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Pamphlets, articles, reprints, etc., important items, 1947.

N. Y. TIMES
FEBRUARY 18, 1947

AMERICAN ZIONISTS DEMAND U. N. ACTION

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

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

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

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

Resolutions couched in the strongest terms ever employed toward the British Government by the American Zionists were approved unanimously by the 650 delegates from thirty-seven States who attended the emergency meeting and converged on Congress during the noon recess to convey their sentiments to members.

Denies Narrow "Pressure"

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

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

Sees Many Lives Lost

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

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

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

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

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

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17 (P) — Pennsylvania's two Senators, Francis J. Myers, Democrat, and Edward Martin, Republican, told a delegation of Pennsylvania Zionists today that they would work for the immediate immigration of 100,000 displaced European Jews to Palestine.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1947

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

By OLIVER PILAT
Post Staff Correspondent

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

Meeting in emergency conference here at the Hotel Statler, more than 500 delegates from 32 states heard their leaders describe the breakdown of negotiations in London for a Palestine settlement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By a Staff Correspondent

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

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

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

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

N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE
FEBRUARY 18, 1947

Zionists Seek U.S. Backing for Palestine State

Washington Meeting Asks
Government Pressure on
Britain to Help Jews

By Frank Kelley

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

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

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

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

Flareup in Debate

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

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

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

Delay in U. N. Feared

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

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

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

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

P. M. Feb. 18, 1947

In Washington:

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

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

FEBRUARY 21, 1947

Britain Issues White Paper on Palestine Crisis

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

By John Chabot Smith

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mowrer On World Affairs

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

This is the only season when Christian and Jews normally rejoice approximately together. Easter and the Passover—resurrection and liberation! How pleasant to report that, celebrating this event, the British had decided to open Palestine to that pitiful remnant of European Jewry still living in army camps!



Instead, the newspapers can but chronicle a new example of British injustice. The British are famous for their bulldog grip. Never was British doggedness in a worse cause than in the present determination not to carry out the terms of the Palestinian mandate.

That mandate, it can never be repeated too often, allowed the British to enter Palestine for the purpose of making that country an adequate Homeland for the Jewish people—no more no less.

Once the British broke the mandate by the issuance of the White Paper in 1939, their own presence in Palestine became illegal.

The real question that the United Nations should be examining is therefore not—as Ernie Bevin is proposing—what sort of government should be established in Palestine. That was decided at the end of the last war—a Jewish government.

What the assembled delegates should ask themselves is why are the British not carrying out their original pledge.

To me there is something infinitely sad in the attitude toward the Jews of the present British leaders. These men had always been idealists and fought for truth and justice. They came to power at the end of a terrible war in which their great country had been all but exhausted. They came pledged to carry out a program of rigorous anti-imperialism.

That program they are rigorously carrying out in most parts of the world in the face of jingo opposition from the British Tories and even—to our shame be it said—from certain Americans fearful lest the "barrier against Russia" be thereby weakened.

In India, in Egypt, in Burma, the Labor Party program is being carried out in the face of great difficulties. Attlee, Bevin, Morrison, Dalton, Noel-Baker, will go down in history as men who decided to put an end to the British part of man's oppression—except in Palestine. Here these men—minus the honest Mr. Noel-Baker—are maintaining "imperial defense" with a callousness unsurpassed by any Tory.

Come what may, they are determined that there shall not arise in Palestine a democratic Jewish Commonwealth embodying the dream to which Israel has clung for nigh on two thousand years.

Some weeks ago, when the British government announced it was "turning over the Palestine problem to the United Nations for settlement," it looked as though His Majesty's Government had suffered a change of heart.

Not so. Now it appears that this was only the latest in a series of devious maneuvers.

For Great Britain has reserved her right to reject any United Nations decision on the future of Palestine.

In other words, if the U.N. Assembly should recommend something desired by His Majesty's Government, the recommendation will be accepted as right, proper and legal—and put into effect.

But should the Assembly decide, for instance, that Britain had, since 1939, systematically violated the mandate; that the severance of Transjordan was illegal; that the British have either to carry out the mandate as originally conceived or renounce the mandate and clear out of Palestine, or that the U.N. should aid in setting up in Palestine the promised Jewish state—then the British Government "reserves the right to reject" the United Nations' decision.

How can one account for such shabby action on the part of a great people?

First, politics. With the Soviets pressing outward everywhere in the Middle East, British colonial officials can think of nothing better than to bid for the favors of the hollow Arab giant they themselves so carefully built. Too many foolish Americans still believe that, as defense against Russia, the democracies can count on Hitlerites like the Nazi mufti of Jerusalem.

Second, anti-Semitism. As Richard Crossman, confused Labor Party Member of Parliament, confesses in his latest book:

"Somehow we (Englishmen) like the Arabs even though they fight us, and we dislike the Jews even if our interests run together."

And therefore, for the Jews, injustice without end.

RUSSIANS EAGER TO JOIN INQUIRY

Gromyko Rejects U. S. British
Chinese Thesis That Big 5
Stay Off Committee

By NANCY MACLENNAN

Special to The New York Times

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 8

—The text of the statement made

for the Jewish Agency for Palestine

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver before

the General Assembly's Political

and Security Committee follows:

I should like to say at the outset

that we are Mr. David Ben-Gurion,

chairman of the Jewish Agency

for Palestine, here this morning.

He would be making this statement

in the matter of constituting and

instructing a special committee

of this body, which is to study

the problem of Palestine and to

bring in recommendations for the

future government of the country.

We trust that our participation

in these deliberations will be helpful

and will prove to be a contribution

to the solution of this grave international

problem which this international

community is now earnestly seeking.

Such a successful solution will

prove a blessing not only to Palestine

to the Jewish people, to the cause

of world peace, but it will also

enhance the moral authority and

prestige of this great organization.

It is our hope that the Jewish

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Text of Jewish Agency Representative's Speech Before U. N.

ADDRESSING THE UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, seated at special table between the Czechoslovakian and Cuban representatives, at Lake Success yesterday.

The New York Times

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 8

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U. N. ASKED TO SET HOMELAND AS BASIS

Continued From Page 1

It is exactly two years to

since V-E Day—after the close

of a war in which the Jewish people

as the greatest sufferers.

Pending completion of the in-

quiry, the Agency spokesman ap-

pealed to the General Assembly for

establishment of some formula

which would permit emigration "in

substantial numbers" to Palestine.

Other major developments as

special session of the General

Assembly rolled through its tenth

day were:

The Arab Higher Committee of

Palestine acknowledged "with

gratitude" the invitation to a hearing

before the Assembly and an-

nounced it would be "glad to ap-

pear before the First (Political and

Security) Committee." Efforts

to bring the matter up tonight to

the hearing for tomorrow after-

noon.

The Soviet Union's representa-

tive announced that his country

represented on the committee of

enquiry for Palestine. He con-

tinued that the great powers must

agree on committee recommenda-

tions if there was to be agreement

on a definitive action at the fall

session of the Assembly. This state-

ment was made as United States

and British representatives re-

turned to their countries' wish not to

have China and a majority of the

smaller nations backed the view

that the inquiry committee should

not contain any member of the

Big Five. France remained silent.

The Political Committee named

an eleven-member subcommittee

including all members of the Big

Five, to consolidate three resolu-

tions presented for instruction of

the proposed committee of inquiry.

His step was dictated when El

Aviv presented a third propo-

sition. Earlier proposals were by

the United States and Argentina.

The representations of the Jew-

ish Agency marked the first ex-

pression of the viewpoint of any

of the population of Palestine

in the current deliberations.

Under the terms of the British

mandate, the agency has been the

recognized spokesman of the Jews

in Palestine, who number ap-

proximately 600,000.

Although it received quasi-offi-

cial status from the League of Na-

tions, the Jewish Agency never

appeared before that body. Its

appointment was expressed only

by resolutions through the mandatory

power.

Tracing the legal justification for

a Jewish national home from the

League Declaration of 1917 and

the mandate of 1922, Dr. Silver,

an American rabbi who has been a

leader since his youth, declared:

"You cannot turn back the hands

of the clock here."

He quoted Lloyd George, Win-

ston Churchill, Field Marshal Jan

Christian Smuts and Lord Robert

Curzon, all representatives of the

British Empire, as endorsing the

British Labor party in support

of this position.

The Jewish Agency's spokesman

then turned to the question of

the great Arab battle between

the Jewish people and the Arab

people, which has been the

central issue in the history of

Palestine.

He said that the Jewish people

are not a people of conquest.

They are a people of peace.

They are a people of justice.

They are a people of faith.

They are a people of hope.

They are a people of love.

They are a people of mercy.

They are a people of kindness.

They are a people of gentleness.

They are a people of meekness.

They are a people of mildness.

They are a people of sweetness.

They are a people of goodness.

They are a people of beauty.

They are a people of grace.

They are a people of glory.

They are a people of honor.

They are a people of respect.

They are a people of esteem.

They are a people of admiration.

They are a people of awe.

They are a people of wonder.

They are a people of amazement.

They are a people of astonishment.

They are a people of surprise.

They are a people of delight.

They are a people of joy.

They are a people of happiness.

They are a people of contentment.

They are a people of peace.

They are a people of love.

They are a people of mercy.

They are a people of kindness.

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They are a people of glory.

They are a people of honor.

They are a people of respect.

They are a people of esteem.

They are a people of admiration.

They are a people of awe.

They are a people of wonder.

U. N. Committee's Report on Palestine—The Majority and Minority Proposals

From the Herald Tribune Bureau
LAKE SUCCESS, L. I., Aug. 31.
 —Following is the summary of the recommendations and conclusions in the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine report:

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine today signed at Geneva and sent to the secretary general for transmission to the General Assembly its report and recommendations on the question of Palestine. Apart from specific plans as to the constitution of the future government and territorial provisions, matters on which a majority and a minority proposal are submitted, the committee forwards to the General Assembly the following eleven unanimous recommendations:

Recommendations

1. The mandate for Palestine shall be terminated at the earliest practicable date.
2. Independence shall be granted in Palestine at the earliest practicable date.
3. There shall be a transitional period, the authority entrusted with administering Palestine and preparing for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations.
4. During the transitional period, the authority entrusted with administering Palestine and preparing for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations.
5. With regard to religious interest and the holy places:
 - (a) In whatever solution may be adopted, the sacred character of the holy places shall be preserved and access to the holy places shall be ensured in accordance with existing rights.
 - (b) The present rights of the several religious communities shall not be impaired or denied.
 - (c) An adequate system for the impartial settlement of religious disputes shall be devised.
 - (d) Specific stipulations regarding these matters shall be inserted in the constitution or constitutions or any independent Palestinian state or states which may be created.
6. The General Assembly should undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the displaced European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem.
7. It shall be a prior condition to the granting of independence that the political structure of the new state or states, including its constitution or other fundamental law, shall be basically

democratic, i. e., representative in character. The constitution shall contain guarantees of essential human rights and fundamental freedoms, and safeguards to protect the rights and interests of minorities.

8. A prior condition of independence shall also be the incorporation in the constitution of basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain in international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

9. It shall be accepted as a cardinal principle that the preservation of the economic unity of Palestine is indispensable to the life and development of the country and its peoples.

10. States whose nations have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners including consular jurisdiction by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, should be invited by the United Nations to renounce any rights pertaining to them in the re-establishment of such privileges and immunities in an independent Palestine.

11. The General Assembly shall call on the peoples of Palestine to extend their fullest co-operation to the United Nations in its effort to devise and put into effect an equitable and workable means of settling the difficult situation prevailing there, and to this end, in the interest of peace, good order, and lawfulness, to exert every effort to bring to an early end the acts of violence which have for too long beset that country.

12. The committee agreed with two dissenting votes to a twelfth recommendation as follows: In the appraisal of the Palestine question it should be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general.

Scheme of Partition With Economic Union

According to the plan of the majority (the representatives of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay), Palestine shall be constituted into an Arab state, a Jewish state and the City of Jerusalem. The Arab and the Jewish states will become independent after a transitional period of two years beginning on 1st September, 1947. Before, however, their independence

can be recognized, they must adopt a constitution, make to the United Nations a declaration containing certain guarantees, and sign a treaty by which a system of economic collaboration is established and the economic union of Palestine is created. A summary of its essential features follows:

I. Transitional Period and Constitution

A. During the transitional period the United Kingdom shall carry on the administration of Palestine under the auspices of the United Nations and on such conditions and under such supervision as the United Kingdom and the United Nations may agree upon. If so desired, the administration will be carried on with the assistance of one or more members of the United Nations. The United Kingdom shall during the transitional period take such preparatory steps as may be necessary for the execution of the scheme recommended and shall carry out the following measures:

1. Admit into the proposed Jewish state 150,000 Jewish immigrants at a uniform monthly rate, 30,000 of whom on humanitarian grounds. Should the transitional period continue for more than two terms Jewish immigration shall be allowed at the rate of 60,000 a year. The Jewish Agency shall be responsible for the selection and care of the Jewish immigrants and for the organizing of Jewish immigration during the transitional period.

2. The restrictions introduced under the authority of the Palestine (amendment) order-in-council of May 25, 1939, will not apply to the transfer of land within the borders of the proposed Jewish state.

B. Constituent assemblies shall be elected by the populations of the areas which are to comprise the Arab and Jewish states, respectively. Qualified voters for each state for this election shall be persons over twenty years of age who are:

- (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that state and
- (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the state, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such state.

Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem, who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab state and the Jews of the Jewish state, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish states respectively. Women may

vote and be elected to the constituent assemblies.

C. The constituent assemblies shall draw up the constitutions of the states. The constitutions shall provide for the establishment in each state of a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation and an executive body responsible to the legislature. They shall also contain provisions for the protection of the holy places, religious buildings and sites, and for the religious and minority rights. Equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms shall be guaranteed. Freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the two states in Palestine and the City of Jerusalem shall be preserved.

D. The constituent assembly in each state shall appoint a provisional government empowered to make the declaration and sign the treaty of economic union. On making the declaration and signing the treaty of economic union by either state, its independence as a sovereign state shall be recognized. If only one state fulfills these conditions the General Assembly of the United Nations shall take such action as it may deem proper. Pending such action the regime of economic union shall apply.

II. Declaration

The declaration shall contain provisions for the protection of the holy places and religious buildings and sites and the religious and minority rights. There shall be no discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or language. The state shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab or Jewish minorities in their own language and in their cultural traditions, and each community shall have the right to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language. Palestinian citizens, as well as Arabs and Jews who, although not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the state in which they are resident. Such persons, if over eighteen years of age, may opt within one year for the citizenship of the other state of which they are citizens; provided that no person who has signed the notice of intention referred to in Paragraph B above about the constituent assemblies shall have the right of option.

A resident in the City of Jerusalem, who signs a notice of intention may opt for the citizenship of either state.

The report specified that the holy places of Jerusalem—a city sacred to Jews, Arabs and Christians—shall be guarded by a police force recruited outside Palestine from persons other than Arabs or Jews.

There was one principle which was approved by all delegates except those from Guatemala and Uruguay, the two most pro-Jewish members of the committee.

This principle said: "In appraisal of the Palestine question, it should be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general."

Along the same lines, while the committee was deeply touched by the plight of some 250,000 displaced Jews in Germany and Austria, it refused to recommend specifically that any or all of them be sent to Palestine.

It did say, however, that the General Assembly should immediately undertake an "international arrangement" to settle the European Jewish displaced persons problem both for the sake of the D. P.s and also to relieve pressure on the Palestine problem.

The full report of the U. N. committee, the first major U. N. organ to exclude the Big Five from its membership, runs about 70,000 words in 165 pages. Annexes will total about 1,320 pages. The full report will be flown here from Geneva later this week.

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ship of one of the Palestinian states, if an Arab of the Arab state and if a Jew of the Jewish state.

III. Economic Union

A treaty shall be entered into between the two states, which shall contain certain provisions to establish the economic union of Palestine and to provide for other matters of common interest.

The objectives of the economic union of Palestine shall be a customs union, common currency, operation in the common interest of railways, interstate highways, postal, telephone and telegraphic services, and ports of Haifa and Jaffa. It shall also promote joint economic development especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation. A joint economic board shall be established to consist of three representatives of each of the two states and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The functions of the joint economic board shall be to organize and administer the objectives of the economic union. After various obligations have been met in full, the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than 5 per cent to the City of Jerusalem and the residue in equal proportion to the Arab and Jewish states.

IV. The City of Jerusalem

The City of Jerusalem shall be placed, after the transitional period, under the international trusteeship system by means of a trusteeship agreement which shall designate the United Nations as the administering authority. The City of Jerusalem shall include within its borders the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which to be Abu Dis, the most Shufat. The City of Jerusalem shall be demilitarized. The governor of the City of Jerusalem shall be appointed by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. He will be neither Arab nor Jew nor a citizen of the Palestinian states nor, at the time of his appointment, a resident of the City of Jerusalem. The governor shall be empowered to make decisions on the basis of the existing rights ("status quo") in cases of disputes which may arise between the different communities in respect of the holy places, religious buildings and sites in any part of Palestine. The protection of the holy places, religious buildings and sites in the City of Jerusalem shall be entrusted to a special police force, the members of which shall be recruited outside Palestine and shall be neither Arab nor Jew. The City of Jerusalem shall be included in the economic union of Palestine.

V. Boundaries of the Arab and Jewish States

The proposed Arab state will include western Galilee, the hill country of Samaria and Judea with the exclusion of the City of Jerusalem, and the coastal plain from Isdud to the Egyptian frontier. The proposed Jewish state will include eastern Galilee, the Esdraelon plain, most of the coastal plain, and the whole of the Beersheba sub-district, which includes the Negev.

The three sections of the Arab state and the three sections of the Jewish state are linked together by two points of intersection, of which one is situated southeast of Afula in the sub-district of Nazareth and the other northeast of El Majdud in the sub-district of Gaza.

THE ARAB STATE

Western Galilee is bounded

on the west by the Mediterranean and in the north by the frontier of the Lebanon from Ras en Naqura to Qadas; on the east the boundary starting from Qadas passes southwards, west of Safad to the southwestern corner of the Safad sub-district; thence it follows the western boundary of the Tiberias sub-district to a point just east of Mount Tabor; thence southwards to the point of intersection southeast of Afula mentioned above. The southwestern boundary from this point, passing south of Nazareth and Shafir Amr, but north of Beit Lahm, to the coast just south of Acre.

The boundary of the hill country of Samaria and Judea starting on the Jordan River southeast of Beisan follows the northern boundary of the Samaria district westwards to the point of intersection southeast of Afula, thence again westwards to Lajjun, thence in a southwestern direction, passing just west of Tulkarm, east of Qalqilia and west of Majdal Yaba, thence bulging westwards towards Rishon-le-Zion so as to include Lydda and Ramle in the Arab state, thence turning again eastwards to a point west of Latur, thereafter following the northern side of the Latur-Majdal road to the second point of intersection, thence southwards to a point on the Hebron sub-district boundary south of Qubeiba, thence following the southern boundary of the Hebron sub-district to the Dead Sea.

The Arab section of the coastal plain runs from a point a few miles north of Isdud to the Egyptian frontier extending inland approximately eight kilometers.

THE JEWISH STATE

The northeastern sector of the proposed Jewish state (eastern Galilee) will have frontiers with the Lebanon in the north and west and with Syria and Trans-Jordan to the east and will include the whole of the Huleh basin, Lake Tiberias and the whole of the Beisan sub-district.

From Beisan the Jewish state will extend northwest following the boundary described in respect of the Arab state.

The Jewish sector on the coastal plain extends from a point south of Acre to just north of Isdud in the Gaza sub-district and includes the towns of Haifa, Tel-Aviv and Jaffa.

The eastern frontier of the Jewish state follows the boundary described in respect of the Arab state.

The Beersheba area includes the whole of the Beersheba sub-district, which includes the Negev and the eastern part of the Gaza sub-district. The northern boundary of this area, from the point of intersection, runs southeastwards to a point on the Hebron sub-district boundary south of Qubeiba, thence follows the southern boundary of the Hebron sub-district to the Dead Sea.

Scheme for a Federal State

Three members (the representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia) propose an independent federal state. The major provisions of that plan are briefly summarized as follows:

I. Constitution and Transitional Period

An independent federal state of Palestine shall be created following a transitional period not exceeding three years, during which responsibility for administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be entrusted to an authority to be decided by the General Assembly.

The independent federal state shall comprise an Arab state and

a Jewish state. Jerusalem shall be its capital.

During the transitional period a constituent assembly shall be elected by popular vote and convened by the administering authority on the basis of electoral provisions which shall insure the fullest representation of the population, provided that the electorate includes all adult persons who have acquired Palestinian citizenship as well as all Arabs and Jews who, though non-citizens, are resident in Palestine and have applied for citizenship not less than three months before the date of election. The constituent assembly shall draw up the constitution of the federal state.

Independence shall be declared by the general assembly once a constitution incorporated

the following provisions has been adopted by the constituent assembly:

(a) The federal state shall comprise a federal government and governments of the Arab and Jewish states, respectively.

(b) Full authority shall be vested in the federal government with regard to national matters, foreign relations, immigration, currency, taxation for federal purposes, foreign and interstate waterways, transport and communications, copyrights and patents.

(c) The Arab and Jewish states shall enjoy full powers of local self-government and shall have authority over education, taxation for local purposes, the right of residence, commercial licenses, land permits, grazing

(Continued on page 12)



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Conflicts Between Arabs and Jews Are Analyzed by Investigating Body of the United Nations

Continued from Preceding Page

peace in Palestine, and was not applicable to the normal processes of the administration of justice in Palestine.

53. The committee was of the opinion that there was no need to take up the matter again.

(g) Expression of Concern over Acts of Violence

59. The members of the committee discussed at the fourteenth and fifteenth meetings their concern over the acts of violence committed since the arrival of the special committee in Palestine and recorded their sense that such acts constituted a flagrant disregard of the appeal made in the resolution of the General Assembly of May 15, 1947.

