

MEMORANDUM
1948 APRIL 2 - 1948 APRIL 1948

On Sunday, 14th March, I had occasion to speak in meeting
English Chapter VI - "There as I, and my". The next morning
I received a letter from Paul George asking me to represent
the Friends Service Council as a special mission to Palestine
in company with

A MISSION TO PALESTINE

**ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COUNCIL AND FRIENDS SERVICE
COUNCIL OF LONDON.**

APRIL - MAY, 1948.

- JAMES G. VAIL.**
 - KENDALL G. KIMBERLAND.**
 - EDGAR B. CASTLE.**
-

MINUTE B. PALMISTON HOUSE 10, QUEEN'S GATE, LONDON, W.1

A Minute is recorded from the Palestine Working
Committee regarding a proposed visit to Palestine by
Edgar B. Castle.

MISSION TO PALESTINE15th April - 4th May, 1948.

On Sunday, 14th March, I had occasion to read in Meeting Isaiah Chapter VI - "Here am I, send me"! The next morning I received a letter from Paul Sturge asking me to represent the Friends Service Council on a brief mission to Palestine in company with James G. Vail who was to represent the American Friends Service Council. "Is there any possibility that you could ask to be free for two or three weeks to fly out to meet James Vail? You will probably say it is ridiculous and impossible, but do think it over. It might lead to some real service in this miserable situation."

The reading of Scripture has a boomerang quality. My wife's response was brief: "If you will read that daft stuff from Isaiah I suppose you will have to go". So I asked leave of Senate who graciously granted it, and I went. The project received the blessing of Meeting for Sufferings on 2nd April.

"At a Meeting for Sufferings held
2nd of Fourth Month, 1948.

Minute 3. PALESTINE WATCHING COMMITTEE: PROPOSED VISIT
OF EDGAR B. CASTLE.

A Minute is received from the Palestine Watching Committee regarding a proposed visit to Palestine by Edgar B. Castle.

Edgar B. Castle expects to travel to Cairo, thence with James Vail to Beirut and to Palestine. The object of the visit is to discover what Friends might do in reconciliation work between Jews and Arabs.

We feel deeply that this is the opportunity for which we have been hoping. Edgar B. Castle goes on his journey with the wholehearted support and the prayers of this Meeting that God's guidance may be given to both our Friends in their service.

The attached Minute of the Finance Committee is received and we agree to the allocation requested by the Palestine Watching Committee.

(copy for) LEWIS W. HEADLEY,

Clerk.

S. J. FORWARD".

There was some difficulty in getting a visa from the Palestine Government who naturally did not want to add to the complexities of a difficult situation by admitting oddities bent on free-lancing in Palestine a month before the end of the Mandate. But the good offices at this end of Walter Chinn and Mr. Gutch of the Colonial Office, and Bernard de Bunsen (Director of Education, Palestine) at the Palestine end, eventually secured an at-your-own-risk visa. The main objector to the visit, we discovered later, was J. H. H. Pollack, District Commissioner of Jerusalem. This was interesting because when we arrived in Jerusalem he proved to be a keen supporter of our plans.

It was pleasant to hear the friendly accents of James Vail in the darkness of the Almaza Air Port, Heliopolis, at 3.0 a.m. 16th April, after a shaky desert crossing that had left me gastrically empty and mentally vague. A quakerly aura seemed to have penetrated even the blackness of an Egyptian night to secure this ready recognition, for we had not met before. Kendall Kimberland steered me through the customs with a léger-de-main symbolic of things to come. I entered Cairo for the first time and got to bed about 5.0 a.m. and joined James Vail at the Kimberlands at 10.0 a.m.

It may be as well before I go further to explain in a little more detail why we were here:

Our terms of reference were:

- (a) To examine the possibilities of organising a piece of practical service which would involve a continuing and increasing element of reconciliation between Arabs and Jews.
- (b) To inquire into the feasibility and means of securing a truce in the limited but clearly defined area of the Old City of Jerusalem and the immediately adjacent area of the Mount of Olives.

Our original concern was primarily directed to the first objective but as we proceeded with our contacts the second objective began to occupy an increasing share of our attention. Opportunities opened up in a remarkable way and the two projects held our minds with developing insistence as achievable ends.

When we became immersed in the actual tensions and tragedies of Jerusalem and realised the nature of the chaos that was soon to overwhelm the last remnants of existing order, a third concern took hold of us, namely, the extreme urgency of preventing the impending destruction of the city by the establishment of an internationally supervised neutral area.

Thus we added to the two concerns which American and British Friends had laid upon us a third concern of our own:

(c) To press for international action in the immediate appointment of a Governor for Jerusalem, supported by a neutral force of disciplined police, who would preserve an internationally governed enclave of Jerusalem from the horrors of civil war.

Three Friends: Our place of rendezvous was the home of Kendall and Louise Kimberland, Friends residing in Cairo, (26 Sharia Kasr-el-nil). Kendall Kimberland is a Friend who has had wide experience of A.F.S.C. work in Europe and Arab countries. At the outset we realised that his experience, his knowledge of Arabic and of the ways of the Middle East, and above all his dynamic executive drive would be of enormous value. Consequently we invited him to join us, which he did with enthusiasm, and he became a quite indispensable means of removing the many practical complexities of travel - finance, visas, accommodation. As we look back upon our intensive activities we realise that without his untiring and unerring efforts we could not have carried through our mission. We both,

therefore, wish to express our profound gratitude for the skilful and loving way in which he smoothed out what would have become insuperable obstacles. Kendall Kimberland did, indeed, 'carry' us whithersoever it was right for us to go.

Summary of Itinerary and Contacts:

Here is a summary of our itinerary and the contacts we made, some of them vastly more interesting and important than others. Our general conclusions and all-over picture of the situation were gained cumulatively. There was some plan in seeking interviews but many people we had planned to see we did not see and we saw many we had not planned to see. The process was a constant opening up of opportunity, the next step alone being clear at times, but it was truly remarkable how openings occurred.

Cairo: 16.4.48:(1) Brigadier General Ilton N. Clayton: Adviser on Middle East Affairs - British Middle East Office.

17.4.48:(2) His Eminence Sheikh Mahomed Maamoun El Shennawi - Rector of Al Azhar University. (Introduced by Shaleh Bey Hashem Attera (chief administrative adviser to His Eminence who is reorganising teaching side of Al Azhar).

(3) Fuad Sarruf: Formerly Editor Arabic Edition Readers Digest; now adviser to Arabian American Oil Company.

(4) Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha: Secretary General of the Arab League.

(5) & (6) Dr. Marti and Monsieur Munier: International Red Cross.

(7) Dr. John S. Badeau: President of American University, Cairo.

18.4.48: To Beirut by air.

19.4.48:

- (1) Roger and Irene Soltau - American University.
- (2) Lootfy Levonian; Theological College.
- (3) Leslie Levitt - head of Secondary Department, American University.
- (4) Daniel Oliver
(Dr. Robertson of Asfuriyeh - EBC only)

20.4.48: (1) Dr. Costa Zurayk - Vice-President American University.

(2) John Gough - Director of British Council, Lebanon and Syria. Former member of F.A.V.

(3) Joseph Dichy - President of Jewish Community Beirut Mose Elias:

To Ras-el-Metn and spent night with Daniel and Emily Oliver and her sister Kathleen Wright.

21.4.48: To Damascus with Daniel Oliver in attempt to see the President of Syria who was ill. On at midday for Amman in TransJordan.

Early departure Amman to Jerusalem arriving noon.

(1) Conference with Mr. A.L. Miller, General Secretary of Jerusalem Y.M.C.A. to whom we explained our concern.

(2) Bernard de Bunsen - Director of Education, Palestine.

23.4.48: (1) J.H.H. Pollack - District Commissioner, Jerusalem (i.e., Governor responsible for security).

(2) His Beatitude Monsignor Cyril Israelian: Armenian Patriarch.

23.4.48 (cont'd).

- (3) Don Peretz: N.B. Corporation - young idealistic American Jew who worked with A.F.S.C. in Mexico.
- (4) S.R. Jordan: British Commercial Agent (responsible for organisation feeding British Community remaining in Jerusalem).
- (5) John Donovan: N.B.C.

24.4.48: (1) Dr. Hirsch: (representing Jewish Medical Association).

- (2) Archdeacon Campbell McInnes: (in absence of Anglican Bishop in Amman).
- (3) Willard and Christina Jones of Ramallah
- (4) Sylvia Clarke of Ramallah
- (5) Sheikh Tewfik Bey el Hussein: Head of Haram el Sherif
- (6) Mr. and Mrs. Rifat Hobbab - Principal Arab Probation Officer

25.4.48: (1) Abraham Bergman: Jewish Assistant to District Commissioner for Jerusalem

- (2) Isaac Halevy Hertzog: Chief Rabbi
- (3) Leo Cohen: Secretary of Political Department Jewish Agency
- (4) Djemal Bey Tukhan: Secretary Moslem Supreme Council, Jerusalem
- (5) Monsieur Jacques de Reynier: Chief of Mission International Red Cross (Geneva)
- (6) J. H. H. Pollack - District Commissioner of Jerusalem
- (7) A. L. Miller - General Secretary of Jerusalem Y. M. C. A.

25.4.48 (cont'd)

- (8) Thomas J. Wesson; U.S. Consul General,
Chairman of the U.N. Committee on truce
(seen by James Vail and Kendall Kimberland -
fully in sympathy with our efforts).

26.4.48:

8.0 a.m. (1) Dr. T. Canaan - President of Arab
Medical Association.

(2) Sultenie Haleby; Arab Social Worker
dealing with wounded and refugees.

11.0 a.m. To Lydda; arrived 1.0 p.m.

6.30 p.m.: Evacuated on unscheduled freighter plane
with B.O.A.C. furniture to CAIRO -
arrived 8.30 p.m.

CAIRO: 27.4.48: Conference re financial needs of service
project with:

Naguib Kalada; General Secretary Y.M.C.A.,
Cairo.

Rudolph P. Wiens; Y.M.C.A. Senior American
Secretary for Egypt.

J.W. Barwick, Y.M.C.A.

Albert de Cocatrix; International Red Cross
(Geneva)

28.4.48: Azzam Pasha; Agreement on truce

Mrs. Antonius; (wife of Arab Author)

It is difficult to recapture the vividness of some of these interviews both as regards personalities, place of meeting and the spiritual depths to which we were sometimes privileged to reach. We were moving at great speed from one to the other, now in the austere office of Brigadier Clayton, now in the charming home of Azzam Pasha, then to the medieval Moslem dignity of the Al Azhar University. Or again, from the publicity of a Jewish merchant's open shop in Beirut to the confines of his colleague's warehouse; or from the ancient walls and medieval sanctity of the Armenian Patriarchate to the fierce intensity of the Jewish Agency. And in Jerusalem we relaxed in the calm sanity of Mr. and Mrs. Miller's room in the Y.M.C.A. Here our thinking was done in one of the few spots in Palestine where love and reason prevailed.

We started in Cairo.

CAIRO:

16.4.48: As noted above I joined James Vail at 10.0 a.m. in the apartment of Kendall and Louise Kimberland, where he was staying. After a period of worship in which we united in laying our concern under God's guidance we discussed our plans. Kendall had already arranged an interview at 5.0 p.m. with:

Brigadier-General Ilton N. Clayton, head of the Middle East

Office and British Adviser on Arab Affairs. Clayton has a profound knowledge of the Arab world, and impressed us as a man who, while obviously having deep Arab sympathies, nevertheless viewed the Palestine situation with considerable detachment. He had already approached Azzam Pasha regarding our project (this contact had been suggested to me by Norman Bentwich before I left) and we discovered that he, and he believed the Arab leaders, would view with favour any type of relief work with both Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

He believed that there would be, and in fact already was, a general breakdown in Arab social services and that this would progressively increase. Any relief work, therefore, which Friends could organise would be welcome. He accepted our condition that any activity Friends might organise would have to be associated impartially with both communities and he had no doubt that Arabs would also accept this condition. The immediate problem centred on the increasing number of refugees from Jewish and Arab areas and the inadequate provision for ambulance and medical services. But he regarded assistance in the educational service as the most fruitful source of help in the long-term approach. For Arab educational services, always inadequate, were rapidly disappearing. But it was agreed that the difficulty in our adopting educational activity as our means of reconciliation was the complete separation and disparity of conditions between

Jewish and Arab education. The former was well developed, the latter only in its rudimentary stages, and co-operation between them at present was out of the question.

The location of Friends activities would be important. Brigadier Clayton suggested that Haifa might be the best locality as here, more than in any part of Palestine, Arab and Jew have worked together in the citrus groves and as stevedores in the docks. Hence at Haifa communal bitterness, although increasing, is less acute than in Jerusalem which is a place of bitter politics. He also suggested that the rebuilding of Arab slums on the outskirts of Haifa under Friends leadership might lead also to the building of much needed Arab schools. The district of Tiberias is another area where work leading to reconciliation might have fruitful results.

