

The Role of the Congress in Implementing the Zionist Project in Palestine (1917 – 1946)

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Abstract

This study examines the role of the U.S. Congress in the Zionist project in Palestine (1917 – 1946), where it aims at giving a preliminary image of the Zionist movement permeation in order to dominate and control the United States Jews before 1917, and to control the American society and then the congress members of both its houses; the Congress and the Senate. This study clarifies the role of the Congress from the events, committees and the important decisions taken during the study period, e.g. Balfour Declaration , Mandate for Palestine and the White Paper 1939 and Biltmore conference program and the Anglo-American committee in 1946. The researcher has used the scientific historic method that is based on the analysis of the Congress attitudes from the previous topics, and the extent of the pressure on the U.S. administration in order to take a supporting position in behalf of the Zionist project in Palestine , which has had a significant impact on the development of this project until 1946. This impact was represented in the role of Congress in the work and recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee which always supported the Zionist project. The researcher will take the benefit from some resources and references, mainly the Congress documents (decisions - diaries - recommendations) during the study period, and also a variety of Arab and foreign references.

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دور الكونغرس الأمريكي في المشروع الصهيوني في فلسطين 1917 - 1946م

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ملخص

تبحث هذه الدراسة بموضوع : دور الكونغرس الأمريكي في المشروع الصهيوني في فلسطين 1917 - 1946م ، حيث يتطرق إلى إعطاء صورة تمهيدية عن تغلغل الحركة الصهيونية للسيطرة على يهود الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية قبل عام 1917م ، ومن ثم المجتمع الأمريكي فأعضاء الكونغرس بمجلسيه الشيوخ والنواب ، وتوضح الدراسة دور الكونغرس من الأحداث واللجان والقرارات الهامة فترة الدراسة ، تصريح بلفور وصك الانتداب والكتاب الأبيض 1939م وبرنامج مؤتمر بيلت مور واللجنة الأنجلو أمريكية 1946م ، وقد استعان الباحث بالمنهج العلمي التاريخي الذي يقوم على تحليل مواقف الكونغرس من المواضيع السابقة ، ومدى ضغطه على الإدارة الأمريكية لاتخاذ موقف مساند للمشروع الصهيوني في فلسطين ، مما كان له اثر كبير في تطور هذا المشروع حتى عام 1946م ، والمتمثل بدور الكونغرس في عمل وتوصيات اللجنة الأنجلو أمريكية المساندة تماما للمشروع الصهيوني ، فيما سيستعين الباحث بمصادر ومراجع أهمها وثائق (قرارات - مذكرات - توصيات) الكونغرس فترة الدراسة ، ومراجع عربية وأجنبية متنوعة

Introduction:

This study displays the role of the U.S. Congress in implementing the Zionist project in Palestine between 1917-1946. Its significance lies in that the Zionist movement has permeated to expand its influence into the U.S. Congress so as to affect on both the U.S. policy toward the Zionist project, and on the Congress contribution in supporting Balfour Declaration and Mandate Act, and also its adoption of speech in favor of the Zionist position towards the White Paper in 1939 and the Anglo-American Committee in 1946. The research gives answers to the main question which is: What is the role played by the Congress in order to support the Zionist project in Palestine. However it was exemplified by the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews that took the form of the Commonwealth, or a state with the end of the study period. This topic was scattered in several studies so it was justified to set it in a single study.

The study contained a preliminary introduction in which it showed a comprehensive image of the Zionist movement penetration among the Jews in the United States, then among the Congress members. The study was divided into two sections; the first section has clarified the role of the Congress in supporting and scaffolding the Zionist project in Palestine throughout supporting Balfour Declaration and Mandate Act, and also through rejecting the White Paper in 1939. The second section has given an image of the Congress role in its patronage of transferring the Zionist power to their country which found an expression in 1942 through Biltmore Conference and the subsequent efforts to support the cause of Jewish immigration to Palestine, their ownership of land, and then the call for the establishment of a Jewish state for them.

The researcher relied on historical scientific method, in order to clarify the circumstances and factors that led to the role of Congress in supporting the Zionist Project in Palestine. Data were collected on the Congress role, then it was analyzed to come up with results that are closer to reality that led to recommendations. The researcher has benefited from some documents including: the recommendations and decisions taken by both of the Congress houses , U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives toward Palestine; then some of the Zionist leaders notes, and some relevant Arabic and foreign books. The study came up with several results that were all agreeing on that the role of the Congress was in favor of the Zionist project, and that this role contributed heavily in the growth and development of this project until the end of the study period in 1946.

The Role of the Congress in Implementing the Zionist Project in Palestine (1917 – 1946)

Since the Zionist conference held in Basel in 1897, Zionist leaders and intellectuals realized that the project of a national homeland for the Jews would not come into being without being adopted by one of the great countries. Britain was the one that adopted the project. None of those Zionist leaders and intellectuals realized or even expected that Britain's support would not remain at the same pace for ever. Neither did they expect that the balance of power could change depending on the objective circumstances of the nature of the Zionist Project itself. They were neither delighted at the issuing of the White Paper in 1939 nor at the Laws of Land after 1940.

The Zionist movement with its various institutions, particularly the World Zionist Organization moved their momentous activities from Britain to the United States, hoping that the case there would be better than that in Britain, especially in supporting Zionist immigration to Palestine, and land transfer to the Jews in order to give success to Zionist settlement there. This constituted the core of the Zionist movement and their project to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

For the Zionist movement despite the national similarities between the former environment "Britain" and the new one "United States", the mechanisms of their work were not typical since Prime Minister in Britain is not influenced by political life the same as U.S. President. Neither the power of the House of Lords or Commons is the same as that of the Congress. In addition, interests of Britain are not the same as those of U.S. whose interference in the Middle East is recent. According to some Zionist leaders, Britain at that time "did not care about what would happen to the Jews by the Nazis in the European countries" ⁽¹⁾.

The Jews managed to emerge in the political life of the United States. Although it could not be assumed that supporting their project of a Jewish homeland was their sole aim to enter the game of politics in U.S. Their influence had been mainly on three parties: the President, the Congress and society institutions in order to control them or at least to influence their attitudes toward the above-mentioned goal. Then, two questions arise here: How could the Jews influence the Congress

for decades to take decisions supporting their national project in Palestine? How could such attitudes have been practically implemented? The researcher will attempt to find answers for the aforementioned questions.

(A) The nature of the Congress

Legislative power in the United States consists of two bodies: the Senate and House of Representatives, or the so-called (the Congress). Constitutional laws were approved by the two bodies, as an embodiment of the principle of separation of powers ⁽²⁾. Hence, the Congress can participate in the forming of the foreign policy since it uses its powers in discussions, decisions, legislation that can't be skipped or bypassed by the president ⁽³⁾. Accordingly, the Congress members discussions can be understood as a particular direction, which makes the President in constant contact with the senior staff of the Congress and with its various committees in order not to let a gap between the President and the Congress. The Congress consists of two bodies:

The Senate:

The Senate includes one hundred members; two members representing each state regardless of its size or population. Those, whose political influence is greater than that of the House of Representatives, can speak on behalf of the nation. Traditionally those should be consulted concerning appointments in high posts. A Congress member is elected every six years ⁽⁴⁾ which is long enough to force influence, or accomplish something, whether on a personal level, or even on the state level. The power of members of the Senate enables them to recommend nominees even for posts in the federal government. It is worth mentioning, the Senate enjoys strong power and authority that enable its members to discuss or even oppose the President in his decisions. An example was what happened after World War I when the Senate refused approving the Treaty of Versailles in 1920, signed by President Wilson ^(*). The Senate opposed that the United States plays a role in European policies and global problems ⁽⁵⁾. This incident indicated the Senate's ascendancy against the executive power after World War I, which, no doubt, affected attitudes towards the Zionist project in Palestine.

The House of Representatives:

Like the electoral lobby of the president, the House of Representatives represents all States according to their populations, for example, California has forty-three members, while Wyoming is represented only by one member. The House of Representatives encompasses various committees, to each of which the first version of a law is referred. It also has the power to call and ask officials. Representatives of community institutions can attend the meetings of the House of Representatives ⁽⁶⁾.

In spite of the fact that the power and position of members of the House of Representatives is not the same as that of their counterparts in the Senate, this does not mean the former's role is just marginal, but it includes committees such as Security and Foreign Affairs which are responsible for formulating the country's policy in cases of seriousness and importance such as a declaration of war, proposing amendments in the Constitutional law, and sacking federal officials ⁽⁷⁾. This what would explain the role the House of Representatives played in directing the policy of the United States of America to support a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

Given, the Democratic and Republican parties are those that control the Congress, hence the number of independent candidates who are elected as members of the Congress is few since elections need time, money, and great efforts. This makes it difficult to be close to lobbyists. Intellectual lobbies bearing ideologies of religious or spiritual tendencies may be important because they are eager to continue and achieve their goals more than others. Many are the wealthy individuals who are members of such lobbies, including Christian fundamentalists ^(*). Christian fundamentalism has spread in England since the beginning of the twentieth century; many researchers stated that Balfour Declaration in 1917 came out of the womb of Christian fundamentalism. This was due to the prevailing atmosphere in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century, which made the British accepts the idea that the Jews should return to their own nationality ⁽⁸⁾.