Work of the Committee in Beirut

60. The thirty-eighth (public) and thirty-ninth (private) meetings in Beirut were devoted to hearing the views on the Palestine problem of the Governments of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen.

61. At the fortieth meeting it was decided to refuse the application for hearing of a private person, since the committee had come to hear the views of the Arab states and not of private individuals.

62. The chairman and seven members of the committee, in their private capacities, went to Amman for a brief visit on 25 July after the completion of the committee's work in Beirut.

Work of the Committee in Geneva

(a) Hearings and Petitions

63. The committee decided at the first meeting in Geneva (the forty-first) to refuse a request for hearing, and deferred the question of whether to ask the mandatory power to give additional oral information. Upon receipt of a letter concerning further evidence to the committee, it was affirmed at the forty-fourth meeting that no action should be taken at the time. At the forty-fifth meeting it was decided that other requests for hearings should be refused.

64. The committee received a number of petitions asking intervention on behalf of a group of illegal immigrants who had been apprehended and transported in British ships from Palestine to Port de Bouc, France, where they were to disembark. The committee agreed that it had no authority to intervene.

(b) Visit to Displaced Persons' Camps

65. At the first meeting in Geneva the committee also took up the question of a visit to displaced persons camps, a matter which had been already discussed in both Lake Success and Jerusalem, but which decision had been deferred. The discussion was continued to the next meeting, at which a representative of the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization appeared before the committee to describe activities in the resettlement of displaced persons and to answer questions regarding Jewish displaced persons in particular.

66. The committee was divided on the question of principle involved in such a visit. Some members expressed the view that the visit was unnecessary. It was common knowledge that the people in the camps wanted to go to the Palestine, and the committee could add no new facts. Others felt that the committee should inspect the camps because it was obliged by its terms of reference to do so. The view was expressed by two members that it was improper to connect the displaced persons, and the Jewish problem as a whole, with the problem of Palestine, while a third felt that the committee's work had not yet reached a stage in which this relationship had become clear. A number of members indicated that they would not oppose a visit.

67. After this discussion the committee voted, six in favor, four against, with one abstention, that a visit should be made to displaced persons camps. It was determined that the subcommittee (Subcommittee 3) should be composed of either the principal or alternate representative of ten of the eleven members, so as to permit the work in Geneva to be continued in the absence of the subcommittee.

68. The subcommittee held two meetings on 31 July and 1 August. At the first meeting, Mr. J. D. L. Hood, the representative of Australia, was elected chairman. The subcommittee proposed for the consideration of the committee drafts of an itinerary and terms of reference, which were subsequently adopted at the forty-fourth meeting. The terms of reference read as follows:

The subcommittee shall visit selected representative assembly centers for Jewish refugees and displaced persons in Germany and Austria, with a view to ascertaining and reporting to the committee on the attitude of the inmates of the assembly centers regarding resettlement, repatriation or immigration into Palestine.

69. The subcommittee visited from 8 to 14 August a number of these assembly centers in Germany and Austria. Its report was approved at the forty-fifth meeting, at which it was further decided that it should be attached as an annex to the report of the committee.

(c) Religious Interests and the Holy Places; the Status of Jerusalem

70. A special subcommittee (Subcommittee 4) consisting of the eleven alternate delegates was constituted to study the question of religious interests and holy places. The status of Jerusalem was also referred to the subcommittee.

71. The subcommittee met under the chairmanship of Mr. A. L. Spits (Netherlands). It proposed that certain stipulations relating to the holy places and religious and minority rights should be inserted in the constitution(s) of the state(s) which were created. Such stipulations have been inserted in the two plans which

are submitted to the General Assembly.

72. The recommendations regarding the creation of a "City of Jerusalem," which will be found in the plan of the majority, were inspired by proposals made in the same subcommittee by the delegates of Canada, Netherlands, Peru and Sweden. The delegates of India, Iran and Yugoslavia disagreed with those recommendations. Reservations made by the subcommittee by the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Guatemala and Uruguay were later withdrawn and the amended text of the recommendations on the City of Jerusalem has been inserted in the plan submitted by the majority of the committee.

(d) Preparation of the Report

73. At the forty-second meeting the chairman and two members presented suggestions as to the working program of the committee for the preparation of the report. After informal consultation they presented at the next meeting a memorandum on the future work program of the committee, which combined their proposals and which was adopted with some amendments. It was agreed that, in informal memoranda might be submitted by delegates or members of the secretariat as the basis for discussion of each point contained in the work program.

74. At the suggestion of one of the members, it was agreed to have informal exchanges of views in lieu of formal meetings to facilitate the preliminary work. A number of informal talks ensued at which the committee attempted to ascertain their field of agreement on the important aspects of the Palestine problem.

75. At the forty-seventh meeting a record vote was taken upon the two proposals which had emerged from the informal discussions and from three working groups which had been formed when two constitutional plans were advanced. Three members (the representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia) placed themselves on record in support of a letter, seven voted against, with the representative of Australia abstaining. Seven members (the representatives of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay) while reserving their positions on boundaries and on the status of Jerusalem, voted in favor of the principle of partition with economic union. Three members voted against, with the representative of Australia abstaining. After further discussion, agreement was later reached on both outstanding questions among the seven members supporting the plan of partition with economic union.

76. As a result of the discussions of the working groups, a substantial measure of unanimity with regard to a number of important issues emerged, as was evidenced in the forty-seventh meeting of the committee. On the basis of this measure of agreement, a drafting subcommittee was appointed to formulate specific texts.

77. In the course of its forty-ninth meeting, of 29 August 1947, the committee considered the report of the drafting subcommittee and unanimously approved eleven recommendations to the General Assembly, the texts of which are

BRITISH SECURITY MEASURES IN STRIFE-TORN HOLY LAND



Residents of Jerusalem are rounded up and kept behind barbed wire when the authorities feel that disturbances are getting out of hand.

set forth in Chapter V of this report. A twelfth recommendation was made with two dissenting votes.

78. At the fiftieth and fifty-first meetings were approved the texts of the preface of the report and of two of the four chapters setting out the findings of fact of the committee (the others having been approved at previous meetings, except for the last section of Chapter I).

79. Finally, at the fifty-second meeting, the representatives appended their signatures to the approved text of the report and to the covering letter to the Secretary General.

80. The representatives also recorded their appreciation of the assistance in the furnishing of information necessary to their full understanding of the situation in Palestine, as well as the attentions to their personal convenience in carrying out their inquiry, so freely given them by H. E. Sir Alan Cunningham, the High Commissioner of Palestine, and the officials of the Palestine administration while in Palestine; and to the Government of Lebanon for the unstinted hospitality extended to them during their stay in that country.

81. At this final meeting the committee also recorded that it had had in its work the assistance of a competent and diligent secretariat under the direction of Dr. Victor Gollancz, representative of the Secretary General, and Dr. Alfonso Garcia Robles, principal secretary. The committee expressed its deep appreciation of the unremitting and invaluable labors of the secretariat in organizing and coordinating the committee's activities, in furnishing research and technical data, in lending assistance at its meetings and in cooperating in the preparation of this report.

CHAPTER II

The Elements of the Conflict

A. GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Physical Features

1. The total land area of Palestine is estimated to be about 26,000 square kilometers or a little over 10,000 square miles but about half of this area is uninhabitable desert.

2. Situated at the crossroads between Europe, Asia and North Africa, however, this small territory enjoys a geographical position from which it has derived, during much of its turbulent history, the ill-matched gifts of political strife and economic advantage.

3. The geographical and topographical conditions of Palestine are an important element in its problem, and it is vital, therefore, to grasp their main features. On the west, stretching from the Mediterranean Sea, is the coastal plain, very narrow in the north but widening considerably farther south, although at no point more than some twenty miles in width. This plain is broken into two parts by a narrow spur of hills pointing like a finger toward the town of Haifa from the direction of the southeast.

North of Haifa is the small coastal plain of Acre, and to the south is the more extensive maritime plain. Reaching inland, to the north of Mount Carmel, near Haifa, are the broad inland plains of Esdraelon and Jezreel, breaking into the upper Jordan Valley south of the Sea of Galilee. In the Huleh Valley, to the north of the Sea of Galilee, is a stretch of unclaimed swamp.

Apart from these inland plains in the north and portions of the desert area in the south, the interior of the country is very mountainous, with the hills of Judea and Samaria in the center and the hills of Galilee to the north. These hills fall away in the east to the rift valley of the River Jordan, which marks the eastern boundary of Palestine with the State of Trans-Jordan and which, starting from the borders of Syria and Lebanon with Palestine, flows through the Sea of Galilee to empty itself in the waters of the Dead Sea, some 1,200 feet below sea level. To the south is the vast area of the Beersheba district, which is arid, semi-desert, supporting at present a very small settled population and about 50,000 Bedouin nomads. As the annual rainfall diminishes farther to the south, this merges into the Negev proper, a wild confusion of limestone hills, practically rainless and almost without life.

Water Resources

4. Along the whole western limits of Palestine lies the Mediterranean Sea, from which, by the natural processes of evaporation and precipitation, the country receives its most valuable com-

modities. The climate is Mediterranean, with hot, dry summers and mild, wet winters.

5. The climate is Mediterranean, with hot, dry summers and mild, wet winters. The rainfall is about 20 inches annually, with the heaviest falling in the winter months.

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mile (125 per square kilometer). This latter figure is a higher density than that of Switzerland and slightly lower than that of Italy.

There are, of course, countries with much higher densities of population, but these are either agricultural populations with very low standards of living, as in parts of India, or else highly industrialized countries dependent upon their industrial resources, and in this connection it must be recognized that Palestine does not contain within its own borders any of the basic raw materials of modern industry.

21. The regional distribution of the population of Palestine is of great significance for the Palestine problem. The heaviest concentration is along the whole coastal plain from the Gaza area to Haifa. Galilee, the plain of Esdraelon and the inland area of the Jezreel subdistrict are also fairly thickly populated. The central hill country north of Jerusalem comprising the districts of Ramallah, Nablus, Jenin and Beisan is considerably less thickly populated, while to the south of the Jerusalem district, in Hebron and especially Beersheba

B. RELEVANT ECONOMIC FACTORS

24. The economy of Palestine presents a fascinating study both because of its rapid development as an area of mass immigration and because of peculiarities in structure due to the lack of homogeneity between the two major elements of the population. In addition, the economic life of Palestine has more recently been subject to the quickening and disturbing influence of an enormously increased demand arising from the wartime and post-war military expenditure.

The Two Economies

25. Although the total population of Palestine is less than 2,000,000, its economic life presents the complex phenomenon of two distinct economies, one Jewish and one Arab, closely involved with one another and yet in essential ways separate. Apart from certain parts of the country which are predominantly Jewish and others which are predominantly Arab in population, this "economic separatism" of the two communities does not correspond to any clear territorial divisions. It finds its expression in certain facts which may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) Apart from a small number of experts, no Jewish workers are employed in Arab undertakings, and apart from citrus groves (where some Arabs work as seasonal laborers in Jewish farms), very few Arabs are employed in Jewish enterprises. Indeed, Government service, the potash company and the oil refinery are almost the only places where Arabs work as co-workers in the same organizations.

(2) There are considerable differences between the rates of wages for Arab and Jewish workers in similar occupations, differences in the rates of investment and differences in productivity and labor cost, which can only be explained by lack of direct competition between the two groups.

(3) Arab agriculture is based to a considerable extent on cereal production and tends to be of a subsistence kind. Only about 20 per cent or 25 per cent of Arab agricultural production, (excluding citrus) is marketed. Jewish agriculture, on the other hand, is largely intensive and cash crop farming. About 75 per cent of Jewish agricultural production is sold on the market. It is marketed through Jewish marketing organizations to Jewish retailers.

(4) The occupational structure of the Jewish population is similar to that of some homogeneous industrialized communities, while that of the Arab community is more nearly to a subsistence type of agricultural society.

26. It must not, however, be supposed that Jews and Arabs in Palestine are not mutually interdependent in their economic life. Under the Mandate there has been a unified administration, internal freedom of trade, a common transport system, a single currency and some development of public services in the interests of the population as a whole, and it is within this general framework that the differences between the two economies must be viewed. Moreover, the great investment of capital associated with Jewish immigration has, in developing the Jewish economy, profoundly affected Arab life, increasing money incomes and the extent to which Arabs have become concerned with an exchange of economy. Competition and a sense of pride on the part of the Arabs have also had their share in raising Arab standards of life. Nevertheless, the economic relations between the two groups have something of the character of trade between different nations. As producers their separateness is less marked, but as consumers (with the main exception of the citrus industry) they maintain a degree of separateness unyielding so far to the pressure of the economic forces which might have been expected to bring about a greater degree of homogeneity; and when all this is considered it is not the few instances of the submergence of differences between Arab and Jew in common economic interests which are remarkable but the fact that such instances are so few as to be unusual.

Agriculture

(a) The Main Features

27. Palestine is still mainly an agricultural country since about 65 per cent of the population gain their living directly from agriculture. Nevertheless, the country is not self-sufficient in food and is especially deficient in cereal production, about 50 per cent of its cereals being supplied by imports. According to government estimates, most of the land capable of being cultivated by present methods is under crops and any considerable development depends on more advanced methods of farming and more particularly on government estimates claim that too conservative.

28. Despite its small area, the country enjoys, owing to its topographical peculiarities, wide variations in climate, and the importance of Arab and Jewish agriculture are summarized in the following table for the year 1944-45.

29. The general nature and relative importance of Arab and Jewish agriculture are summarized in the following table for the year 1944-45.

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the population becomes extremely sparse. In the vast area of the Beersheba subdistrict, however, there are about 90,000 Bedouin nomads.

22. There is no clear territorial separation of Jews and Arabs by large contiguous areas. Jews are more than 40 per cent of the total population in the districts of Jaffa (which includes Tel Aviv), Haifa and Jerusalem. In the northern inland areas of Tiberias and Beisan, they are between 25 per cent and 34 per cent of the total population. In the inland northern districts of Safad and Nazareth and the coastal districts of Tulkarm and Ramleh, Jews form between 10 per cent and 25 per cent of the total population, while in the central districts and the districts south of Jerusalem they are not more than 5 per cent of the total.

23. Thus, though the main concentration of Jewish population is on the coastal plain, the Jerusalem area and the northern uplands, there is, even in these areas, a considerable concentration of Arabs, since these are the most populous parts of the country.

B. RELEVANT ECONOMIC FACTORS

24. The economy of Palestine presents a fascinating study both because of its rapid development as an area of mass immigration and because of peculiarities in structure due to the lack of homogeneity between the two major elements of the population. In addition, the economic life of Palestine has more recently been subject to the quickening and disturbing influence of an enormously increased demand arising from the wartime and post-war military expenditure.

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Easier Attempts to Find Solutions for Holy Land Problems and Rights of Factions Reviewed

Continued from preceding page

considered at length during the thirty-sixth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission in June, 1939. The substance of its findings, as reported to the Council of the League, were:

(a) "that the policy set out . . . was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the mandatory power and the Council, the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine mandate";

(b) that, regarding the possibility of a new interpretation of the mandate, with which the White Paper would not be in accordance, the members "did not feel able to state that the policy of the White Paper was in conformity with the mandate . . . while the other three members of the commission . . . considered that the existing circumstances would justify the policy of the White Paper, provided that the Council did not oppose it."

90. The reaction of Arab leaders, who were much concerned with the constitutional proposals, was officially to reject the mandatory power's policy as falling short of Arab demands. Jewish opinion may be summed up in a sentence taken from the letter dated 31 May 1939 of the President of the Jewish Agency to the High Commissioner for Palestine:

"The Jewish national home to Arab rule; it perpetuates the Jewish minority position; it places Jewish immigration at the mercy of the Arabs; in short, it envisages the termination of the mandate by jettisoning its primary purpose."

91. Against the background of an active Jewish war effort and intensified Nazi persecution of the remnants of European Jewry, enforcement of the White Paper, which stimulated efforts to bring illegal immigrants to Palestine. The action of the administration in circumventing illegal immigration by the seizure of immigrant ships led to constant and serious friction accompanied by mounting Jewish resistance.

92. The consequent rising tension between the administration and the Jewish community was in no way eased by the announcement of the Biltmore Program adopted by the Zionist Conference in New York on 11 May 1942, which, inter alia, called for unlimited immigration and for Palestine to be established as a Jewish commonwealth. From 1945 onward, the Jewish resistance to the enforcement of the White Paper was accompanied by increasing acts of violence, in 1946-47 culminating in the underground activities of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the so-called Stern Group.

On the Jewish side, the terrorism on the part of the administration, the methods of the Part of the Hagannah. By June, 1946, however, the breach had widened so far that the administration found it necessary to arrest and detain on grounds of public security some 2,600 Jews, including four members of the Jewish Agency Executive.

93. Yet the present difficult circumstances do not distort the perspective of solid achievement arising from the joint efforts of the Jewish community and the administration in laying the foundations of the national home.

In the Royal Commission, it was concluded that as far as immigration was concerned "the mandatory has so far fully implemented its obligation to facilitate the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine." At the same time the commission laid down its view regarding the future: "This does not mean that the national home should be crystallized at its present size . . . We cannot accept the view that the mandatory, having facilitated the establishment of the national home, would be justified in shutting its doors."

94. Two years later the White Paper expressed the conviction of the mandatory that, with a defined addition of a specified number of immigrants, the national home must be regarded as fully established. That policy, modified by the admission for the time being of 1,500 Jewish immigrants per month, stands today.

95. The mandate speaks in general terms only of safeguarding or not prejudicing the "civil and religious rights" and the "rights and position" of the Arab community in Palestine. Regarding international relations, in January 1921 the British Government assured King Hussein in the form of the "Hogarth Message" that the aspirations of the Jews for a return to Palestine would be realized "in so far as is compatible with the freedom of the existing population, the economic and social conditions, and the religious rights of the Arabs, though this interpretation was not officially made known to the Permanent Mandates Commission until 1939 nor was it acceptable to the commission as a whole."

96. Whatever the intended implication of "civil rights," Arab leaders in Palestine have consistently denied the legality of the mandate and demanded cessation of Jewish immigration, independent

ence and full national self-government. Actions by the mandatory power and the Palestine administration designed to safeguard Arab rights under the mandate have thus tended to be judged in the light of these unchanging criteria.

97. Setting aside these ultimate standards of reference for the moment, one may find in the record of the Palestine administration evidence of persistent effort to effect gradual improvements in the economic and social condition of the Arab population. In examining such evidence, particularly in regard to land utilization and agricultural development, due account has to be taken of the pioneer nature of the task which the administration faced:

"The country was diseased, underdeveloped, poverty-stricken; it had the scantiest facilities for education, virtually no industry, and an indifferent agricultural regime. Internally it was open to the predatory attention of nomad bands from the desert. To make self-advancement possible and to open the way for private enterprise, state action in all these fields had been required."

Regard must be had also to the recurring period of civil disturbance, particularly in 1921, 1929-30, 1936-38 and 1945-47, which have both diverted attention from economic and social development and drained budgetary resources. However, though not formally accepted by the most influential Arab leaders, the 1939 White Paper's restrictions on Jewish immigration and land settlement were plainly designed to protect Arab rights as understood by the mandatory power.

98. At the same time one can well understand Arab criticism that much has not been done to accelerate the tempo of Arab development in economic and social affairs. It is pointed out that during 1944-46, for example, the government spent each year only some 3 per cent of its total expenditure on public health and less than 4 per cent on education. The government's responsibilities have been primarily directed toward the Arabs since the Jews maintain, at a very much higher per capita cost, their own community health and education services. Yet despite serious and recognized inadequacies in the health services, an improvement in the general health conditions of the Arab community is indicated in the substantial reduction of the child mortality rate during the past twenty years. In regard to education, the responsibility, which the administration has assumed, of eliminating illiteracy has by no means yet been discharged and the government has confirmed this trend. It is true that, in 1937 and again in 1939 on the question of the White Paper, differences emerged in the Arab Higher Committee. Yet they were differences mainly of method and tactics rather than as to the major objectives of Arab nationalism. The dissolution of the Arab Higher Committee and deportation of six of its leaders, including Jamal Effendi el Hussein, by the Government of Palestine in 1937 brought little change in the structure of Arab political life. While Haj Amin Effendi el Hussein, who had been associated with the Axis during the second World War, has not been allowed to return to Palestine, the present Arab Higher Committee, re-established in 1945 and reconstituted in 1946, now has as its chairman Haj Amin Effendi el Hussein, it being understood that the post of chairman is held open for the Mufti.

99. In view of the complexity of the issues, any general estimate as to the effects of the mandatory regime on Arab economic and social welfare is not to be made lightly. In 1937 the Royal Commission commented:

"Our conclusion, then, is that, broadly speaking, the Arabs have shared to a considerable degree in the material benefits which Jewish immigration has brought to Palestine. The obligation of the mandate in this respect has been observed. The economic position of the Arabs, regarded as a whole, has not so far been prejudiced by the establishment of the national home."

Ten years later the government of Palestine has affirmed substantially the same conclusion: "Over the past decade the Arab community have more materially improved during the past twenty-seven years, as is shown perhaps most emphatically in their rapid increase through natural causes. The standard of living has been greatly raised; and their ability to provide for themselves in a competitive world has been enhanced."

100. However, even if it were incontrovertibly established that in economic and social life the Arab community had appreciably benefited from the establishment of the national home and the mandatory regime, it is plain, as the Royal Commission of 1936 emphasized, that such considerations weigh little with those who direct Arab political life. The basic premise of Arab political leaders is that self-government in an independent state from which all further Jewish immigration is barred alone offers any acceptable guarantee of their "rights and position."

101. The mandatory power has attempted within the limits of its interpretation of the "dual obligation" of the mandate, to provide some satisfaction of Arab political desires. Apart from steps taken to develop self-governing institutions, which clearly are of primary significance for Arab interests, the administration has endeavored to provide for Arab political institutions within the Arab community itself. Thus, in 1921, under an Order of the Administration, the Supreme Moslem Council was created for the control and management of Waqf (plural of Waqf, Moslem benevolent or religious endowment) and Shari'a (Moslem religious courts) affairs in Palestine. Again in 1923, the mandatory power proposed to establish an Arab Agency, which was to occupy "a position exactly analogous to that accorded to the Jewish Agency under Article 4 of the mandate." The offer was unanimously declined by Arab leaders of the day on the ground that it "would not satisfy the aspirations of the Arab people."