During a discussion on more general matters the Brigadier said that Arabs would never submit to Partition but that they might be willing to agree to some limited measure of immigration if this were part of a concerted plan among nations who would take their share, i.e., they would respond to a general and shared solution of the Jewish problem. He believed that 50% of Jews would accept a non-partition solution.

Finally, he believed it possible that a truce in the Holy Places - i.e., the Old City, Gethsemane, Bethany and Bethlehem - could be established, but not in the new city

because of its strategic importance to both sides. He also told us that the Arab League had decided on principles of morality that they would not retaliate for the appalling atrocities committed by Zionists at Deir Yassin.

17.4.48: Interview with His Eminence Sheikh Mahomed
1.30 p.m. Maamoun El Shennawi, Rector of Al Azhar
University, "the oldest university in the world".

This was a very different affair, involving many anti-chambers and much waiting, many cups of coffee and much preparatory explanation. We were guided throughout by Salah Bey Hashem Attera, chief technical adviser to His Eminence, who is reorganising the teaching side, as distinct from the religious, of this very ancient institution which has decided to modernise itself. I presented a letter of introduction from the Imam of Woking, Ali Hassan Abdel-Kadr, head of the Islamic Cultural Centre at Hampstead.

When His Eminence was ready to receive us we were conducted into a lofty domed room, the details of whose ancient and heavy decorations escaped me, concentrated as I was on the personality we had come to meet. His Eminence sat behind a large desk, immobile and not obviously welcoming. On each side of him sat persons of obvious but obscure distinction and somewhat dark and gloomy countenance. He shook hands and we sat down. We got off to a slow start for the heavy face and expressionless eyes did not excite confidences and it was some time before we penetrated beneath the mask.

James Vail explained our mission - to investigate the possibility of creating some reconciling humane activity between Arabs and Jews. His Eminence declared that he approved of such humane work but asked if it was human to behave as the Zionists behaved and whether it was humane to assist Zionist activity in any form. (Our interpreter, by the way, was Saleh Bey). We explained that we wished to relieve suffering wherever it was found, among Arabs or Jews. His reply was that we should have Arab support in all efforts we could make to restrain Jewish violence. We explained that the Quaker aim was always to seek peace and create brotherhood and that our mission was to discover all means to this end.

At this point there seemed to be a shift of feeling, and warmth perceptibly entered into the situation and remained to the end, due, I believe, to our having touched a common chord in the best of Christianity and the best of Islam. Brotherhood was the basis of human relationships, His Eminence declared. At last we had come to an agreed spiritual basis for the rest of our discussion, and for the first time we spoke as people with a common purpose expressed and apprehended. We were on a higher level, and we stayed there. We were able to exemplify the attitude which guided our project by illustration from the work of Horace Alexander and Richard Symonds in India, where these two Friends had acted, the

one in India and the other in Pakistan, as official organisers of refugee relief, each knowing exactly the spirit in which his opposite number was working, each directed to the same purpose, and because of this achieving order out of chaos. His Eminence and his friends took this point immediately and accepted the basic purpose of our mission.

We then raised the question of respect for the Holy Places and received an immediate and favourable response to this objective also. We were reminded by His Eminence that Moslems and Christians were already united in this concern and he gave his blessing to any efforts we might make to bring about a truce in this restricted area. He reminded us also that Jewish communities had lived happily in a Moslem world and that there was no fear of persecution from the Moslem side.

He blessed us and encouraged us to continue in our mission; his parting words being an acceptance of the view that men were living in a small world where we must live as if we were all in one small room.

* * * * *

Why did we trouble to see people like this? The titular head of a Moslem university in Cairo seems a long way from pick and shovel in Palestine! Our object was twofold: to get impressions from quite different quarters in the Arab world concerning the things we hoped to do, and secondly, to prepare the way for any practical work that might follow by ensuring

that persons of influence would not be entirely ignorant of our purpose and method when the work began.

* * * * *

In the afternoon of the same day we had lunch at the Gezira Sporting Club with Fuad Sarruf, former Editor in Chief of the Arabic Readers Digest, and now Adviser to the Arabian American Oil Company. This was a general discussion of the Arab case conducted with, one felt, a sense of realism and relative impartiality. He believed there was still a large body of moderate opinion in both Arab and Jewish circles which could be the basis of agreement. He shared with other Arabs the view that there was no danger of deliberate persecution of Jews in Moslem countries and he was certain that American opinion had been misled by the Zionist view that Arab opposition to a Jewish State would be negligible.

Interview with Abdel Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League.

5.0 p.m. - 17.4.48;

Our meeting with Azzam Pasha was one of our most impressive experiences. He received us in his own home, a pleasant house (not a palace) on the banks of the Nile. After passing one or two friendly guards we were welcomed into the apartment by Azzam's little son, Hassan, a charming boy of 13.0. We sat on the balcony overlooking the river; a delicate array of coffee, tea and cakes at hand. The gracious informality of our reception made speech easy. Azzam struck us as a great personality. He looked tired,

as well he might when we realised he was trying to hold together as slippery a group of conflicting interests and personalities as could be found in the Middle East. We were amazed that he should give us an hour and a half of his time - on the eve of what he called 'a holiday', which meant a Sunday off.

Azzam had spent a good deal of his life soldiering in North Africa for the Arab national movement but he retains a remarkable calmness, balance and wisdom based, we felt, on real religious conviction. He grasped, quicker than any Arab we had so far spoken to, the real nature of our mission and in ten minutes we found ourselves speaking the same language - a community of minds drawing on principles not confined to Christian thinking which enabled us to establish contact on terms mutually understood.

He not only welcomed the idea of Friends service impartially dispensed between the two communities but said he would press for its official support and even offered to procure funds for its activities. He especially stressed the need for ambulance provision, reconstruction of villages and refugee assistance. But his most encouraging words were spoken concerning a truce in the Holy Places. "There should be no difficulty here" he said, "everywhere where Jesus trod is sacred to the Moslems". He was convinced that agreement could be reached between the three religious communities and that a truce was possible in the limited area including the Old City and the Mount of Olives. This was not a political

but a religious question and he went so far as to say that he would give instructions for honouring the agreement on the Moslem side if we could secure agreement from Jews and Christians. He suggested that each community should agree to provide guards to protect the area (not a very wise suggestion, we thought). But the main objection, he believed, would come from the Haganah who held the Jewish section of the Old City and were determined not to leave it. The Jews who had lived for generations in the Old City were no problem and were not in fact Zionists (we discovered later they were strongly anti-Zionist and were held in thrall by about 500 Haganah troops).

Azzam was supremely well-informed concerning the impact on world opinion of the Palestine question. Here are a few of his observations:-

1. Partition would create two minority problems instead of one.
2. The establishment of a Jewish state would increase anti-Semitism all over the world. When crises occurred in Europe or America the Jew would again be the scape-goat - "Why don't you go to Palestine?"
3. By their ability and technical knowledge Jews could have attained an influence in a united bi-national Palestine out of all proportion to their present numbers if they had not pressed for a separate state. Like the Germans they could have attained the real power they wanted if they had been content to wait, if they had been content to work in the first instance for non-political leadership and had based their economy on a more stable basis than artificial development beyond the economic capacity of the country.

4. A Jewish state could never represent Jews all over the world because they were distributed in such widely differing national backgrounds - more Jews in New York than in Palestine. The conflict between local national loyalty and loyalty to the Palestine community would be an additional cause of anti-semitism.

(Azzam was anxious to point out that Arabs are not anti-semitic but anti-Zionist. There is no racial or religious element in their opposition to Zionism. The conflict is purely political. He told an interesting story of a visit he had recently paid to Abd-el-Krim who had escaped from captivity and was living in Egypt. Some Egyptian had asked Abd-el-Krim to join in the fight against the Jews and his old wife broke into the conversation with the words: "Fight the Jews, you can't do that. We have always been friends with the Jews". Azzam said his own son's tutor was a Jewess. The question of her suitability on that score did not arise).

5. He then went on to suggest his own solution, a statesmanlike offer that should have received years ago the attention it deserves:

(a) Full Jewish cultural and religious autonomy with full civic rights on a democratic basis of proportional representation.

He pointed out that the Moslem Arab world was accustomed to a social organisation which respected community differences in religion, culture, law and education - the 'Milit' system was common throughout the Arab world.

(b) The establishment in a prescribed area of a Jewish "Vatican City" with full diplomatic rights vix-s-vis the rest of the world, with representation on the United Nations, located in the densest area of Jewish population - say Tel Aviv.

(c) But this is the most striking concession:- Unrestricted Jewish immigration, on one condition - that there was freedom for unrestricted Jewish emigration i.e., that the Jewish problem was accepted as a world problem and the doors of the new world were opened to the emigrating Jew.

He was confident that such a scheme would adjust immigration to Palestine to manageable and acceptable proportions.

I have recorded at some length our interview with Azzam Pasha for several reasons. First because of the potentially fruitful nature of our discussion, secondly because we realised that most of the high policy of the Arab world concerning Palestine is determined not in Jerusalem but at the higher levels of the League of Arab States whose headquarters are in Cairo and for whom Azzam is Secretary-General. But beyond these practical considerations we were impressed with the man himself, with his capacity to appreciate the ultimate spiritual objects of our concern and with his wide comprehension of the spiritual values involved in the Palestinian conflict, for the whole world and for the Middle East in particular. His complete identification with the Arab cause was balanced by a recognition of the material and spiritual needs of the Jews, not only in Palestine but in the world. We met very few Arabs, indeed at the moment none came to my mind, who showed the same sympathetic grasp of the total situation. I cannot but believe that if God had ordained that Azzam should be the Mufti of Jerusalem Palestine would be in a happier state than it is today.

Azzam's last gracious act, for which all three of us remain more than grateful, was to give us each a personally signed pass (procured at much inconvenience to himself) which, he said, would secure us an easy passage through all Arab lands. We did not realise at the time how true his words were and how far his name went. Enough now to say that

we found Azzam's name and signature infinitely more effective than our dignified American and British passports in all areas where the Arabic language was spoken.

"Cairo,
April 18, 1948

League of Arab States
Secretariat-General

The bearer of this note, Mr. Edgar B. Castle, is a Delegate of the QUAKERS. The General Secretary begs the authorities concerned in the Arab States to treat him with every consideration.

(Sgd) ABDUL RAHMAN
AZZAM

Secretary-General."

After dinner the same evening in the friendly flat of Kendall and Louise Kimberland we met two members of the International Red Cross who had just returned from Palestine - Dr. Roland Marti and M. Munier. They were able to confirm, as eye-witnesses after the tragedy, the reports of the shocking massacre of Arab women and children at Deir Yassin - heaps of dead and dying in a setting of infinite terror and hatred. They had seen the village while it was still in control of Irgun and afterwards helped Haganah to clear up. The Arabs from this point find it impossible to distinguish between Jew and Jew, between moderate Zionist and terrorist, Haganah and Irgun.

This fortunate meeting with men recently in Palestine enormously simplified our plans as they were able to tell us in detail how we could and could not get to Jerusalem. They also gave us letters of introduction to M. Jacques de Reynier, Chief of International Red Cross, Jerusalem.

There were also present Dr. Abdul Hamid Zaki, Dean of the Cairo School of Social Work, and Dr. Bedean, President of the Americal University, Cairo, an authority on the Mosques of Cairo, who gave us wise and considered views on the whole situation.