It could be argued that the great Zionist thinker, Theodor Herzl, who died in 1904, did not expect that the Zionist movement would transfer all its activities to the United States after thirty years.

He realized the importance of spreading ideas of Christian fundamentalism as supporter for Zionism. Hence, he was considered as the first to use the expression 'Christian Zionism' ⁽⁹⁾. As much as Jewish immigration from Europe to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century disappointed Zionist intellectuals and leaders, it had effects which benefited the Zionist movement for decades in transferring beliefs of Christian Zionism to the members of the Congress and the U.S. President allies.

Jews bearers of Zionism beliefs, particularly those who immigrated from Russia and Eastern Europe succeeded to transfer Christian Zionism beliefs to members of Congress, some of whom were not supporters of the Zionist project in their decisions, however. But these beliefs were obvious in the statements of many of them, for instance, Richard Niehaus stated: "The Zionist state should have an important role in manipulating the policy of the United States of America ^(*)". He added "We must not doubt the right of Jews to live in their own state, and that the United States keeps supporting this right" ⁽¹⁰⁾. It is clear that the Zionist movement did not depend on the relationship with members of the American political system, but it widely depended on the beliefs that led to the formation of pressure groups bearing the same ideas, which, in addition, helped, to a large extent, in emerging Jewish culture in the American culture. The latter included a considerable number of thinkers and religion reformers who believed in the idea that the return of Christ is conditioned by the establishment of the State of Israel.

The influence of the Jewish groups on the Congress:

The Zionist movement, no doubt, has grown in Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. Part of the beliefs of the Zionist movement were adopted and even preached by non-Jewish Zionists since the case is pure colonial. However, some Jews adopted the beliefs in areas where they were not oppressed or at least they were allowed to do so. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the American Jewish politician Mordechai Noah ^(*) adopted the Jews issues enthusiastically. He was interested in resettling the Jews, immigrating from Eastern Europe and Russia. He helped buying a large plot of land for this purpose. He, then thought of directing Jewish immigration from that place to Palestine. His deeds had been under the

auspices of the Democratic Party, and later of the Senate successively⁽¹¹⁾. Mordechai Noah's beliefs in supporting Zionist activities, undoubtedly, affected many members of the House of Representatives and the Senate as well, even before arranging the Zionist project in 1897 Basel Conference.

The current study does not concern with the impact of the Jews and their communities on the Congress, but only with their influence in relation with the Palestinian cause. This influence can be clearly observed in some organizations -not all are Zionist- of which Jews were members. This has been associated with intellectual or ideological factors or even economic interests of individuals or groups, the most notable amongst which is the Zionist Organization in the United States of America that was founded in New York in 1897, and created the Zionist American Fund, which collects money for the activities of the aforementioned organization, having its offices spread widely throughout the U.S. This organization is mainly concerned with encouraging politicians, economists, and community institutions in the United States to adopt the idea of integral ties between the United States and the Zionist project. Its activities spread since 1946 to promote the strong ties, and confirm supporting the Israeli policies. The organization monitors the activities of the Congress and the White House, and distributed weekly bulletin to all members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, including history, culture, and literature of the Jewish people and their relationship with the American nation.

The most important area in which Jewish and Zionist institutions were established after Basel Conference which called for founding such institutions to upgrade patriotic fervor was the United States. Given, these institutions could not have practiced their activities through the relationship with the authority in this or that country. The American Jewish Committee sought in 1906 to get a better life for the Jews, especially those who immigrated from Russia and Eastern Europe in the United States. It also sought to assimilate the Jews with Americans. Having good relationships with members of the Congress, the American Jewish Committee managed to influence the U.S. President, which led to cancelling Russian-American Trade Treaty in 1911 as a reaction against Russia which is accused of

discrimination against Jews. Furthermore, this committee through the power of its members in the Congress funded immigration of Russian Jews to Palestine and the United States ⁽¹²⁾.

The Jews had been able to have a relationship with members of the Congress which enabled them to influence the important decisions taken by the Congress. They are pioneers of creating and prevailing the conception of 'interests of America in the Middle East' among the members of the Congress. It was the first time then the idea of economic cooperation between the countries of the Middle East and the United States of America at the end of 1943 suggested. It was in one of the meetings of the Jewish members of the Congress in the light of that between officials in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of U.S. and their British counterparts to discuss settlement in the Middle East after the end of World War II. Those adopted the idea of the Dr. Ernst Bergmann, a Jewish American, based originally on the idea of Judaization of Palestine through the immigration of Jews, changing it into a developed industrial area not far away from the sources of raw materials ⁽¹³⁾. It should be noted that the forties period was the beginning of the concerns of the United States of America in economic relations with the Middle East, perhaps due to Arab oil exploration.

Members of the Congress sought to have close relationship with Jewish organizations and groups since the latter possess an important thing that influences members of Congress- mass media, without which access to the Congress is not easy. We do not exaggerate if we assume that a member of the Congress can't continue without it. The influence of the Jews regarding the Palestinian cause can be noted through the fact that the Jews possess the most influential newspapers; they have a strong influence on the two popular dailies: the Washington Post, which headed by the Jewish "Larry Israel", as well as the New York Times. In addition the Jews possess the most influential weekly magazines, namely "TIME" owned by the Jewish John Meir, as well as "Newsweek" directed by many of the Jewish activists ⁽¹⁴⁾. This confirms that members of the Congress do need the Jews, which indicates the latter's influence on officials of legislative power in USA.

World Zionist Organization was keen to form and support the establishment of Jewish associations, having the access to decision-

makers in the United States of America after Britain had issued the White Paper in 1939 and Land Laws after 1940. The American Committee of Palestine, whose efforts to gain the Congress members' support managed, was then formed. They were able to recruit 67 members of the Senate and 143 members of the House of Representatives, which had great influence on the Congress decisions concerning Jewish immigration to Palestine and on the foundation of a Commonwealth in Palestine ⁽¹⁵⁾. It is noted that this was simultaneous with the Jews conference of Biltmore in New York in 1942. This means that these activities were of the World Zionist Organization, which sought to empower itself in the United States.

C- The Palestinian cause and the U.S. congress elections:

The problem of Palestine has been of the concerns of U.S. Congress foreign policy since the beginning of the twentieth century, and has been so consistently throughout the study period and beyond. But this does not mean that this interest was firm or even its influence was absolute concerning the ongoing conflict in Palestine until 1947. This is perhaps due to the fact that the United States was not the major player but fairly mentioning Britain had preceded. Since the beginning of the British Mandate over Palestine the Zionist movement expenditures did not depend on official aid from the United States, which are approved by the Congress. Needless to say, the Congress, to some extent, contributed in making the official policy of the United States in Palestine 1917-1946 or was bias in the case of anti-Jewish or Zionism. Surprisingly, the Jews gave themselves various names each according to its destination.

The Congress General attitude towards the Palestinian cause since the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century can be depicted through the Jewish immigration to the United States, bearing with it the culture of oppressed people who suffer from anti-Semitism prevalent in Eastern Europe and Russia. These conceptions had been embodied through the activist in the Congress, William Blackstone, who collected signatures of 413 American and Jewish personalities on a memorandum submitted to U.S. President, Benjamin Harrison ^(*), calling for holding an international conference to return Jews to Palestine; their own home, from which they were expelled by force ⁽¹⁶⁾. It is well- known that until the First World War, the

Congress had shown a large degree of sympathy and support to the Zionist movement and its project of the national homeland in Palestine. Moreover, a large part of the Congress members regarded this project as part of the future of their country in the region, and that there would be an ideal society representing Western values ⁽¹⁷⁾. We can confirm this view since the Arab region was full of problems at the beginning of the twentieth century, and there was a conflict between European countries to control it.

It is difficult to assume that the Palestinian cause was the main and crucial factor in the elections of the Congress, but the power of the Jews, their personalities, their institutions, and their qualities were an important factor in these elections. It would be fair to assume that the Palestinian cause and supporting the Zionist project constituted the core issue of the Jews estimation of the party they would support in the elections. That does not mean the Jews are in one party, or they can move their power from one party to another in any round of elections, or even in a year or two. They are in the Democratic and Republican parties, and the matter is not the number of votes given to this party or that, but who would receive aids from them, especially financial and in the media.

It is evident, this myth is based on a number of wrong assumptions for during the study period, the Jews in the United States counted less than four millions, i.e. less than 1.5% of the population there. Those were almost all belonging to the Zionist movement. In addition, they constituted economic and electoral bloc with respect to the Palestinian cause, or concerning the Zionist movement and its project of establishing their national homeland, or what was then known as the Jewish state (Israel) in Palestine ⁽¹⁸⁾. For sure, members of Congress would know this sequence well before each election round, especially after 1940.

Here, we are concerned with the period of 1917-1946, where it was unreasonable that the Jews controlled the American society as some researchers, friends of Israel, tried to show. However, the being of U.S. Zionists is questionable by a lot of Zionist writers and theorists who estimated the being of any Jewish community with the extent of their contribution in supporting immigration to Palestine.

American Jews were not at the top of scale of immigration of

the Jewish communities in the world after 1917, although most of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and Russia were heading to the United States and not to Palestine⁽¹⁹⁾. This means that the Jewish community in the United States did not become a positive factor in the Zionist project, immigration to Palestine- not to the United States of America.