102. The Royal Commission of 1936-37 were impressed by the fact that the Arab national movement . . . is now sustained by a far more efficient and comprehensive political machine than existed in earlier years. The centralization of control . . . has now been as fully effected as is possible in any Arab country. All the political parties present a "common front" and their leaders, together with the Arab Higher Committee, Christian as well as Moslem, are represented on it. There is no opposition party.

103. Subsequent events have confirmed this trend. It is true that, in 1937 and again in 1939 on the question of the White Paper, differences emerged in the Arab Higher Committee. Yet they were differences mainly of method and tactics rather than as to the major objectives of Arab nationalism. The dissolution of the Arab Higher Committee and deportation of six of its leaders, including Haj Amin Effendi el Hussein, by the Government of Palestine in 1937 brought little change in the structure of Arab political life. While Haj Amin Effendi el Hussein, who had been associated with the Axis during the second World War, has not been allowed to return to Palestine, the present Arab Higher Committee, re-established in 1945 and reconstituted in 1946, now has as its chairman Haj Amin Effendi el Hussein, it being understood that the post of chairman is held open for the Mufti.

104. There can be little doubt, moreover, that the present pattern of control is expressed throughout the local Arab communities by means of a network of committees. Decisions taken at the center, whether relating to an economic boycott of Jewish goods or to the attitude to be taken toward the United Nations committee, are thus for the most part effectively administered throughout the Arab community.

105. Differences of approach and interest, sometimes on such a major question as that of Arab-Jewish relations, can be discerned, the more so from the strong pressure that is brought against them in times of crisis, as in 1936-38, such pressure has taken the form of intimidation and assassination. At the present time non-conformity regarding any important question on which the Arab Higher Committee has pronounced a policy is represented as disloyalty to the Arab nation. The Arab community, being essentially agrarian, is loosely knit and mainly concerned with local interests. In the absence of an elective body to represent divergences of interest, it therefore shows a high degree of centralization in its political life.

Development of Self-Governing Institutions and Local Autonomy

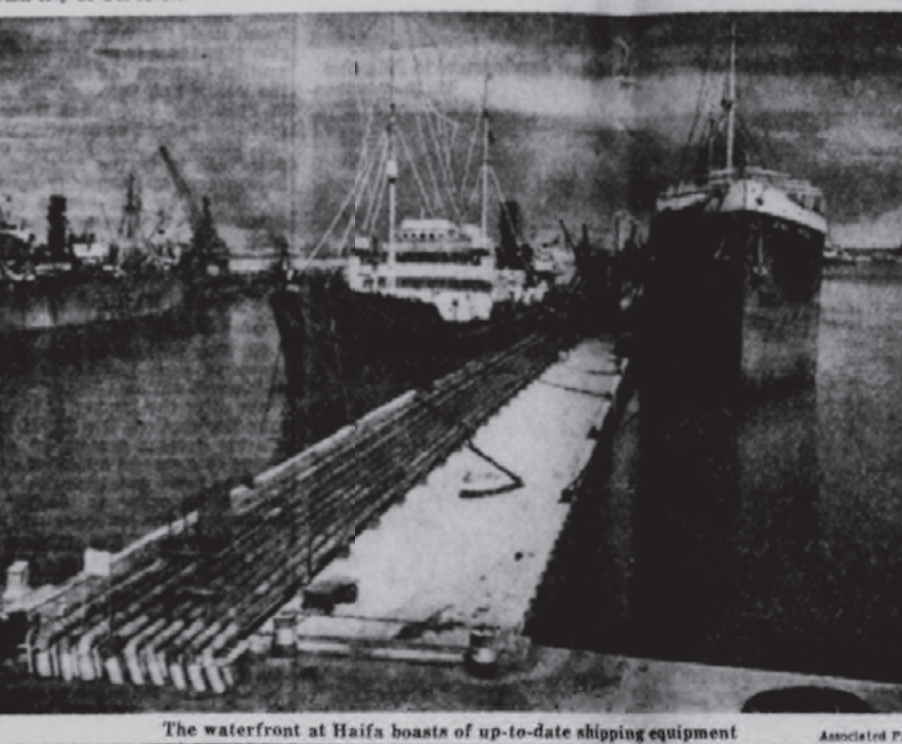
106. In its Statement of Policy of June, 1922, the United Kingdom Government declared:

"It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to foster the establishment of a full measure of self-government in Palestine, but they are of opinion that, in the special circumstances of that country, this should be accomplished by gradual stages and not suddenly."

OUT OF CONFLICT IN PALESTINE MODERN FACILITIES RISE



This \$3,000,000 housing project for former service men and immigrants has been erected in the Jewish city of Tel Aviv.



The waterfront at Haifa boasts of up-to-date shipping equipment.

Associated Press

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The mandatory power's attempts to introduce a measure of self-government in Palestine can be understood only within the context of divergent Arab-Jewish aspirations. In October, 1920, an Advisory Council was established, consisting of ten British officials, seven Arabs (four Moslem and three Christian) and three Jews. In 1922 the Palestine administration projected, as a first step toward the introduction of self-government, a Legislative Council.

107. Jewish opinion reacted strongly to these proposals, claiming that it was "a surrender to Arab terrorism," the effect of which "is to deny to the Jewish people the right to reconstitute their national home in their ancestral country." Since the proposal did not measure up to the "highest standards" proposed by Arab representatives during the London conference of early 1939, it was officially rejected by the representatives of Palestine Arab parties acting under the influence of Haj Amin Effendi el Hussein. More moderate Arab opinion, represented in the National Defense Party, was prepared to accept the White Paper.

111. Following the second World War, establishment of the United Nations in 1945 and dissolution of the League of Nations the following year opened a new phase of the mandatory regime. The mandatory power, in the absence of the League and its Permanent Mandates Commission, had no international authority to which it might submit reports and generally account for the exercise of its responsibilities in accordance with the terms of the mandate. Having this in mind, at the final session of the League Assembly the United Kingdom representative declared that Palestine would be administered "in accordance with the general principles" of the existing mandate until "fresh arrangements had been reached." At the Assembly meeting of 18 April 1946 resolutions on mandates were passed which declared inter alia that the Assembly:

recognizes that, on the termination of the League's existence, its functions with respect to the mandated territories will come to an end, but notes that Chapters XII, XIII and XIV of the Charter of the United Nations embody principles corresponding to those declared in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League;

takes note of the expressed intention of the members of the League now administering territories under mandate to continue to administer them for the well-being and development of the people concerned in accordance with the obligations contained in the respective mandates, until other arrangements have been agreed between the United Nations and the respective mandatory powers;

on 1 May 1946, the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was published. Its major constitutional proposals were:

(a) that "Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state" but that it should "ultimately become a state which guards the rights and interests of Moslems, Jews and Christians alike";

(b) that until Arab-Jewish hostility disappears, "the government of Palestine be continued as at present under mandate pending the execution of a full measure of self-government under the United Nations Charter. A long period of trusteeship was envisaged in view of the depth of political antagonism between Arab and Jew and it was proposed that the trusteeship burden would be lightened as the difficulties were appreciated and other members had the support of the trustees of the United Nations."

113. Following an examination of the Anglo-American Committee's report by a group of British and American officials, in July, 1946, the so-called Morrison Plan was projected by the mandatory power as a basis for discussion with Arab and Jewish representatives and those of the Arab states at a conference held in London.

114. The Jewish Agency rejected the proposal unreservedly. The Arab delegates to the London conference also unreservedly opposed the plan and suggested as an alternative that Palestine should become an independent unitary state with a permanent Arab majority in which the Jewish community would be entitled to seats in a legislative assembly proportionate to the number of Jewish citizens with Palestinian citizenship. Provided that the number of Jewish representatives should in no case exceed one-third of the total membership.

115. On 7 Feb. 1947, the British delegation at the Anglo-Arab conference in London submitted a "new proposal" for a five-year British trusteeship over Palestine as a preparation for independence. The proposed trusteeship agreement was to provide for a wide measure of local autonomy in Arab and Jewish areas, and the High Commissioner was to seek the formation at the center of a representative advisory council. After four years a constituent assembly was to be elected and, providing agreement could be reached between a majority of Arab and Jewish representatives respectively, an independent state would be established immediately.

116. The proposal was unacceptable both to the Arab state delegations and to representatives of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee then present at the London conference and also to the Jewish Agency. The leaders of the Arab delegations "re-emphasized that no proposal which involved any form of partition or Jewish immigration would be acceptable as a basis for a solution of the problem." The Jewish Agency's statement declared that the proposals were incompatible with the basic purposes of the mandate and with Jewish rights to immigration, land settlement and ultimate statehood. In this situation and in accordance with its declaration of 7 Feb. 1947, that "His Majesty's Government are not prepared to govern Palestine indefinitely merely because Arabs and Jews cannot agree upon the means of sharing its government between them," the British government referred the question of "the future government of Palestine" to the United Nations.

The Present Situation

117. The atmosphere in Palestine today is one of profound tension. In many respects the country is living under a semi-military regime. In the streets of Jerusalem and other key areas barbed wire defenses, road blocks, machine-gun posts and constant armored car patrols are to be seen. In areas of doubtful security, administration officials and the military forces live within strictly policed security zones and work within fortified and closely guarded buildings. Freedom of personal movement is liable to be severely restricted, and the curfew and martial law have become a not uncommon experience. The primary purpose of the Palestine Government, in the circumstances of recurring terrorist attacks, is to maintain what it regards as the essential conditions of public security. Increasing resort has been had to special security measures provided for in the Defense Emergency Regulations.

Under these regulations, a person may be detained for an unlimited period or placed under police supervision for one year by order of an area military commander and may be deported or excluded from Palestine on order of the High Commissioner. Where there are reasons to believe that there are grounds which would justify . . . detention . . . or deportation . . . any persons may be arrested without warrant by any member of His Majesty's forces or any police officer and detained for not more than seven days pending a decision by the military commander. The regulations prohibit the formation of military courts and of judicial appeal from or questioning of a sentence or decision of a military court.

Under the regulations, widespread arrests have been made, and as of 12 July 1947, 820 persons were being held in detention on security grounds including 291 in Kenya and the Kenya Control of Detained Persons Ordinance, 1947. The detainees were all Jews with the exception of four Arabs. In addition to these, 17,873 illegal immigrants were under detention.

118. The attitude of the administration to the maintenance of public security in present circumstances was stated to the Committee in the following terms:

The right of any community to use force as a means of gaining its political ends is not admitted in the British Commonwealth. Since the beginning of 1945, the security forces have been called upon to suppress a series of crimes that have been committed by an organized campaign of lawlessness, murder and sabotage. Their contention that, whatever other interests might be concerned, nothing should be done to stand in the way of a Jewish state and free Jewish immigration into Palestine. It is true that large numbers of Jews do not today attempt to defend the crimes that have been committed in the name of these political aspirations. They recognize the damage caused to their good name by these methods in the court of world opinion. Nevertheless, the Jewish community of Palestine still publicly refuses its participation in the Jewish national home.

119. It is the Jewish contention that the mandatory in Palestine became a trustee for the specific and primary purpose of securing the establishment of the Jewish national home by means of Jewish immigration. The right of Jewish immigration, for political as well as humanitarian reasons, is therefore placed on the right of Jews to "return" to Palestine.

120. Aside from contentions based on biblical and historical sources as to this right, the Jewish case rests on the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and on the mandate for Palestine, which incorporated the Declaration in its preamble, and recognized the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting the Jewish national home.

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124. Against the background of major and conflicting political objectives, however, these forms of cooperation are necessarily limited in scope and effectiveness. Their success or failure will be determined by the complex of political and economic factors, internal and external to Palestine, which the application of a mandatory regime has brought about. Should these conditions be adjusted so as to permit the joint utilization of the resources of Palestine between the two peoples on a basis of national autonomy, the forces working for amicable relations between Arabs and Jews may yet become a significant factor in the future of Palestine.

125. The basic contentions of the Arab and Jewish claims are summarized separately in this section with a brief appraisal of each claim.

The Jewish Case

126. The Jewish case, as herein considered, is mainly the "case advanced by the Jewish Agency, which, by the terms of the mandate, has a special status with regard to Jewish interests in Palestine."

127. The Jewish case seeks the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and Jewish immigration into Palestine both before and after the creation of the Jewish state, subject only to the limitations imposed by the economic absorptive capacity of the state. In the Jewish case the issues of the Jewish state and unrestricted immigration are inextricably interwoven. On the one hand, the Jewish state is needed in order to assure a refuge for the Jewish immigrants who are clamoring to come to Palestine from the displaced persons camps and from other places in Europe, North Africa and the Near East, where their present plight is difficult. On the other hand, a Jewish state would have urgent need of Jewish immigrants in order to affect the present great numerical preponderance of Arabs over Jews in Palestine.

The Jewish case frankly recognizes the difficulty involved in creating at the present time a Jewish state in all of Palestine in which Jews would, in fact, be only a minority, or in part of Palestine in which, at best, they could immediately have only a slight preponderance. Thus the Jewish case rests on the right of the Jewish people to self-determination, for political as well as humanitarian reasons. Special emphasis is therefore placed on the right of Jews to "return" to Palestine.

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130. In their view the mandate intended that the natural evolution of Jewish immigration, unrestricted by economic considerations, might ultimately lead to a commonwealth in which the Jews would be a majority.

131. They regard the pledges to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration and the mandate as international law, which, not to the Jews of Palestine alone, who were at the time only a small community, but to the Jewish people as a whole, who are now often described as the "Jewish nation."

132. They contend that there has been no change in conditions since these intentions were expressed, for the existence of an Arab majority was a fact well understood at the time when the legal and political commitments of the mandate were originally made.

133. The Jews, it is urged, have built in Palestine on the basis of faith in the international pledges made to them by the League of Nations and the British people, and they cannot be halted in mid-stream.

(a) The Jewish immigrants to Palestine, who are said to be merely returning to their homeland, are portrayed as having been primarily responsible for developing the economy of the country, for establishing an infant industry, for cultivating the otherwise wastelands, for instituting irrigation schemes, and for improving the standard of living of Palestine Arabs as well as Jews.

(b) The immigrant Jews displace no Arabs, but rather develop areas which otherwise would remain undeveloped.

134. They contend that no time limit was suggested for immigration great areas of the country. It is claimed, was to be terminated only when its primary purpose, the establishment of the Jewish national home, had been fulfilled. That home will be regarded as having been established only when it can stand alone, for there can be no security for it unless it is free from Arab domination. Any proposed solution, therefore, should insure the existence and continued development of the Jewish national home in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the international pledges made.

(a) The establishment of the Jewish national home, it is claimed, does no political injustice to the Arabs, since the Arabs have never established a government in Palestine.

(b) In the Jewish home and state the Arab population, which, as a result of accelerated Jewish immigration, has increased from 1,000,000 in 1917 to 1,500,000 in 1947, will be a minority, and by close settlement of the Jews upon the land, which

later in the year. In its constitutional aspects the plan provided for division of Palestine into four semi-autonomous areas, including an Arab and Jewish province, and a central government whose powers were to be exercised initially by the High Commissioner, assisted by a nonvoting Executive Council. The provinces were to have only such powers as were expressly conferred, and authority in major fields was reserved to the central government.

114. The Jewish Agency rejected the proposal unreservedly. The Arab delegates to the London conference also unreservedly opposed the plan and suggested as an alternative that Palestine should become an independent unitary state with a permanent Arab majority in which the Jewish community would be entitled to seats in a legislative assembly proportionate to the number of Jewish citizens with Palestinian citizenship. Provided that the number of Jewish representatives should in no case exceed one-third of the total membership.

115. On 7 Feb. 1947, the British delegation at the Anglo-Arab conference in London submitted a "new proposal" for a five-year British trusteeship over Palestine as a preparation for independence. The proposed trusteeship agreement was to provide for a wide measure of local autonomy in Arab and Jewish areas, and the High Commissioner was to seek the formation at the center of a representative advisory council. After four years a constituent assembly was to be elected and, providing agreement could be reached between a majority of Arab and Jewish representatives respectively, an independent state would be established immediately.

116. The proposal was unacceptable both to the Arab state delegations and to representatives of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee then present at the London conference and also to the Jewish Agency. The leaders of the Arab delegations "re-emphasized that no proposal which involved any form of partition or Jewish immigration would be acceptable as a basis for a solution of the problem." The Jewish Agency's statement declared that the proposals were incompatible with the basic purposes of the mandate and with Jewish rights to immigration, land settlement and ultimate statehood. In this situation and in accordance with its declaration of 7 Feb. 1947, that "His Majesty's Government are not prepared to govern Palestine indefinitely merely because Arabs and Jews cannot agree upon the means of sharing its government between them," the British government referred the question of "the future government of Palestine" to the United Nations.

The Present Situation

117. The atmosphere in Palestine today is one of profound tension. In many respects the country is living under a semi-military regime. In the streets of Jerusalem and other key areas barbed wire defenses, road blocks, machine-gun posts and constant armored car patrols are to be seen. In areas of doubtful security, administration officials and the military forces live within strictly policed security zones and work within fortified and closely guarded buildings. Freedom of personal movement is liable to be severely restricted, and the curfew and martial law have become a not uncommon experience. The primary purpose of the Palestine Government, in the circumstances of recurring terrorist attacks, is to maintain what it regards as the essential conditions of public security. Increasing resort has been had to special security measures provided for in the Defense Emergency Regulations.

Under these regulations, a person may be detained for an unlimited period or placed under police supervision for one year by order of an area military commander and may be deported or excluded from Palestine on order of the High Commissioner. Where there are reasons to believe that there are grounds which would justify . . . detention . . . or deportation . . . any persons may be arrested without warrant by any member of His Majesty's forces or any police officer and detained for not more than seven days pending a decision by the military commander. The regulations prohibit the formation of military courts and of judicial appeal from or questioning of a sentence or decision of a military court.

Under the regulations, widespread arrests have been made, and as of 12 July 1947, 820 persons were being held in detention on security grounds including 291 in Kenya and the Kenya Control of Detained Persons Ordinance, 1947. The detainees were all Jews with the exception of four Arabs. In addition to these, 17,873 illegal immigrants were under detention.

118. The attitude of the administration to the maintenance of public security in present circumstances was stated to the Committee in the following terms:

The right of any community to use force as a means of gaining its political ends is not admitted in the British Commonwealth. Since the beginning of 1945, the security forces have been called upon to suppress a series of crimes that have been committed by an organized campaign of lawlessness, murder and sabotage. Their contention that, whatever other interests might be concerned, nothing should be done to stand in the way of a Jewish state and free Jewish immigration into Palestine. It is true that large numbers of Jews do not today attempt to defend the crimes that have been committed in the name of these political aspirations. They recognize the damage caused to their good name by these methods in the court of world opinion. Nevertheless, the Jewish community of Palestine still publicly refuses its participation in the Jewish national home.

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The Jewish Case

126. The Jewish case, as herein considered, is mainly the "case advanced by the Jewish Agency, which, by the terms of the mandate, has a special status with regard to Jewish interests in Palestine."

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immigration, will have become a minority population, will be fully protected in all of its rights on an equal basis with the Jewish citizenry.

Appraisal of the Jewish Case

135. Under the preamble of the mandate the principal Allied powers agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a mandatory the administration of the territory of Palestine. They also agreed that this mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the Balfour Declaration. Article 2 of the mandate made the mandatory responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as would assure: (a) the establishment of a Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and (b) the development of self-governing institutions.

The obligation to assure the establishment of a Jewish national home was qualified by Article 6, which made the mandatory responsible for the facilitation of immigration and the encouragement of close settlement on the land.

136. There has been great controversy as to whether the obligations relating to the national home and self-governing institutions were equal in weight and also as to whether they were consistent with each other. Opinions have been expressed that, between these two obligations, the mandate recognizes no primacy in order of importance and no priority in order of execution and that they were in no sense irreconcilable. According to other opinions, however, the primary purpose of the mandate, as expressed in its preamble and in its articles, was to promote the establishment of a Jewish national home, to which the obligation of developing self-governing institutions was subordinated.

137. The practical significance of the controversy was that, if the country were to be placed under such political conditions as would secure the development of self-governing institutions, these same conditions would in fact destroy the Jewish national home. It would appear that, although difficulties were anticipated, when the mandate was confirmed it was not clearly contemplated that these two obligations would prove mutually incompatible. In practice, however, they proved to be so. The conflict between Arab and Jewish political aspirations, intensified by the growth of Arab nationalism throughout the Arabic-speaking countries and by the growth of anti-Semitism in some European countries, excluded any possibility of adjustment which would allow the establishment of self-governing institutions. Had self-governing institutions been created, the majority of the country, who never willingly accepted Jewish immigration, would in all probability have made its continuance impossible, causing thereby the negation of the Jewish national home.

138. It is part of the Jewish case that any restriction on immigration other than economic considerations is illegal and in violation of the provisions of the mandate. Article 6 of the mandate made the mandatory responsible for facilitating Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, while insuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population were not prejudiced. No other restriction was provided thereon.

139. By 1922 the mandatory construed Article 6 to mean that Jewish immigration could not be so great in volume as to exceed what might be the economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals. This interpretation was accepted by the executive of the Zionist Organization and, thus, by construction, a restriction of the general terms of the article was established.

140. The Jewish contention that the mandate intended that the natural evolution of Jewish immigration might ultimately lead to a commonwealth in which Jews would be a majority raises the question as to the meaning of "national home."