Reflection on impressions so far gained seemed to indicate that we were not following a will-o-the-wisp. Solid opinion had directed our attention to the need for relief work and there was recognition among responsible men that this should and could be associated with a reconciling activity. The vague aspiration that we might be permitted to help towards a truce in the Holy Places was now at least outside the realm of the ridiculous and fast becoming a reasonable proposition. We were all beginning to feel that there were areas of the situation that had not been fully explored and links still to be made that possibly, under God's guidance, we might make. These views were reinforced by encouragement from America contained in the following cable from Clarence Pickett of the American Friends Service Council, who was the initiator of our project at the American end:

"COPY RCAM.48

EY313/RCB296 PHILADELPHIA PENN 144 16 1702 VIA MARCONI

JAMES VAIL CARE KENDALL KIMBERLAND BOX 1070 CAIRO

CONVERSATIONS HELD THIS WEEK NEW YORK WITH JAMAL
HUSSEINI REGARDING TRUCE OF GOD JERUSALEM STOP NO
PROGRESS ON TRUCE FOR WHOLE CITY BUT IN VIEW JEWISH
REJECTION UNITED NATIONS GENERAL TRUCE GREAT WEIGHT
PLACED UPON OUR ATTEMPT NEGOTIATE CESSATION OF
HOSTILITIES IN OLD CITY STOP PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL
JUDGEMENT HERE THAT NEGOTIATIONS FOR TRUCE OLD CITY
SHOULD BE VIGOROUSLY PRESSED BY YOU CASTLE STOP
HUSSEINI SUGGESTS YOU CONFER KHALDI AND ARAB MILITARY
COMMANDER JERUSALEM AS WELL AS HERTZOG AND ABDALHADI
STOP ARABS EXTREMELY RELUCTANT LAY DOWN ARMS IN OLD
CITY IN ABSENCE NEUTRAL POLICE ESTABLISHMENT STOP
WE HAVE EMPHASIZED HERE THAT ORIGINAL APPEAL NOT
INTENDED AS PROJEWISH MOVE AND THAT WE RECOGNIZE
TRUCE NECESSITATES NEW FAITH AND EQUAL CONCESSIONS
STOP MAY GOD GRANT YOU STRENGTH AND WISDOM STOP
APPRECIATE YOUR KEEPING US INFORMED AFFECTIONATE
REGARDS

CLARENCE PICKETT"

It was therefore with some confidence but with no illusions that we set out on the next stage of our mission - to the Lebanon. Here we had planned to meet Friends who had been long established in an Arab background and also, if possible, to discover from the Jewish community something of their own position as minorities in the rising tide of anti-Zionism in states bordering on Palestine.

To the Lebanon: 18.4.48.

Travel in the Middle East consists mainly of chances and uncertainties. Our small party accepted arrangements for the flight to Beirut which soon crumbled before the pressure of competing air-lines and in the end we arrived in relays. I booked a plane that should have departed from Almaza Airport, Heliopolis, at 11.0 a.m. which failed to appear at the port and eventually at 3.0 p.m. I boarded a plane that should not have been there at all. James and Kendall were not so lucky. Their plane, which should have gone at 3.0 p.m. did not fly till 8.0 a.m. the next morning. But we were all established in one bedroom at the Hotel Select on the morning of 19th April.

Seen from 5,000 feet the prospect of this corner of the eastern Mediterranean is very beautiful. It was difficult to believe that this lovely panorama of blue sea and fair country stretching from Carmel was, in fact, the scene of bitter conflict and unreasoning passions. I could not help reflecting that, may be, the Almighty sees things thus, high up and aloof from details. In Palestine there seemed to be cause for

thinking so.

* * * * *

We were aware that Friends in Palestine and the Lebanon were not entirely happy about our mission. Many of them had laboured for years in an entirely Arab background and in serving Arabs had learned to love them and to identify themselves with rightful Arab aspirations. One cannot live with people, work and pray with them, without becoming part of them. Moreover Arab members of the Friends community were completely identified with the Arab cause. The visit, therefore, of English and American Friends bent on seeking some means of reconciliation between the Jews whom Arabs regarded as invaders and the Arabs whose only fault was to resist them, involved some strain of loyalties among Friends on the spot. They were particularly anxious that in any recommendations we might make we should not imply that Lebanon Friends were in unity with Jewish aspirations, for above all things they wished to avoid an easily aroused suspicion among their Arab friends that they were anything else but sympathetic with the Arab view. Only Daniel Oliver among this small group regarded Partition as a possible solution. To most of them Zionism was just aggression. Indeed here, as in Palestine, Christian Arabs avoid Christian issues in the struggle (as most Christians the world over have usually done). They are Arabs first; and European Christian leaders identify themselves with their flock.

But we knew we were assured of a loving reception from Friends in Beirut even if we were not to expect enthusiasm on all aspects of our mission.

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We met Roger Soltau in the American University (surely no university in the world enjoys so utterly lovely a site.) We then joined Irene Soltau in their home and after lunch Lootvi Levonian, (professor of oriental languages at the Beirut Theological College), Daniel Oliver (the veteran fighter for good causes - now at 78 and after 50 years work for the outcast still a vigorous power in the land) and Leslie Levitt (head of the Secondary Department at the University) joined the conference.

Irene Soltau, we felt, summed up the situation with a perfect wisdom:- "There is nothing that is not understood. It is not a lack of understanding that prevents a settlement but a lack of what the Arabs regard as justice. Friendship remains behind a barrier not of misunderstanding but of injustice". This view was generally accepted and Lootvi Levonian explained that this was why all Christian sects have adopted the Arab view. They feel the Arab is the injured person and Arab Quakers feared identification with our mission in so far as it implied support or recognition of the Jewish cause. Such identification would involve the acceptance of injustice. Daniel Oliver suggested that it was not in the Lebanon but in New York that we should press our case for thence came the material support and political pressure

on behalf of Zionism which all Americans working among Arab peoples so strongly deprecated.

Nevertheless this small group of devout Friends grasped fully the essentials of our concern and approved of it as long as we were quite clear what we were doing. Among their suggestions for relief work they particularly stressed work among children on the ground that both Arabs and Jews loved little children.

20.4.48.

The following morning I had a talk with John Gough, Director for British Council in Lebanon Syria, formerly in charge of Friends Ambulance Unit work in Syria. He said that the only theme that occupies more attention than the prevailing craze for money-getting is the united Arab bitterness against Zionism. Speaking with close and long experience of relief work he suggested that the greatest need in Palestine was work in the villages especially in the provision and staffing of schools. He also expressed his amazement at the failure to secure a truce in the Holy Places and could not believe that circumstances made such a project impossible. Again then we were pressed to pursue this objective. An interview later in the morning with Dr. Costa Zurayk, vice-president of the American University, confirmed the impressions we had already gained in Beirut.

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Up to this point our contacts had been either Arab, British or American. We now attempted to secure contact with the Jewish community in Beirut for we were anxious to gain information about the position of Jewish minorities in an anti-Zionist world. We had hoped to get to Aleppo for this purpose but it became clear that if we were to accomplish our task in Jerusalem we had to content ourselves with inquiries in Beirut. Here, then, we made our first Jewish contacts.

First with Mr. Mose Elias, merchant, in his little open shop near the quayside. The assumption in the Middle East that one man's business is everybody's business made it difficult to open up our concern on a dusty chair two yards from the pavement of a busy city with customers and colleagues joining in the general discussion in a language we did not understand. So we were glad that Mr. Elias did not feel competent to deal in such publicity with what was obviously a delicate matter and welcomed his suggestion that we should see the head of the Jewish community in private. We then penetrated the ancient stone warehouse of Mr. Joseph Dichy, packed with every type of western merchandise from Pepsodent to Quaker Oats, and secured a peaceful setting in his office.

Mr. Dichy was a charming old man obviously concerned for the safety of his people. He represented an anxious community who were apprehensive for their physical safety although no general acts of violence had as yet disturbed them. We learned

that the destruction of the synagogue at Aleppo had been part of a general demonstration against the United Nations decision in favour of Partition and that the American Consulate had received its share of general disapprobation. He agreed to send to us in Cairo an objective assessment of the position. (This report was not received).

While James and I had been occupied in these interviews the indefatigable Kendall had been raiding consulates for visas. This was no easy task. For in this part of the world there is a complete close-down of all activity from 1.0 p.m. to 4.0 or 5.0 p.m. Nothing must interfere with this. But our time was short, certainly insufficient to permit of the leisurely delays customary with consular officials. Armed with Azzam's pass Kendall pressed his way through Middle East siestas and secured the necessary visas. "Yes, they would be ready in three days, quite the earliest date possible" "No, we want them by 3.0 p.m. today" rejoins Kendall. And it is some testimony to the potency of Azzam's name that they were ready at that time. But for Kendall and Azzam it is doubtful whether we should ever have reached Jerusalem.

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21.4.48.

It was now time to turn our faces to Jerusalem. With his customary magnificent generosity Daniel Oliver offered to take us as far as Damascus in his luxurious Buick.

After redeeming our promise to visit the Clays at Brumanna where we spent only twenty minutes with them in their mountain School we descended once more to the plain and up again to the mountain fortress of Ras-el-Metn where Daniel and Emily Oliver, with a courage and faithfulness rarely encountered, had gathered in the orphan Arab children for over fifty years. It was a feudal establishment ruled by love - but very firmly. In the turret room overlooking fold on fold of the formidable Lebanon range we listened to the confused efforts of the radio to penetrate the atmospheric obstacles of mountain country with the latest news from Jerusalem; from the Moorish colonnade we watched the stars rise in a Syrian night, and in the warmth of spacious rooms we enjoyed the gentle hospitality of Emily Oliver, frail and beautiful and brave, and approaching 80.

Daniel Oliver was determined that we should see the Syrian Prime Minister and Abdullah in Trans-Jordan. We made an early start for Damascus, over the Lebanon mountains into the plain where Baalbek stands, up and over the anti-Lebanon on a perfect French-made road to Damascus, skirting the lower slopes of Hermon and the confluence of the "Abana and Pharpar, rivers of the plain". I had been to Damascus before, then in search of St. Paul and the lovely Mosques, and had walked along the "street called Strait". This time our object was different - to have a meal, to see the Prime Minister (who was ill and whom we did not see) and to haggle with drivers about a taxi for Amman.

But I cannot refrain here from quoting George Adam Smith's description of this "haven of the desert":-

"It is an astonishing site for what is said to be the oldest, and is certainly the most enduring, city of the world. For it is utterly incapable of defence; it is remote from the sea and the great natural lines of commerce. From the coast of Syria it is doubly barred by those ranges of snow-capped mountains whose populations enjoy more tempting prospects to the north and west. But look east and you understand Damascus. You would as soon think of questioning the site of New York or of Sydney or of San Francisco. Damascus is a great harbour of refuge upon the earliest sea man ever learned to navigate. It is because there is nothing but desert beyond, or immediately behind this site; because this river, the Abana, instead of wasting her waters on a slight extension of the fringe of fertile Syria, saves them in her narrow gorge till she can fling them well out upon the desert, and there, instead of slowly expending them on the doubtful possibilities of a province, lavishes all her life at once in the creation of a single great city, and straightway dies in face of the desert - it is because of all this that Damascus, so remote and so defenceless, has endured throughout human history, and must endure. Nineveh, Babylon and Memphis easily conquered her - she probably preceded them, and she has outlived them. She has been twice supplanted - by Antioch, and she has seen Antioch decay, by Baghdad, and Baghdad is forgotten. She has been many times sacked, and twice at least the effective classes of her population have been swept into captivity, but this has not broken the chain of her history. She was once capital of the world from the Atlantic to the Bay of Bengal, (under the Omeiyade Khalifs in the end of the seventh century) but the vast empire went from her and the city continued to flourish as before. Standing on the utmost edge of fertility, on the shore of the much-voyaged desert, Damascus is indispensable alike to civilisation and to the nomads. Moreover, she is the city of the Mediterranean world, which lies nearest to the far East, and Islam has made her the western port for Mecca".

Soon after noon we set off due south for Amman in a not-too-stable car on an only moderately good road. The country was green and cultivated for the most part and seemed to produce a particularly intelligent breed of sheep who scuttled from the road, as no English sheep have ever done, at the sound of a motor horn. The landscape faded away to the south-east in delicately graded shades of pastel colours into a pale grey-blue haze. We passed through a few villages notable for their poverty, and reached the frontier town of Dera'a in the middle afternoon (about the latitude of southern Galilee). Here again Azzam's pass secured our immediate acceptance as V.I.P's and instead of a customs examination we were entertained by the chief customs officer in his office and pressed to many cups of coffee flavoured with cardemon seed. This is a pleasant drink. We tried it with and without sugar and were given the recipe - $1\frac{1}{2}$ litres of coffee, 1 teaspoonful of crushed cardemon seed!

We had telegraphed for rooms to the only hotel in Amman - Philadelphia Hotel - but were met with the sad news that it was full - so many refugees from Palestine and an invasion of a Unesco party headed by Julian Huxley. Azzam's pass this time had a strange but pleasant result. After the apologies of the manager and the threat of a bedless night we showed the pass to the reception clerk. "Ah! quakers! I am a graduate of the Quaker School at Ramallah. Wait a moment". In ten minutes we had a room, a trois, and later discovered that

our friend had arranged with his receptionist colleagues to vacate their own room in the annexe in our favour. We had always believed in the value of a Quaker education but tonight we felt especially warm regarding its benefits. So are friendly services passed on in a sorry world.

The hotel, and indeed Amman, was packed with the more prosperous type of refugee. It is a beautiful city, piling itself up the sides of the gorge like the tiers of an amphitheatre. It was here - Rabbah Amman - that Joab, at David's command, "set Uriah the Hittite in the forefront of the hottest battle" so that the Jewish national hero might enjoy Bathsheba, if not with an easy conscience, yet with propriety. The tension in the modern Amman must have resembled that of its earlier inhabitants when David's servants Joab and Abishai were at its gates. For here in the Transjordan capital were felt the immediate impacts of the situation in Jerusalem. As we sat in the lounge we were aware that the mind of every person in it was concentrated on the happenings, from hour to hour, in the city beyond Jordan. If refugees were already on the move, what was going to happen when the British moved out?