The beholder of the votes of the Jews in the United States sees that they were not decisive in determining the result of electing members of the Congress. Many of the senators won the elections in the thirties and forties, even though they only got a small percentage of the votes of the Jews. Thus, that was just a rumor Zionist propaganda spread among Americans. The Israeli writer "Nahum Barte'a" describes that period as "With the assistance of journalism, the myth of Jewish secret power imposing its will on the candidates of the Congress"⁽²⁰⁾. This view confirms inability of the Jews to resolve the Congress elections at the beginning of the period of supporting the Zionist project in Palestine.

The American governing bodies were those who made the Jewish support for the Zionist movement and even controlled it. In 1914, there were only 12 thousand Zionists amongst the three and a half million Jews in the United States. They were just so enthusiastic for the idea of a national homeland without thinking of immigration to Palestine. Nevertheless, when the President announced, and the Congress adopted Belford Declaration, a senior member of the House of Representatives, once the Supreme Court of Justice chairman, Louis Brandeis, headed the Zionist movement in America. The number of Zionists in the United States increased in 1919 to 150 thousand⁽²¹⁾. This could be a strong indicator that the Jews were influenced, to a certain degree, by the election of the Congress, supporting the idea of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

Of course, what happened to the Jews during World War II can't be ignored. They took it as an essential element upon which the Jews depend to direct the Congress elections in order to gain sympathy to support the project of a national homeland for them in Palestine. American public opinion was very much influenced to support the Jewish refugees, where candidates of the Congress elections could not have ignored tying it to the Zionist project. This was obviously

observed in New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania, which include big communities of the Jews. It is worth noting that candidates of the Congress elections started then to collect donations for Jewish survivors who immigrated or intended to immigrate to Palestine. Donations for the Jews in 1943 amounted to one hundred million dollars ⁽²²⁾. All this clearly reveals that candidates of the Congress elections were completely convinced with the importance of sympathizing with the Jews, which is significant to the Zionist project, seeking to directing Jewish immigration to Palestine.

In their propaganda campaign for the elections in 1944, members of the Congress promised helping to find a Jewish state and cancel the White Paper of 1939. Those also promised to increase the aids of the states to which they belong, for the Jews in Palestine if the former won elections of the Senate. They also added that they would present a draft resolution to the Congress demanding for unrestricted immigration of Jews and the establishment of a free Jewish state ⁽²³⁾. That is the application of what was called for in Biltmore Conference held in New York almost two years earlier. The change caused by the Zionist movement has contributed to influence the attitudes of senior politicians in the United States positively towards the Jews in supporting the Zionist project in Palestine. It also contributed, to a large extent, in directing attitudes of members of the Congress towards the major issues during the British Mandate period of Palestine.

Firstly: The Congress position of the Zionist project in Palestine 1917 to 1939:

The first decade of the twentieth century ended, and hundreds of thousands of Jews from Russia and East Europe filled with feelings of oppression towards those countries governments and people immigrated to America. This motivated the Zionist movement which had previously decided in the first Zionist convention in Basel to immigrate and search for a Jewish homeland instead of being merged in those communitie ⁽²⁴⁾. Those immigrants had merged with the Jews in the united states of America. This blend resulted in forming new societies and associations which were able to influence the American Congress members. Consequently they were able to influence the decision makers. This was clearly shown in America's participation in the first world war.

Those Zionist associations succeeded in forming The American Zionist Union. This union soon called for forming a religious Jewish shadow government in Palestine. This helped the non-Jewish American interests in Palestine such as their missionary schools ⁽²⁵⁾. Surely, those businesses were owned by American's of high status.

These circumstances necessitated the united states of America to form opinions about the actions happening in Palestine, which included the struggle that would be extended for decades. Those opinions should be formed concerning several important issues and incidents in Palestine; some of the most important issues were:

- **The position of the Balfour Declaration**

There were a lot of discussions that the Zionist banks had the major influence on the united states (the Congress and the government) acceptance of the Balfour declaration. The members of both the Congress and the house of representatives were controlled by newspapers, money, relationships and they had a slogan among them that stated "As Moses saved the Israelis from slavery, the allies would save the Jews from the ugly Turks, and a Jewish homeland should be established for them" ⁽²⁶⁾, therefore the Balfour declaration idea was not strange among the congress members even months before the declaration date.

There are a lot of indications which prove that the Balfour declaration was issued in coordination between the British and American governments, the later was forming its speech towards the issue with pressure from the Congress members, this could be clearly shown by Lord "Robert Sesel" on behalf of a group of representatives of the House of Common, and the British government's letter to the American President counselor asking him about president Wilson's opinion if the British government issued a declaration that sympathizes with the Zionists, to which he replies with no rejection and that it is only a matter of timing.⁽²⁷⁾ This might be because until then America had not attacked Germany. Yet, the documents prove that there was cooperation between both sides, in addition to this the president's counselor who coordinated this issue was a former senate member.

The House of Representatives highly appreciated president

Wilson's acceptance when he stated that "I think the allied nations has decided to put the corner stone of the Jewish state in Palestine with influence from our people." Few days later, he sent a letter to the Jewish American Rabai praising the advancement of the Zionist movement after the Balfour declaration⁽²⁸⁾. Although a lot of researchers neither considered this nor the congress actions as accepting the declaration. The congress position of the declaration was even more obvious. In 1918 sixty nine members of the Congress had accepted the declaration. When surveyed, 28 out of 31 members of the Congress supported the declaration.⁽²⁹⁾ These numbers show that there was no difference between the republicans or the democratic regarding the declaration; even though this survey was not influenced by the Jewish votes as it was not elections time yet.

The Congress has expressed support for the idea of the Balfour Declaration by putting the pressure on the president in March 1919 to support it. And also a speech was delivered before the Congress for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth^(*) in Palestine. This was followed by a message from a group of the Congress to the same rabbi to whom the President had previously sent of a message support to the Zionist movement. This message shows the Congress absolute support of the Balfour Declaration, as it came in the form of congratulations⁽³⁰⁾. It is worth mentioning here that neither the President nor the Congress demanded specific steps to the subject land and migration.

By incoming the year 1922 the atmosphere of sympathy with the Jews has reached a point in the Senate and the House of Representatives to issue a formal decision to approve and support the Balfour Declaration. actually on 11.09.1922 the Congress decided, in a joint session in which the members raced to give words of support, to show compassion toward the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine⁽³¹⁾. Indeed, the previous resolution shows phrases to grant the opportunity for the Jews, and build what it called the Jewish culture. This was not incompatible or away from the member's comments over the last period, since the promise in 1917. Perhaps the presidential institution initiated such decision, even if it came differently and at intervals.

- **The position of the British Mandate for Palestine:**

The Zionist movement constantly exercised pressures on the

U.S. administration, There was no gate better than Congress, due to its place in the Constitution, and the U.S. administration's need to change its promise concerning its commitment to the policy of neutrality towards the war. Otherwise, this would have required significant efforts in Congress, who was opposing the administration regarding this matter. The congress support of the British Mandate in Palestine was an essential requirement of the Zionist movement to be able to force pressure on the U.S. administration as a first step, which would be followed by further practical steps that contribute to the Zionist project and its progress.

The Zionist movement succeeded in interfering in the drafting of the mandate. It had a good relationship with the British officer, who was a member in his country's delegation to the peace conference in Paris in 1919, and he managed to embed in the mandate all the demands of the Zionist movement, especially the right to build a national home⁽³²⁾. Consistently, the Zionist movement was in touch with senior members of the Senate and the House of Representatives like Senator "Henry Cabot Log" who carried the Mandate. He even made efforts with his colleagues and even persuaded the majority, and submitted to the Congress a decision known decision "Log", in which he stressed the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. He stressed that he does not threaten the interests of anyone, and does not threaten the rights of any other group of people.⁽³³⁾ Strangely, the unanimous decision means that the atmosphere was ripe for any resolution supporting the Zionist movement, and that the endorsement on the Balfour Declaration was issued a couple of months ago.

The effort of the members of Congress– specially the group of the House of Representatives- in pushing the U.S. administration to approve the Treaty of Sevres in 1920 in San Ramon, which aimed at the dismemberment and the distribution of the Ottoman Empire. The important part is what is stated in Article (90) which entrusts the management of Palestine, following Article (22) of the Charter of the League of Nations, to delegate state chosen by the major allied countries. This state should be responsible for carrying out the Balfour declaration⁽³⁴⁾. This has actually happened to the declaration in July 1921 before it was ratified later.

The sympathy, or a stampede of Congress or the administration to support everything that comes from Britain regarding the decisions and efforts toward the Zionist movement was influenced by a number of factors and interests; some of the most important are: the US-British agreement signed after the Mandate, from which the Americans aimed to provide their subjects with all the rights enshrined in the Mandate to nationals of the members of the League of Nations. This was due to the pressure practiced by the economic institutions which was mostly administered by Jews under the open door policy.⁽³⁵⁾ Thus it was not surprising that the focus of the Congress includes what is stated in the Mandate Act that Britain hid behind such as: the establishment of a Jewish Agency whose mission was to provide advice and assistance to manage the Palestinians.

