occupy the whole city. The same was true in most of the cities with mixed Jewish-Arab population. There were cases, in the early stages of the war, when Jews pleaded with their Arab friends not to submit to the panic of flight, to stay behind and live in the Jewish state as full-fledged citizens.

However, the Arabs fled in their hundreds of thousands. Only about 110,000 stayed behind. The many complications arising from the presence of a very sizable Arab minority in the Jewish state have thus disappeared. The problem of supplying food and all the necessities of life in a time of war and shortages to several hundreds of thousands of Arabs, disappeared by itself. Arab houses in Haifa, Jaffa, Acre, Tiberias, Jerusalem, Safed, Ramle, and other localities have been used to accommodate Jewish immigrants and thus ease, if only in small measure, the grave housing crisis. Keeping one hundred thousand "enemy aliens" under observation during the war was an incomparably easier job than having to watch half a million Arabs.

All this helped, but the achievement must be credited mainly to the people of Israel themselves and to their leaders. The road from Palestine to Israel was not covered with flowers. It was a thorny path, full of dangers and pitfalls. All the greater is the satisfaction of the Israelis today, when they can rightly say, "We have arrived."



Personal and Otherwise. Mostly about our contributors

••• The first *Harper's* article by *Eliahu Ben-Horin*, author of "From Palestine to Israel" (p. 96), appeared in April 1944. That piece, "The Soviet Wooing of Palestine," predicted that after World War II Soviet Russia would shift from violent anti-Zionism to positive support for the Jewish State. In another article in *Harper's* (December 1944) Mr. Ben-Horin advocated a plan which then looked as far-fetched as his prediction in "The Soviet Wooing": that the Arabs of Palestine be transferred to Iraq and resettled there. Now with hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine facing a dismal future, the transfer idea appears to be a likely bet.

Recent news stories of an anti-Zionist campaign in Rumania counsel caution to anyone who ventures an I-told-you-so, but in view of the sound character of Mr. Ben-Horin's earlier judgments and prophecies, we feel we can bank on his word about present-day Israel: "It works." He has lived for many years in Palestine, where he was editor-in-chief of the Palestine News Service, worked the land, and built houses and roads. He is the author of *The Middle East: Crossroads of History*.



## Israel's Admission Now To U. N. Is Called For

The United Nations General Assembly has set May 14 as a tentative date for adjournment.

It has also referred Israel's application for membership in the U. N. to another committee from the political committee, which is heavily loaded with other business and probably would not have been able to take up the bid during this session. This decision was taken by a vote of 42 to 12 over vigorous opposition of the Arab states. It should facilitate Israel's admission but even so the time is short for action if the Assembly is to adjourn on the expected date.

Fifty-two nations, including the United States, already have recognized the State of Israel, which has just celebrated the first anniversary of its founding, and it is difficult to understand why U. N. admission has been so long delayed.

The U. N. charter sets forth the right of all "peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the . . . charter and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations" to membership.

On those counts Israel must qualify, more so indeed than a number of states which already are members. For a time the issues of the new government's stability and its unsettled boundaries were raised against it by the Arab nations and their political allies. If the arguments ever had any merit they have none now. Recent agreements have settled the territorial question to all intents and purposes. The government's stability surely is no longer in doubt. Its democratic character also is generally recognized, though of course a democratic regime is not requisite to U. N. admission.

Two months ago the Security Council voted 9 to 1 to recommend Israel's admission to the U. N. Hitherto such action has always been followed by the Assembly's prompt concurrence, but in this case political maneuverings have caused continued delay, and are still going on for that object.

Not all the differences between Israel and the Arab states have yet been solved. The future of Jerusalem and of Arab refugees still must be threshed out. Those things will take time but are not a legitimate reason for denying membership meanwhile.

Israel's admission at the current session of the Assembly is clearly called for as an act of justice. More than that, it will further the cause of stability and peace in the Middle East.



# ISRAEL ASSAILS U. S. ON ARAB RE-ENTRY

Spokesman Attacks Reported  
Pressure to Readmit Some  
Who Fled During Fighting

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Special to The New York Times

LAKE SUCCESS, June 9 — A spokesman for the Israeli delegation to the United Nations today attacked a reported attempt by the United States to induce Israel to start readmitting some of the Arabs who fled from Israeli territory during the fighting last year.

The spokesman did not go into details, but said that "as long as the Arab states refuse to enter into peaceful relationships with Israel, the return of masses of Arabs to Israel would be a quixotic undertaking, which could not possibly be reconciled with any normal concept of national security."

"Israel's position in this regard," he added, "has always been widely understood and accepted and it is, therefore, surprising to hear suggestions that it may now be ignored and that the actual return of the Arabs may be insisted upon before the over-riding security considerations have been satisfied."

The dispatch to which the spokesman referred said that United States representatives, both in Tel Aviv and in Lausanne, Switzerland, where the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission is now meeting, had expressed "extreme impatience" with Israel's refusal to permit at least some of the Arab refugees to return. The dispatch said that representatives of Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan had said they could not discuss a peace settlement with Israel until the refugee problem had been solved.

According to reports here, the Israeli representatives at Lausanne offered, some weeks ago, to allow the return of some refugees who were close relatives of the Arabs who had remained in Israeli territory. On May 21, it was reported, they offered to permit the return of 230,000 Arabs on condition that Egypt turned over to Israel the Gaza strip, where they now are.