In the morning we chartered a car for £7, and with an Arab wife of a Jerusalem policeman who had just taken her children to relations in Syria, we started for Jerusalem. The country was wondrously beautiful. Flowers beyond my botanical knowledge to identify covered the rocky gorges through which we passed. Through the Circassian village

of Suweila and the town of raisins, Es Salt, once the seat of a Christian bishop, down, down into the hot plain of Jericho where we left the loveliness of the higher land for the arid rocky waste of the Jordan valley above the Dead Sea - Dead Sea and Dead Land it was, but for the green oasis of Jericho itself. Signs of things to come were evident in the orderly camps of the Arab Legion, as clean and disciplined as an Aldershot parade ground, with mechanised troops and the efficient movement of a modern army. These we passed at intervals all the long way down.

At the Allenby Bridge we got our first close-up of the beginning of the refugee problem when we saw the early trickle of the flood that was soon to come. Among the smart cars of the prosperous were the truck-loads of the poor piled high with all their worldly possessions, sad people seeking refuge in a land without war. A British sergeant told us two hundred and fifty a day passed over the bridge into Transjordan. From here, 1000 feet below sea level, we commenced the climb through the wilderness of Judea, the Mount of the Temptation on our right, to the Holy City. The first indication of a different situation came in the form of a request by the Arab driver that I should remove my hat - for Jews wear hats! At the Damascus Gate our driver set us down. He would not go into the city. Children pattered round us asking if we were Jews and we were relieved to secure a taxi to take us on. But before we could pass the barbed wire of the security

zones we had to procure passes for zones A and B (zone C had collapsed). Azzam's pass again guaranteed the approval of the Arab Clerk who remarked that such a recommendation was 'Very Good' and asked no more questions.

We deposited our friendly Arab lady in her home and joined Bernard de Bunsen (Director of Education) and Donald Baron (son of Barclay Baron) at their house. James and Kendall had rooms in the Y.M.C.A. and it had been my intention to stay with Bernard de Bunsen but it immediately became evident that the half-mile or so separation between us, involving the passage of a strip of no-man's-land, would prove a serious obstacle to rapid communication, so I joined my Friends in the Y.M.C.A. after lunch (Donald Baron bringing over my very heavy bag next morning by hand).

JERUSALEM

22.4.48.

So we had arrived in Jerusalem. For some reason we never quite understood our arrival created an impression among the small circle of officials with whom we came in contact. Bernard de Bunsen said it was because something definite had happened in a situation that was constantly slipping. Whatever the reason we were treated throughout with the greatest seriousness and given the utmost help by every person whose assistance we sought. We were, indeed, amazed by the willingness of busy people, living under acute tension, to give time and thought to the furtherance of our objectives.

Mr. A.L. Miller, general secretary of the Jerusalem Y.M.C.A., became immediately a friendly mediator and seeker-out of valuable contacts and also an invaluable clearing-house of ideas. He knew everybody, was on the friendliest terms with people we wanted to see, and his eighteen years residence in Jerusalem had given him an unrivalled knowledge of the Palestinian situation. There was power and wisdom behind everything he said - a man to be trusted and listened to. At this time the Y.M.C.A., a magnificent building facing the King David's Hotel (the seat of the Secretariat) was full of various types of social workers and officials, Arab, British and American. In the nature of things the Y.M.C.A. was never a centre of Jewish activity and as the crisis developed Jews ceased to enter a building frequented so largely by Arabs. The two communities were by now utterly separated. So whatever contacts we made with Jews had to be either in the Jewish quarter or on neutral ground, e.g., the American Consulate.

Our first few hours were mainly occupied in securing appointments with key people on both sides; the next few days were to be absorbed by keeping them.

The Situation in Jerusalem.

In order to grasp what follows it is important to understand the geographical and human factors that dominated the situation in the Holy City while we were there. Here is a very brief description of the situation:

1. The population was 160,000 - 100,000 Jews chiefly living in the new city, and 60,000 Arabs, including Moslems and Christians.
2. The Old City is the ancient walled area lying to the East of the new city, containing the Holy Places, places holy to Moslems, Christians and Jews:- The ancient Temple Area now the Haram-esh-Sherif containing the mosques of Omar (The Dome of the Rock) and El Aksei, the third most holy place of Islam; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other Christian Churches of many Christian sects; and the Wailing Wall, which is actually part of the wall surrounding the Haram.

Within these ancient walls live closely packed but in separate quarters Moslems (30,000), Christians (6,000), Jews (2,000).

3. Due east of the Temple area, across the deep valley of the Kedron lies the Mount of Olives, about three-quarters of a mile away, on whose slopes, facing the city, is the garden of Gethsemane. Beneath its flanks running southwards and then due east through Bethany is the Jericho road.
4. The new city stretches south, west and north from this ancient nucleus. Its buildings are modern. Here Jewish and Arab areas separated only by the width of a street were the scene of bitter conflict - sniping by day, raiding and heavy fighting by night.
5. There were three zones, A, B, and C, surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by British troops. Entry was by pass only. They were very small in area, say 500 yards square, havens of quiet in a mad chaos. In zone B the Y. M. C. A. and King David's Hotel were situated; zone A was largely residential; zone C seemed to be crumbling.
6. The dominating element in the situation was the fantastic proximity of the quarters between which the struggle ebbed and flowed. The British forces could do little more than prevent major engagements; they were stretched to the utmost and it was a marvel that they preserved as much order as they did. All that one can say about this is that it would have been much worse if they had not been there - more than worse, the conditions would have been hell let loose.

In such a situation movement was difficult and dangerous. Taxis were hardly procurable; petrol was about £1 a gallon and any driver ran the risk of a hold-up which would end moderately well if only his car was taken. To strangers to the city movement was additionally difficult as to get oneself lost might lead to the worst. So we were glad to accept the protection and guidance of policemen generously lent to us by the District Commissioner. A walk of a quarter of a mile was an adventure, the unexpected was always expected and one could only decide to get on with the job and preserve an outward calm.

I include here a copy of an article I wrote on my return at the request of the 'Spectator'. Its possible value at this point of the narrative may be to give a general picture, not only of the physical situation, but of the problems we were to discuss and the thoughts that were in our minds during the next few days.

"Jerusalem Now.

We must have been the last unofficial citizens to leave Lydda airport. It was difficult to apportion our gratitude - whether to Providence, to the fantastically young British Tommies who were holding the situation or to B. O. A. C. informality which packed us among evacuating equipment in a freighter 'plane bound for Cairo. Two days before Jewish and Arab staff had departed, taking in their baggage certain vital parts in the wireless installation and thus reducing the range of communication to five miles. Contact with the outside world was therefore dependent for the moment on planes flying within that radius. But all was brave and cheerful, in spite of a smouldering Customs House.

Possibly a very brief visit to a situation so nightmarish as that existing during the last days of April in the city of Jerusalem may not result in reliable impressions. I can only record the impact of vivid experiences on a fresh and impartial observer who had opportunities for considerable and sometimes intimate contact with all sides. Outside the minute islands of comparative quiet which constituted the three protected zones, each about 500 yards square, the combatants faced each other by day and by night across a few yards of no-man's-land. This fantastic proximity of Arab and Jew had to be experienced to be believed. A journey of a few hundred yards was an adventure. Sniping in daylight, heavy fighting at night and a hardly stretched British force reducing the impact of Jew upon Arab and Arab upon Jew at the points of penetration from one sector into another - this was the accompaniment to daily activity. Every house counted for something, each side taking what sudden advantage might emerge out of prevailing chaos, honest policemen shot for their guns, citizens robbed of their cars in the open street. Tension, fear, suspicion everywhere - summed up potently in Lancastrian accents at the barbed wire outside the Jewish Agency by the youthful soldier who examined our passes: "I wouldn't trust me bleeding self."

The life of Jerusalem was disintegrating before our eyes. Hanging like a funeral shroud over the minds of thinking folk was the one overwhelming apprehension: "What will happen when the British walk out?" That the British are right in going I have no doubt. But it is a tragic pity that the people at Lake Success have been so long in believing they would go. It is a pity, too, that the Security Council could not have held a session in the King David's Hotel. For on May 15th, unless some miracle happens, Jerusalem will be without a civil administration or a holding force to maintain the last remnants of civil order. The slightest mishap with a gun will break any tenuous truce that may have been established. Everyone knew and feared that the destruction of Jerusalem might be imminent. In any case unrestrained war in Jerusalem would bring devastating pestilence. The city's modern water-supply is piped for many miles into the city. Modern buildings are entirely dependent upon it. The older houses and the whole of the walled city have their ancient cisterns. For twenty years these have been unused; they are filthy, most effective incubators of disease. If these cisterns are restored to use microbial infection will account impartially for far more lives than the fanatic's bullet. And electric power depends on water, for it is generated from Diesel engines. In five days

from the cessation of water-supply the electricity services would cease. Motor fuel would decide whether the 160,000 souls of Jerusalem would be fed. Both petrol and food were getting scarce before we left, though we heard that there was plenty of food in the Old City. Nevertheless the 2,000 Jews in the Old City were entirely dependent for food on the daily visit of a British armoured car. No one knew what would happen to them and their Haganah custodians after May 15th.

It is important not to confuse two distinct elements in the tortuous discussions on the truce. First there was the need for the limited truce involving the safety of the Holy Places. I was assured at the highest Arab sources that there need be no difficulty here. Indeed, Moslem initiative was indicated in the terms broadly defined in Azzam Pahsa's proposal on behalf of the Arab League on April 28th, viz., that there should be no shooting in, to or from the walled city; that neither Arab nor Jew guards in the old city should be asked to lay down their arms; and that the truce could be extended from the wall of the old city to include the Mount of Olives. These were practicable if limited conditions. If, at this juncture, the Jews were to demand access to the Wailing Wall it would be a pity, much as one has to sympathise with their desire, for this would introduce avoidable complications. A more real problem would be the means of feeding the Jews in the Old City, for this would necessitate an agreed route of access from the wider municipal area. That too, however, is possible. But a major complication involved in establishing so limited a neutral area was its effect on the refugee position, for refugees would surge into the already overcrowded city and create acute problems of supply and disease. Hence the pressing need for an extension of the neutral area to the whole city.

At this point the nature of the problem changes from a means of protecting monuments sacred to the religious life of three great communities to a political and strategic problem of some magnitude. On purely military grounds it must be realised that Jerusalem commands the Jericho road, the only artery of communication for the Arabs with their friends in Amman. Hence, agreement to neutralise the main Arab approach from south to north Palestine needs some consideration in Arab circles. The loss to the Jews would be much less severe. But it was obvious that, unless this wider area could be included, calamity awaited the Holy City. The situation demands one single act of statesmanship, sharp and definite, ruthless if need be in its impartiality, which would establish in this one area a visible stabilising fact.

I remember at the time thinking of Jerusalem as a lighthouse on a rock in an angry sea, unshifting, solid, visible. People have lost faith in the certainty of anything but further misery. This exasperating frustration is daily increased by the spate of talk and indecision that comes from Lake Success. That is why definitive action in Jerusalem would have an effect far beyond its walls.

There could be one of two types of action, possibly a combination of both - either the establishment of civil order under a neutral governor backed by a holding force of neutral police (4,000 was the number suggested) or an agreement by both sides to declare Jerusalem an open city. Hopes of the first solution were dissipating fast, and thoughts of the second were hardly born. But at the moment of writing the possibilities of both seem rather brighter. British initiative and International Red Cross co-operation have brought a truce under Red Cross auspices into the realm of possibilities. The idea is so good that one must feel, with Monsieur de Reynier of the Red Cross in Jerusalem, "It must be a dream!" By the time these remarks are in print the miracle may have happened, and unless madness prevails Jerusalem may be a city of refuge under the Red Cross flag, instead of a centre of war and pestilence. But should the Red Cross plan fail, then order must be secured by more conventional means if Jerusalem is to be saved. It is likely that Arab and Jew will persist in a further trial of strength. For recent success has confirmed Jewish hopes of the Jewish State, and the Arabs declare they will fight for two generations against the division of their country. But Jerusalem can be saved by the firm and rapid action of the United Nations.

Quite possibly the cynic or the peaceful citizen of Golders Green will think I have exaggerated the danger to the Holy City. This is not so. The views expressed are supported by the most experienced and sober opinions available, by people who are mistakenly described as unimaginative officials and hard-boiled business-men. If the worst happens, as it still may, then Christendom will only have its own senseless divisions to thank for the destruction of the city where its holiest traditions were born."