It was clear in the House of Representatives heated discussions regarding the recommendations for the Mandate, This found its expression through the decision of the House of Representatives in late 1922, which was adopted by the congress member "Hamilton Van" who was a friend of the Zionist movement, and a member of the Zionist American Union. (which united the Jewish associations). It is noted that this resolution introduction was different from the previous ones, though more compassionate with the Zionist project, this was clear in the statement "the Jewish people must be enabled to re-establish and organize a national homeland in the land of their fathers."⁽³⁶⁾

Clearly, the foregoing extent shows the penetration of the Jewish idea in American culture before the emergence of the so-called Jewish lobby. This is shown by the Congress' support and enthusiasm to the British Mandate over Palestine. Added to the Congress' conviction, to any resolution that conflict with the Zionist project.

To the congress, Zionism, after the approval of the Mandate, has become in the minds of many identical with loyalty to America. This could be clearly shown by one of the members of the Senate, the Pennsylvania governor who stated "Jewish Zionist should not be only a better Jew, but rather a better American citizen"⁽³⁷⁾ and this explains – with no exaggeration - that the Congress had become even pressure on Britain by the U.S. administration.

• **The Position of the Jewish immigration to Palestine:**

The Zionist settlement in Palestine is considered the core of the Zionist project to establish a national homeland for the Jews; No wonder that the settlement was considered the most important decision of the First Zionist Congress in Basel 1897. The settlement is based on two main principles, namely: immigration and land transfer. That was the reason that Theodor Herzl has made huge efforts with the German Emperor and the Ottoman Sultan, and toured the world in order to allow the migration of Jews, and more importantly to get the land in Palestine. Therefore the World Zionist Organization sought to create many institutions that were concerned with taking care, financing and providing the necessary means to bring immigrants to Palestine, as well as providing the land needed to complete the settlement.

The World Zionist Organization and the institutions created by them did not find difficulty in convincing the Jews in Eastern Europe and Russia to renounce the idea of integration on favor of leaving those communities. However, the difficulty was the place they will migrate to. Everyone would have preferred the United States of America, and the more the immigrating number increased the more it was difficult to persuade the rest to go to Palestine. It was unreasonable for the Jews to leave easily accessible jobs and well being and people respect which is all found in America, and immigrate towards an unknown land, with people who hate them due to religious commandments in addition to the lack of economic fundamentals that could convince them to immigrate from Russia or Eastern Europe.

The Zionist movement has sought through its friends in Congress to ensure the U.S. administration to contribute to the success of the Zionist project by convincing the Jews of Russia and Eastern Europe to emigrate to Palestine, instead of the United States of America in the early twenties. The Congress issued certain laws that limit the immigration of Jews to their country. In 1921 an act that specifies the number of Jews who are allowed to immigrate to the United States was issued. The numbers were limited to 3% of the number of Jews who were staying there almost ten years ago⁽³⁸⁾. We need to notice that the World Zionist Organization was active in supporting its institutions, which supported migration in those years,

such as the Jewish National Hayesod ^(*).

Despite the low number of Jewish immigrants from Russia and Eastern Europe to the United States, and the increasing number towards Palestine due to the Congress act mentioned above, the Zionist movement and its institutions were not happy with the ratio, and they might have wished direct all the immigrants to Palestine. Great efforts have been made by the Zionist associations especially the American Zionist Federation, which includes members of the Senate and the House of Representatives , until they succeeded in pushing the two councils in 1924 to pass an amendment for the previous law, which determines the number of Jews allowed to emigrate from Russia and Eastern Europe to their country by 2% of the number of Jews who were living in the United States ten years ago. But in 1890, it turned out later that this law succeeded in reducing the immigrants to the fifth, including those who came after the 1921 Act, which originally limited them by a similar amount ⁽³⁹⁾. It is not less important to consider that immigration has been the subject of coordination between the Congress and the World Zionist Organization at the highest levels, it was until 1948 that the researcher did not find in the sources of the study any Act of the Congress that provides facilities for Jewish immigration to the United States, Which indicates that there has been no activity for the Congress to welcome the Jews, but to coordinate with the organization to direct the Jewish immigrants to Palestine.

In the late twenties, the Zionist movement succeeded through their various organizations to achieve a sharp increase in immigration to Palestine. It is possible to infer this by the enormous increase in the number, which appeared evident during the events of the Buraq in 1929. Indeed, culture awareness of these migrants indicates their full understanding of the Zionist culture. The researcher believes that this increase is the highest since 135 AD when the Roman governor dismissed Hadrian Jews of Palestine, the most important reason for the increase in immigrants is attributed to the United States Congress efforts.

The Zionist movement has made efforts in maintaining the complete lack of the arrival of immigrants from eastern Europe and Russia to the United States of America, where the Christian group for

Palestine was established. This group included members of the U.S. Congress, it has been called "the Christian leaders thought Committee, priests and parishes, to facilitate the immigration of Jews to Palestine" The Jewish associations provided all the financial support, its identified objectives were ⁽⁴⁰⁾:

1. The Acceptance of the principle that the Jewish cause is a Christian issue.
2. The Legitimacy of the Balfour Declaration.
3. The development of Palestine for the benefit of the Jewish immigrants.

Out of these objectives it could be understood that these objectives were as similar if not identical to the principles of the Zionist movement, and they are the same goals that the World Zionist Organization seeks to achieve or work out.

The global Jewish organization in 1936 did not find an international response to the growing national Palestinian and Arab movement in general against the Zionist project except in the United States of America. At the end of this year, the American Christian Conference issued a declaration inviting the civilized societies to support the Jews fleeing from Germany and Eastern Europe to return to Palestine; their natural sanctuary" These organizations raised the slogan of "Promised Land" and "God's chosen people" ⁽⁴¹⁾, Here, one should note the increasing work on the religious factor, which was commonly acceptable, and perhaps it was the reason for the Palestinians to consider the cause of Al-Aqsa Mosque after the Buraq Revolution as an Islamic dimension.

The activity of the Congress members in these organizations and associations, which was directed towards the U.S. administration, has pushed the President especially with the approaching of the American elections to grow interest in Jewish victims of Nazism, therefore he started an initiative that led to the convening of the Evian Conference in July 1938. The members of the Congress put a condition for the conference which was to discuss the issue of Jewish immigration to Palestine in the first place, and when the President could not impose such condition, the Jewish sympathizers in Congress erupted, angrily, towards the administration of President ⁽⁴²⁾. Perhaps it was because the conference was planned to discuss the issues of all

refugees fleeing from the Nazis. Also, the idea of the Zionist movement was based on the guidance of the fleeing Jews only to Palestine instead of providing them with the necessary care in countries that were not under the control of the Nazis and their allies. The end of the thirties was an exciting time to talk about fleeing Jewish immigration to Palestine, to those Nazi, president "Roosevelt" could not compel the Arabs to accept these Jews in Palestine or elsewhere that was the reason behind his support to raising the issue of refugees as a whole.

The defeat of President Roosevelt's ideas this time was at the hands of the Congress, whose majority had interests that agrees with the interests of Zionism. As they both support the retaining of the restrictions on Jewish immigration to the United States on the other hand facilitate the immigration towards Palestine. This led President Roosevelt to retreat his intention to raise the issue of refugees in general. But to focus only on the Jewish immigration to Palestine, and how the international community can contribute to it ⁽⁴³⁾. This could be considered a major victory for Zionism at that time, which will certainly create a further step toward the Jewish immigration to Palestine.

In the early forties, the Zionist movement efforts towards American political parties resulted in their support towards the cause of immigration to Palestine. The Republican Party passed a resolution in June 1944 calling for opening the doors of Palestine to the migration of millions of Jews, the party appealed and demanded the Mandate authorities to facilitate the land transfer to the Jews and to implement the Balfour Declaration ⁽⁴⁴⁾, perhaps this pressure was in response to the land laws issued by the Mandate authorities in 1941.

The U.S. Congress closed the valve on the immigration of Jews to their country at a time intensified by the sense of American nationalism. They completely closed this overwhelming stream of the poor and the mob (as described by the source) immigrants. The Congress has blocked immigration by imposing strict immigration measures of the quota (quota system) in accordance to the immigrant national origin, Russian Jews for example risked everything to come to America ⁽⁴⁵⁾. As if the writer supports the idea that the Congress was strengthening the idea that it is inevitable for these Jewish

immigrants to flee to Palestine. Certainly, this was in accordance to the Zionist movement will and efforts with the Congress and the administration in the United States of America.

• **The position of the White Paper in 1939:**

Britain noticed through the recommendations of the committees that was sent to Palestine to investigate the various events that the majority of these committees suggested and draw the attention of the government to the ambiguity of some phrases in the Mandate such as "the national homeland for the Jewish people", in addition to the permanent fear of its unclear policy, which was probably a major cause of the clashes between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. It was necessary for Britain to clarify its policy, consequently it issued the so-called White Paper 1939⁽⁴⁶⁾, but one cannot ignore the fact that the main reason behind it was the interests of Britain, especially those relating to the relationship with the Arabs, and the beginnings of the emergence of oil extraction.

The White Paper did not retrieve the Palestinian rights, but it has given legitimacy for the Jewish migration. It also permitted the land transfer to them in certain areas, which are the two most important issues in the conflict. However, it cannot be denied that the number of migrants has been identified in certain numbers and along few years, in addition to imposing severe restrictions on the movement of land in certain areas where the Arab population represented the majority.