141. The notion of the national home, which derived from the formulation of Zionist aspirations in the 1897 Bialistok program, has provoked many discussions concerning its meaning, scope and legal character, especially since it has no known legal connotation and there are no precedents in international law for its interpretation. It was used in the Balfour Declaration and in the mandate, both of which promised the establishment of a "Jewish national home" without, however, defining its meaning. The conclusion seems to be inescapable that the vagueness in the wording of both instruments was intentional. The fact that the term "national home" was employed, instead of the word "state" or "commonwealth," would indicate that the intention was to place a restrictive construction on the national home scheme from its very inception. This argument, however, may not be conclusive since "national home" is a term not precluding the possibility of establishing a Jewish state in the future, had the advantage of not shocking public opinion outside the Jewish world, and even in many Jewish quarters, as the term "Jewish state" would have done.

142. What exactly was in the minds of those who made the declaration is speculative. The fact remains that, in the light of evidence acquired as a consequence of serious disturbances in Palestine, the mandatory, in a statement on "British Policy in Palestine," issued on June 1927 by the Colonial Office, placed a restrictive construction upon the Balfour Declaration.

143. The statement recognized for the first time "the ancient historic connection" of the Jews with Palestine and declared that they were in Palestine "as of right and not on sufferance." It, however, excluded in its own terms "the disappearance or subordination of the Arabic population, language or customs in Palestine" or "the imposition of Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole," and made it clear that in the eyes of the mandatory power the Jewish national home was to be founded in Palestine and not

that Palestine as a whole was to be converted into a Jewish national home.

144. It should be noted here that this construction, which restricted considerably the scope of the national home, was made prior to the confirmation of the mandate by the Council of the League of Nations and was formally accepted at the time by the Executive of the Zionist Organization in its capacity as the "appropriate Jewish agency" provided for in Article 4 of the mandate.

145. Nevertheless, neither the Balfour Declaration nor the mandate precluded the eventual creation of a Jewish state. The mandate in its preamble recognized, with regard to the Jewish people, the "grounds for reconstituting their national home." By providing, as one of the main obligations of the mandatory, the facilitation of Jewish immigration, it conferred upon the Jews an opportunity, through large-scale immigration, to create eventually a Jewish state with a Jewish majority.

146. Both the Balfour Declaration and the mandate involved international commitments to the Jewish people as a whole. It was obvious that they were not limited only to the Jewish population of Palestine, since at the time there were only some 80,000 Jews there.

147. This would imply that all Jews in the world who wish to go to Palestine would have the right to do so. This view, however, would seem to be unrealistic in the sense that a country as small and poor as Palestine could never accommodate all the Jews in the world.

148. When the mandate was approved, all concerned were aware of the existence of an overwhelming Arab majority in Palestine. Moreover, the King-Crane report, among others, had warned that the Zionist program could not be carried out except by force of arms. It would seem clear, therefore, that the provisions of the mandate relating to the Jewish national home could be based only on the assumption that sooner or later the Arab fears would gradually be overcome and that Arab hostility to the terms of the mandate would in time weaken and disappear.

149. This seems to have been the basic assumption, but it proved to be a false one, since the history of the last twenty-five years has established the fact that not only the creation of a Jewish state but even the continuation of the building of the Jewish national home by restricted immigration could be implemented only by the use of some considerable force. It cannot be properly contended that the use of force as a means of establishing the national home was either intended by the mandate or implied by its provisions. On the contrary, the provisions of the mandate preclude any systematic use of force for the purpose of its application. In its preamble, the mandate states that the principal Allied powers agreed to entrust Palestine to a mandatory for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the guiding principle of that article was the well-being of the peoples not yet able to stand by themselves.

150. It has been suggested that the well-being of the indigenous population of Palestine might be insured by the unfettered development of the Jewish national home. "Well-being," however, in a practical sense, must be something more than a mere objective conception, and the Arab, thinking as he does, inevitably, have demonstrated by their acts their belief that the conversion of Palestine into a Jewish state against their will would be very much opposed to their conception of what is essential to their well-being. To contend, therefore, that there is an international obligation to the effect that Jewish immigration should continue with a view to establishing a Jewish majority in the whole of Palestine would mean ignoring the wishes of the Arab population and their views as to their own well-being. This is an apparent violation of what was the governing principle of Article 22 of the Covenant.

151. That the Jews have performed remarkable feats of development in Palestine cannot be denied. The fact remains, however, that they may be serious competitors to the economic soundness of much of this achievement, owing to the reliance on gift capital and the political motivation behind many of the development schemes with little regard to economic considerations.

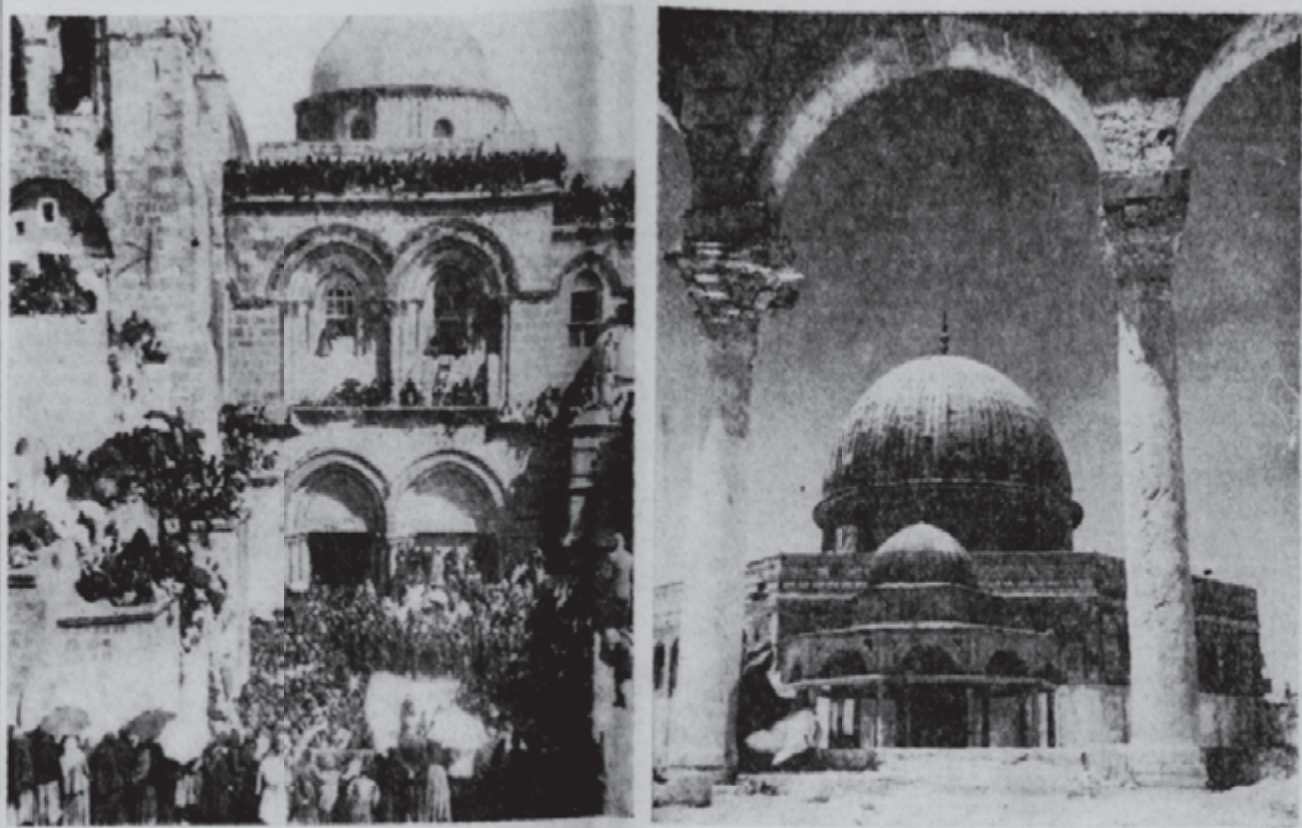
152. That Jews would displace Arabs from the land was a restriction not imposed would seem inevitable, since, as land pressures develop, the attraction of Jewish capital would be an inducement to many Arabs to dispose of their lands. Some displacement of this nature has already occurred.

153. It would appear that the clear implication of the Jewish contention that the national home can be safeguarded from Arab domination only when it can stand by itself is that an independent Jewish state in all or part of Palestine is the only means of securing the promise of the mandate for a Jewish national home. Even a bi-national state, on a parity basis, unless there were extensive international guarantees, would not seem to meet the Jewish contention.

154. The Jewish assurance that no political injustice would be done to the Arabs by the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, since the Arabs have never established a government there, gains some support from the fact that not since 63 B. C., when Pompey stormed Jerusalem, has Palestine been an independent state. On the other hand, the fact remains that today in Palestine there are over 1,200,000 Arabs, two-thirds of the population, who oppose a Jewish state and who are intent on establishing an independent Arab state.

155. Any solution assuring the continued development of the Jewish national home in Palestine would necessarily involve continued Jewish immigration, the postponement of independence and also the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, and made it clear that in the eyes of the mandatory power the Jewish national home was to be founded in Palestine and not

JERUSALEM: THREE CENTERS OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP IN THE TROUBLED HOLY LAND



Christians at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Mosque of Omar is second only to Mecca with Moslems

an administration by a third party, at least until the Jewish people become a majority there. Such a solution would have to be enforced in view of the opposition of the Arab population. Many Jews contend that, if given the opportunity, the Jews alone could defend a Jewish state. Even this, however, envisages the possibility of a violent struggle with the Arabs.

The Arab Case

156. The Arab case as here set forth is based mainly on the contentions made by the representatives of the Arab Higher Committee before the first special session of the General Assembly and by the representatives of the Arab states at that session, at Beirut and Geneva.

The Arab case seeks the immediate creation of an independent Palestine west of the Jordan as an Arab state. It rests on a number of claims and contentions which are summarized below.

The Arabs emphasize the fact of an actual Arab numerical majority in the present population of Palestine in the ratio of 2 to 1.

157. They postulate the "natural" right of the Arab majority to remain in undisputed possession of the country, since they are and have been for many centuries in possession of the land. This claim of a "natural" right is based on the contention that the Arab connection with Palestine has continued uninterruptedly since early historical times, since the term "Arab" is to be interpreted as connoting not only the invaders from the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century but also the indigenous population which intermarried with the invaders and acquired their speech, customs and modes of thought in becoming permanently Arabized.

158. They further stress the natural desire of the Arab community to safeguard their national existence from foreign intruders in order that they may pursue their economic and cultural development.

159. The Arabs also claim "acquired" rights, based on the general promises and pledges officially made to the Arab people in the course of the first World War, including, in particular, the McMahon-Hussein correspondence of 1915-16 and the Anglo-French declaration of 1918. The Hogarth message, the Basset letter and the Declaration to the Seven are regarded as further support for the Arab claim to an independent Palestine.

(a) In the Arab view these undertakings, taken collectively, provide a firm recognition of Arab political rights in Palestine which, they contend, Great Britain is under a contractual obligation to accept and uphold—an obligation thus far unfulfilled.

(b) It is also their contention that these promises and pledges of Arab freedom and independence were among the main factors inspiring the Arabs to revolt against the Ottoman Empire and to ally themselves with Great Britain and the other Allies during the first World War.

160. The Arabs have persistently adhered to the position that the mandate for Palestine, which incorporated the Balfour Declaration, is illegal, and the Arab states have refused to recognize it as having any validity.

(a) They allege that the terms of the Palestine mandate are inconsistent with the letter and spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations for the following reasons: (1) Although Paragraph 4 of Article 22 stipulates that certain communities had reached a stage of development where their existence as "independent nations" could be provisionally recognized, subject only to a limited period of dependence under a mandatory power in the form of administrative advice and assistance until such time as these communities would be able to stand alone, the Palestine mandate violated this stipulation by deliberately omitting immediate provisional recognition of the independence of the territory and by granting to the mandatory power in Article 1 of the mandate "full powers of legislation and administration."



Jews gather at the Wailing Wall

162. That the Arab population will continue to be the numerically preponderant population in Palestine, unless offset by free and substantial Jewish immigration, is undisputed. The Arab birth rate is considerably higher than the Jewish birth rate. Only large-scale Jewish immigration, strongly assisted by capital and efforts from outside Palestine, can provide the basis for the attainment of numerical parity between Arabs and Jews in the population.

163. The Arabs of Palestine consider themselves as having a "natural" right to that country, though they have not been in possession of it as a sovereign nation.

164. The Arab population, despite the strenuous efforts of Jews to acquire land in Palestine, at present remains in possession of approximately 85 per cent of the land. The provisions of the Land Transfer Regulations, 1940, which gave effect to the 1939 White Paper policy, have severely restricted the Jewish efforts to acquire new land.

165. The Arabs consider that all of the territory of Palestine is by right Arab patrimony. Although in an Arab state they would recognize the right of Jews to continue in possession of land legally acquired by them during the mandate, they would regard as a violation of their "natural" right, any effort, such as partition, to reduce the territory of Palestine.

166. The desire of the Arab people of Palestine to safeguard their national existence is a very natural desire. However, Palestinian nationalism, as distinct from Arab nationalism, is itself a relatively new phenomenon which appeared only after the division of the "Arab rectangle" by the settlement of the first World War. The vigorous policy of immigration pursued by the Jewish leadership has sharpened the Arab fear of danger from the intruding Jewish population.

167. With regard to the promises and pledges made to the Arabs as an inducement for their support of the Allies in the first World War, it is to be noted that apparently there is no unequivocal agreement as to whether Palestine was included within the territory pledged to independence by the McMahon-Hussein correspondence.

(2) The wishes of the Palestine community had not been "a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory," as provided for in Article 22, Paragraph 4 of the Covenant.

(b) The principle and right of national self-determination were violated.

(c) The Arab states were not members of the League of Nations when the Palestine mandate was approved and are not, therefore, bound by it.



Jews gather at the Wailing Wall

168. These promises were examined in 1939 by a committee consisting of British and Arab representatives which was set up for that purpose during the Arab-British conference on Palestine. The committee considered the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and certain subsequent events and documents

which one party or the other regarded as likely to shed light on the meaning or intention of the correspondence. It examined, inter alia, the so-called "Sykes-Picot agreement," the "Balfour Declaration," the "Hogarth message," the "Declaration to the Seven," the "General Allenby's assurance," the "Feisal-Faisal agreement," and the "Anglo-French declaration of 7 Dec. 1918."

169. In its report the committee stated that the Arab and the United Kingdom representatives had been "unable to reach agreement upon an interpretation of the correspondence." The United Kingdom representatives, however, informed the Arab representatives that the Arab contentions, as explained to the committee, regarding the interpretation of the correspondence, and especially their contentions relating to the meaning of the phrase "portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Hama, Homs and Aleppo" have greater force than has appeared hitherto.

The United Kingdom representatives, moreover, informed the Arab representatives that they agreed that Palestine was included in the area claimed by the Sherif of Mecca in his letter of 14 July, 1915, and that unless Palestine was excluded from that area later in the correspondence, it must be regarded as having been included in the area in which Great Britain was to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs. They maintain that on a proper construction of the correspondence, Palestine was in fact excluded. But they agree that the language in which its exclusion was expressed was not so specific and unmistakable as it was thought to be at the time.

170. With regard to the various statements mentioned in Paragraph 168, the above committee considered that it was beyond its scope to express an opinion upon their proper interpretation and that such opinion could not in any case be properly formed unless consideration had also been given to a number of other statements made during the war. In the opinion of the committee, it was, however, evident from these statements that "His Majesty's Government were not free to dispose of Palestine without regard for the wishes and interests of the inhabitants of Palestine, and that these statements must all be taken into account in any attempt to estimate the responsibilities which, upon any interpretation of the correspondence, His Majesty's Government have incurred toward the inhabitants as a result of the correspondence."

171. With regard to the "Hogarth message," the Arab representatives explained that they relied strongly on a passage in the message delivered to King Hussein of the Hejaz in 1918, to the effect that Jewish settlement in Palestine would be allowed only in so far as it would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of the Arab population.

172. It is noteworthy that the Hogarth message was delivered to King Hussein in January, 1918, that is, two months after the Balfour Declaration was made. There

is a clear difference between the declaration itself, which safeguarded only the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities, and the message, which promised political freedom to the Arab population of Palestine.

173. A memorandum, presented by Emir Feisal to the Paris Peace Conference, however, would indicate that the special position of Palestine was recognized in Arab circles. He said:

"The Jews are very close to the Arabs in blood and there is no conflict of character between the two races. In principle we are absolutely at one. Nevertheless, the Arabs cannot risk assuming the responsibility of holding level the scales in the clash of races and religions that have, in this one province, so often involved the world for the effective superposition of a great trustee, so long as a representative local administration commended itself by activity promoting the material prosperity of the country."

174. It was also Emir Feisal who, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab kingdom of the Hejaz, signed an agreement with Dr. Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organization. In this agreement, Feisal, subject to the condition that the Arabs obtained independence as demanded in his memorandum to the British Foreign Office of 4 Jan. 1919, accepted the Balfour Declaration and the encouragement of Jewish immigration into Palestine. The Feisal-Weizmann agreement did not acquire validity, since the condition attached was not fulfilled at the time.

175. The Peel commission, in referring to the matter, had noted in its report that "there was a time when Arab statesmen were willing to consider giving Palestine to the Jews, provided that the rest of Arab Asia was free. That condition was not fulfilled then, but it is on the eve of fulfillment now."

176. With regard to the principle of self-determination, although international recognition was extended to this principle at the end of the first World War and it was adhered to with regard to the Arab territories, at the time of the creation of the "A" mandates, it

was not applied to Palestine, obviously because of the intention to make possible the creation of the Jewish national home there. Actually, it may well be said the Jewish national home and the sui generis mandate for Palestine run counter to that principle.

177. As to the claim that the Palestine mandate violates Article 22 of the Covenant because the community of Palestine has not been recognized as an independent nation and because the mandatory was given full powers of legislation and administration, it has been rightly pointed out by the Peel commission that:

(a) that the provisional recognition of "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire" as independent nations is permissible; the words are "can be provisionally recognized," not "will or shall";

(b) that the penultimate paragraph of Article 22 prescribes that the degree of authority to be exercised by the mandatory shall be defined, at need by the Council of the League;

(c) that the acceptance by the Allied powers and the United States of the policy of the Balfour Declaration made it clear from the beginning that Palestine would have been treated differently from Syria and Iraq, and that this difference of treatment was confirmed by the Supreme Council in the Treaty of Sevres and by the Council of the League in sanctioning the mandate.

178. With regard to the allegation that the wishes of the Palestine community had not been the principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory, it should be noted that the resolutions of the General Syrian Congress of 2 July, 1919, in considering under certain conditions the possibility of the establishment of a mandate over the Arab countries, gave Great Britain as a second choice, the United States being the first. This choice was also noted by the King-Crane commission.

179. There would seem to be no grounds for questioning the validity of this mandate for the reason advanced by the Arab states. The terms of the mandate for Palestine formulated by the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied Powers as a part of the settlement of the first World War were subsequently approved and confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations.

180. The spirit which prevailed at the creation of the mandate for Palestine was explained by Lord Balfour at the opening of the eighteenth session of the Council of the League of Nations as follows:

"The mandates are not our creation. The League nor we made them. The League nor we can alter them. In substance, they are altered by the League."

At the conclusion of peace (in 1855, after the Crimean War) the matters in dispute being still left undecided were submitted to the signatory powers, who undertook to guarantee in every respect the status quo ante bellum. The question of the protection of the holy places was again discussed during the peace negotiations at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War (1878). At that time it was laid down in the peace treaty itself that no alterations were to be made in the status quo of the holy places. In 1878 as well as in 1855 indications as to the administration of the status quo were based upon the same rules as those that had been proclaimed in the decree (firman) issued by the Sultan of Turkey in 1832 which were in conformity in the main with a preceding firman of 1757.

As appertained between the three principal Christian rites, viz., the Orthodox Greek rite, the Latin (or Roman Catholic) rite, and the Armenian Orthodox rite, the Holy Places and their component parts may be classified into the following categories: (a) Certain parts which are recognized as property common to the three rites in equal shares; (b) Certain parts which are claimed exclusively by one of the three rites; (c) parts as to which the ownership is in dispute between two of the rites; (d) Finally, parts of the ownership of which belongs exclusively to one rite, but within which other rites are entitled to exercise or to carry out ritual services up to a limited extent in other parts.

Certain strict principles are adhered to in the administration of the status quo. Thus: (a) a right granted to hang up a lamp or a picture or to change the position of any such object when hung is regarded as a recognition of exclusive possession of the pillar or the wall in question. (b) It is easy to understand that the application of "rights" of this nature must lead to great difficulties and often to litigation, especially as each alteration of the status quo in the prevailing practice might be regarded as a change of position. The position has been altered, therefore, the administration has had a difficult task both in ascertaining and in maintaining the status quo. In controverted cases, the position has been altered, therefore, the administration has had a difficult task both in ascertaining and in maintaining the status quo. In controverted cases, the position has been altered, therefore, the administration has had a difficult task both in ascertaining and in maintaining the status quo.

Remember that a mandate is a self-imposed limitation by the sovereign power of the sovereignty which they obtained over conquered territories. It is imposed by the Allied and Associated Powers themselves in recognition of what they conceived to be the general welfare of mankind; and they have asked the League of Nations to assist them in seeing to it that the mandate should be carried into effect. But the League of Nations is not the author of the policy but its instrument. It is not they who have laid down the general lines on which the three classes of mandates are framed. Their duty, let me repeat, is to see, in the first place, that the terms of the mandates conform to the principles of the Covenant, and in the second place, that these terms shall, in fact, regulate the policy of the mandatory Powers in the mandated territories.

Now, it is clear from this statement that both those who hope and those who believe in the "Balfour Declaration" are going to suffer substantial modifications in error. The fears are not unfounded; the hopes are unjustified. The general line of policy stand and must stand."

181. Besides Article 15, relating to the holy places, the following articles of the mandate also bear the question of the religious interests in Palestine of Islam, Judaism and Christianity:

(a) Article 9 (2) provides that "respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Waqfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious laws and the dispositions of the founders."

(b) Article 15 (1) provides that "the mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are insured to all."