23.4.48. TALKS BEGIN.

11.0 a.m.: We began with a long discussion of our project with the District Commissioner of Jerusalem, Mr. J.H.H. Pollack, who was responsible for the safety of the city. It was he, we gathered privately, who had at first objected to our coming - a not unreasonable objection in the circumstances. But once there no courtesy could have exceeded the careful and serious consideration he gave to us. I cannot say his welcome was warm, he was not a warm person, but in a few moments we were aware that we were in the presence of a man of absolute integrity, utterly committed to doing his utmost in every aspect of the heavy responsibilities laid upon him. Twenty-five years in Palestine and in Jerusalem had given him a unique background of knowledge in almost every detail above and below ground.

We were amazed that "the second busiest man in Jerusalem" thought it worth his while to come over and talk to us. (He came to us, we did not go to him). The core of his approval lay in the fact that we had come to do two or three quite specific and limited things, all of which he thoroughly approved. I asked him on the second occasion we met (the night before our departure) why he had bothered with us. "Because I believe that concerned private citizens may often succeed where officials have failed. Officials are suspected of grinding political axes. I have tried and have failed; you may be able to push the situation a few inches further and get it over the edge." At the end of each day he rang

up to inquire how we had progressed.

We learned that he had been working for two months to secure a truce in the Old City. He had secured the signatures of the religious leaders of the Jews and Christians to a joint appeal for a truce, but the Moslem leaders, in spite of their agreement, could not be brought to the responsibility of signing without approval from Cairo. This was always the difficulty with the Moslems, none would accept final responsibility. Pollack was consequently very interested in our account of Azzam Pasha's statement (see above) and believed it might be the key to the whole situation. If we could get Azzam to insist on Moslem signature in Jerusalem the thing could be done, i.e., a truce in the limited area of the Holy Places could be arranged. So we were again encouraged to persevere.

Here is a copy of the appeal drawn up by Mr. Pollack.

"We, the Spiritual, Religious and Temporal Heads and Representatives of the Inhabitants of the Old City of Jerusalem within the Walls, do hereby call on all the inhabitants of the Old City to end the present state of lawlessness and disturbance and to endeavour, with all the powers and authority which each can command, to restore Peace and Tranquillity within our Holy City so that every man may go about his daily worship and work without fear and the families may live in security in their homes.

In working to re-establish and maintain Peace, the people will show their regard for the worship and devotion of their ancestors who have sanctified and hallowed this sanctuary and will acquire Honour and Respect amongst the millions throughout the world who regard our ancient town as the Holy City.

Done and subscribed at Jerusalem in the presence of

(J. H. H. Pollock)
District Commissioner,
Jerusalem".

Mr. Pollack was particularly interesting when he described the situation of the Jews in the Old City. Situated as they were they were entirely dependent for food supplies on the daily visits of an armoured car supplied by the British Military Authorities. These Jews had been established in the Old City for generations and were opposed to political Zionism and had in fact written a vigorous pamphlet against it. (We saw their pamphlet later). A few hundred Haganah and Irgun soldiers had infiltrated into the Jewish quarter and at this time completely controlled it. There was proof that some of them were mining engineers. (Query - What were they there for?) Many of the old residents were anxious to get out of the Old City to join friends in the new city and earlier in the year the British authorities agreed to provide transport for them. On the first day 30 Jews evacuated. On the second day only 3 turned up, and on the third day none. It appeared that Haganah had forbidden the evacuation as a piece of treachery, for it served their purpose to keep the Jewish population within the walls. The feeding of these Jews would become, therefore, a major problem after 15th May when no more supplies would be available. Mr. Pollack suggested that if we could make provision for feeding these Jews in any truce proposals we were able to negotiate a keen anxiety of his would be removed. (On mentioning this point to Azzam when we saw him later in Cairo he answered that there would be no problem if Haganah left the area as these Jews would be fed by Arabs as they had always been).

The Armenian Patriarch.23.4.48. 3.30 p.m.

Mr. Pollack arranged for us to see His Beatitude, Monsignor Cyril Israelian, the Armenian Patriarch whom he regarded as one of the wisest and sanest of the Christian leaders in Jerusalem. He provided a car and two police officers to escort us as it was regarded as both foolish and time-wasting to try and find the Patriarchate in the Old City without safe guides. These policemen were remarkable men, almost too typical of what one expects a really good policeman to be. Handsome, statuesque, polished and immaculate to their shining chins, they stood, spoke, and drove the car with an economy of speech and movement awesome in its disciplinary precision.

Stepping from the Arab-packed streets of the city-within-the-walls into the cool isolation of the Patriarchate felt like baptism by total immersion. We entered through a small door into a covered court of cool grey stone, echoing and silent. We waited in an ante-chamber for our audience which in a few moments was silently invaded by a dozen youths with pale faces and folded hands who came forth from an inner room. They were catechumens receiving instruction from His Beatitude, turned out to make way for us.

Monsignor Cyril was a lovely old man. Black-eyed, rosy cheeked, smiling, he looked a truly good man. A superb square grey beard rested comfortably on the capacious expanse of his black robe, and a face of real benignity was framed between a

black cowl descending to his shoulders. He spoke in perfect English.

He was intensely concerned about the object of our mission - the truce in the city. It was obviously the dominant consideration among his secular duties. He spoke poignantly and sadly of the failure of Christendom to protect the holiest of holy places. "Thirty years have I ministered in this place. I am ashamed of the Christian failure. Christianity is bankrupt" he said. For many of these thirty years he had witnessed the progressive failure of the Christian community to heal the growing rift between Arab and Jew, a failure due to its own timidity and divisions. Now he sat in despair among his flock, daily growing in numbers through the refugees who sought shelter from the coming calamity. Already his community of 1,500 had been swelled by 1,200 refugees. He took us to the window and showed us yet another truckload of the homeless sadly depositing their scanty belongings in the open courtyard.

It was because of this last development that, while admitting the value of a limited truce in the Walled City, he begged us to press for a general truce throughout Jerusalem. For, he explained, if a truce operated in the Old City alone it would become a haven for refugees from all Palestine who would overwhelm its capacity to feed them and would bring with them every imaginable disease. The Moslems were the key to the situation. "If you can persuade the Moslems to take the initiative, to accept the honour, of initiating a truce, then all Christians and their Jewish brethren will bless them and

thank them." These were his parting words, apart from a blessing on ourselves, which we were honoured to receive, for we came away encouraged by a man in whom Christian virtues and a loving humanity had for long found a resting place.

Here again we found a man who believed we might achieve what others had failed to do. No doubt we were yet another straw (as indeed in the end we proved to be) to which drowning men will cling when more solid hope has gone. But again it pointed to an attempt to secure approval in Cairo.

That evening we enlarged our general background of things present and things to come. First in a long talk with Mr. S. R. Jordan, British Commercial Agent, who had been made responsible for the organisation and feeding of members of the British Community who had elected to stay on after the end of the Mandate. We sat on his bed in a small room in the Y.M.C.A. and heard a practical business man express himself bluntly on his view of the situation:-

The whole fabric of ordered life in Jerusalem was crumbling fast. With the Government still here chaos prevailed. What would happen after 15th May, with Arab and Jewish armies waiting to spring at each other's throats the moment the last British soldier set out on the road to Haifa, and with Arab armies waiting to march in? The Jews were elated by their recent success in Haifa. Jerusalem Arabs were bitter and astonished at the rapidity and ease of the

Jewish success, blaming the British for pro-Jewish inactivity. In a few days the Arabs would cut Jerusalem water supplies (in the hills 30 miles away). With water supply cut the Deisal engines generating electricity would cease to function in five days. The ancient cisterns in the City would be brought into use again. These were filthy, not fit for washing water, and would spread disease at an alarming rate, typhus and typhoid accounting for more lives than bullets. In the new houses there would be no water at all. The only prevention of this calamity would be a rapid victory of one side which was not likely to happen. The combatants had never faced this problem squarely as each side was mistakenly convinced of quick success. (Nearly all these judgments were proved true in the next three months).

A talk with John Donovan of the National Broadcasting Corporation, a tough young correspondent who poked his two-seater car and sentimental Boxer bitch into every corner where things were happening, supported all these arguments. Jerusalem was about to be destroyed. And the radio, from hour to hour, drolled forth the debate at Lake Success to a group of exasperated Arabs and Europeans in the Y.M.C.A. lounge, as if the events in Palestine were not of this world. These endless discussions between men remote from the meaning and facts of the true situation, juggling for place in a dangerous world at the expense of human flesh and blood, were a source of bitterness and cynicism among both Arab and Jew in Palestine.

24.4.48.

This was a busy day.

We began by being dragged into a new problem of considerable interest by Don Peretz, a young American Jew working for the National Broadcasting Corporation, who had served with the American Friends Service Council in Mexico and was well known to James Vail. Although a Jew (but an American citizen) he braved the predominantly Arab situation in which we were living at the Y.M.C.A. in the interests of a project which, if it had been practicable, was full of reconciling possibility. This was to establish a joint Arab-Jewish hospital for wounded and refugees from the fight that was to come.

We arranged with the American Consul-General, Thomas J. Wasson, to interview a representative of the Jewish Medical Association at the American Consulate (Wasson was killed by a stray bullet a few weeks later). Dr. Hirsch, a Jewish doctor, made suggestions for the use of the Italian Hospital as a combined Arab and Jewish medical centre for war casualties and infectious diseases. The lay-out of the Hospital, with its Church between the two hospital blocks, was well adapted for this plan. It was situated in an important strategic position between Jewish and Arab quarters and would act as a buffer of neutrality between these areas. If either side occupied it the hospital would be a dominating influence in the coming struggle. Dr. Hirsch's idea was that the Italians would provide nurses and staff, and the Arabs and Jews medical staff. The Jewish Medical Association would pay for services

but would co-operate with Quaker and Arab help in any form. But the essential condition was that it should be administered under the flag of the International Red Cross, and we were asked to contact both the Arab authorities and the Red Cross officials.

It was obvious that there was no point in approaching the Red Cross with a proposal until we had obtained views from the Arab side. Accordingly, through Mr. Miller's agency, we arranged to see Dr. Canaan, President of the Arab Medical Association. The depth of the Palestinian tragedy was eloquently revealed at this interview. Here was a fine, kindly old man, one of the most loved and respected personalities in Jerusalem, whose face suffused with anger when he spoke of the Jews. Co-operation was impossible; no Arab could possibly trust a Jew; they feared them and hated them as destroyers and invaders. An Arab would rather die than be treated by a Jewish doctor. All wrong, but all understandable! Every Arab we met in Jerusalem shared these feelings, especially since the massacre at Deir Yassin whose horror had bitten deeply into the Arab consciousness. But Dr. Canaan welcomed warmly the suggestion of Quaker help, especially with refugees and in the supply of medical stores.

An interview with Archdeacon Campbell McInnes (later badly wounded near St. George's Cathedral) whom we saw in the absence of the Anglican Bishop at Amman, strongly confirmed the views of the Armenian Patriarch. Archdeacon MacInnes was also

concerned that we should press the Red Cross to create a neutral zone (zone de Geneves) to include the Italian Hospital, the Abyssinian Consulate and the G.M.S. buildings which together could form an effective buffer to fighting between Jews and Arabs in that section of the city. He gave us a sample of the sort of unscrupulous military action that was almost a daily occurrence:- The Abyssinian Consul had been repeatedly pressed by Haganah to give up his building overlooking both Jew and Arab quarters. He had repeatedly refused. But one morning he woke to find Haganah established on his roof and they were only dislodged when, on the appeal of the Consul, British Tommies came and drove them out.

To Ramallah:

Later the same morning Willard Jones, American Headmaster of our Friends School at Ramallah, about twelve miles from Jerusalem, drove in to take us back with him, he hoped, for some days. But we could only afford two hours as we had to go to the Haram in the afternoon. This drive to Ramallah gave us a glimpse of main-road conditions outside Jerusalem. The road was safe between 10.0 a.m. and noon and 2.0 p.m. and 4.0 p.m. as it was patrolled by British armoured cars during these hours. Hence journeys had to be fitted in during the safe period. We had to get to Ramallah by noon and return immediately after 2.0 p.m. We passed out of Jerusalem by the Nohlus road, past the road to Mount Scopus where Arabs had a

few weeks before shot up the convoy containing doctors and nurses going to the Hadassah Hospital. It was a tragic and deplorable affair for many distinguished medical personnel and nurses had been killed. Red Cross officials said it was unfortunate that an armed convoy had escorted the doctors and nurses as the Arabs assumed the convoy was taking reinforcements to the Hebrew University, also on Mount Scopus, which was held by Haganah. As a rule the protection of the Red Cross emblem is better than guns as experience of Red Cross workers in Palestine has proved.

This drive had a fantastic quality about it. On the outskirts of the city, with the width of the road between them, were posts now of Arabs, now of Jews, settled peacefully behind protection of sandbags and rocks. Facing each post two or three young Tommies, smiling and seemingly careless of what might come, sat in an armoured car with guns trained and ready. Jew and Arab were waiting for the moment when the neutral menace of the guns was removed and they could restart the struggle which dawn had left undetermined.