The Jews and the World Zionist Organization saw in the white Paper which constrained the number of immigrants and the land transmission destroyed their hopes in the establishment of a Jewish state. Their reaction was strikes and attacks on Arabs, further more they considered the British forces legitimate target for them⁽⁴⁷⁾. But surely the Jews were able later manipulate these laws, they continued to transfer the land⁽⁴⁸⁾, also, migration continued at the same pace, and there was no indication to the possibility of the establishment of a Palestinian state years after this date.

It is true that the sympathy in the United States of America (administration and Congress) with the Zionist project in Palestine was evident, but every member of Congress was aware that his country did not see the reason to be involved in the Middle East. The

great economic depression created an atmosphere among the members of Congress that did not support any direct intervenes outside America. The image was just sentimental feelings which represent motivations to support the Zionist project in Palestine.

The World Zionist Organization leaders realized the limits of this policy, and that it does not satisfy their ambitions. This coincided the American position concerning the issuance of the White Paper in 1939. Several months prior to its release, a number of the Congress members (probably at the request of the World Zionist Organization) requested diplomatic assistance for the World Zionist Organization from the president administration to prevent the British Mandate government from making any modifications in Palestine which might be incompatible with their country's agreement with Britain in 1924. The efforts of both Senator Robert Taft and Senator Robert Wagz have made the U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hill to declare publicly that : his country is watching what is happening in Palestine, especially with regard to the implementation of a national home for the Jews." It could be noted that these were merely statements of concerns⁽⁴⁹⁾. The researcher did not find in the study sources any decisions of the Congress in this regard, despite the difficult situation, which can be described by the Congress anger with Britain.

The Zionist Organization found among members of Congress greater sympathy towards the immigration issue more than the land transfer and the restrictions set by the White Paper concerning this issue which is not surprising. The Zionist Organization took advantage of the exercises of the Nazis against the Jews, not to stop such activities, but to enforce the Jews migration to Palestine. This was the prevailing discourse toward Congress, the Emergency Council has objected to the American Zionist Federation through some members of Congress who handed over a memorandum to the secretary of Foreign Affairs to move to London which contained the rejection of everything stated in the White Paper, they also demonstrated in front of the British consulate in New York, and raised the same slogans that reject any changes in the Mandate, or retreat from supporting the draft national home in Palestine⁽⁵⁰⁾. One could notice form the slogans that members of the Congress focused on the human side of the fugitives from the Nazis, and their need for land. It is the same speech which

was promoted by the World Zionist movement.

It seemed as if the Zionist Emergency Council, which includes members of Congress have taken a legitimate and legal form to take actions against the White Paper in the United States. In this period, the Zionist movement leaders' major concern was the abolition of the White Paper. Their cause sympathizers among the Congress members were active to promote the official American speech to actions and official claims.

The Zionist movement organized its work and activities against the white paper through the guidance of all the Jewish organizations, associations, and institutions in the United States. They brought together the heads of these institutions, whose number exceeded a thousand personal, including members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, they clarified to these representatives that there were the only hope to convince the White House to put pressure on Britain to abolish the amendments⁽⁵¹⁾. It is clear that the Zionist movement did not put pressure directly on the president and his administration in that period, instead they directed their hopes to the Congress, which, regardless of methods and techniques, can put pressure on Britain directly, and not only through the administration of President.

Second: the situation until the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee in 1946:

Many changes took place in the fifth decade of the twentieth century; those changes affected the plan of the Zionist movement. Different difficulties appeared almost wasted the dream and the scheme that the Zionist movement had drawn in cooperation with the colonial powers. As for the Zionist personal level, a state of coldness in the activity of the Zionist International Organization was dominant; the incentive for the same activity in the thirties witnessed retrogression, especially in regard to the subject of immigration and land transfer.

A. The Congress role in Biltmore Conference, 1942:

Despite the attacks by the Zionist movement on Britain after the White Paper, carrying out terrorist acts against Britain's interests and the diplomatic pressure from the United States, Britain didn't

change her attitude. That was clear through a series of laws issued by Britain in 1940-1941. The laws imposed restrictions on land transfer, and the laws also did not back down the number of Jewish immigrants to Palestine. Britain was committed to what was stated in the White Paper in 1939 ⁽⁵²⁾. On the Arab level, the relations between the Arabs, the British and the French seemed progress slowly towards Arab liberalization. This was indicated- at least in the 1936's Conventions between Britain, Egypt and Iraq.

As for the United States, The Jewish power was not the degree to which the leaders of the Zionist Organization wished. In other words, their power did not reach the level of facing the risks of change in the British policy toward the national homeland for the Jews in Palestine. When Brandeiz became the leader of the American Zionists, he started raising slogans aimed at removing Jews fears from being accused of having dual loyalty if they joined the Zionist movement. He was calling for a "loyalty to America and asking every Jew to be a Zionist" ⁽⁵³⁾. He meant the Friends of the Zionist movement in Congress, specifically the Jewish ones.

It is stated clearly and accurately in a memorandum sent to Ben-Gurion from a leader of the American Zionist Union stating that "The American Jewish sees himself primarily as a U.S. citizen, and his/her vote in the election will not be built on the basis of being a Zionist or even a Jew" ⁽⁵⁴⁾. This clearly shows the Jewish affiliation to the Zionist movement, and certainly danger will be on those who occupy positions in the administration and the members of the Congress.

It is natural that any opposition activity against Britain after the White Paper in 1939 will not be on territories governed by Britain; consequently, they decided to hold any activity on a place where the Zionist movement finds a room for it, namely the United States. This raised the issue of finding a homeland or a state for the Jews which was a controversial issue among the Jews themselves. Then the national conference for Palestine was held in January in 1941, and adopted a resolution stating "the settlement of these Jews will be in Palestine only, and that action will resolve the issue of re-establishing the Commonwealth Jewish permanently" ⁽⁵⁵⁾. That view is considered as clear progress and an extremist change in the Zionists' speech.

That was followed by a development in the speech when the Consolidated-Palestinian Zionist conference was held in Washington in the presence of members of Congress. In that conference, they adopted a resolution; a Jewish state should be established in Palestine immediately after the end of World War. This encouraged Weisman, while visiting members of the House of Representatives in Chicago, to state that "after the war, we can form Jewish Commonwealth with Arab federation in Palestine" ⁽⁵⁶⁾. For sure, those declarations would raise the morale of the Jews, and contribute to the installation of their belief in the Zionist project in Palestine in general.

It seemed clear that the Zionist movement had made a significant change, and a major shift in the course of its work. The most important changes that took place were that the American Zionist focused on transferring the power of the Zionist movement from Britain to the United States. Certainly, the White Paper (1939) and the subsequent decisions related to land issues were main reasons behind the transfer of this power, and the reason for choosing the United States as a place for that transfer was clear. Ben-Gurion stated clearly saying, "I did not have any doubt that the center of power in our politics had moved from Britain to America, which was confirmed as the largest global power because of the largest number of the most influential Jews" ⁽⁵⁷⁾.

This confirms that the transfer of power was planned; Ben-Gurion was expressing the opinion of the Zionist movement as a whole, not just the Jewish Agency which operates in accordance with the Mandate Act in Palestine.

The weight of the word and the resolution had been moved to the American-Zionist Federation that represents the Zionist Americans, which includes in its ranks dozens if not hundreds of officials in the U.S. administration and Congress. The Zionist international conferences were usually held by the World Zionist Organization, but that time, the emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs invited for that conference at the Biltmore hotel on 05/09/1942.

Members of Congress, especially the friends of the Zionist movement and members of the American Federation of Zionist shared in making the Biltmore conference successful. It can be understood that its decisions were more extremism than those that had been taken

in the past two years. The conference recommended that a Jewish state should be established, and the White Paper (1939) should be rejected. That was followed by subsequent laws calling for the eligibility of Jews to establish a military force. In addition, they called for opening the doors for immigration and other items ⁽⁵⁸⁾, but the most important points were the idea of the state, and the country where the Zionists held their conference. This represents several considerations including:

- That conference generated the idea of planning and implementing a Jewish state.
- That conference is considered a blow to the British policy in Palestine; and indicated that Britain is not the only player.
- A third player, the United States of America, has become a serious engine in the issue, whether the Zionists, or the Congress, or even the president.

Biltmore program, which was sponsored by the senior U.S politicians, particularly the members of the U.S. Congress, has become the official representative program of the Zionist movement. With their support, the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were no longer the head of the Zionists' demands, but the ceiling of the Zionists' demands rose to a state with an army; that program can be interpreted as a process of transfer of the Palestinians from their land.

Biltmore program opened the door to the Zionist movement to rely primarily on the United States; in addition, Zionism has taken an aggressive attitude towards Britain, and entered in a battle against Britain in order to achieve its ambitions in Palestine. With the advent of the Biltmore program, The Zionists, with the Congress support, started to exert great efforts to fulfill their dream⁽⁵⁹⁾.

B. The attitude towards the events after Biltmore Conference till 1945:

Biltmore conference boosted the Zionists influence of the Zionist movement in the United States. The Zionists had exerted a great activity to earn the politicians in the executive committees and the Congress, as well as American society. That could be seen clearly in the success of Jews Members in the Congress in issuing a memorandum signed by sixty-two members of the Senate, and one hundred and eighty others of the House of Representatives in favor of the establishment of what looks like a Jewish state in Palestine. That

was followed by many of the same memorandums of many associations, institutions, and public figures in American society⁽⁶⁰⁾. It seems that was no longer difficult for the Zionist movement in the United States. The question that rises is that as long as it is not difficult for the Zionists, why was that frantic effort? Certainly that whenever the influence was more, especially in Congress, the pressure on the executive authority headed by the President was more, and therefore the appropriate positions will be important in relationship with stakeholders, and in particular Britain.