(c) The right of each community to maintain its own schools is contained in Paragraph 2 of the mandate. Article 15, as if the drafters of the mandate had considered that in the Holy Land of three religions the right to maintain schools was also a religious right, like "freedom of conscience" and the "free exercise of all forms of worship." Paragraph 2 of Article 15 reads as follows:

"The right of each community to maintain its own schools to the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired."

(d) Article 16 provides that "the mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or religiously inspired activities in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the free exercise of such activities or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality."

(e) Article 28 provides that "a the event of the termination of the mandate" the Council of the League of Nations "shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under the guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14" of the mandate.

(f) The mandate not only provides for arrangements with

Continued on the Following Page

Majority Recommends Partition Into Jewish and Arab States as Main Points of Proposals

Continued from Preceding Page

quires the creation of an economic association by means of a treaty between the two states. The essential objectives of this association would be a common customs system, common currency and the maintenance of a country-wide system of transport and communications.

12. The maintenance of existing standards of social services in all parts of Palestine depends partly upon the preservation of economic unity, and this is a main consideration underlying the provisions for an economic union as part of the partition scheme. Partition, however, necessarily changes to some extent the fiscal situation in such a manner that, at any rate during the early years of its existence, a partitioned Arab state in Palestine would have some difficulty in raising sufficient revenue to keep up its present standards of public services.

One of the aims, therefore, of the economic union is to distribute surplus revenue to support such standards. It is recommended that the division of the surplus revenue, after certain charges and percentage of surplus to be paid to the City of Jerusalem are met, should be in equal proportions to the two states. This is an arbitrary proportion but it is considered that it would be acceptable, that it has the merit of simplicity and that being fixed in this manner, it would be less likely to become a matter of immediate controversy. Provisions are suggested whereby this formula is to be reviewed.

13. This division of customs revenue is justified on three grounds: (1) The Jews will have the more economically developed part of the country, embracing practically the whole of the citrus-producing area, which includes a large number of Arab producers; (2) the Jewish state would, through the customs union, be guaranteed a larger free trade area for the sale of the products of its industry; (3) it would be to the disadvantage of the Jewish state if the Arab state should be in a financially precarious and poor economic condition.

14. As the Arab state will not be in a position to undertake considerable development expenditure, sympathetic consideration should be given to its claims for assistance from international institutions in the way of loans for expansion of education, public health and other vital social services of a non-self-liquidating nature.

15. International financial assistance would also be required for any comprehensive irrigation schemes in the interest of both states, and it is to be hoped that constructive work by the joint economic board will be made possible by means of international loans on favorable terms.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A. PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE
1. Palestine within its present borders following a transitional period of two years from 1 Sept. 1947, shall be constituted into an independent Arab state, an independent Jewish state and the City of Jerusalem, the boundaries of which are respectively described in Parts II and III below.

2. Independence shall be granted to each state upon its request only after it has adopted a constitution complying with the provisions of B. 4 below, made to the United Nations declaration containing certain guarantees and signed a treaty creating the economic union of Palestine and establishing a system of collaboration between the two states and the City of Jerusalem.

B. TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND CONSTITUTION

1. During the transitional period, the present mandatory power shall:

(a) Carry on the administration of the territory of Palestine under the auspices of the United Nations and on such conditions and under such supervision as may be agreed upon between the United Kingdom and the United Nations, and if so desired, with the assistance of one or more members of the United Nations;

(b) take such preparatory steps as may be necessary for the execution of the scheme recommended;

(c) carry out the following measures: (1) admit into the borders of the proposed Jewish state 150,000 Jewish immigrants at a uniform monthly rate, 30,000 of whom on humanitarian grounds; should the transitional period continue for more than two years, Jewish immigration shall be allowed at the rate of 60,000 per year. The responsibility for the selection and control of Jewish immigrants and for the organizing of Jewish immigration during the transitional period shall be placed in the Jewish Agency; (2) the restrictions introduced by land regulations issued by the Palestinian administration under the authority of the Palestine (Amendment) Order-in-Council of 25 May 1939 will not apply to the transfer of land within the borders of the proposed Jewish state.

2. Constituent assemblies shall be elected by the populations of the areas which are to comprise the Arab and Jewish states, respectively. The electoral provisions shall be prescribed by the power administering the territory. Qualified voters for each state for this election shall be persons over 20 years of age who are: (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that state and (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the state, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such state.

Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab state and the Jews of the Jewish state, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish states, respectively.

Women may vote and be elected to the constituent assemblies.

3. During the transitional period, no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Arab state, except by special leave of the administration.

4. The constituent assemblies shall draw up the constitutions of

the states, which shall embody Chapters I and II of the declaration provided for in C below, and include inter alia provisions for:

(a) establishing in each state a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation, and an executive responsible to the Legislature;

(b) settling all international disputes in which the state may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered;

(c) accepting the obligation of the state to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;

(d) guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religious worship, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association;

(e) preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other state in Palestine, and the City of Jerusalem, subject to security considerations, provided that each state shall control residence within its borders;

(f) recognize the rights of the Governor of the City of Jerusalem to determine whether the provisions of the constitution of the states in relation to holy places, religious buildings and sites within the borders of the states and the religious rights appertaining thereto are being properly applied and respected and to make decisions in cases of disputes which may arise with respect to such places, buildings and sites; also accord full cooperation to him and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in those states.

5. The constituent assembly in each state shall appoint a provisional government empowered to make the declaration and sign the treaty of economic union, provided for in C and D below.

On making the declaration and signing the treaty of economic union by either state and upon approval of such instruments as being in compliance with these recommendations by the General Assembly of the United Nations, its independence as a sovereign state shall be recognized.

If only one state fulfills the foregoing conditions, that fact will forthwith be communicated to the United Nations for such action by its General Assembly as it may deem proper. Pending such action, the regime of economic union as recommended shall apply.

C. DECLARATION
A declaration shall be made to the United Nations by the Provisional Government of each proposed state before the interim administration is brought to an end. It shall contain inter alia the following clauses:

General Provision: The stipulations contained in the declaration are recognized as fundamental laws of the state and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Chapter I: Holy Places, Religious Buildings and Sites.

1. Existing rights in respect of holy places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

2. Free access to the holy places and religious buildings or sites and the free exercise of worship shall be secured in conformity with existing rights and subject to the requirements of public order and decorum.

3. Holy places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the government that any particular holy place, religious building or site is in need of urgent repair, the government may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The government may carry it out itself at the expense of the community or communities concerned, if no action is taken within a reasonable time.

4. No taxation shall be levied in respect of any holy place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the state.

5. The governor of the City of Jerusalem shall have the right to determine whether the provisions of this declaration of the state in relation to holy places, religious buildings and sites within the borders of the state and the religious rights appertaining thereto are being properly applied and respected and to make decisions in cases of disputes which may arise with respect to such places, buildings and sites. He shall receive full cooperation and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in the state.

Chapter II: Religious and Minority Rights

1. Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, shall be insured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the ground of race, religion or language.

2. The family law and personal status of the various minorities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

3. Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or eleemosynary bodies of any faith or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

4. The state shall insure adequate primary and secondary education for all children, and no state shall respect and fulfill all financial obligations of whatever nature assumed on behalf of Palestine by the mandatory power, until its independence is recognized, including the rights of pub-

THE MAJORITY'S PLAN OF PARTITION



Territory that would be allotted to the proposed Arab and Jewish states is indicated by the different shadings. Jerusalem with its environs (in circle) would be under U. N. trusteeship.

Education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the state may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

5. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any citizen of the state of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

6. No expropriation of land owned by a Jew in the Jewish state (by a Jew in the Arab state) shall be allowed except for public purposes unless the land, suitable for agricultural purposes, has remained uncultivated and unused for not less than one year after written notice of utilization thereof given and upon an order made by the supreme court of the respective state approving the expropriation on the grounds of absence of sufficient reasons for the non-utilization thereof. In all cases of this declaration full compensation, as fixed by the supreme court, shall be paid previous to dispossession.

Chapter III
1. Citizenship. Palestinian citizens, as well as Arabs and Jews who, not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine, shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the state in which they are resident or, if resident in the City of Jerusalem, upon sign a notice of intention provided in B.2 above, of the state mentioned in such notice with full political and civil rights, provided that they do not exercise the option mentioned hereafter. Such persons, if over 18 years of age, may opt within one year for the citizenship of the other state or declare that they retain the citizenship of any state of which they are citizens, and if they exercise this option it will be taken to include their wives and children under 18 years of age; provided that no person who has signed the notice of intention referred to in B.2 above shall have the right of option.

2. International Conventions. The state shall be bound by all the international agreements and conventions, both general and special, to which Palestine has become a party. Subject to any right of denunciation provided for therein, such agreements and conventions shall be respected by the state throughout the period for which they were concluded.

3. Financial Obligations. The state shall respect and fulfill all financial obligations of whatever nature assumed on behalf of Palestine by the mandatory power, until its independence is recognized, including the rights of pub-

lic servants to pensions, compensation or gratuities, to be negotiated where necessary with the Government of the United Kingdom.

Commercial concessions heretofore granted in respect of any part of Palestine shall continue to be valid according to their terms, unless modified by agreement between the Parties.

Chapter IV

1. The provisions of Chapters I and II of this declaration shall be binding upon the Arab and Jewish states (by a Jew in the Arab state) and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Any member of the United Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any infringement or danger of infringement of any of these stipulations, and the General Assembly may thereupon make such recommendations as it may deem proper in the circumstances.

2. Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of this declaration shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

D. ECONOMIC UNION

A treaty shall be entered into between the two states and signed simultaneously with the declaration provided for in C above. The treaty will be binding at once without ratifications. It shall contain provisions to establish the economic union of Palestine and to provide for other matters of common interest.

(1) The Economic Union of Palestine

The objectives of the Economic Union of Palestine shall be: (a) a common currency; (b) a common customs system; (c) operations in the common interest of railways, inter-state highways, postal, telephone and telegraph services and the ports of Haifa and Jaffa; (d) joint economic development, especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation.

There shall be a Joint Economic Board in the composition of which a parity of interest in the two states is recognized by equal representation from them. But in no case shall the Board have the power to make political decisions. The Board shall have the functions which the board can be clothed and confined them to such

economic Board shall be to organize and administer, either directly or by delegation, the objectives of the Economic Union.

The states shall bind themselves to put into effect the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The Board's decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

In relation to economic development, the functions of the board shall be the planning, investigation and encouragement of joint development projects, but it shall not undertake any administrative or executive functions, except with the assent of both states and the City of Jerusalem.

There shall be a common customs tariff with complete freedom of trade between the states and the City of Jerusalem.

The tariff schedules shall be drawn up by a tariff commission consisting of representatives of each of the states in equal numbers. In case of disagreement or failure to approve any tariff schedule by a date to be fixed, the matter shall be settled by the arbitration of the Joint Economic Board.

The following items shall be a first charge on the customs revenue: (a) the expenses of the customs service; (b) the administrative expenses of the Joint Economic Board; (c) the financial obligations of the administration of Palestine consisting of: (i) the service of the outstanding public debt; (ii) the cost of superannuation benefits, now being paid or falling due in future.

After these obligations have been met in full, the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than 5 per cent and not more than 10 per cent to the City of Jerusalem and the residue in equal proportion to the Jewish and Arab states. After a period of three years, the division shall be reviewable by the Joint Economic Board, which shall make such modifications as may be deemed necessary.

All international conventions and treaties affecting customs tariffs, communications and commercial matters generally shall be entered into by both states.

(2) Freedom of Transit and Visit

The treaty shall contain provisions preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents or citizens of both states and of the City of Jerusalem, subject to security considerations; provided that each state and the city shall control residence within their borders.

(3) Termination, Modification and Interpretation of Treaty

The treaty shall remain in force for a period of ten years, and it shall continue in force until notice of termination to take effect two years thereafter is given by either of the parties and such termination assented to by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

During the initial ten-year period, the treaty may not be modified except by consent of both states and with the approval of the General Assembly.

Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of the treaty shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

E. ASSETS

The movable assets of the administration of Palestine shall be allocated to the Arab and Jewish states and the City of Jerusalem on an equitable basis. Immovable assets shall become the property of the state in the territory of which they are situated.

F. ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Upon the recognition of the independence of the Arab and Jewish states, respectively, sympathetic consideration should be given to their application for admission to membership in the United Nations, in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations.

A COMMENTARY ON PARTITION

The primary objectives sought in the foregoing scheme are, in short, political division and economic unity: to confer upon each group, Arab and Jew, in its own territory, the power to make its own laws, while preserving to both, throughout Palestine, a single integrated economy, admittedly essential to the well-being of each, and the same territorial freedom of movement to individuals as is enjoyed today. The former necessitates a territorial partition; the latter, the maintenance of unbroken commercial relations between the states, together with a common administration of functions in which the interests of both are in fact inextricably bound together.

The territorial division with the investment of full political power in the state achieves, in turn, the same economic unity. A self-operating system of immigration, although free passage between the states for all residents is provided, each state retains exclusive authority over the acquisition of residence and this, with its control over land, will enable it to preserve the integrity of its social organization.

The Economic Union is to be administered by a Joint Economic Board in the composition of which a parity of interest in the two states is recognized by equal representation from them. But in no case shall the Board have the power to make political decisions. The Board shall have the functions which the board can be clothed and confined them to such

neutral services as communications or to a function which, though carrying a political quality, is dictated by the necessities of the overriding interest of unity.

In these respects the scheme may be contrasted with that of the federal state presented by three members of the committee. In the latter, paramount political power, including control over immigration, is vested at the center; but the attempt to introduce parity through equal representation in one chamber of the legislature is nullified by the predominance of Arab majority influence in the ultimate decision. But even were an independent element to be introduced, the administration would break down because of the wide political field in which it would operate. If that field were reduced to the subjects dealt with by the Board under the Economic Union scheme, apart from the question of majority determination, the difference in substance between the two plans would lie in the failure of the federal scheme to satisfy the aspirations of both groups for independence.

The Arab state will organize the substantial majority of Arabs in Palestine into a political body containing an insignificant minority of Jews; but in the Jewish state there will be a considerable minority of Arabs. That is the constitutional position of the scheme; but such a minority is inevitable in any feasible plan which does not place the whole of Palestine under the present mandate of the Arabs. One cannot disregard the specific purpose of the scheme, which is to secure the existing conditions, and the safeguarding of political, civil and cultural rights provided by the scheme as ample as can be devised.

But in the larger view here are the sole remaining representatives of the Semitic race. They are in the land in which that race was cradled. There are no fundamental incompatibilities between them. The scheme satisfies the deepest

aspiration of both, independence. There is a considerable body of opinion in both groups which seeks the course of cooperation. Despite, then, the drawback of the Arab minority, the setting is one from which, with good-will and a spirit of cooperation, may arise a rebirth in historical surroundings of the genius of each people. The massive contribution made throughout the centuries by them in religious and ethical conceptions, in philosophy and in the entire intellectual sphere should excite among the leaders a mutual respect and a pride in their common origin.

The Jews bring to the land the social dynamism and scientific method of the West; the Arabs confront them with individualism and intuitive understanding of life. In the fusion of these two cultures, through the natural emulation of each other, can be evolved a synthesis of the two civilizations, preserving, at the same time, their fundamental characteristics. In each state, the native genius will have a scope and opportunity to evolve into its highest cultural forms and to attain its greatest reaches of mind and spirit. In the case of the Jews, that is really the condition of survival. Palestine will be kept one land in which Semitic ideals may pass into realizations.

At the same time there is secured, through the constitutional position of Jerusalem and the holy places, the preservation of the scenes of events in which also the sentiments of Christendom center. There will thus be imposed over the whole an unobjectionable barrier in the address of all three religions throughout the world and, so secured, this unique and historical land may at last cease to be the arena of human strife.

Whether, however, these vain aspirations must await the future, if they are never realized, it will not, it is believed, be because of defects in the machinery of government that is proposed to them.

PART II: BOUNDARIES

Definition

The plan envisages the division of Palestine into three parts: an Arab state, a Jewish state and the City of Jerusalem. The proposed Arab state will include western Galilee, the hill country of Samaria and Judea, with the exclusion of the City of Jerusalem, and the coastal plain from Isdud to the Egyptian frontier. The proposed Jewish state will include eastern Galilee, the Edrei plain, the southern part of the coastal plain and the whole of the Beersheba subdistrict, which includes the Negev.

The three sections of the Arab state and the three sections of the Jewish state are linked together by two points of intersection, of which one is situated southeast of Afula, in the subdistrict of Nazareth, and the other northeast of Afula, in the subdistrict of Gaza.

The Arab state is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and in the north by the frontier of the Lebanon from Ras-en-Naqura to Qadis; on the east the boundary starting from Qadis passes southward, west of Safad, to the southern boundary of the Safad subdistrict; thence it follows the western boundary of the Tiberias subdistrict to a point just east of Mount Tabor; then southward to the point of intersection southeast of Afula mentioned above. The southwestern boundary of western Galilee is a line from this point, passing south of Nazareth and Shafir Amr, but north of Beil Lahm, to the coast just south of Acre.

The boundary of the hill country of Samaria and Judea, starting on the Jordan River southeast of Beisan, follows the northern boundary of the Samaria district westward to the point of intersection southeast of Afula, thence again westward to Lajjun, thence in a south-western direction, passing just west of Tulkarm, east of Qalqila and west of Majdal Yaba, thence bulging westward toward Rishon-le-Zion so as to include Lydda and Ramleh in the Arab state, thence turning again eastward to a point west of Lajjun, thereafter following the northern side of the Lajjun-Majdal road to the second point of intersection, thence southward to a point on the Hebrew subdistrict boundary south of Qubeiba, thence following the southern boundary of the Hebron subdistrict to the Dead Sea.

The Arab section of the coastal plain runs from a point a few miles north of Isdud to the Egyptian frontier, extending inland approximately eighty kilometers.

The Jewish State

The northeastern sector of the proposed Jewish state (eastern Galilee) will have frontiers with the Lebanon to the north and west and with Syria and Trans-Jordan to the east and will include the whole of the Huleh basin, Lake Tiberias and the whole of the Beisan subdistrict. From Beisan the Jewish state will extend northwest, following the boundary described in respect of the Arab state.

The Jewish sector on the coastal plain runs from a point south of Acre to just north of Isdud in the Gaza subdistrict and includes the towns of Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jaffa. The eastern frontier of the Jewish state follows the boundary described in respect of the Arab state.

The Beersheba area includes the whole of the Beersheba subdistrict, which includes the Negev and the eastern part of the Gaza subdistrict south of the point of intersection. The northern boundary of the Jewish state, from the point of intersection, runs southeastward to a point on the Hebron subdistrict boundary south of Qubeiba, thence follows the southern boundary of Hebron subdistrict to the Dead Sea.

The boundaries of the City of Jerusalem are as defined in the recommendations on the City of Jerusalem.

JUSTIFICATION

In making its proposal for a plan of partition with economic union for Palestine, the members of the committee supporting this plan are fully aware of the many difficulties of effecting a satisfactory division of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. The main

problems to be faced are the following:

1. *The Problem of Minorities.* The central inland area of Palestine includes a large Arab population and, leaving Jerusalem out of account, practically no Jews. This obviously is the main starting point in demarcating a possible Arab state in the north, particularly in western Galilee, and separated from the central area by a narrow belt of Jewish settlements, is another concentration of Arabs and very few Jews. These two areas from the main territory of an Arab state which has only a very small minority of Jews.

The Jewish state, on the other hand, has its center and starting point in the coastal plain between Haifa and Tel Aviv, and even in this area there is also a considerable number of Arabs. Extensions of this area, in the most suitable directions to include a larger number of Jews as well as a larger land area, increase the proportion of Arabs to Jews in the Jewish state.

2. *The Problem of Viability.* The creation of two viable states is considered essential to a partition scheme.

3. *The Problem of Development.* A partition scheme for Palestine must take into account both the claims of the Jews to receive immigrants and the needs of the Arab population which is increasing rapidly by natural means. Thus, as far as possible, both partitioned states must leave some room for further land settlement.

4. *The Problem of Contiguity.* It is obviously desirable to create states with continuous frontiers. Due to geographic and demographic factors, it is impossible to make a satisfactory partition without sacrificing this objective to some extent.

5. *Access to the Sea for the Arab State.* Even within the scheme for economic union this is considered to be important for psychological as well as material reasons.

In solving this complex of problems a compromise is necessary, and in suggesting the boundaries upon which this partition scheme rests all these matters have been given serious consideration so that the solution finally reached appears to be the least unsatisfactory from most points of view.

The figures given below of the distribution of the settled population in the two proposed states are estimated on the basis of official figures up to the end of 1946 and are approximately as follows:

The difference is mainly accounted for by the fact that the Arab state has about 70,000 Arabs, which has about 70,000 Arabs. Apart from the town of Jaffa there are no important differences in economic resources of the Arab areas in the two plans.

The calculations are made as follows: The budget estimates of the Palestine administration for the year 1947-48 both as regards revenue and expenditure were submitted to the United Nations. The total population of the Palestine administration for the year 1947-48 both as regards revenue and expenditure were submitted to the United Nations.

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age of its being separated at all points from Samaria by the territory of the Jewish state.

The inclusion of the whole Beersheba subdistrict in the Jewish state gives to it a large area, parts of which are very sparsely populated and capable of development, if they can be provided with water for irrigation. The experiments already carried out in this area by the Jews suggest that further development is an appreciable degree should be possible by heavy investment of capital and labor and without impairing the future or prejudicing the rights of the existing Bedouin population. The Negev south of Latitude 31, though included in the Jewish state is devoid of any little agricultural value but is naturally linked with the northern part of the subdistrict of Beersheba.

Jaffa, which has an Arab population of about 70,000, is entirely Arab except for two Jewish quarters. It is contiguous with Tel Aviv and would either have to be treated as an enclave or else be included in the Jewish state. On balance, and having in mind the difficulties which an enclave involves, not least from the economic point of view, it was decided to include Jaffa in the Jewish state, on the assumption that it would have a large measure of local autonomy, and that the port would be under the administration of the Economic Union.