As Ramallah was an entirely Arab (and mainly Christian) town our station wagon encountered little delay at the road blocks, for the Friends School and its works were well known. At the School, a boarding and day school for Arab boys (there is also a sister school for girls a short distance away) we met Christina Jones and Sylvia Clark (formerly Headmistress of Saffron Walden School, Essex, who was doing a period of service here).

Here again, as in Beirut, we were in a background of conflicting loyalties. The School at Ramallah served an Arab community, not only that of Ramallah, for boarders came from an area as wide as Palestine itself. The School's work had been identified with Arab education long before there was a Zionist problem; its loyalties were centred in the interests of those whose welfare it existed to promote. At the same time it is a Quaker School which by its nature should have loyalties as wide as mankind. What were the School authorities to do, situated as it was in the midst of a completely Arab district? It was not easy. Willard Jones realised all that was involved in our mission. He knew our object of reconciling Jew and Arab supervened over the lesser loyalties. All he asked us to remember was that any activity we might feel it right to suggest on our return, which had for its object service to the Jewish community, would almost inevitably make Friends' work at Ramallah suspect in the eyes of the Arabs. It might even mean the end of the School. But both he and his wife and Sylvia Clark agreed that this should not prevent our continuing with our wider concern.

Our return journey was not without incident. As we turned into the city from the Noblus Road we heard firing ahead and a large American car fifty yards in front stopped with a jerk; passengers were tumbling out as we drove past. Another vehicle commandeered for the Arab cause! We accelerated up the hill before we excited any interest.

At 3.0 p.m. we set out for the Old City where the District Commissioner had arranged for us to meet Sheikh Tewfik Bey el Hussein, a cousin of the Mufti and Keeper of the Haram-esh-Sherif. We were to meet three Arab policemen at the Jaffa Gate who were to conduct us to the Haram. These were most attractive friendly men. We walked with them down the steep narrow cobbled street, the main shopping centre of the Old City, small cavernous shops displaying eatables to the customers and flies with equal impartiality. One of our guides, a young fellow of 24, had been at Ramallah Friends School under Khalil Totah but had to leave at the age of fifteen owing to the death of his father. He spoke good English and our conversation naturally turned to the present troubles. One of his remarks is worth recording as it threw a cruel light on what at least some of the younger generation of Arabs were thinking:- "I am 24, and all my life I have never known peace in my country. My father is dead, my brother was killed by the Jews; I support my mother and a younger family, and I cannot marry. I long to go to another country just to discover what peace is like." There is no doubt that among large numbers of the Arab population there is a longing for peace running deep beneath the hatred and passions which involve them.

Our guides led us into the Haram, the site of Solomon and Herod's Temples, now of the lovely Mosques, the Dome of the Rock and El Akssa. A corpulent and genial corporal in charge of the police post in the Haram asked us to wait while

Sheikh Tewfik Hussein accomplished his prayers in the Mosque. When prayer was finished he approached us, a cold unfriendly man, and asked what our business was. No coffee and preliminary hospitalities this time. Here was a suspicious and, we guessed, a fearful man, not given to committing himself, not even with regard to a truce which might save his Mosque from damage. The matter of the truce was a political affair, he said "I am merely custodian of the Mosque; you must go to the Supreme Moslem Council; we are well guarded, we have no fear." An entirely negative interview. Not His Beatitude this time. It was suggested that 'His Platitude' might be a safer designation.

But the visit was worthwhile, for Tewfik instructed a sleek unpleasant little showman to conduct us over the Mosques where, in addition to seeing the threshing floor of Araunah the Jobsite (see II Samuel 24) we were able to prove that there were no arms hidden in these Mosques (as the Jews maintained) even if they were cached elsewhere.

Our return was not too comfortable. On the way up to the Jaffa Gate it was clear that tension was high and that things had been happening. The first sign was the appearance of an open coffin carried shoulder high down the narrow street, followed by mourners who struggled to touch the bier of the man killed in the holy war. At the Jaffa Gate we found taxis were unprocurable. Two policemen had been shot in the Manila Road (for their guns) only a short time after we had passed through it on foot on our way to the Mosque. Shooting

was still going on and we had to return that way. We waited hoping for a stray taxi and inquiring of odd owners of cars if they would take us. Nothing doing! A helpful Arab suggested that as there was only shooting on to one side of the street it would be quite safe if we walked down the other. But we preferred streets where there was no shooting on both sides. Then a car rolled up and stopped with a splutter, water pouring from the radiator, windscreen smashed, and a man stumbled out with bleeding face. His car had been shot up a few streets away. It was getting dusk and we were far from home; not very far really, but it was in the wrong direction.

We had decided to return to the police-post in the Mosque, a tedious and none too safe journey, in order to telephone for a police car, and had just turned into the Jaffa Gate, when, lo, a spruce Humber Snipe, and at the wheel our police officers who had taken us to the Armenian Patriarch the day before. We began to explain - but we were cut short with "You want to get inside? O.K." Our Ramallah Arab policeman had stayed with us to the end. He assured us that he would not leave us till we were in safe hands. And when we discovered that he had been on duty from 8.0 a.m. and had had nothing to eat since breakfast we felt both guilty and more grateful than we were able to say. Thank you Mohamed; we hope you are still alive and we hope someday you will know what peace is like.

Our police escort took us past villainous-looking but quite friendly Arabs with murderous Sten guns, suggested that

in future it would be safer to be home by 4.0 p.m., the zero hour for safety, and saluted us goodbye on the steps of the Y. M. C. A.

* * * * *

That evening we had a long conference with Mr. A. L. Miller, discussing our own projects and other possibilities such as the neutralizing of the area of the Italian Hospital and the C. M. S. buildings under the Red Cross. Our ideas were by now crystallising out into some form of co-operation between Mr. Miller, ourselves and the Red Cross, and finance was for the first time introduced into our discussions. We arranged to see Monsieur de Reynier on Sunday.

Another result of our talk with Mr. Miller was his offer to give up in our favour two seats in a plane to Cairo on Monday, 26th April. The situation was deteriorating so fast that the possibility of our being stranded in Jerusalem was to be reckoned with. Already the official date for the evacuation of the Secretariat had been advanced from 15th May to 1st May and then to 28th April. And we had work to do in Cairo to complete the circle of our activities. So we planned to leave on Monday, 26th April, after a full day on Sunday, 25th April.

For we had not yet seen the Jews and felt the Jewish point of view.

25.4.48: At the Jewish Agency:

Mr. Pollack arranged for us to see the Chief Rabbi, Isaac Halevy Hertzog and Mr. Leo Cohen, Secretary of the Political Section of the Jewish Agency. He provided for our guide Mr. Abraham Bergman the Jewish assistant to the District Commissioner. Mr. Bergman, a John Hopkins Ph.D., (Archaeology) proved to be a most charming and generous-minded man with whom it was easy to discuss objectively the whole Palestinian problem. His understanding was deep, his sympathies wide, and he expressed views far less extreme and much more constructive than those of more prominent Jews we were soon to meet. He was convinced that nothing would release the prevailing cynicism and tension but a decisive act by the United Nations. Distrust was immeasurably increased by the mounting conviction among both Jews and Arabs that the debate on Trusteeship at Lake Success was just phoney, no more than a series of moves among the Powers for securing position in the political game. One firm decision at Lake Success announced and immediately operated would release forces of reason which had been steadily dissipated as the situation deteriorated. His view was that this action should take the form of declaring an enclave of neutrality around Jerusalem protected by international police. This would neutralise a key area in the conflict and provide time for a more reasoned solution of the total problem.

We passed the two youthful British Tommies at the barbed-wire and entered a world vastly different from the ancient quarters of the Old City. Here all was shining and new. Confidence and purpose shone from the faces of a predominantly youthful population. There were evident signs of prosperity in the smart clothes of young men and women and in the modern houses and shops. But it was a youth in arms. Boys of 17 carried guns and nursed them on the steps of public buildings.

We entered the substantial residence of the Rabbi who welcomed us warmly and provided a formidable array of strong drink on a silver tray - too strong for Quakers at 11.0 a.m. on the Christian Sabbath. Twenty-five years ago the Rabbi had lived in Dublin and knew the Jacobs and other members of the Friends Community in that city. He referred warmly to Rufus Jones' efforts to secure a truce and fully supported any efforts we might make in our task of completing Rufus Jones' initiative. He also approved of our relief project.

But when we came to discuss the general problem we discovered a man of one idea and limited sympathies. His utter incapacity to realise that there was an Arab case worthy at least of discussion was almost beyond comprehension. He started from the major premise that, as "you will understand from your Bible", God has given Palestine to the Jews. And here they are, settled in their own country, facing an unwarranted opposition from the Arabs who have not realised

that the Jews are here by divine right. Throughout our long discussion there was no single sign that this prominent religious leader had attempted to enter into the Arab state of mind. He claimed that Zionism had conferred great benefits on the Arab population and was not impressed by our suggestion that such good as may have been done was incidental rather than deliberate. We were fortunately able to dissipate his fear that the Arabs were using the Mosques as an arsenal for we had seen the Mosques the previous day.

We attempted to insist that the time had come to raise the whole issue from the political to the moral plane. But to the suggestion that the conflict had reached a point when peace could only be secured if each side were willing to give something, even if only to recognise an element of right in the opponent's position, he replied: "Yes, I agree, our scriptures teach us that. But look what the Jews have given. We have offered half our country to the Arabs, and they are not satisfied." An odd remark from a man who was a good Irish citizen twenty-five years ago! We all felt saddened by this tragic lack of sympathy in a man who had no cruelty in his heart but merely lacked imagination. We could only assume that the sufferings of his own people had blinded him to all else in the realms of human need and common justice. This was the extreme Zionist, single-minded, unresponsive to the call of any purpose but his own.

This sounds somewhat bitterly critical, but I report what happened and the impressions that from day to day and from

person to person were made upon us. But it must be realised that such experiences were not necessarily typical, although in this instance important owing to the influential position of the Rabbi. We knew that if we had been able to see other Zionists we should have discovered different and more liberal views among them. My earlier visit to Palestine in 1938, when time was more abundant and communications infinitely easier, had brought me into contact with generous minds and with the nobler aspirations of Zionism. That such minds and aspirations still exist I have no doubt, and Dr. Bergman, our guide, was himself surety enough for that.

We then passed into a less genial atmosphere - to the Jewish Agency. A fierce young Yemenite Jew pushed his Sten gun into Bergman's middle as he stepped through the eighteen-inch gap of the protecting ramparts. They were taking no chances. The obvious innocence of countenance with which we thought we were protected was not enough. It appeared that no-one was admitted after noon except for very special reasons. But a few sharp words in Hebrew from Bergman secured our passage and we penetrated the stronghold.

Leo Cohen was a remarkable person. I have never seen a man work and think at such speed and with such precision. There were three telephones constantly ringing, through which he shot answers and instructions in the midst of his talk with us. He switched from English to Hebrew to French according to the needs of the situation. Five or six times he had to leave us for a few moments and each time he took up the

unfinished sentence at the exact point at which he had left it. Our main concern here was to get his views regarding the truce, for what he decided was possible in the political sphere would decide the Jewish attitude. He was severely realistic and presented us with a series of definite propositions which clarified our ideas and gave us clear direction. He said there was little value in talking in general terms about a truce. We had to provide answers to the following questions:-

1. Does a truce mean no shooting inside the walled city or no shooting from it or into it, or all three?
2. Does it mean removing all arms from both Arabs and Jews? If so, no Arab would agree to it and therefore armed Jews would refuse to leave the area.
3. If a massacre occurred outside the area would the afflicted community inside refrain from reprisals? (A question no-one could answer!)
4. If the area were neutralized how would the 2,000 Jews in the Old City get food supplies. (At the moment they were dependent on daily visits of a British Armoured car). There must be at least one road for access of food supplies.
5. Would neutrality in the Old City include freedom of access to the Wailing Wall of
 - (a) Jews in the Old City?
 - (b) Pilgrim Jews from outside the Old City?

If we could clarify these obscurities he supported our project.

We had something to think about. These considerations formed the basis of our proposal to Azzam Pasha on our return to Cairo.

This was our last interview in Jerusalem with members of the Jewish community.

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engaged in relief work with the wounded and the increasing

Our return passage through the barbed wire produced an incident revealing and symbolic of the state of nerves pervading the city. As a young Tommy was examining our passes he saw an old Jew on the nearby pavement fiddling with a tin. He sprang from us towards the Jew, demanding what the game was. The Jew dropped the tin and the Tommy's companion called out: "Leave 'im alone, 'e's orl right." To which our Tommy replied: "I wouldn't trust me bleedin' self." That was just about it. Suspicion was so completely pervasive that men doubted the integrity even of their own motives. The simplest and most innocent action was suspect. I remember on one occasion causing a mild sensation by closing my spectacle case with a loud snap. There was not much reason left in Jerusalem except among people who were too fair-minded and charitable to be of use to either side.