The Zionist movement has focused on extending its influence on the Congress over the administration and its ministries; the Zionists' goal was not winning the ministries working on the internal affairs of the various States. For the Zionists, issues like unemployment among Jews or what they learn at schools do not matter. But they were interested in "the White House" and those ministries that will follow what is going on in Palestine, or after Hitherto airport. The Zionist movement has continued to mobilize energies to support Biltmore program, but this time for implementation rather than for support. Henry Munsky, the leader of Brett organization which has members in the Congress, had invited more than thirty-four Jewish organization to choose a Committee to travel to Pittsburg Conference, which aims to discuss the post-World War II, and in particular the question of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine^(*).

Members of Congress gave the legitimacy and popularity for Biltmore conference as it will lead their work later toward the Zionist project with the direction of the global leaders of the Zionist movement. By the end of 1943, Zionists began working systematically in two directions:

1. Working inside the United States, and that work was led by the Senator, Professor Claude, who published a set of principles to control the American culture. Those principles included slogans as "Zionism is the symbol of honor, and any Jew who has honor must be a Zionist, and Zionism's effort is the pride of the Jews as a one, united nation; in other words, "Zionism means an ideal social life "⁽⁶¹⁾. Despite the fact that this is dangerous in terms of socialization in a country such as the United States, no one dared to suppress the rally

which has a wide influence.

2. Working against Britain where all those organizations and secret military units in Palestine received various forms of support from Jewish Congress in the United States which included members in the U. S Congress. Soon, these secret military units carried out terrorist acts against Britain ranging from targeting the High Commissioner himself, Haroldak Michael, blowing up hotels, and the assassination of the British official representative in Egypt, Lord Moyne etc.⁽⁶²⁾. It seems that Biltmore program supported the Congress members of when these organizations adopted that policy.

By the beginning of 1944, the Zionist movement achieved a great success as they developed its work; talking about ideas, support, or even programs was no longer important. They began the phase of implementing their programs, in particular the Biltmore program. We won't exaggerate if we state that Zionist control in the U.S Congress was at its peak in that year, and during the years 1944-1945, the Zionist movement was able to extract several important resolutions and memoranda from Congress, or from its members, namely:

1. Members of Congress, from the Republican National Party, issued a resolution on 06/27/1944 calling to open the doors of immigration without restrictions, and to allow the Jews to own land how they like, but the most important and significant progress was that the resolution included a clear condemnation of the president because of his failure to pressure on Britain to fulfill its promise contained in the Balfour Declaration⁽⁶³⁾. Perhaps, it is fair to mention that such pressure on the President was normal before the election, especially from the opposition party.

2. Embarrassing the President and his party at a critical period was an important matter for the Zionist. In 1944, Members of Congress, especially the Jewish members at the House of Representatives who act according to Biltmore program, planed to force the President to state that the U.S. government did not give consent to what was stated in the White Book in 1939, and timidly "The president expressed his happiness because Jews can migrate freely to Palestine"⁽⁶⁴⁾, but it is possible to say that the severity of the statement represented the minimum in the speech of the Zionist movement, and that speech was closer than before to the members of Congress.

3. After less than a month, members of Congress from the Democratic Party realized that the situation is far in favor of their opponents in the Republican National Party, and that happened because of the Zionist movement support. The Democratic Party realized that they, with pressure from a group of its members in the House of Representative, had to take a decision in the party conference calling to open doors for free Migration to the Jews, to facilitate the transfer of land to them, and to adopt a policy that would lead to form a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine ⁽⁶⁵⁾. It was probably the same resolution that their predecessors in the Republican Party adopted, but they added paging Commonwealth as an increase in the rapprochement with the Jews ⁽⁶⁶⁾. This shows that being far from the Zionists represents a danger to both parties; it was essential that the two parties should be close to the Zionist movement.

4. Having a mass decision of the U.S. Congress in 1945 was important for the Zionists regardless of its content. There was no dispute about supporting the Zionist's project in Palestine, but they needed the mass decision to practice more pressure. In addition to that purpose, they demanded the President to proceed with Britain in solving the problem of establishing a Jewish State in Palestine ⁽⁶⁷⁾. That was the most important step of the Jews in Congress because they asked President to intervene directly, not to announce a statement or an opinion.

The aim of the Zionist movement behind creating different bodies, which included dozens of congress members in the United States, was to practice pressure on Britain. Britain knows that the 1945 year was critical for her as Britain was in a need of the U.S. power which may bring victory in war. However, the British government expressed more than one time in 1945 deplored the so-called - the U.S. conference for Palestine - and considered it as a quasi-governmental, and competes in its official discourse the United States of America as it showed hostile to the Arab. Britain feared of the possibility of exploiting both Germany and Italy this perception, and to instigate Arabs ⁽⁶⁸⁾, but was it true that Britain was aware of the importance of the Arabs in the World War II such as those accorded to them in the First World war? That can't be true because the previously signed agreements with Arabs made Britain to be relaxed because the agreements ensured that Britain's military interests in the Arab region,

especially in Egypt.

The U.S. administration realized the magnitude of the damage on the U.S. policy if it bowed to the decisions of the Congress with regard to the question of Palestine or the issue of the Jews, as it was called by members of Congress. In 1945, the Department of Defense asked to postpone the adoption of the Administration of the Congress position regarding immigration issues, land, and the Jewish state. As a result of the pressure from the members of the House of Representatives, the administration retreated claiming that political considerations are more important than the military ones. This time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs refused to adopt this policy clearly, and even considered it unwise in these circumstances ⁽⁶⁹⁾, and it is possible for Britain to have a role towards the American administration.

C. The position towards the Anglo-American Committee:

The systematic efforts done by the Zionist movement managed to direct the compass of the U.S. Congress towards the Jewish issue. By the end of 1945, the Zionist movement had already tested its presence in the Congress through the release of its full program (migration - territory transferring - a state for the Jews), and 411 deputies out of 535 have voted in favor of the program. In other words, the Zionists, were able to ensure 86% of the Senates and 75% of the House of Representatives led by the officials of the Congress ⁽⁷⁰⁾. This was a great incentive for the U.S to intervene directly in the question of Palestine and the Jews. And that intervention had a room in politics and international forums. For sure, that intervention would be supportive of the Jews, even if it caused harm to the American interest. Although Britain is a strong ally of the United States, the support of the Zionist project will be more important than that ally. That is clear from the pressure that the U.S. administration practiced to have the Jewish Agency (that is named in the Mandate) the representative of the Jews in the San Francisco Conference for world peace on the issue of Palestine. In that conference Haim Weizmann, no one disagrees that he was the leader of the Zionist movement at that time, introduced in the name of the Jewish Agency a significant memorandum proposing in addition to the subject of (land, immigration, and the state) a claim not to act on the subject of Palestine without consulting the Jewish Agency claiming that was stated in the Mandate act ⁽⁷¹⁾, but it seems that this

time he was armed with the impact of the U.S. administration, which was always under the Congress pressure.

Roosevelt would not win the elections for the second time unless he did amendment in his speech in the last few months before the election, and it was possible to escape from that amendment if the members of Congress from his party did not practice pressure on him. The congress members made him adopt their position of the previous resolutions; their pressure had made him promise to help in creating the Jewish state, to abolish the White Paper, and to increase the U.S. aid for the Jews in Palestine. In addition to that, he promised to extract a resolution by the Congress as a legislation of the American foreign policy demanding to open the doors of immigration and transmission of land. At that time, he died and he was with a promise with the Saudi King, Saudi Abdul Aziz Al Saud, to postpone such a decision and not to take any decision against the interest of the Arabs ⁽⁷²⁾. It seems that President Roosevelt was in a unenviable position; he faced pressure from the Congress on one hand, and between the pressure of Britain and the Arab states on the other. That norm of speech was followed by several presidents, especially when it comes to the relationship with Israel.

It is true that President Roosevelt was the first president who tried to intervene to support the Zionist project in Palestine directly, but he found out that it was harmful to the interests of his country, and that what he heard from the Saudi king, but he always found himself facing the pressure of the Congress. When he promised the Saudi King that he would not issue a decision soon on the issues of immigration and land, but before the President, Roosevelt, had arrived his country from a meeting with Bin Saud, he got a message from some activists in the Congress asking him to meet with the congressional leaders to reconsider all his policy in Palestine. He replied that he was convinced that any change will generate a bath of blood between Arabs and Jews ⁽⁷³⁾, but the Jews were resorting to other aim, keeping the Congress support of their aims, and to decrease the importance of losing the Arab allies.