The Problem of Viability. On this question the secretariat has prepared a technical note which is as follows:

A TECHNICAL NOTE ON THE VIABILITY OF THE PROPOSED PARTITION SCHEME
Prepared by the Secretariat
On certain assumptions it may be possible in a given case to calculate roughly the order of magnitude of the loss or gain of revenue which an area might experience as a result of partition. Similar calculations might be made of expenditure necessary to maintain existing standards of social services and other normal budget expenditures, and a comparison of the two sets of figures would indicate the light thrown on the viability of the state in question to maintain these standards without large budget deficits. It should, of course, be made quite clear that this would not be in any sense a measure of viability, but merely a general indication of

Minority Calls for Federal Palestine With Two States and Prescribed Constitution Provisions

Continued from preceding page

would be in proportion to the population.

The summary results of this calculation are as follows:

JEWISH STATE	
Revenue (apart from customs).....	2,750,000
Expenditure.....	3,410,000
Deficit.....	660,000

ARAB STATE	
Revenue (apart from customs).....	1,500,000
Expenditure.....	1,500,000
Deficit.....	0

CITY OF JERUSALEM	
Revenue (apart from customs).....	1,000,000
Expenditure.....	1,000,000
Deficit.....	0

Joint revenue of joint services is available for distribution between the two states and the City of Jerusalem but falls short of the combined deficits by just over \$1,250,000. This, however, is not important in the present discussion since it is merely the consequence of basing the calculations on the actual estimates of the present Palestine administration. It should be noted that in the present administrative budget there are expenditures of \$7,000,000 on police and security and about \$2,000,000 (Palestine) on subsidies designed to keep the cost of living down. Police expenditure should certainly

be substantially reduced in the event of a settlement of the Palestine problem, and it is also possible that some saving could be made in regard to food subsidies since the necessity for them would be less in an Arab state which would contain a large number of self-sufficient cultivators and relatively few industrial wage earners. In this case the expenditure attributed to the Arab state on this basis might be capable of reduction by as much as \$2,000,000 (Palestine). Reductions on police expenditure should, of course, be possible for the other two areas. On the side of revenue it is possible that income tax yields could be increased in the area of the proposed Arab state.

It is in the light of these considerations that the members of the committee in proposing their partition scheme with economic recommendations for the distribution of the customs revenue. By this means the members of the committee supporting the partition plan believe that the viability of the Arab state could be reasonably assured.

The committee is satisfied that, in the sense defined, the proposed Jewish state and the City of Jerusalem would be viable.

PART III: CITY OF JERUSALEM

JUSTIFICATION

1. The proposal to place the City of Jerusalem under international trusteeship is based on the following considerations:

2. Jerusalem is a holy city for three faiths. Their shrines are side by side; some are sacred to two faiths. Hundreds of millions of Christians, Moslems and Jews throughout the world want peace and especially religious peace to reign in Jerusalem, the sacred character of its holy places to be preserved, access to them guaranteed to pilgrims from abroad.

3. The history of Jerusalem, during the Ottoman regime as under the mandate, shows that religious peace has been maintained in the city because the government was anxious and had the power to prevent religious strife and disorder. The government was not intimately mixed in local politics and could, when necessary, arbitrate conflicts.

4. Religious peace in Jerusalem is necessary for the maintenance of peace in the Arab and Jewish states. Disturbances in the holy city would have far-reaching consequences, extending perhaps beyond the frontiers of Palestine.

5. The application of the provisions relating to the holy places, religious buildings and sites in the whole of Palestine would also be greatly facilitated by the setting up of an international authority in Jerusalem. The governor of the city would be empowered to supervise the application of such provisions and to arbitrate conflicts in respect of the holy places, religious buildings and sites.

6. The international trusteeship system is proposed as the most suitable method of meeting the special problems presented by Jerusalem, for the reason that the Trusteeship Council, as a principal organ of the United Nations, affords a convenient and effective means of ensuring both the desired international supervision and the political, economic and social well-being of the population of Jerusalem.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The City of Jerusalem shall be placed under an international trusteeship system by means of a trusteeship agreement which shall designate the United Nations as the administering authority in accordance with Article 81 of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. The City of Jerusalem shall include the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which is Abu Dir, the most southern Bethlehem, the most western Ein Karim and the most northern Shufat, as indicated on the attached sketch map.

3. The trusteeship agreement in respect of the holy places, religious buildings and sites and minorities shall contain provisions similar to those contained in Chapters I and II of the declaration in the plan of partition for Palestine, and shall also include inter alia the provisions set forth below:

(1) The City of Jerusalem shall be demilitarized and its neutrality shall be maintained.

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Under this plan Palestine would become an independent state containing Arab and Jewish areas, the boundaries of which would be approximately as shown here. Jerusalem would be the capital.

an opportunity for full and effective participation in representative government to every citizen of the state. This solution would be most in harmony with the basic principle of the Charter of the United Nations.

9. The federal state solution would permit the development of patterns of government and social organization in Palestine which would be more harmonious with the governmental and social patterns in the neighboring states.

10. Such a solution would be the most likely to bring to an end the present economic boycotts to the benefit of the economic life of the country.

11. Future peace and order in Palestine and the Near East generally will be vitally affected by the nature of the solution decided upon for the Palestine question. In this regard it is important to avoid an acceleration of the separatism which now characterizes the relations of Arabs and Jews in the Near East and laying the foundations of a dangerous irreconcilable hostility between the two peoples, which would be the inevitable consequence of partition in whatever form. A federal state solution, therefore, which in the very nature of the case must emphasize unity and cooperation, will best serve the interests of peace.

12. It is a fact of great significance that very few, if any, Arabs are in favor of partition as a solution. On the other hand, a substantial number of Jews, backed by influential Jewish leaders and organizations, are strongly opposed to partition. Partition both in principle and in substance can only be regarded as an anti-Arab solution. The federal state solution, however, cannot be described as an anti-Jewish solution. To the contrary, it will best serve the interests of both Arabs and Jews.

13. A federal state would provide the greatest opportunity for ameliorating the present dangerous racial and religious divisions in the population, while permitting the development of a more normal social structure.

14. The federal state is the most constructive and dynamic solution in that it eschews an attitude of resignation toward the question of the ability of Arabs and Jews to cooperate in their common interest in favor of a realistic and dynamic attitude, namely that under changed conditions the will to cooperate can be cultivated.

15. A basis for the assumption that cooperation between the Arab and Jewish communities is not impossible is found in the fact that even under the existing highly unfavorable conditions the committee did observe in Palestine instances of effective and fruitful cooperation between the two communities.

16. While it may be doubted whether the will to cooperate is to be found in the two groups under present conditions, it is entirely possible that if a federal solution were firmly and definitely imposed, the two groups, in their own self-interest, would gradually develop a spirit of cooperation in their common state. There is no basis for an assumption that these two peoples cannot live and work together for common purposes once they realize that there is no alternative. Since under any solution large groups of them would have to do so, it must either be taken for granted that cooperation between them is possible or it must be accepted that there is no workable solution at all.

17. Taking into account the limited area available and the vital importance of maintaining Palestine as an economic and social unity, the federal state solution seems to provide the only practical and workable approach.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The undersigned representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia, not being in agreement with the recommendation for partition formulated by the other members of the committee, and for the reasons, among others, stated above, present to the General Assembly the following recommendations to the problem of Palestine.

I. The Independent State of Palestine.

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT

1. The peoples of Palestine be entitled to recognition of their right to independence and an independent federal state of Palestine be created following a transitional period not exceeding three years.

2. With regard to the transitional period, responsibility for administering Palestine and preparing it for independence under the conditions herein prescribed shall be entrusted to such authority as may be decided upon by the General Assembly.

3. The independent federal state of Palestine shall comprise the Arab state and a Jewish state.

4. In delimiting the boundaries of the Arab and Jewish states, respect for minority rights, and the growth of the population.

5. During the transitional period a constituent assembly shall be elected by the population of Palestine which shall formulate the constitution of the independent federal state

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Digest of the U. N. Unit Report Prescribing Measures for Partition of Palestine

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES
LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Nov. 19.—A summary of the report submitted by Subcommittee 1 of the United Nations General Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine follows:

The report recommends a draft resolution for the General Assembly that would declare that the present situation in Palestine is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations. The Security Council is requested to take any measures provided for in the plan for its implementation. The Trusteeship Council is to be informed of its responsibilities under the plan. The inhabitants of Palestine are called upon to take any steps that may be necessary to put the plan into effect. An appeal is made to all governments and peoples to refrain from taking any action that might hamper or delay the putting into effect of the recommendations.

PART I

Future Constitution and Government of Palestine

A. TERMINATION OF MANDATE, PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE

1. The mandate for Palestine shall terminate at a date to be agreed upon by the United Nations commission of five members and the mandatory power, with the approval of the Security Council, but not later than Aug. 1, 1948.

2. The armed forces of the mandatory power shall be progressively withdrawn, and withdrawal completed not later than Aug. 1, 1948. The mandatory power shall advise the commission, as far in advance as possible, of its intention to evacuate each area. The mandatory power shall use its best endeavors to insure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish state, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a substantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible moment and in any event not later than Feb. 1, 1948.

3. Independent Arab and Jewish states shall come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the mandatory power has been completed, but in any case not later than Oct. 1, 1948. The city of Jerusalem shall be administered under trusteeship by the United Nations. The boundaries of the Arab state, the Jewish state and the city of Jerusalem shall be as described in Parts II and III below.

4. The period between the adoption by the General Assembly of recommendations on the question of Palestine and the establishment of the independence of the Arab and Jewish states shall be a transitional period.

B. STEPS PREPARATORY TO INDEPENDENCE

1. There shall be a commission appointed by the General Assembly of five members representing Guatemala, Iceland, Norway, Poland and Uruguay.

2. The commission of Palestine shall be entrusted to the commission, which shall act in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council.

3. In discharge of this administrative responsibility, the commission shall have authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required.

4. The mandatory power shall not issue any regulation to prevent, obstruct or delay the implementation by the commission of the

measures recommended by the General Assembly.

3. On its arrival in Palestine the commission shall proceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish states and the city of Jerusalem in accordance with the recommendations of the General Assembly.

4. The commission, after consultation with the democratic parties and other public organizations of the Arab and Jewish states, shall select and establish in each state as rapidly as possible a provisional council of government.

5. If by April 1, 1948, a provisional council of government cannot be selected for either state or, if selected, it cannot carry out its functions, the commission shall so inform the Security Council.

6. During the transitional period the commission, acting under the commission, shall have full authority in the areas under their control, including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation.

7. The provisional council of each state, acting under the commission, shall have full responsibility for the administration of that state in the period between the termination of the mandate and independence.

8. The provisional council shall proceed to the establishment of administrative organs of government, central and local.

9. The provisional council of each state shall recruit an armed militia from its residents, sufficient to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes. The armed militia in each state shall be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that state, but general political and military control, including the choice of the militia's high command, shall be exercised by the commission.

10. The provisional council of each state shall hold, not later than two months after the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory power, elections to a constituent assembly, which shall be conducted along democratic lines.

11. Qualified voters for each state shall be (A) Palestinian citizens residing in that state and (B) Arabs and Jews residing in that state, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of that state.

12. Arabs and Jews residing in the city of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab state and the Jews of the Jewish state, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish states, respectively.

13. Women may vote and be elected to the constituent assemblies.

14. During the transitional period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Arab state, and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish state, except by special leave of the commission.

15. The constituent assembly in each state shall draft a democratic constitution for its state and choose a provisional government to succeed the provisional council.

16. The constitutions shall include, among other things, provisions for: (a) A legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation, and an executive body responsible to the legislature.

(b) Settling all international

disputes in which the state may be involved by peaceful means.

(c) Accepting the obligation of each state to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

(d) Guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association.

(e) Preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other state in Palestine (and the city of Jerusalem) subject to considerations of national security.

17. The commission shall appoint a preparatory economic commission of three members to establish as soon as practicable the economic union and joint economic board.

18. During the period between the adoption of the recommendation on Palestine by the General Assembly and the termination of the mandate, the mandatory power shall maintain order and direct the main public services, to the extent that these have not been placed under the commission, the provisional councils or the joint economic board. The commission shall assist the mandatory power. The mandatory shall cooperate with the commission.

19. To maintain continuity in the functioning of administrative services, there shall be a progressive transfer from the mandatory power to the provisional councils and the joint economic board of all the functions of government, including the maintenance of law and order in the areas from which the mandatory has withdrawn.

20. The measures taken by the commission, within the recommendations of the General Assembly, shall become immediately effective unless the commission has previously received contrary instructions from the Security Council.

21. The commission shall render periodic monthly progress reports, or more frequently if desirable, to the Security Council.

22. The commission shall make its final report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council, simultaneously.

23. A declaration shall be made to the United Nations by the provisional government of each state before the interim administration is brought to an end. This shall contain stipulations, which are to be recognized as fundamental laws of each state, regarding the holy places, religious and minority rights, citizenship, international

conventions and financial obligations.

CHAPTER 1
Holy Places, Religious Buildings and Sites

Existing rights in regard to holy places, religious buildings and sites shall not be denied or impaired. Free access to them shall be secured. No person shall be permitted to work in any way impair their sacred character. No taxation shall be levied on any such place, building or site that was exempt from taxation at the time of the creation of the state. The protection of the holy places shall be the special concern of the Governor of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 2
Religious and Minority Rights

1. Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship shall be insured.

2. No discrimination of any kind shall be made on the ground of race, religion, language or sex.

3. All persons within the jurisdiction of a state shall be entitled to equal protection of its laws.

4. The family law and personal status of the various minorities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

5. Except as may be necessary for the maintenance of order and good government, there shall be no obstruction with the enterprise of religious or eleemosynary bodies of any faith.

6. The state shall insure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish minorities, respectively, in its own language and cultural traditions.

7. The right of each community to maintain its own schools shall not be impaired.

8. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any citizen of any language.

9. The state shall be bound by all international conventions to which Palestine was a party. Disputes shall be referred to the International Court of Justice.

10. The state, through the joint economic board, shall respect and fulfill all financial obligations assumed in behalf of Palestine by the mandatory power, including pensions.

D. ECONOMIC UNION AND TRANSIT

The provisional council of each state shall enter into an undertaking with respect to economic union and transit.

The objectives of the economic union shall be:

(A) A customs union.

(B) A joint currency system providing for a single foreign exchange rate.

(C) Operation in the common interest on a non-discriminatory basis of railways, interstate high-

ways, postal, telephone and telegraphic services and ports and airports.

(D) Joint economic development, especially in respect of irrigation, and reclamation and soil conservation.

(E) Access for both states and for the city of Jerusalem on a non-discriminatory basis to water and power facilities.

A joint economic board shall be established, consisting of three representatives of each of the two states and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The board shall have all powers of organization and administration necessary to realize the objectives of the economic union.

The states shall bind themselves to put into effect the decisions of the joint economic board.

So far as is consistent with the above, each state may operate its own central bank, control its own fiscal and credit policy, its foreign exchange receipts and expenditures, the grant of import licenses, and may conduct international financial operations on its own faith and credit.

There shall be a common customs tariff with complete freedom of trade between the states, and between the states and the city of Jerusalem.

The undertaking shall remain in force for a period of ten years, during which it may not be modified except by consent of both parties and with the approval of the General Assembly. It shall continue in force until notice of termination, to take effect two years thereafter, is given by either of the parties.

F. ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS

When the independence of either the Arab or the Jewish state has become effective and the declaration and undertaking have been signed by either of them, sympathetic consideration should be given to its application for membership in the United Nations in accordance with Article 4 of the United Nations Charter.

PART II

Boundaries

The boundaries are set forth in detail, following in the main the recommendations made by the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, but with changes that are estimated to reduce the size of the Arab population in the Jewish state by 78,000 to 81,000, depending on final decisions of the boundary commission. The most important change was the removal of the predominantly Arab city of Jaffa from the Jewish state and its establishment as an Arab enclave.

PART III

City of Jerusalem

The city of Jerusalem is to be established as a "corpus separatum," under a special international regime. It shall be administered by the United Nations through the medium of the Trusteeship Council. The governor of the city shall be appointed by the Trusteeship Council, and shall be responsible to it. He shall be assisted by an administrative staff of international officers.

The existing local autonomous units in the territory of the city (villages, townships and municipalities) shall enjoy wide powers of local government and administration. A legislative council elected by adult residents of the city shall have powers of legislation and taxation. Jerusalem shall be demilitarized. The city of Jerusalem shall be included in the economic union of Palestine. Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official working languages of the city, but the adoption of one or more additional working languages is not precluded.

All residents of Jerusalem shall become ipso facto citizens of the city of Jerusalem unless they opt for citizenship of the state of which they have been citizens, or, if Arabs or Jews, have filed notice of intention to become citizens of the Arab or Jewish states.

The citizens are guaranteed the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of conscience, religion and worship, language, education, speech and press, assembly and association, and petition.

PART IV

Capitulations

States whose nations have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection formerly provided by the capitulations under the Ottoman Empire, are invited to renounce any right pertaining to them to the re-establishment of such privileges and immunities in the proposed Arab and Jewish states and the city of Jerusalem.

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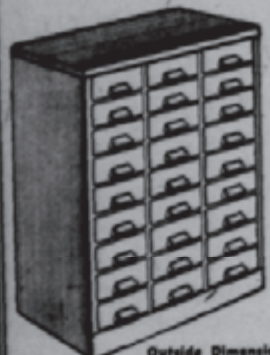
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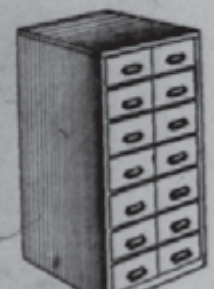
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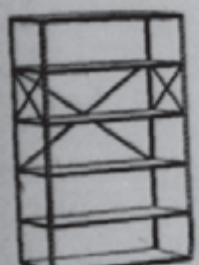
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Summary of Report to U.N. on a Unitary State in Palestine

SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES.
LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Nov. 19
—A summary of the report sub-
mitted today by subcommittee 2 of
the United Nations General As-
sembly's Committee on the Pal-
estine question follows:

INTRODUCTION

At the outset the subcommittee
decided to concentrate on three
broad issues:

1. The legal questions arising
from the Palestine problem.
2. The problem of Jewish refu-
gees and displaced persons and its
connection with the Palestinian
question.

3. The termination of the man-
date over Palestine and constitu-
tional proposals for the estab-
lishment of a unitary and independent
state on the basis of the proposals
submitted to the General Assembly
by Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Working groups were constitu-
ted to deal with each of these prob-
lems, as follows:

Legal problems—Pakistan, Sy-
ria and Saudi Arabia.

Refugee problem—Afghanistan,
Colombia and Lebanon.

Constitutional proposals—Egypt,
Iraq and Yemen.

CHAPTER I

Legal Issues Connected With the Palestine Problem

The claim of the Arabs to Pal-
estine rests upon their centuries-
old possession and occupation of
the country and their natural right
to determine their own future. This
is further supported by the pledges
given by the British Government
to the Arabs during World War I.
The subcommittee feels that the
controversy concerning the inter-
pretation of the correspondence
between Sir Henry McMahon and
Sherif Hussein of Mecca and the
satisfactorily settled only by ob-
taining the opinion of the Inter-
national Court of Justice.

The Jews, on the other hand, rest
their claims regarding Palestine on
the Balfour Declaration, which was
subsequently embodied in the Pal-
estine mandate. It is essential that
the question of the validity of the
Balfour Declaration should be re-
ferred to the International Court
of Justice for an opinion.

With the dissolution of the
League of Nations the legal basis
for the Palestine mandate has also
disappeared and the mandate must
be considered to have come ipso
facto to an end.

The United Nations organization
has not inherited the constitutional
and political powers of the League
of Nations.
A study of Chapter XII of the
United Nations Charter leaves no
doubt that: unless and until the
mandatory power negotiates a
treaty agreement neither the
General Assembly nor any other
organ of the United Nations is
competent to entertain, still less
to recommend or enforce, any solu-
tion with regard to a mandated
territory. In the case of Palestine
the mandatory power has not ne-
gotiated such an agreement.

The dissolution of the League of
Nations and the consequential re-
moval of the legal basis for the
mandate, and the more recent de-
clarations by the mandatory of its

intention to withdraw from Pal-
estine, open the way for the estab-
lishment of an independent govern-
ment in Palestine by the people of
the country, without the interven-
tion of the United Nations or any
other party.

The proposal of the majority
plan of the United Nations Special
Committee on Palestine to parti-
tion Palestine is in direct viola-
tion of the principles and objectives
of the United Nations Charter. The
United Nations cannot make dis-
position or alienation of ter-
ritory. Nor can it deprive the majority
of the people of Palestine of their
territory and transfer it to the ex-
clusive use of a minority in the
country. The proposal to create
two separate Arab and Jewish
states is equally invalid; the United
Nations has no power to create
new states.

The General Assembly might,
with advantage, seek the advisory
opinion of the International Court
of Justice on whether the United
Nations is competent to partition
Palestine with the object of setting
up more than one state; to impose
certain conditions in connection
with the attainment of the inde-
pendence of the proposed Arab and
Jewish states; to set up a perma-
nent international trusteeship for
the city of Jerusalem and to ad-
minister international economic
trusteeship for the whole of Pal-
estine by means of the proposed
joint economic board.

CHAPTER II

Relief of Jewish Refugees and Displaced Persons

The question of the relief of
Jewish refugees and displaced
persons is not strictly relevant to
the Palestine problem, but it is
considered because it has unne-
cessarily complicated the Palestine
issue.

Of 556,831 refugees receiving
care and maintenance from the
preparatory commission of the In-
ternational Refugee Commission in
September, about 75 per cent of these
were of Polish nationality, 8 per
cent Rumanian, 6 per cent Hun-
garian and 11 per cent Czech, Ger-
man, Lithuanian and Yugoslav.
There are another 10,000 Jewish
refugees in Shanghai and 18,900 in
Cyprus.