Our last night in Jerusalem.

25.4.48:

Later in the day we had discussions with Arabs, from which we gained further light on Arab feeling. It was clear these 'intellectuals', officials in government service, were by no means confident of the outcome of the impending struggle. Mr. Rif at Habsab, Chief Arab Probation Officer, and Mr. Djamel Bey Toukhan, member of the Moslem Supreme Council, were mainly concerned with the almost complete disruption of Arab social services built up under British direction over twenty-five years. Miss Sultanie Halaby, an Arab social worker now engaged in relief work with the wounded and the increasing

flood of homeless refugees, confirmed these views and gave a pitiful account of the mounting distress among the poor, who were already driven from their homes without possessions or means of sustenance. Although they were loath to admit it, it was clear that Arab leadership was abysmally lacking. The leaders were not on the spot, they had moved to Damascus, Amman, Beirut and Cairo, either to be out of the trouble or to be in the counsels of the 'Higher Command'. They placed a good deal of blame on the British, especially Mrs. Habab, who deplored the poor progress made in education and social welfare owing to the parsimonious attitude of the Government. There was much force in this criticism but it can at least be said that the British had created a framework on which further development was possible. The tragedy is that even this has now disappeared, partly due to the fact that some of the expert Arab officials had sought work elsewhere owing to the bleak prospects ahead. But one could not help contrasting this attitude with the intense devotion of the Jewish leaders who were making their plans behind their sandbags in Palestine.

Mr. Pollack paid us his last visit this evening and showed his continued interest in our plans, very strongly supporting our idea of cabling our now solid views about neutralizing Jerusalem and securing it by a neutral police force. He said he had pressed for this for months. He had calculated that a holding force of 4,000 would do the job.

At this point I turned to James: "James", I said, "speaking as a very bad Quaker, I believe we have got to get those police into Jerusalem." "Ted," he replied, "I'm not so sure it would be such bad Quakerism if we did." Pollack intensely enjoyed our conflict of principle. But there our conviction lay. Two pacifists, convinced that arms would not resolve this bitter conflict, convinced that the deadlock would yield only to the reconciling force of reason founded in love, and yet also quite clear that the stabilising use of force in the police sense would hold the situation and create conditions where reason might begin to seep through the moral wreckage.

So we spent the last hour before midnight in our pyjamas composing the following cable for transmission to Clarence Pickett in Philadelphia and Paul Sturge in London. It seemed futile and silly to think of weighing in with our mite against the whole weight of procrastination at Lake Success; but with no illusions and yet under a sense of compulsion and some faith even in our puny efforts, we were clear that we must leave nothing undone that might save Jerusalem from destruction. Here is the cable, sent after our return to Cairo on 27.4.48:-

REACHED CAIRO AFTER SUNDRY DIFFICULTIES SAW JERUSALEM
 DISINTEGRATING BEFORE OUR EYES INTO PHYSICAL AND MORAL
 CHAOS SITUATION CLOSE TO ANARCHY DESTRUCTIVE HOUSE
 TO HOUSE CONFLICT DEMOLISHING HOMES AND CIVIC BUILDINGS
 MURDER TO SECURE WEAPONS COMMONPLACE STOP FEAR AND
 SUSPICION DISRUPTING CIVIC LIFE ALREADY APPROACHING
 STANDSTILL STOP UNLESS FIGHTING CEASES BEFORE
 FIFTEENTH MAY JERUSALEM FACES DESTRUCTION CUTTING OF
 WATER FUEL ELECTRICITY IMMINENT STOP DISEASE WILL
 SPREAD AND MULTIPLY PRESENT SUFFERING SERIOUS REFUGEE
 PROBLEM INEVITABLE STOP IMMEDIATE APPOINTMENT
 SUCCESSOR CIVIL AUTHORITY JERUSALEM VITAL STOP URGENT
 NEED FOR INITIAL SIGNIFICANT AND IMMEDIATE ACTION TO
 RELIEVE TENSION AND INTRODUCE ELEMENT OF STABILITY
 STOP URGE APPROACH AT HIGHEST LEVELS IMMEDIATE
 IMPLEMENTATION INTERNATIONAL AREA AROUND JERUSALEM
 UNDER GOVERNOR AND DISCIPLINED NEUTRAL POLICE ULTIMATE
 REQUIREMENT FOUR THOUSAND BUT FIRST CONTINGENTS
 IMMEDIATELY STOP GREAT FRUSTRATION DUE LACK DEFINITION
 UNITED NATIONS POLICY STOP WIDESPREAD LONGING FOR
 PEACE STOP LIMITED ESSENTIAL ACTION SUGGESTED SHOULD
 NOT BE ASSOCIATED WITH DECLARATION OF FUTURE POLICY
 STOP TIME THE ESSENCE OF SOLUTION STOP FOREGOING
 SUPPORTED BY HIGHEST AUTHORITY MORE TOMORROW.

CASTLEVAIL.

If some such action had been taken forthwith there can
 be little doubt that Jerusalem and its people, Arab and Jew,
 would have been saved from suffering and death in the weeks
 that followed. Perhaps Count Bernadotte would still be alive.
 But, of course, nothing came of it.

* * * * *

After dinner the same evening we had a preliminary
 tactical talk with Mr. Miller, the ever-present counsellor,
 on the approaching conference with the Red Cross - Monsieur
 Jacques de Reynier. It had not been easy to get this
 conference. De Reynier was a stiff sort of person and liked
 to go his own way and we had to be pretty insistent that he

should see us. We had discovered from Mr. Miller that de Reynier had decided to use the Y.M.C.A. building and the King David's Hotel across the road (across Julian's Way) as refugee zones, one for Jews, one for Arabs, under the Red Cross Flag.

It must be realised that the International Red Cross has no funds; it is an organisation run by a few Swiss families in Geneva which provides the principles under which international covenants regarding the care of sick persons and wounded in wartime shall be organised and recognised. The universal recognition of these principles is its strength and therefore Red Cross officials are rigid in demanding absolute compliance with their rules. Incidentally national Red Cross organisations are separate and relatively autonomous organisations.

Now Mr. Miller knew that the cost of housing some hundreds of refugees, not a fixed population permanently established 'for the duration', but a constantly changing population, moving in and out of the building as the swaying fortunes of war might decide - he realised that the cost would be high. Where would the money come from? It was here that we came in. James Vail reckoned that he could get 60,000 dollars from American sources. This interested de Reynier!

So we had a very friendly conference and explained what we might do if Friends at home approved of our recommendations. We were clear by now that the only way in which Friends might help in Palestine was, in the first instance at least, to work under the protection of the Red Cross in a refugee service. We were able, therefore, to take back the following suggestions for Friends, American and British, reconciling work in Palestine:

1. That Friends should provide one mature experienced leader, two men for transport and general utility, and two women trained either as nurses or refugee workers.
2. That Friends should agree to the following conditions for working with the Red Cross:
 - (a) Friends should be entirely responsible for the maintenance of their workers
 - (b) All work done by Friends under Red Cross protection would be subject to the direction of the Red Cross in regard to policy and personal safety
 - (c) There would be no appointment of personnel for a definite period and on reasonable notice Quaker personnel could resign from Red Cross supervision and direction
 - (d) No uniform would be required but a Red Cross arm-band would be worn in certain situations if required by the Red Cross.

In order to complete this section I will add that on our return to Cairo the following cable was sent to America and England on 27.4.48:

RECOMMEND REFUGEE SERVICE UNDER INTERNATIONAL RED
 CROSS COMMITTEE SWISS STAFF NOW IN JERUSALEM BY
 UNIT FIVE QUAKERS TO LIVE IN JERUSALEM YMCA MATURE
 DISCREET TACTFUL LEADER COMPETENT EXPLORE MOST
 EFFECTIVE QUAKER WORK TWO YOUNG MEN FOR BUSINESS
 DETAILS TRANSPORT TWO WOMEN WITH EITHER NURSING
 OR REFUGEE EXPERIENCE INTERCROSS PRINCIPLES
 OPERATION WITHOUT DISTINCTION RACE OR CREED WOULD
 ENABLE US TO WORK UNDER PROTECTION OF THEIR FLAG
 WITHOUT UNIFORM AND PROVIDES BEST PROBABLY ONLY
 BASE FOR BEGINNING USEFUL WORK YMCA HAS EXCELLENT
 FACILITIES BUT IS DESPERATELY IN NEED OF FUNDS
 CONSULT MCQUELLEN LAND NEWYORK AND ARRANGE THAT MILLER
 IN JERUSALEM BE ASSURED OF TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS
 MONTHLY SIX MONTHS TO MAKE PROPOSED PROGRAM POSSIBLE
 LARGE NUMBERS CAN BE SERVED STOP HAVE DILIGENTLY
 EXTENSIVELY EXPLORED TRUCE POSSIBILITIES OLD CITY
 HOPE TO REPORT FURTHER FROM CAIRO RECORD PROFOUND
 GRATITUDE INVALUABLE SERVICES KIMBERLAND WHO
 OVERCAME ENORMOUS PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES.

GASTLEVAILL.

Lydda and Cairo:

26.4.48:

The day opened with few possibilities and many uncertainties. We had secured what seemed to be the three last seats in a plane from Lydda to Cairo but there was no information in the B. O. A. C. office in Jerusalem concerning conditions at Lydda. They had been cut off from the airport for two days and all they could say was that their car would go on chance to Lydda but there was no guarantee that we should get any further. So far their cars had got through on the long route via Ramallah and there was not much likelihood of difficulty on the road. We decided to risk it and started out at 10.0 a.m.

There were two others in the car besides ourselves and the diminutive Arab driver; a photographer of Associated Press who wanted to salvage £150 worth of photographic material from Lydda customs-house and a young man (whose personality I forget) who wanted to get out of Palestine. We passed the usual road blocks through Ramallah which was packed with armed Arabs and refugees, and on to Latrun. It was a few miles past Latrun that we saw our last biblical scene in this land of the Bible - two oxen ploughing in a field, not another soul but the ploughman in sight; a landscape of peace. We recalled that odd verse only found in the Codex Bezae - Luke VI - "On the same day he saw a man working on the Sabbath, and said unto him, 'Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not thou art accursed, and a transgressor of the law'". That might be said of many men in Palestine today. About five miles before Lydda we passed several cars returning from the air-port and were informed that there was no hope of a plane. But our grand little driver was adamant. He had been told to go to Lydda and to Lydda he would go. "I'm going to see the Manager" was his refrain. Discipline saved us. If we had turned back at this point we should have missed our good luck. So we came to the air-port to find it in the hands of the British army who would not even allow us to drive the half-mile from the gate to the air-port station without escort.

As the car drew up we saw a plane take off from a completely deserted air-field. Our last hope gone? Anyhow, the news was not encouraging. The customs house was on fire after an Arab raid the previous night, the offices of all the air-lines except the B.O.A.C. were closed, left with open files and ink hardly dry on the ledgers in what looked like Pompeian flight. There were three or four B.O.A.C. officials who told us that all the Jewish staff had walked out two days before, that the crystals (I think that was it) had been removed from the transmitters, thus severing wireless communication except for a five-mile radius. Communication with the outside world depended on a chance plane coming within this radius. The only plane expected was a freighter which was coming to take away B.O.A.C. furniture. We could either take our chance of waiting overnight for what might come on the morrow or go back to Ramallah. We could not get to Jerusalem that day. There was enough food for two days. We elected to stay.

We watched the clear skies for an hour or two, and lo, a Dakota circling round the port making inquiries as to the state of things. With his customary initiative Kendall howled up to the watch-tower to tell them to instruct the plane to radio to Cairo for a plane to take us off. This they did. But we could not see 'M.I.S.R.' Lines risking a visit to Lydda. Then the plane landed and out of it stepped the General Manager of B.O.A.C. Middle East, come to see how things were. He flourished an 'Egyptian Mail': "That's

what we had for breakfast this morning": - 'ARABS MOVE INTO LYDDA AS ARMY QUILTS AIR BASE'. He was glad to find the British Army had not quitted but he was rather dubious about us. Fortunately Kendall knew him well and he promised to do all he could to get us away. By 6.0 p.m. we were told that they could stow us away with the furniture and that we should start with 'failing light'. And we did; not before our press-photographer had 'flashed' the 'last private civilians to leave Lydda' (I should like to see those photos).