## Criticism Held Illogical

The Israeli spokesman here did not confirm these reports, but said that the only "constructive and concrete suggestions" had been made by Israeli representatives and that "we must express our surprise that these proposals have not received the consideration they deserved at the hands of those who have expressed such deep concern with the problem."

"It is obviously inappropriate to refuse to act on such proposals and simultaneously to criticize Israel for alleged inaction and non-cooperation," he added.

According to earlier reports here, the Conciliation Commission is now considering a proposal whereby Egypt would retain the Gaza coastal strip, while King Abdullah of Jordan would receive the Majdal area, north of Gaza, together with other territory now occupied by Israeli forces, which would provide King Abdullah with access to the Mediterranean.

The Israeli spokesman said this was an attempt to revive the Bernadotte plan, and contended that "these plans would involve the mutilation of Israel's territory and the transfer to some or all of the Arab states, which aggressively invaded Palestine, of a substan-

tial part of the land which Israel holds under armistice agreements."

The spokesman said that the General Assembly resolution of last Dec. 11, which established the Conciliation Commission, called for "completely unprejudiced boundary negotiations," and emphasized that "the existing territorial position under the armistice agreement can be altered only by negotiations with the Arab states leading to peace agreements."

"It would be against the basic principle of the Dec. 11 resolution and inimical to the prospects of an early agreement for any outside influence or pressure to be exerted in favor of any preconceived view of what the final boundaries should be," the Israeli spokesman added.

"Israel has made detailed boundary proposals at Lausanne which are based squarely on the resolution of the General Assembly of Dec. 11. Israel will continue to bend all its efforts to achieve a peace settlement by negotiations through the good offices of the United Nations."

## Israel Asked to Unbend

Special to The New York Times

TEL AVIV, Israel, June 9 — From sources close to the Israeli Government it was learned today that the United States had requested Israel to unbend and admit a "certain" part of the refugees so that the Lausanne discussions might proceed. It appears that a stalemate has been reached and that someone has to concede to avert failure.

The Arabs refuse to discuss major points on the agenda until the refugees have been handled adequately and the Israelis are unwilling to proceed if they have to make this serious concession before they know what the returns will be.

The Israelis primarily do not admit responsibility for the refugees.

They further insist that while there is still a state of war they cannot very well admit thousands of Arabs who would be a direct threat to Israel's own security, especially when the Arab countries announce daily through the press and the radio that they are only marking time and will take "revenge" as soon as possible.

The Government also has asked just what concessions the United States is asking the Arabs to make. It was pointed out that Jerusalem still is cut off by the main road but manages to continue communications through a circuitous secondary highway; that the Arab controlled water system to Jerusalem still is not working; that the Naharayim power station still is in Arab hands and that all the important potash works at the Dead Sea are made commercially impotent because of the Arab refusal to supply the necessary fresh water and a convenient outlet for products.

In other words, Israel is wondering what the Arabs are supposed to concede under this plan to re-accommodate the refugees.

The net result seems to be that either the Arabs and Israelis will work out their own local problems, as they are now doing in the case of the Jerusalem boundaries, or the entire case must be presented

to the World Court for adjudication.

## Tel Aviv Offers Plan

By C. L. SULZBERGER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, June 9 — The Israeli Government has proposed that the pre-war frontiers at the northern and southern extremes of the former mandated territory of Palestine should be accepted as the permanent borders between the new state of Israel and Lebanon and Egypt respectively.

This proposition, it was learned tonight, has been submitted to the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, now meeting with Israeli and Arab delegations in Lausanne in an effort to find a basis for peace in the Middle East.

The Israeli proposals, which have not been accepted by any Arab representative, furthermore suggested that the eastern frontier should be established approximately along the armistice line fixed by mediators when the fighting ceased.

This would be conditional upon the fate of Arab Palestine. The suggestion is based upon the premise that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan would absorb the Arab-occupied and Arab-held territory of the mandated area and that the armistice line — or virtually the same boundary — would become the frontier between Jordan and Israel.

The proposal on the southern frontier is involved directly with the refugee question. At present Egyptian forces are in occupation of a strip around the seaport of Gaza which originally was part of Palestine. There are an estimated 230,000 Arab refugees in that slice of land now.

As previously reported from Lake Success, Israel has offered to take back those refugees if the Gaza area is restored.

## Unacceptable to Arabs

This idea has not been accepted by the Arabs. It has been disregarded, not formally rejected. The Arabs do not appear to have any instructions from their Governments to discuss territorial settlements but appear to be limited to seeking an agreement on the refugee question at this time.

It is known that the United States "could be delighted if—including a deal on the Gaza strip and the Arabs it contains—Israel agreed to take back enough refugees to give the fledgling country an Arab population of 400,000. However, it is not expected that that many will be returned."

Reports that the United States State Department asked Israel to take back 800,000 are untrue. While about 900,000 Arabs are now being fed in relief centers, it is estimated by officials that not more than 700,000 of these are Palestine refugees. Thus the 800,000 figure, which has been circulated, would put Washington in a position of demanding the return to Israel of more refugees than there are.

Reports from Lausanne tonight indicated that Arabs are very irked by the Israeli occupation of a neutral zone around Jerusalem and are demanding that the conciliation commission force an evacuation.



Series VIII: Scrapbooks

Sub-series B: Miscellaneous scrapbooks, 1927-1962.