In the years 1933 to 1946 Pal-
estine, although a small country with
very limited resources, accepted
287,063 Jews, while the ten leading
nations that have accepted Jewish
refugees took all together 364,648.
The totals for these countries were:
United States, 188,648; Great
Britain, 65,000; Argentina, 26,000;
Brazil, 23,500; Chile, 14,000;
Bolivia, 12,000; Canada, 12,000;
Australia, 8,500; South Africa,
8,000; Uruguay, 7,000.

There exist legal, political and
economic obstacles to the attempt
to solve the problem of Jewish
refugees and displaced persons by
further immigration into Palestine.
The main political ground is that
Jewish immigration into Palestine
is opposed by the large majority
of the population. Palestine is al-
ready overpopulated. Under the
mandate, immigration must not
prejudice the rights and position
of other sections of the population.
Each member of the United Na-

tions should be made responsible
for accepting a moderate number
of non-repatriable refugees, under
a quota system to be drawn up by
a special committee of the General
Assembly, in consultation with
the International Refugee Organi-
zation. This system should take
into consideration the national in-
come of each country, its per
capita income and the area and
possibilities of future develop-
ment.

CHAPTER III

Proposals for the Constitution and Future Government of Palestine

The partition proposal is legal-
ly objectionable, politically unjust
and economically disastrous; in
short, it is utterly unworkable. The
subcommittee is, therefore, com-
pelled to reject partition as a so-
lution of the Palestine problem and
considers that the constitution and
future government of Palestine
must be based on the fundamental
principle of a unitary state.

The constitution of Palestine
should be framed by an elected
constituent assembly, and the sub-
committee feels that it should in-
dicate in general terms the main
principles on which the future con-
stitution should be based. These
are summarized as follows:

"(I) Palestine shall be a unitary
and sovereign state;

"(II) It shall have a democratic
constitution, with an elected legisla-
ture and an executive responsible
to the legislature;

"(III) The constitution shall pro-
vide guarantees for the sanctity of
the holy places, freedom of reli-
gion, maintenance, freedom of ac-
cess and freedom of worship in ac-
cordance with the status quo;

"(IV) The constitution shall
guarantee respect for human
rights and fundamental freedoms
without distinction as to race, sex,
language or religion, and freedom
of religious belief and practice in
accordance with the status quo
(including the maintenance of
separate religious courts to deal
with matters of personal status);

"(V) The constitution shall guar-
antee the rights of religious bodies
or other societies and individuals
to maintain, in addition to educa-
tional establishments administered
by public authority, educational in-
stitutions of their own, subject to
normal government supervision
and inspection;

"(VI) The constitution shall re-
cognize the right of Jews to employ
Hebrew as a second official lan-
guage in areas in which they are
in a majority;

"(VII) The law of naturaliza-
tion and citizenship shall provide,
among other conditions, that the
applicant should be a legal resi-
dent of Palestine for a continuous
period to be determined by the
Constituent Assembly;

"(VIII) The constitution shall
insure adequate representation in
the Legislature for all important
sections of the citizenry in pro-
portion to their numerical strength;

"(IX) The constitution shall
also provide for adequate reflection
in the executive and administra-
tion of the distribution of rep-
resentation in the Legislature;

"(X) The constitution shall

authorize the Legislature to invest
local authorities with wide discre-
tion in matters connected with ed-
ucation, health and other social
services;

"(XI) The constitution shall
provide for the setting up of a Su-
preme Court, the jurisdiction of
which shall include, inter alia, the
power to pronounce upon the con-
stitutional validity of all legisla-
tion, and it shall be open to any
aggrieved party to have recourse
to that tribunal;

"(XII) The guarantee contained
in the constitution concerning the
rights and safeguards of the mi-
norities shall not be subject to
amendment or modification with-
out the consent of the minority
concerned, expressed through a
majority of its representatives in
the Legislature."

The subcommittee recommends
that a provisional government
shall be set up without further
delay and that it shall be repre-
sentative of all important sections
of the citizenry in Palestine in
proportion to their numerical
strength.

The legislative, executive and
administrative functions of the
present administration of Palestine
shall be vested in the provisional
government as soon as the latter
is constituted, and thereupon the
mandatory power shall begin the
withdrawal of its forces and ser-
vices from Palestine. The with-
drawal shall be completed within
one year.

The provisional government shall,
as soon as practicable, enact an
electoral law, which shall provide
for the adequate representation in
the constituent assembly of all the
important sections of the citizenry
in accordance with their numerical
strength. As soon as the electoral
register is completed, elections
shall be held for the constituent
assembly. The constituent as-
sembly shall also act as a legisla-
ture until the first elections under
the new constitution have been held,
and the provisional government
shall be responsible to it during
the interval.

It is essential to add that, until
the independent state of Palestine
legislates otherwise, immigration
into Palestine shall be suspended
and the existing land transfer
restrictions shall remain in force.

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion

The conclusions of the subcom-
mittee are embodied in three draft
resolutions, which it recommends
to the Ad Hoc Committee for
submission to the General As-
sembly.

Draft Resolution I would place
the General Assembly on record as
asking the International Court of
Justice for an advisory opinion on
the following questions:

1. Whether the indigenous popu-
lation of Palestine has not an in-
herent right to Palestine and to
determine its future constitution
and government.

2. Whether the pledges and as-
surances given by Great Britain to
the Arabs during the first World

War (including the Anglo-French
declaration of 1918) did not in-
clude Palestine.

3. Whether the Balfour Declara-
tion was valid and binding.

4. Whether the provisions of the
mandate for Palestine regarding
the establishment of a Jewish Na-
tional Home were compatible with
the Covenant of the League of Na-
tions or the other provisions of
the mandate regarding the preser-
vation of the rights and position
of the Arabs of Palestine.

5. Whether the legal basis for
the mandate for Palestine has not
disappeared with the dissolution of
the League of Nations, and whether
it is not the duty of the mandatory
power to hand over power and ad-
ministration to a government of
Palestine representing the rightful
people of Palestine.

6. Whether a plan to partition
Palestine without the consent of
the majority of its people is con-
sistent with the objectives of the
Covenant of the League of Nations
and with the provisions of the man-
date for Palestine.

7. Whether the United Nations
is competent to recommend any so-
lution involving partition of the
territory of Palestine or a perma-
nent trusteeship over any city or
part of Palestine, without the con-
sent of the majority of the people
of Palestine.

8. Whether the United Nations
is competent to enforce or recom-
mend any proposal regarding the
future government of Palestine, in
particular any plan of partition,
which is contrary to the wishes, or
adopted without the consent, of the
inhabitants of Palestine.

Draft Resolution II would have
the General Assembly go on re-
cord as being satisfied that the
partition of Palestine is unjust, il-
legal and impracticable and that
the only just and workable solu-
tion is the immediate establish-
ment of a unitary, democratic and
independent state with adequate
safeguards for minorities. It
would provide for the creation of
a provisional government and the
framing of a constitution by the
constituent Assembly, subject to
the general principles laid down
in Chapter III.

Accompanying the report were
six appendices containing statisti-
cal data and maps. Included were
an estimated population chart of
Palestine as of Dec. 31, 1946; an
estimated population chart of the
proposed Jewish state as of the
same date; a note on the Bedouin
population of Palestine; a map
showing the distribution of popu-
lation by sub-districts; a map
showing land ownership by sub-
districts, and extracts from village
statistics showing the agricultural
uses to which various village lands
were put in 1945.

MORE PEOPLE ARE SMOKING
CAMELS
THAN EVER BEFORE!



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Some words fool you:

SOCK
means



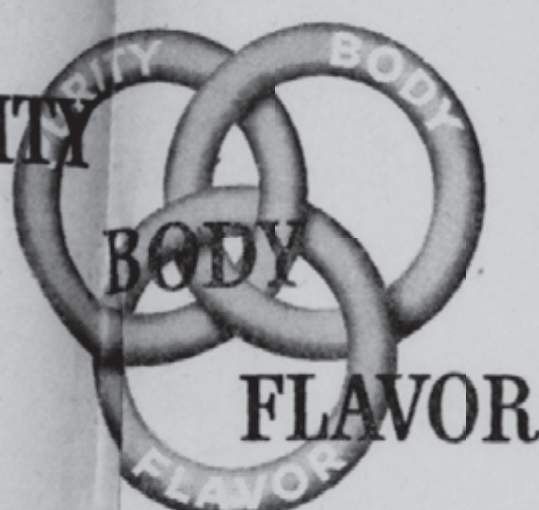
SOCK
means



...but **BALLANTINE**
always means: **PURITY**

There's the sock you "hang on the chin" . . . the sock you hang on
the line. It's plain to see, sock is one of those confusing words with
more than one meaning. It can fool you.

But not Ballantine! There's a word that never fooled anybody.
Ballantine always means PURITY, BODY, FLAVOR . . . the qual-
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Look for the 3 rings; call for Ballantine.



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TIMES-HERALD

Washington's Independent Newspaper

Get Going on Palestine

When the United Nations general assembly opened its second regular session at Flushing Meadows a couple of weeks ago, we remarked in this space that at least the big debating society might reasonably be expected to bring about a solution of the Palestine question.

Up to now, no progress has been made toward that most desirable goal, though a large amount of talking has been done about Palestine.

It isn't as if there weren't enough facts available on which to work out some feasible program. Holy Land problems have been investigated from top to bottom some 18 times in the last 25 years.

The latest of these probes was conducted on the spot recently by the United Nations special committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), and a majority of this group turned in a detailed plan whose main features are shown on the accompanying map.

What the UNSCOP majority proposes to do is to give the country its freedom, effective Sept. 1, 1949, and to partition it into two nations, one for the Jews and the other for the Arabs. Jerusalem and its suburbs, including Bethlehem, would be demilitarized and placed under a U.N. trusteeship.

During the transition period, 150,000 Jewish immigrants would be admitted to the proposed Jewish state.

The UNSCOP minority suggested a peculiar looking single state with Jewish and Arab sub-governments.

The majority proposal has met with the approval of most Jewish groups, including the influential Zionists.

It is not approved by the Arabs, or at any rate by their spokesmen in the U.N. Jamal El-Husseini, chairman of the Palestine Arab delegation, voiced this opposition in an 8,000-word speech at Lake Success day before yesterday.

Mr. Husseini's oration included a warning that the Arabs would sloop up Palestine "with the last drop of our blood in the lawful defense of all and every inch of it"—a remark which sounds like, you should excuse the expression, horsefeathers.

The UNSCOP majority plan seems reasonable to us. Palestine now has an estimated population of 1,825,000. Of these people, roughly 1,200,000 are Arabs and 625,000 are Jews.

The proposed partition would result in a Jewish state having 500,000 Jews and 416,000 Arabs, and in an Arab state with 715,000 Arabs and 8,000 Jews. In the U.N.-trustee Jerusalem area there would be 100,000 Jews and 106,000 Arabs.

On the basis of numbers alone, therefore, the Arabs would get a better initial break in the Jewish and Jerusalem sectors than the Jews would get in the Arab state. Evidently the Jews are willing to take a chance on that. If it suits them, how can the Arabs justly complain?

The partition, as it looks to us from this distance, would be of great benefit all around.

It would get Palestine off the nerves of the world, for one thing, after a generation-plus of alarms, excursions, excitements and irritations.

That the Jews would profit from having a country of their own seems beyond argument. We think the Arabs would profit, too, from the nearness to their own state of an up-and-coming Jewish nation anxious for active exchange of goods and services.

Stabilization of the Holy Land should attract outside capital for investment in numerous business enterprises and public improvements, in both the Arab and Jewish commonwealths.

If this plan or something much like it isn't put in the works soon, it seems impossible to see a decent future for Palestine. Great Britain is throwing up its hands in disgust and talking meaningfully about pulling out its troops in the next couple of months.

We can't understand the shilly-shallying in the General Assembly, and the apparent hesitancy to tackle this problem head on and bull a satisfactory settlement through.

It is hard, too, to understand the seeming unwillingness of the Truman Administration to take a positive position in the matter.

The U.N., in short, is on a spot again; and if it doesn't get off this one with some decisiveness and dignity, its own future promises to be more than dubious.



UNSCOP Majority's Proposed Partition of Palestine.

CHICAGO SUN

MARSHALL FIELD, Editor and Publisher

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1947

As We Wobble on Palestine

BRITAIN'S decision to get out of Palestine opens three possibilities for the future: (1) Arab and Jew can be left to fight it out; (2) some other nation can take Britain's place; (3) the United Nations can formulate a plan for independence and collectively enforce it during the transitional period.

There is not much question that the last course offers most by way of justice and peaceful settlement of disputes—both being fundamental aims of the U.N.

The Jews in Palestine say they are ready and able to defend themselves when Britain leaves, thus setting up what amounts to a *de facto* Jewish state. Maybe they can. But to let the issue thus be resolved by force would scarcely be a desirable precedent for the U.N., and no such settlement, or lack of one, could be considered permanent.

Neither does the idea of a successor-trustee hold out hope for a basic settlement. It is more than doubtful that public opinion would support any such venture in imperialism by the United States. Any great power which tried it would face immediate opposition from others. None, furthermore, could expect to establish peace and stability where Britain so conspicuously failed.

Irresistibly we are driven to the conclusion that the most honorable, just and workable solution is a United Nations solution. The committee appointed by the General Assembly unanimously recommended immediate independence, and a majority proposed that this be achieved by dividing Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state.

DESPITE all the difficulties inherent in this plan, it is the one which most fully recognizes the world's obligations to the 600,000 Jews who have settled in Palestine on the promise of a national home, and at the same time recognizes the rights of the Arabs in such degree as to justify the hope that, after a fair trial period, both communities could live amicably side by side.

The Arabs, of course, oppose partition. They are threatening the use of force against it. But then they would oppose any solution except outright denial of Jewish rights. The question is whether the U.N. shall be bullied by such intimidation.

American policy faces the same question. The Arabs threaten to cancel oil concessions to American firms, and to wage an economic boycott against anybody who supports partition. There is little reason to suppose that they could or would carry out these threats. But in no case can the United States afford to be bulldozed by them.

We have a responsibility to the U.N., to the Jewish settlers, to Europe's displaced persons and to the civilized conscience. Our State Department cannot meet that responsibility so long as it wobbles and temporizes on Palestine. Secretary Marshall told the Assembly our government gives "great weight" to the partition plan, but apparently he has been telling the Arabs this does not imply any decision. Our policy should be the assumption of strong leadership, together with our share of the collective responsibility, for putting the U.N. plan into effect without delay.

16—Thurs., Sept. 25, 1947.

Published Daily Except Sunday

ST. LOUIS STAR-TIMES

ELBERT ROBERTS, JR., Vice President, E. J. WOFFORD, Business Manager.

JOHN C. ROBERTS, Vice President, NORMAN E. ISAAC, Managing Editor.

What Do We Answer To The Arab Threat?

Like a small and desperate bully in the schoolyard at recess, the Arab nations have just drawn a line and dared the United States to cross it. If Secretary of State Marshall supports the plan to partition Palestine, the Arabs mutter, the countries of the Middle East will "take all necessary measures to oppose the United States both inside and outside the United Nations."

There should be little question about this nation's answer to such a challenge. The threat itself is an abject confession of bankrupt logic. The debtor who has lost invites his opponent to step out into the alley. In effect the Arab now has admitted that their pretensions to Palestine find no support in reason. Only a stupendous moral cowardice would permit knuckling under.

But United States policy has, unfortunately, been much less than clear on Palestine. Officially, on the level of pronouncements by the President and Congress, we have been most friendly to the Jews and their Palestine aspirations. At the day-by-day level of the Middle Eastern desk in the State Department, however, we have played coy with the Arabs.

Secretary Marshall promised long ago to erase the conflicts in policy and draw a firm line of consistent principle. He still has not done so. In fact, when he mentioned the problem of Palestine in his opening address at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly, he slurred over it badly. The United States, he said, was of a mind that serious consideration should be given the proposal for partition, which is the equivalent of a ringing endorsement of another love.

Caution about committing this nation

Finally on the problem is understandable, of course. The Arabs are making no idle threat. They are perfectly capable, fired as they are with a zealot's religious conviction, of exploding mass murder in the Middle East. They might, as they constantly hint in sly fashion, try playing Russia against the United States and Great Britain, though the fabled lords of Arabry ought to tremble at the very thought of communism. Certainly the Arab nations will attempt to sever the West's pipelines into the vital oil of the Persian Gulf. Only an idiot would counsel a total disregard of the dangers in crossing the Arab demands.

After all that is said, though, the principles of justice and of humanitarianism still stand. And they will permit no temporizing with the threats of terrorism, no surrender to the merely cautious. They speak unmistakably for that remnant of the Jews who have survived Hitler's attempt to exterminate them.

Partition is no perfect solution for Palestine. But at least it offers a hope for the embattled Jews that an independent Palestine controlled by the anti-Jewish Arabs never could. Within the framework of the plan proposed by the majority of the U.N.'s special commission on Palestine, an answer is at least possible.

It will not be an easy answer. Palestine still would have to be policed, preferably by a U.N. security force; possibly—if Russian opposition to creation of such a force persists—by troops from this and other countries. Almost certainly there would be some bloodshed.

The Arabs have drawn their line. Do we step over it or retreat in shame?

Towards a Positive American Policy on Palestine

THE PRESS SPEAKS:

The Washington Post

Registered in U. S. Patent Office

SEPTEMBER 3, 1947

Verdict On Palestine

The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine can be better evaluated in terms of expediency than of justice. For the primary question to be asked of the solution it recommends is not whether it is fair to all the conflicting interests concerned—that seems to be quite impossible—but whether it is workable. The question, in other words, is whether the report affords a genuine solution; whether it will bring an end to the problem. From the point of view of the rest of the world, a solution of this problem is imperative. Already it has embroiled so many groups and nations beyond those immediately involved in it as to constitute a real peril to peace. The existing state of affairs simply cannot be permitted to continue. What is necessary now is to accept the verdict and make it effective.

The Arabs, who have already protested against the U. N. report, have a legitimate case against it. So have the Jews, who have thus far lodged no formal protest but have certainly been awarded less than they deemed their due. The decision cannot be considered wholly fair to either side. Jews and Arabs alike can bring to the support of their respective contentions all sorts of data and documents; even Britain, the responsible ruling power, which has played the Jews and Arabs against one another, can make a case for itself, we suppose, out of the pressures and exigencies of world affairs. The U. N. committee no doubt listened patiently to all these cases, striving vainly to decide between them. But in sober truth they were beside the point. The point was that an intolerable situation had to be ended with as much fairness as possible and by the most expedient means.

This, it appears, is what the committee tried to do. Only time, of course, can test whether its solution will work well. But it seems to us to have the best chance of working of any proposal yet broached. Partition, to be sure, is no ideal solution in an area so small as Palestine. Yet it seems the only practicable solution in view of the bitterness that has been generated among its inhabitants. Its ill effects may be tempered by the economic integration recommended in the report. With good will and acceptance of the plan in good faith, Jews and Arabs in Palestine may well be able to develop the good neighborly relations which alone can bring peace and the blessings of prosperity to the long-troubled Holy Land.

No doubt there will be efforts, and especially by feudal leaders of the Arabs, to engender strife and to make the plan unworkable. It is indispensable to the success of the plan, if it is adopted by the United Nations, that such efforts be checked promptly and thoroughly; there is no room here for vacillation. The United States, we think, should share the responsibility and the burden of enforcing whatever solution the United Nations may decree. With this kind of firmness, the problem may be solved. And in this lies the best hope of Jews and Arabs and the world at large. Peace in Palestine is now the indispensable foundation for justice.

The Boston Globe

Published by GLOBE NEWSPAPER COMPANY, 265 Washington St., Boston, 7, Mass. Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1879. Post Office at Boston, Mass., No. 100. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on Oct. 11, 1937.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1947

OUR PALESTINE POLICY

A great many Americans will be startled to learn that doubts appear to be stirring in the Department of State and among our delegates to the United Nations, with respect to this country's policy on Palestine. Yet evidence continues to pile up that such is the case. The persistent, noncommittal attitude of Secretary of State Marshall on this question, the silence of other highly placed figures among our policy makers, the carefully engineered slow-down of committee hearings on Palestine before the United Nations Assembly, and the sudden spate of adroit propaganda loosed from sources anxious to align our course with views entertained in London—all add up to an increasingly large question mark.

Reporting yesterday from Lake Success, the Globe's correspondent explains that "the delaying tactics in the committee" considering the findings of the commission on Palestine, "has caused the United States a chance to assess the changing world situation as it goes from bad to worse and to determine thereby which side, Jewish or Arab, is the most politically expedient to take."

If this assessment of the status of the Palestine problem at Lake Success is correct—and it comes from a well-informed expert—it suggests that those entrusted with our nation's policy actually entertain the notion of abandoning fundamental principle as a guide to their tasks, and are flirting once more with the sort of maneuver which can only multiply confusion and weaken America's good reputation throughout the world.

On few questions has this country's policy been clearer, hitherto, than on this. Our Presidents, from Woodrow Wilson in 1918 onward, have expressly supported the idea of creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine which should be free and independent. Successive Congresses have gone on record for the same policy. In the platform of both our major parties the project for a free, democratic, independent Jewish homeland has been supported. The unanimous decision of the Anglo-American Commission, which studied the problem last year, was for partition and the creation of separate Jewish and Arab communities there. The majority findings of the latest United Nations Commission present similar recommendations. Those recommendations are in harmony with an American policy of nearly 30 years' standing.

Why, then, is there any doubt whatever in Washington as to what course to pursue in the United Nations Assembly? The proposals of the U.N. Commission on Palestine, says Mr. Frank Buxton, a thoroughly informed witness and a member of the Anglo-American committee last year, "are just to both Jews and Arabs, are workable, and offer the only sensible solution for an extremely tragic problem." He appeals to our government to take "a strong and honorable stand which is in conformity with our often repeated commitments."