It was pleasant to be in the air again but sad to see the sand dunes receding behind us, the last of this lovely troubled country which was to be torn with so much more suffering in the next few months. It was a little like desertion, but if we were to be of any use at all it was not in Palestine. So, braced with coffee and sandwiches from the remaining B.O.A.C. stores we passed through the night to Cairo. Touching down in the blaze of this most unhomely of cities was, nevertheless, like coming home. It was 8.30 p.m.

The miles of lighted streets lined with palm trees through which our crowded omnibus bumped stimulated James to his customary recitation of appropriate verse (a charming habit of his I have forgotten to mention). He recited about a thousand verses of Longfellow's 'The Palm' - a phenomenal memory he had. And we came back to 26 Sharia Kasr-el-Nil where even the traveller who had no wife to receive him

enjoyed a hot welcome.

That night we sent off the cable we had composed twenty-four hours before in the Y.M.C.A. Jerusalem (see page 65).

CAIRO: 27th April - 1st May.

We had a busy time during the next two days. Our first object was to get into touch with Azzam Pasha and through the agency of Brigadier Clayton we obtained an interview with him for 11.15 a.m. on 28th April.

In the meantime on the morning of 27th we held a conference with representatives of organisations in the Middle East who would be concerned in the organisational and financial side of any joint project involving the Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. These were - Naguib Kalada; General Secretary Y.M.C.A., Cairo; Rudolph P. Wiens; Y.M.C.A. Senior American Secretary for Egypt; J.W. Barwick of the Y.M.C.A., and Albert Cocatrix of the International Red Cross, Geneva. The net result of this discussion was that the finance of the refugee project was regarded as workable and that funds could be secured in U.S.A.

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If there was to be any result from our inquiries regarding the truce the approval of the Arab League was important, if not essential. We were clear that only a simple and limited set of conditions held any chance of success and it was evident that Azzam would not have wasted his time with us if he was indifferent to the truce idea or thought it impracticable.

So we drew up a memorandum containing our proposals, and holding Kendall's guiding hand we penetrated the Secretariat of the Arab League, and saw Azzam at the time appointed.

We outlined our proposals verbally. He accepted them all in principle and almost all in detail. He showed us a general statement in Arabic, which he had prepared the night before. He offered us the services of his office to get our hastily compiled script typed for presentation to him when finished. (He had other work to attend to in the interval).

This was our memorandum:-

'Your Excellency,

It became clear from our inquiries in Palestine that the Christian Community in Jerusalem were waiting for a Moslem lead and we therefore wish most respectfully to suggest to Your Excellency that the effect of Moslem initiative in this matter would have an enormous moral and political impact on world opinion. If you and your Moslem colleagues were able to accept the honour of securing peace in the ancient walled city millions all over the world in all religious professions would regard the action of the Moslem authorities with gratitude.

Moreover your action would bring about a new understanding of the moral qualities of Islam among the communities of the Middle East and through this completely practical and generous act Islam would assume a strong position of moral leadership.

We believe that it would be wisest to secure only those minimum conditions of truce likely to be practicable, and therefore we suggest:

1. That there should be no shooting in, to or from the Old City of Jerusalem.
2. That provision be made for feeding the Jewish residents in the Old City.

3. That neither Arab nor Jewish guards should be asked to give up their arms.
4. That if negotiations for a permanent truce become difficult, an agreement for a period of 60 days should be made subject to periodic renewal.
5. That the area of truce should be extended to include the Mount of Olives, but not the Jericho Road, which is essential to Arab communications.'

It is worth noting that practically all the details of this memorandum accepted by Azzam Pasha were based on the suggestions we received from Jewish sources.

We then saw Azzam again with the finished memorandum. He said he would release to the press a statement incorporating our points and he gave us a French translation of the preamble which he had prepared. This reads as follows:-

'LIGUE DES ETATS ARABES

Le Caire, le 28/4/1948

Les peuples du monde entier sont inquiets sur le sort des lieux saints a Jerusslem, à cause des dangers imminents auxquels ils s'exposent par le fait de la lutte se re/oulant a proximité de la dite villa.

Or, le Secretariat General de la Ligue des Etats Arabes est soucieux de proclamer au monde entier que les Arabes tiennent a la sauvegarde des lieux saints et a ce qu'il ne s'exposent a aucun danger, dans leur lutts de defense de Jerusalem et de la Palestine entiere contre l'agression sionist/.

'Cette ville et ses lieux saints, qui sont d'un égal caractère sacré pour les musulmans, les chrétiens et les juifs, ont été respectés et maintenus par les Arabes à travers les âges et sont l'objet de leur plus grande sollicitude. Ils sont aujourd'hui plus de jamais soucieux d'en assurer la sauvegarde et l'inviolabilité, conformes, en cela, à leur histoire et à leurs traditions.

Ainsi, les Arabes sont disposés à accepter toute mesure destinée à assurer la sauvegarde des lieux saints à l'intérieur des murs de la vieille ville de Jérusalem.

A cet effet ils seraient disposés à conclure une trêve, destinés à assurer ce qui suit:-

1°) La suspension de la lutte à l'intérieur de la ville et l'interdiction de toute attaque dirigée contre la ville ou émanant de la ville à l'extérieur, 2°) les gardes arabes et juifs de la ville ne seront pas désarmés, 3°) le respect absolu du statu-quo ante de la ville.

Les Arabes, dans leur désir d'assurer la sauvegarde des autres lieux religieux se trouvant au Mont des Oliviers, seraient disposés à étendre cette trêve aux dits lieux.

D'ailleurs, les Arabes n'auraient pas d'objection à confier le maintien des lieux saints à un corps de religieux. La Ligue des Etats Arabes participerait aux frais que nécessiterait la création d'un corps de garde chargé de surveiller l'exécution de la trêve et de maintenir l'ordre dans les environs des lieux saints dans toute la Palestine.'

On the following day, 29th April, the following statement appeared prominently displayed in the Cairo press:-

'ARABS WILLING TO SAFEGUARD HOLY PLACES.

The Arabs' willingness "to accept any measures calculated to safeguard the holy places" within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem was expressed last night in a statement issued by the Arab League Secretariat in Cairo.

Declaring that the peoples of the world were worried over the fate of the holy places of Jerusalem owing to the imminent dangers to which they were exposed, the statement said that the Arab League "is anxious to proclaim to the world that the Arabs wish to safeguard the holy places in their struggle for the defence of Jerusalem and of Palestine against Zionist aggression."

* * *

After pointing out that Jerusalem was sacred equally to the Moslems, Christians and Jews, the statement added:

"The Arabs are willing to accept any measures calculated to safeguard the holy places within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem.

To this effect, they would be prepared to conclude a truce on the following lines:

Firstly, the ending of the struggle inside the Old City and the prevention of all attacks directed against or emanating from the City.

Secondly, Arab and Jewish guards in the City would not be disarmed.

Thirdly, absolute respect of the City's statu-quo ante."

* * *

The statement goes on to say that in their desire to safeguard other religious places in the Mount of Olives area, the Arabs "would be willing to extend this truce to these places."

The statement concludes: "The Arabs would have no objection to handing over the upkeep of the holy places to a religious body. The League would share in the expenses which might be necessary for the creation of a police unit to supervise the execution of the truce and to keep order in the area of the holy places throughout Palestine."

After this interview we sent the following cable to
Clarence Pickett and Paul Sturge:

AZZAM PASHA HAS JUST TOLD US ARAB LEAGUE TODAY ANNOUNCING
SPONSORSHIP TRUCE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM AND MOUNT OF OLIVES
STOP WE ASSURED CHRISTIAN ACCEPTANCE THIS LEADERSHIP
STOP WE HAVE ALSO PRESENTED CASE TO JEWISH AGENCY AND
RELIGIOUS LEADERS JERUSALEM AND ARE HOPEFUL THEIR ACQUIESCENCE
FULLSTOP VAIL SAILING VULCANIA MAY FIRST PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE
THIS AND PREVIOUS TWO CABLES.

CASTLEVAIL

We also cabled J. H. H. Pollack in Jerusalem as follows:

AZZAM PASHA HAS JUST TOLD US ARAB LEAGUE TODAY ANNOUNCING
SPONSORSHIP TRUCE OLD CITY JERUSALEM AND MOUNT OF OLIVES
CAN YOU ASSIST IMPLEMENTATION.

CASTLEVAIL.

As direct communication with Jerusalem was difficult
Brigadier Clayton sent this through his own channels on 28.4.48.

But there was still a gap in the circle. We had
travelled from Azzam back to Azzam, but we had not ensured
that those responsible for implementing the truce on the
Moslem side in Jerusalem itself had been adequately dealt with.
This meant contact with the Supreme Moslem Council, members
of which we knew were in Cairo. A way was opened to us by
a request from Mrs. Antonius, widow of the Arab author who
had written so much on Palestine, that we should see her.
This we did in the afternoon of the same day, and listened to
a story passed on to her from the Sisters of a French Convent
in Jerusalem that they were hearing tunnelling noises beneath
their convent basements - could we inform the right people.
(This we were not able to do).

It happened that Mrs. Antonius brought with her the secretary of Abdul Hadi, secretary of the Supreme Moslem Council, who promised to arrange an interview with him on the following day - our last in Cairo. We met him at the Heliopolis Hotel at 4.0 p.m.

30.4.48: Abdul Hadi was a most sympathetic and charming person. Over coca-cola and biscuits we pressed the point that the Moslem Supreme Council must agree to instruct Moslems in Jerusalem to accept the truce. He fully agreed with the need for the truce in the interests of religion and humanity, and took the point stressed by the Armenian Patriarch that Moslem initiative would bring honour to the Moslems. He said he would press our whole concern at the Council which was holding a meeting the following day, at which the Grand Mufti would be present. (We did not regard that as a good augury!)

* * * * *

That was our last effort. We returned in the evening to a farewell party at Louise and Kendall Kimberland's. It was a great occasion, quite apart from the vast supplies of tender beef-steak, pistachio and raspberry ices and other unwonted dainties strange to an Englishman's palate. We talked of fifteen days of packed events, full of good companionship and some excitement, and we hope still, not without a measure of usefulness.

Leaving aside the effectiveness of anything we may have done, our most vivid impression of these days was the experience of complete unity of mind which characterised every thought and action of our little mission. I was a stranger to both James and Kendall when we had met only fifteen days before, but in a few hours we were working together like life-long associates. It was, therefore, in this background of a memorable experience of friendship, divine guidance and protection that we finished our work in a meeting for worship, as we had begun. We had learned once again that barriers of suspicion will fall before confident acceptance of God's goodness in men.

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The following is a minute of my report to Meeting for Sufferings:

"At a Meeting for Sufferings held
7th of Fifth Month, 1948.

Minute 1. PALESTINE: REPORT BY EDGAR B. CASTLE.

Following Minute 3 of our last meeting, we warmly welcome Edgar B. Castle on his return from Cairo and Palestine. He carried out his visits in company with James Vail, whom he met in Cairo, and with Kendall Kimberland who joined with them in Cairo and who gave them the very best of his detailed knowledge and experience and was an invaluable help to the mission.

We attach to this Minute the report of the mission compiled by Edgar B. Castle and James Vail. Edgar B. Castle has spoken to us today and given us a vivid account of his experiences and of the tense situation which they found in Jerusalem. Jews and Arabs are at constant war and the life of the city approaches a standstill.

"The members of the mission were received warmly by all sorts of people, busy officials who gave their best help, Jews and Arabs in high offices, particularly the Secretary General of the Arab League, Christian leaders and many others.

We have considered the suggestion made by the mission that some Friends should go to Palestine to undertake work among refugees in the first instance with the International Red Cross.

We ask the Friends Service Council in consultation with the Palestine Watching Committee and in co-operation with the American Friends Service Committee to consider the matter further, to take such action as seems right on the lines of the recommendation and to report to our next meeting. We recognise that success will depend on finding rightly concerned and qualified Friends to undertake the service.

(copy for) LEWIS W. HEADLEY,
Clerk.

(sgd.) STANLEY J. FORWARD".

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Since our mission returned, James Vail to America and I to England, the rapid turn of events in Palestine, the intensified war after 15th May, the Bernadotte truce and the tragic rise of a vast new refugee problem, have made impossible the immediate application of our suggested plans. A week after his return James Vail flew back to Cairo with Harold Evans, the United Nations Commissioner for Jerusalem. But Harold Evans had to relinquish what proved to be an impossible task.

Perhaps the way will open soon for different plans to meet the new situation. We wait on the final act, may it be of wisdom, whereby the United Nations will or will not

bring peace to Palestine. But apart from the political solution the fate of 500,000 homeless Arab exiles has to be decided, refugees flying from another refugee people. Human destitution as complete as the modern world has seen awaits relief from the charity of the western world. Friends must surely soon find a way in which they may take their part.

I had not written three words of these notes before the radio announced the news of Bernadotte's assassination, surely the consummation of evil. We owe sanity a debt and love a sacrifice for the life of this good man.

Hull: S.X.48.