Despite recognizing Britain's urgent need for the United States, it is a mistake to deal with that matter as if Britain was happy with the American intervention. In spite of Britain's realization of the Zionist's

movement strength within the institutions of its ally, especially inside the Congress, there was no reason to surrender to that reality; moreover, despite the knowledge of how the Palestinian cause is nuisance, they issued a statement on the tongue of its Foreign Minister, Mr. Ernest Bevin, included for the first time the difficulties that faced the British Mandatory Government in Palestine as a result of the double commitment towards the Jews and the Arabs. But he presented a cruel comparison, as he called, between the implementation of Balfour Declaration and the Mandate Act, with its ease of migration, the transfer of land, and the British interests with Arabs, which was in reality more important to Britain at that critical time in particular ⁽⁷⁴⁾. But it is wrong to believe that Britain became against the Zionist project, or it hides any hostility to Jews and Zionism.

The hostile actions that were carried out by the Jews against Britain forced Britain to modify its policy in Palestine, but it opened the door wider for the official American intervention in the case, which was under the pressure from Congress. Britain realized that and aware of that message very well. Bombing of a hotel, or an assassination of a British official would not make the Mandatory cancel its mandate, or hand in Palestine to the Jewish Agency, but that, with a help of a friendly state, can help to participate in the supervision of that topic.

The political stage was in that case when the new American President, Truman, started his work at the presidential office. It didn't even take him days to announce, with the accompany of the official representative parties in the Congress to adopt the view of Zionism. He asked Britain to raise the restrictions on immigration and to allow immediately to one hundred thousand refugee Jews to get into Palestine. Britain immediately rejected that; arguing that Palestine can't accommodate that number, and all the countries of the world must share in solving the problem of Jewish refugees ⁽⁷⁵⁾. It seems that President Truman wanted to get out of the stalemate and the lack of clarity in the policy of his former boss and he chose to adopt the view of the Congress leaders who allied originally with the Zionist movement.

Britain had no alternative; it had to succumb to those pressures and to achieve what Jewish look for, allowing the United States to intervene and participate in resolving the issue of the Jews in

Palestine. That was translated clearly in the speech of the British Foreign Secretary who did not find a convincing justification except the statements, "due to the global interest in the Palestinian cause particularly by the United States of America, he called the latter to participate in a joint committee to investigate the political, social, and economic situations in Palestine, the extent of absorbing Jewish immigration, and to study the conditions of the Jews in Europe as well⁽⁷⁶⁾. The justification for that evasion by Britain is strange because she is already responsible for the issuance of Balfour Declaration, Mandate act, and the practices of her first High delegate, Herbert Samuel. As a result of all that, Britain opened for the Jews and the Zionists the doors to settle themselves in Palestine.

Certainly, Truman's administration didn't dare to reject the Congress pressure, despite its awareness of the troubles that would be caused to his country because of participating in that responsibility, particularly the concern about the relationship with the Arabs.

A commission was formed to study the Jews situation. Six American members in that Commission had a close relationship with the leaders of Congress who nominated the members of the Commission. In addition, two of the Commission members were activists in the American- Jewish committee. The Commission's bias was clear; the Commission began its work studying the conditions of the Jews, where she visited the refugee camps of Jews in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy, and Greece⁽⁷⁷⁾. The Commission presented a report about the misery and oppression of the Jews there. This does not mean that the study was concerned about the mechanism of the Committee work or its results as far as about the role of the Congress.

The Congress relationship with the Anglo-American Committee is clear through the findings and recommendations that the Commission reached and through the similarities between the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee and the speech of the Congress toward the issue; especially, what stated in the notes and the decisions that were issued by the Congress. That can be noticed in the Congress resolution at the end of December 1945⁽⁷⁸⁾. That was few days before the start of the Committee work as if that was a signal for the Commission to take that into account.

The recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee confirmed keeping the mandate till the case is transferred to the custody of the United Nation, to allow one hundred thousand Jews to enter Palestine, and to cancel the laws that imposed restrictions on the transfer of land⁽⁷⁹⁾. That resulted in several important results:

1. The United States has become as a primary partner and a key in solving the Palestinian issue.
2. The Congress imposed his political speech which is originally derived from the speech of the Zionist movement.
3. The Congress dictated on the U. S. administration what he believes in regard of the Jews' issue.
4. These recommendations abolished the White Paper in 1939 and its core issues regarding migration and land transfer.

It is unwise to wait till we hear the attitude of the Zionist movement or the U.S. Congress of the results of the Anglo-American Committee because its recommendations, for sure, answer this question clearly. Golda Meir admits that she was mandated by the Jewish Agency to clarify the economic conditions in Palestine for that committee. That committee was originally with a close relationship with the leaders of the U.S. Congress who called for the American intervention⁽⁸⁰⁾. The congressional leaders were impatiently waiting the speech of the Zionist movement which was presented by Golda Meir in her work with the Committee.

By the year 1946, the picture had become different, and certainly, it has become in favor of the Zionist movement. The researcher believes that the most important factors that led to that was the U.S. weigh in which the Congress was the operating system. The plan that was developed by the leaders of the Zionist movement was aiming to penetrate the American society, then the Congress, to place pressure on the president and his administration for the purpose of having the direct intervention of the U. S towards Britain. That what actually happened and forced Britain to transfer the file to the United Nation, and that action opened the door to important events such as: the partition resolution, the circumstances of its release, the role of Congress in the release, and the plight of Palestine. For sure, the Congress will have influential positions regardless of its timing and shape.

Conclusion:

The Study discussed both the circumstances and the situation of the Jews in the United States, and how the Zionist movement dominated them in order to merge into the Congress, and this affected on the U.S. administration decisions, and the intervention in the case of Palestine, The study came up with several conclusions, the most significant ones are:

- The Zionist movement exploited the religious and national element to penetrate among the Jews in the United States before 1917 with the help of the Congress members.
- The U.S. Congress, accompanied with the coordination of the Zionist movement, contributed in controlling the Jewish immigration movement from Russia and eastern Europe and transferring it towards Palestine.
- The U.S. Congress endorsed the Zionist project through its supporting Balfour declaration and Mandate Act.
- The Congress helped the Zionist movement in transferring its impact from Britain to their country, and adopting its position concerning immigration, land transfer, and the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.
- The pressure that was created by the Congress contributed in creating a shift in the policy of their administrations, as well as Britain towards Palestine cause throughout the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee.

Accordingly, the study recommends the following:

- Re-studying the methods and tools used by the Zionist movement in the penetration process among the Jews and American society
- Directing the Arab media activity to the American people side, and exploiting the economic resources of the Arab countries toward the relationship with the Congress.
- Realizing how important is the relationship between the Arab political parties and both of the American parties- Republican

and Democratic, and trying to penetrate in order to make amendments in its policy toward the Palestinian issue.

- Intensifying the efforts to chase Britain legally in the international forums about its submission to the U.S. pressure after the White Paper in 1939.
- Not to get dragged after the U.S. administration theses that stem from the U.S. Congress leaders who are directed by the Zionist leaders, and in particular with regard to the Palestinian cause, and that it will not be for the sake of the Palestinian people but for Israel.

Footnotes:

1. For more details on the Zionist leaders' point of view on Britain's attitudes towards their project in Palestine after 1938, see: Golda Meir: Hatred, translated by Mounir Haidar and Somaya Abu Al Haija, the second edition, Madboli Library and Dar Al Seera, Beirut and Cairo, 1988, pp136.
2. Naji Shurrab, Studies in the Comparative Policy Systems, the first edition, Afaq Library, Gaza, 1999, pp 69.
3. Mohammed Al Sayed Saeed, The Public Opinion, The International Politics, Volume 78, 1984, p 774.
4. On the Senate House powers as mentioned in the resources of the American political system, see Alan,Grant ,The American Political Process, London , 1979, pp 12-19.
5. Mohamed Al-Sayed Saeed: The Public Opinion, op.cit, p 88.
(* Woodrow Wilson is President XXVIII of the United States (1913-1921), he was a University president, then New Jersey Governor, and he was a member in the Democratic Party. He declared war on Germany in 1917, and was known of his 14 terms for peace.
- 6- On the House of Representatives' powers as mentioned in the resources of the American political system, see: Alan,G:The American Political Process,op.cit,pp 20-33.
- 7-Naji Shurrab: Studies in the Comparative Policy Systems, op.cit, p 7.
(* Christian fundamentalism is a nationalist movement working for the return of the Jewish people to Palestine, and the rule of Jews on the ground. The Christian Zionists considered themselves defenders of Jews and of course Israel, and this is exemplified also in opposition and fight everyone who antagonizes this entity. It is a set of beliefs which aims to found a national state for the Jews in Palestine as the return of the Jews to the Promised Land is the proof of the sincerity of the Torah, and it is possible for us to see an executive beginning of this definition in the letters of Martin Luther King, the known reformist. For more details see: Mitrī Athnāsiyū: What is Christian Zionism, Sumer magazine, fifth edition, February 1992, Beirut, pp 8-12
- 8- Ghassan al-Shihabi: Christian Zionism in the United States of America, Samed Economic ournal, Issue 101, the 7th year, July - August 1995, p 13.
- 9- Hosni Haddad: Christian Zionism in America: the Religious factor in America's Middle East Policy, Palestinian Affairs Magazine, No. 92/93, July

- August 1979, Beirut, p 171

(*) Mordechai Noah: An American Jew born in 1785 in Philadelphia, and he worked as U.S. Consul in Tunisia in 1813, then he was an activist in the Democratic Party, and was elected several times in the House of Representatives for his party, and in the Senate from New York City, and he is considered as the Jewish who affected the Congress mostly in the nineteenth century, see: Magdi Nassif: Zionism in the United States, First Edition, Dar Al Taleea, Beirut, 1981, p 37

10- Ibid, p 38

11- Harvy Sichrmeman, Israel in the U.S. Foreign and Security Policies, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Telaviv University, 1983, p 36

12- Ibid, p 52.

13- Ghazi Hussein: The Greater Middle East between the World Zionism and the American Imperialism, unpublished study (Al Quds University- Abo Dees Library), 2005, p 60

14- Muhsin Saleh: Palestine, Studies in Palestinian Issue, The First Print, Kuala Lumpur, 2002, p 146.

15-Joma'a KING: The U.S. Administration and the Palestinian Issue 1941-1947, unpublished Master thesis, Baghdad University, Faculty of Arts, 1989, p 58.

16- Salah Abdul Ati: The Contemporary American Fundamentalist Christian Zionism, Journal of Al Hewar Al Moramaden, No. 1743, 23/11/2006 (taken from <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=81553>)

17- Mohamed el-Sayed Saeed: Public Opinion, op.cit, p 88

18- Habib Qahwaji: Israel: the dagger of America, first edition, Land Foundation for Palestinian Studies, Damascus, 1979, p 75

19- Kamel Khella: the British Mandate and Palestine 1922-1939, first edition, the Research Center - the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Beirut, 1974, p 27

20- Haim Malka: The Future Of The US-Israel (Strategic Partnership), Strategic Center, London, 2003, p 173.

21- Habib Qahwaji: Israel: the dagger of America, op cit, p 85.

22- Ahmed Mostafa: The United States and the Arab East, first edition, Knowledge World- The National Council of Culture and Arts, Kuwait, 1980, p 58.

23- Haim Malka: The Future Of The U.S- Israel, op.cit,p 182.

24- Theodore Herzl: the state of the Jews, first edition, translating and

publishing: Arab Research Foundation, Beirut, 1997, pp 16-43.

25- Harewiz: Middle East Dilemma, First Edition, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1963, p 61.

26- Basem Hussein: 24 Political Characters that Has shaken the Humanity, first edition, Al Rayah Center for Media and Publishing, Cairo, 2000, p 170.

27- For these documents and correspondences look at: Robert Silverberg: American Jews And The State of Israel, New York, 1973, pp 12-19.

28- Ibid, p 23.

29- Regina Al Sharif: The non-Jewish Zionism– its roots in Western history, first edition, translation: Ahmed Abdul Aziz, Dar Al Marefah, Kuwait, 1985, p 16.

30- Muhammad Shadid: the United States and the Palestinians between Assimilation and Liquidation, first edition, translation: Kawkab Al Rais, the Arab Studies Society, Jerusalem, 1986, p 59.

31- The Congress decision in a joint session of both its chambers dated 30/06/1922 regarding the Balfour Declaration. See resolution: Palestinian documents, two hundred and eighty selected documents 1839-1987, Dar Al Thakafa _ the Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut, 1979, p 152.

32- For the Mandate document see: the League of Arab States, the main documents in the case of Palestine, the first group of 1915-1946, the Secretariat - Administration of Palestine _ Political Division, Document No. 27, pp 228-237.

33- Hassan Jabri Kholi: the Policy of colonialism and Zionism toward Palestine, first edition, Dar Al Marefah, Cairo, 1972, p 8.

34- On article "90" discussion meeting reports and the role of the U.S. delegation that has membership in the Congress, see Alan, G: The American Political, op.cit, pp 162-171.

35- Ahmed Mustafa: The United States and the Arab East, op.cit, p 50.

36- Regina Sharif: The Non- Jewish Zionism, op.cit, p 219.

37- Ibid, p 220.

38- Habib Qahwaji: Israel: The Dagger of America , op.cit, p 40.

(*) Keren Hayesod: It is the central fundraising organization for Israel, it was established in 1921, after the end of the Zionist conference of London, and is considered the fundraising arm of the Zionist movement to contribute in organizing and providing finance to emigration to Palestine and also to provide funds for what the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth) takes from territories by different means.

- 39- Ibid, p 41.
- 40- Regina Sharif: the Non- Jewish Zionism, op.cit, p 11.
- 41- Salah Abdul Ati: the contemporary fundamentalist American Christian, op.cit, p 4.
- 42- Regina Sharif: The Non Jewish Zionism, op cit, p 202
- 43- Robert Silverberg: American Jews And The State Of Israel, op.cit, p 262.
- 44- Ibid, p 163.
- 45- Stephen Isaacs: Jews And American Politics, Washington,1977, p 64.
- 46- For more information on White Paper document (MacDonald White) 1939 See: League of Arab States, the official documents, the source of an earlier, Document No. 38, pp. 315-372.
- 47- for the real position of the Zionist movement about the White Paper in 1939, see: Golda Meir: Hatred, op.cit, pp 131-132.
- 48- The Jew were buying lands by foreigners, and then after few months they moved property to the National Jewish Fund (Keren Kayemeth) in order to establish settlements, as they did in the center of Gaza Strip, where a Polish citizen called (Zeiks Miller) bought a land in Deir al-Balah city in Gaza Strip and after a few months, the property of this land was moved by selling to keren Kayemeth, see: Dr. Jihad Al Batish, the Zionist settlement in Gaza, Yazji Library, 2005, p 36.
- 49- Kais Kadri: Zionism and its Impact on American Politics, first edition, the Research Center - the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), Beirut, 1980, p 32.
- 50- Muhammad Shadid: the United States and the Palestinians, op.cit, p 51.
- 51- Irene Gendzeir :Why The U.S Recognized Israel, Occupation Israel's Archive, Haifa, p36.
- 52- For more information on the land laws and the change in the policy of Mandate authorities see: Hind Al Buder: Palestine land between the Zionist Allegations and the Facts of History, first edition, the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States,
- 53- Habib Qahwaji: Israel: the Dagger of America, op.cit, p 84.
- 54- Ibid, p 85.
- 55- Muhammad Shadid: the United States and the Palestinians, op.cit, p 53.
- 56- Kais Kadri: Zionism and its impact on American politics, op.cit, p 36.
- 57- Al Hakam Darwaza: a File of the Palestinian Case and the Israeli Conflict, first edition, Dar Al Oloum, Beirut, 1970, pp 35.
- 58- For the document of Biltmore Conference 1942 program see: the League

- of Arab States, official documents, op.cit, Document No. 51, pp 416 – 421.
- 59- Ismail Yaghi: The Historical Roots of the Palestinian Issue, First edition, Dar Al Mareekh, Riyadh, 1983, p 118.
- 60-Irene G: Why The U.S Recognized Israel?, op.cit, p 38.
- (*)Pittsburgh Conference: a conference of the majority of Jewish organizations in the United States which was held in January 1943, and where the American Jewish Conference was elected. It has a supreme body, including dozens of members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and the majority of the body was from Zionist movement itself. Its mission was how to go to U.S. administration to take responsibility in the application of the Baltimore program, see the: Qais Qadri: Zionism and its Impact on American Politics, op.cit, p 36.
- 61- Ibid, p 39.
- 62- Ismail Yaghi: The Historical Roots of the Palestinian Issue, po.cit, pp 119-120 taken from: Parliamentary, House Of London, vol.142, 13 July 1945, co.l. 1151.
- 63- Palestine documents- Two hundred and eighty selected documents 1839 - 1978, the decision of the members of the National Republican Party on 27 / June / 1944, the Dar Al Thaqafa - the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), p 167.
- 64- Ibid.
- 65- Ibid, p 168.
- 66- Ibid, p 174.
- 67- Qais Qadri: Zionism and its Impact on American Politics, op. cit, p 41.
- 68- Cheryl A.. Ronnenberg: Israel and America's National Interest, first edition, Dar al Carmel, Amman, 1989, p 33.
- 69- the Jews were led in Congress at that time by Senator Aganz and Senator Robert Taft, the two were known by their support to the College of Zionism, and they were members of the Commission of American Zionist and Jewish Congress, see: Qais Qadri: Zionism and its impact on American politics, op.cit, p 42.
- 70- Robert Silverberg: American Jews And The State Of Israel, op.cit, p 26.
- 71- See the text of Chaim Weizmann's in memoriam recited in front of the conference of Peace To World: Documentation of the Palestinian cause, two parts, the preparation of the National Center for Studies and Documentation, Gaza, 2002, part 2, p 369.
- 72- for the letters and talks between Roosevelt and Ben Saud see: Frank

David: The American - Saudi - Arabia Relations During The Second World War, center strategic, London, 1972, pp 62-91.

73- Muhammad Shadid: the United States and the Palestinians, op.cit, p 66.

74- Frank D: The American – Saudi – Arabia Relations, op.cit, p 69.

75- Ismail Yaghi: The Historical Roots of the Palestinian Case, op.cit, p 120.

76- Alan G: The American Policy, op.cit, p.92.

77- Ismail Yaghi: The Historical Roots of the Palestinian Case, op.cit, p 121.

78- See the text of the Congress resolution in favor of President Truman's efforts to open the doors of immigration and dated on 12.19.1945: documentation of the Palestinian cause, source, p 424.

79- Ibid, and document the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee 04.20.1946, p 430.

80- Golda Meir: Hatred, op.cit, p 153.

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