Such an appeal, should be unnecessary to statesmen who cherish the good name of the nation they represent. It cannot be that principle and consistency in policy are to be tossed on the table as pawns in a battle for expedients. Due appraisal of the threats emanating from the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (who cooperated with our foes in the recent war) will scarcely discover that they possess sufficient substance to warrant their acceptance at his own estimate and a disgraceful retreat by our government from the position it has maintained unequivocally for years.

If it is the contention that support of the Palestine committee's report implies strife, because of Britain's proposal for eventual withdrawal, let it be remembered that Britain's withdrawal from India was made with larger objective in view, which, despite transitory trouble there, is being realized in the emergence of two new dominions in the British Commonwealth. Assurances given by the Jewish authorities in Palestine that 70,000 veterans trained in Britain's armies during the recent war will safeguard the proposed new Jewish state against attack, and carry it through to firm establishment, dispose of the question of transitional disorders. Justice, honor, consistency, the best interests of this country, and the stabilization of the Middle East, counsel against any wavering on this issue.

UNCLE DUDLEY.

New York Post

FOUNDED IN 1891 BY ALEXANDER HAMILTON

The New York Post is owned and published daily except Sunday by New York Post Corporation, 12 West Street, New York 11, N. Y. Capital \$1,000,000. Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1879. Post Office at New York, N. Y., No. 100. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on Oct. 11, 1937.

NEW YORK, MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1947.

What Deal, Mr. President?

What deal has the Truman Administration made with the Arabs on Palestine? What deal is in the making?

We asked that question when it first became apparent that the United States delegation to the United Nations was unwilling to take any positive stand on Palestine.

Now, in off-the-record fashion, newsmen have been told that the United States Government (the Truman Administration, in this instance) has decided to accept the UNSCOP report favoring partition.

But even off-the-record there is no assurance that the United States delegation will take leadership in seeing that this report is adopted and its recommendations given life.

This attempt to pacify, in secret, the growing indignation of Americans who have seen their Government wobble over its solemn commitments is far from enough.

It is far from enough because such a passive attitude on the part of the Truman Administration can do irreparable damage to the cause which that Administration, like others before it, long ago determined to be just. That cause is the creation in Palestine of a Jewish National Home, promised not only by the League of Nations but also by the United States Government in special convention with the League.

Failure of the United States to fight for adoption of the UNSCOP majority report will imperil this only feasible solution of the problem of Palestine.

If the United States, as represented in this matter by the Truman Administration, appears luke-warm or timid, then other nations will lose heart.

Our United States, in addition to being most deeply committed of all, is the one whose full willingness to carry out full responsibility for those commitments is essential. We must give U.N. the courage to act.

This must be perfectly clear to anyone who has paid any attention whatever to the history of modern Palestine. Certainly President Truman has been and is in a position to grasp the importance of United States policy as it bears upon justice in this matter.

We must believe, also, that President Truman knows the effect that failure to lead can have upon the outcome in the United Nations. It can lead to postponement, delay and finally to the rejection of the proposal for partition.

Such a result would be just as much a betrayal as if the United States delegation had, like Britain, rejected the majority report.

And that result would be the responsibility of the Truman Administration. For the Truman Administration alone has the power to determine the course taken by Secretary of State Marshall, head of the U. S. delegation. He is the spokesman for the President.

The President is charged with the execution of United States foreign policy.

If the Truman Administration, by feeble action, is going to condone the repudiation of the commitments of the American people in this matter, we say again that Americans are entitled to know what they are going to get in return for their good name.

Is it Arab oil—which we have paid for over and over again?

Is it freedom from intimidation by Arab States whose spokesman is the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Hitler's apologist and agent?

Is it these States as Allies, created by Allied arms in World War I and some of whom joined the Nazis in World War II?

Americans, we say again, are entitled to know what price the Arab chiefs can pay high enough to buy the honor of the United States?

We hope President Truman will act to reassure the American people that no deal, at any price, has been made in their name. We hope that reassurance will be open, sincere and vigorous support of the UNSCOP majority report.

Actions speak louder than off-the-record promises or even half-hearted speeches.

SEPT. 9, 1947. 67.7

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EAST CRANES
 SMALL PLANES
 BAY AREA PRICES

[illegible]

FCC SETS HEARINGS
ON AIR 'EDITORIALS'Study to Open Jan. 12 on Issues
Involved in Allowing Stations
to Express Opinions

By WINIFRED MALLON

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8.—The propriety of radio stations adopting an editorial policy and broadcasting editorial opinions will be considered at a hearing beginning Jan. 12, the Federal Communications Commission stated today.

The agency said that the two main issues were as follows: "Determine whether the expression of editorial opinions by broadcast stations is in the public interest; and, if so, determine the conditions under which such expression should be permitted."

"Because of the importance of the questions presented," the FCC said, "the commission is aware that extensive preparation will be required, and, therefore, desires to schedule the hearing well in advance at a time when all the parties can be fully prepared."

The hearing stems from a long-ago editorializing by station WABC on Jan. 16, 1946, in connection with the application for renewal of its license by radio station WABC in Boston, operated by the Yankee Network, and of the application for its facilities by the Mayflower Broadcasting Corporation.

Editorializing by station WABC on Jan. 16, 1946, in connection with the application for renewal of its license by radio station WABC in Boston, operated by the Yankee Network, and of the application for its facilities by the Mayflower Broadcasting Corporation.

During consideration of the applications, the question arose of the station's practice of broadcasting editorializing from time to time urging the election of various candidates for political office or supporting one side or another of various questions in public controversy.

The commission found that "in these editorials, delivered by the editor in chief of the station's news service, no pretense was made at objective, impartial reporting."

"It is clear," it added, "that the station seems to have taken pride in the fact that the purpose of these editorials was to give public support for some person or issue favored by the station in control of the station," the FCC said.

The commission disapproved this practice as "contrary to the public interest." It was discontinued by the station, after which its license was renewed, and the application of the Mayflower Corporation was denied.

The FCC issued a statement of policy explaining its position there and since, which said: "It is clear that with the limitations in frequencies inherent in the nature of radio, the public interest can never be served by a dedication of any broadcast facility to the support of his (a) own or any other person's or group's own partisan ends. Radio can serve as an instrument of democracy only when devoted to the communication of information and the exchange of ideas fairly and objectively presented."

A truly free radio can be used to advocate the causes of the

The News of Radio

CBS Symphony, Under Bernard Herrmann,
to Open League of Composers' Fete

The CBS Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Bernard Herrmann, will present the opening concert of the League of Composers' twenty-fifth anniversary observance on Sunday from 3 to 4:30 P. M. The program will be devoted entirely to works of American composers and will comprise the "South Quartet" by Johannes Peters; "The Third Symphony" by Charles Ives; "The Concerto for Cello and Orchestra" by Vladimir Dukelsky; with Maurice Blakins as soloist; and "The Incredible Flutist," by Walter Piston.

President Truman's address in connection with the celebration of Democratic Women's Day on Wednesday, Oct. 8, will be broadcast by the national networks and some independent stations from 1:30 to 1:45 P. M.

The Rochester Civic Orchestra has been engaged for the new Treasury of Music program, the first commercially sponsored FM network show to be heard over the Continental Network, starting Friday at 8:30 P. M. Guy Fraser Harrison and Dr. Paul White will conduct the group. Five additional stations have been added to the original group of twenty-one scheduled to carry the show.

Don Lerch, CBS director of agricultural broadcasts, will tour the nation's farming areas to study United States food and agriculture problems when Country Journal Saturdays, 2:30 to 3 P. M., takes a fall and winter hiatus from Oct.

license. It can be used to support the candidacy of his friends. It can be devoted to the support of principles he happens to regard most favorably. In brief, the broadcaster can not be an advocate.

A hearing to clarify "uncertainty" and further to explore all the issues involved has been deemed advisable, however, the commission said today, then added:

"Since the adoption of the above opinion there has been widespread discussion concerning the exact meaning of the opinion, its application to particular situations and the desirability or undesirability of having a general policy concerning editorializing by broadcast licensees."

These questions are substantial and of such general importance and wide concern as to warrant

ANNOUNCEMENT

Today

KCMO

Kansas City, Missouri

50,000 Watts Power

at 810 kc

(10,000 Watts Night)

MID-AMERICA'S MOST

POWERFUL STATION

Wanted to Purchase

Continued from

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BUREAU WANTED

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4 through Dec. 4 so that football games may be carried uninterrupted. The program will return Dec. 13, with the final broadcast before the pigskin season scheduled for Sept. 27.

Based on Mr. Lerch's findings, a special program during Thanksgiving Day week is being planned by the Country Journal staff in conjunction with the CBS documentary unit. Another Lerch report is tentatively planned for Nov. 29 from Chicago in connection with the International Livestock Show and the 4-H Club Congress.

Next Tuesday's "Studio One" bill, on CBS at 9:30 P. M., will be an adaptation of "Act of Faith," a short-story by Irvin Shaw, originally published in The New Yorker Magazine. Ordinarily a full hour program, next week's show will be shortened to thirty minutes so that CBS can carry, from 10 to 10:30 that night, a documentary program entitled "The Time Is Now." Produced and directed by Norman Crown and written by Allan Stone, the documentary will observe the opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations and will be followed by a thirty-minute address by Warren R. Austin, United States representative to the United Nations. Mr. Austin will be speaking before the gathering at the official dinner given by the City of New York for the General Assembly at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

The holding of a general hearing concerning the entire subject matter of editorializing by broadcast licensees.

The so-called equal opportunity regulations governing broadcast by political candidates and allotment of time for discussion of public issues, by authorized spokesmen of opposing views, will not be involved in the hearing.

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PLANE SCANS STORM FOR 'BUSTING' TEST

Small Blow Off Florida Coast the First 'Guinea Pig' for Chemical Experiment

MIAMI, Fla., Sept. 8 (AP)—A minor tropical storm which made an unexpected appearance in the Gulf of Mexico today became a meteorological "guinea pig" for history's first hurricane-busting experiment. But today's storm developed too close to the Florida west coast to be "seeded" with dry ice or other crystals by Army and Navy planes. The military services and scientists cooperating with them want a bigger storm farther out at sea for their first real effort.

A Navy hurricane-hunter plane from the Miami Naval Air Station probed the Gulf storm, however, for possibly the last bit of research before the actual hurricane-busting efforts begin.

The hurricane draft was piloted by Lieutenant R. Dannett, with Lieut. Comdr. C. Marshall copilot and Ensign W. J. Remillard meteorologist. No chemicals were dropped into the storm.

All phases of the plan to artificially disintegrate hurricanes will be ready next week-end. Crews are being briefed, photographic equipment gathered and scientific data studied for the effort. The Army, Navy and General Electric Company will cooperate in the project which has been worked out by Dr. Irving Langmuir, noted physicist and a Nobel Prize winner.

Rainmaking by "seeding" clouds with dry ice is not new, but the huge, violent hurricane, packed with energy and spinning like a giant wheel, has never been tackled. Various chemicals are to be used, but the experiment will be cautiously conducted because the effect on such a storm is not known. Meteorologists believe that the release of heat energy in condensation and precipitation is a part of the motivating force behind hurricanes.

"Busting" them will release a great deal of energy quickly. The technique to be used by the Army and Navy as described as follows:

The weather-science plane loaded with chemicals will seek out an upper section of the storm where super-cooled air prevails. It will fly at least 500 feet above the lower level of the super-cooled area, and drop pea-sized pellets of chemicals into the hurricane at a rate of about 24 ounces per mile.

Army and Navy planes will fly above the storm to observe the effect as the chemicals do their work. Photographs and observations will be analyzed, and the attack will be stepped up until its full effect is known.

Tropical Storm Blows Out
NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 8 (AP)—A small tropical storm which moved along the Mississippi Coast this morning blew itself out late today, the United States Weather Bureau announced here.

8 Injured as Car Out of Control Smashes Into Benches on Broadway Mall at 91st St.

Eight persons were injured, three seriously, at 6:45 P. M. yesterday when an automobile, out of control plowed into four benches on which they were sitting in a twenty-foot-wide mall in the center of Broadway at Ninety-first Street.

The accident attracted a crowd of several thousand and snarled traffic for more than an hour. The three seriously hurt, all of whom received fractures of the right thigh, were Harry Hill, 67 years old, of 150 West Ninety-first Street, and Beatrice Luxemburg, 32, of the Hotel Greystone, Ninety-first Street and Broadway, both taken to Harlem Hospital, and Adele Grossman, 58, of 232 West Ninety-first Street, Knickerbocker Hospital.

The police said that at least twenty persons were sitting on benches in the enclosure at the time of the accident. The car, a 1946 Buick Wildcat, was driven by Dr. Sam Der Wing, 51, a dentist, of 390 Fort Washington Avenue, and was traveling north on Broadway, next to the curbing that lines the center mall.

Also traveling north and running parallel to Dr. Wing's car was another automobile driven by Horatio Simons, 79, of 643 West End Avenue. As the two cars approached Ninety-first Street, the police reported, Mr. Simons cut in front of

Dr. Wing's car to make a left turn into Ninety-first Street, crowding the dentist's car against the low railing of the mall.

Dr. Wing attempted unsuccessfully to keep his car from mounting the curbing of the mall, but before he could apply his brakes the car had rolled into the enclosure and knocked down three benches. It halted after it had smashed into a fourth bench and into a guard rail.

Two passersby, Joseph Levitt of 1120 Noble Avenue, the Bronx, and Sam Besterman of 2472 Broadway, told the police they extricated two men and a woman who were pinned under the car.

Neither Dr. Wing nor Mr. Simons were injured. The other victims of the accident were Katie Clark, 43, of 9 West Ninety-first Street, injuries to right leg; Sylvia Bibert, 62, of 37 West Ninety-first Street, no diagnosis; Huey Clark, 48, of 2 West Ninety-first Street, multiple bruises of the right leg and elbow; Louis Blau, 64, of 215 West Ninety-first Street, injuries to left leg, and Sarah Kaufman, 65, of the Greystone Hotel, no diagnosis. All are in Harlem Hospital except Sarah Kaufman, who was taken to Knickerbocker Hospital.

Both Dr. Wing and Mr. Simons were locked up at the West 100th Street station on charges of third-degree assault.

plaid and remarked that he had "missed" the flashlight for "some time." With this admission, the detectives questioned him closely about the murder and, finally, he broke down and confessed.

Inspector Whalen said Williams, who was discharged from the Navy for psychiatric reasons, told them he had not intended to attack Miss Graft but did so when she awoke while he was ransacking bureau drawers in her bedroom. He said he struck her "many times" with the eraserbar after she had hit him with her fists.

TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS RISE
Fatalities in City in Last Week, However, Less Than in '46

Automobile accidents were more numerous in the city last week than in the corresponding week of 1946, but there were fewer deaths, the Police Department Bureau of Safety reported yesterday. The figures were:

The week:	1946	1947	Change
Accidents	443	521	+ 78
Killed	5	5	—
Injured	529	677	+ 148

The week-end:
Accidents 122
Killed 3
Injured 171
The year to date:
Accidents 10,322
Killed 261
Injured 16,139

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SUSPECT IS SEIZED IN SLAYING OF GIRL

Deputy Chief Inspector William T. Whalen, in charge of Brooklyn detectives, announced early this morning that an 18-year-old youth had confessed to the slaying on April 21 of Selma Graft, 15, in her home at 143 East Ninety-sixth Street, in the East Flatbush section of Brooklyn.

The prisoner who, Inspector Whalen said, admitted beating the girl to death with a crowbar and attacking her brother, Donald, 9, with the same weapon, is Sam Tito Williams, 122 Sutter Avenue, Brooklyn.

Inspector Whalen said Williams said Williams also had confessed to a half-dozen robberies in the same neighborhood, in one of which he struck a woman on the head with a metal bar.

The arrest of Williams, the police said, ended a search for a tall, slim Negro which a picked group of thirty-nine detectives has been conducting in the area nightly since the slaying in April. Williams was picked up at 3 A. M. on Monday by two members of this detail. Detectives Henry Werner and Raymond Cullen.

The detectives searched his home and found, they said, a quantity of loot from the burglaries he later admitted. They took the articles, including seven wallets, a radio set and a watch, to the Liberty Avenue station, spread them on a table and added a flashlight that had been found in the bedroom of the slain girl.

Asked to identify the loot, Williams, the police said, quickly con-

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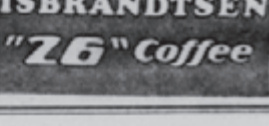
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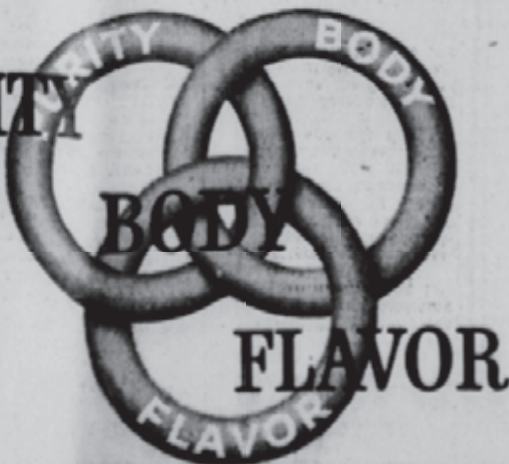
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What Deal, Mr. President?

What deal has the Truman administration made with the Arabs on Palestine? What deal is in the making?

The people of the United States, if anything of the kind is happening, are entitled to know it.

They are entitled to know, also, just what the deal calls for, item by item.

They are entitled to know what is being done in their name because any deal on Palestine would involve breaking every pledge the American people have repeatedly made to the Jews that there would be established a Jewish national home in Palestine.

Any deal involving further concessions to the Arabs would be not only an unconscionable betrayal of the Jews but also open, calculated destruction of American honor.

If the United States delegation has made or is about to make a deal with the Arabs, what are we, the people of the United States, going to get out of it?

Is it freedom from the fear of an uprising of the Arab world, that hoary threat? Are we prepared to trade our good name for that?

Is it a guarantee of continued access to Arab oil, for which we have paid over and over again already? Is that enough to warrant the repudiation of our pledged word?

Or is it that we hope to buy the loyalty of the Arab States as allies against the possible encroachment of Russia, Arab States that plotted and connived with Hitler? Is this sufficient price for our good faith?

The American people are entitled to know, for what the United States delegates to the United Nations have to trade on this issue does not belong to them. The good name of the United States belongs to the people. It is our most precious possession.

It was the good name of the United States that caused 16 nations of Europe to respond so quickly to the Marshall Plan. The peoples of those nations, no less than their governments, believed that what the United States promised to do, the United States would carry out.

Repeatedly, during and since World War II, our Government has assured all peoples that we sought no material gain but only to build a world in which all could live in peace, enjoy freedom, deal decently and honestly.

Millions believed us. They had faith in our promises.

Should we break our pledges to the Jews, we would destroy that faith, whether we acted in abject appeasement of Arab threats, in eagerness to make them allies or in greed for oil.

Much has been lost already.

All the world looked to the United States for leadership in seeing justice done in Palestine. Instead—

The world has seen Secretary of State Marshall equivocate on the issue of Palestine in his opening speech to the U.N. General Assembly.

Then he met in secret with the Arab chiefs, although these same chiefs refused to present testimony before the U.N. Special Commission on Palestine.

After that the United States delegation remained silent despite Arab assertions that Secretary Marshall had told the chiefs that the United States has "an open mind" on Palestine.

President Truman should act—and swiftly—to reassure the American people either that no deal has been made, or if there is one, that he will undo it.

This is his responsibility, and his alone. The two leading Republican candidates for his office have endorsed the majority plan for Palestine, but they have no power to act. Mr. Truman, as President, has the power.

The American people have a right to expect him to use it.

The honor of the United States of America, upon which is based the faith of millions here and everywhere, is at stake.

The President of the United States is sworn to uphold that honor.

Palestine and World Peace

BY SUMNER WELLES

[At the dinner of the Nation Associates held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on October 13, Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, made the address which appears below. The subject of the evening's discussion was The Palestine Solution and Its Relationship to World Peace. The other chief speakers were Bartley Crum and Richard H. S. Crossman, M.P., American and British members, respectively, of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine.]

TO ALL those millions of Americans who believe that their nation, because of the influence and power it possesses, should utilize that influence and that power so as to facilitate the solution of international controversies which block the establishment of a free, peaceful, and lasting world order, the past few years have been a profoundly discouraging period. For in the case of Palestine the great opportunity for leadership offered to our government had not been seized. Last Friday this situation radically changed. The United States has at length assumed its responsibility and undertaken a most constructive initiative.

I am not here to speak to you of any of the specific aspects of the Palestine problem, aspects which necessarily arise in an objective appraisal of the recommendations for settlement that have been advanced. Nor would I venture to dwell upon the continuing tragedy of those hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews whose spirits and bodies are rotting in the concentration camps of Central Europe and to whom no hope has as yet been given that they are to have any chance of safety or any opportunity for a new and better life in the days to come. There are many among you who have seen with their own eyes this horror and who have been struggling valiantly to put an end to a tragedy which need never have existed and for which there can be no justification.

But I do wish to speak to you on the issue which seems to me chiefly to concern us here tonight. That is the relationship of the Palestine settlement to world peace.

It would take long to enumerate the reports of the individuals and of the organizations, official as well as unofficial, which have now for many years been investigating the problem of Palestine. Many of these investigations, unfortunately, were undertaken for the sole purpose of procrastination. Many were ordered merely in an effort to avert a crisis which might otherwise be imminent. There is perhaps no other question of international import upon which so much authoritative information is available, and upon which the time and thought of so many able men and women have been expended. What

so far has been lacking is the courage and the decision and the authority by which action might be taken on the basis of those facts.

I had hoped last spring that the period of evasion and buck-passing was at length concluded; that the repeated efforts of the British government to prevent any solution and the unsavory attempts of the government of the United States to saddle Great Britain with full responsibility, while at the same time refusing to lift a finger to make a settlement possible, had at last reached their end. For a new and great development had taken place. The nations of the world, at a special meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations, had declared their intention of seeking a settlement of the Palestine question and had appointed a Special Committee on Palestine to undertake a final investigation and to recommend to the full Assembly at its session this autumn whatever solution might in their judgment be most equitable and practicable in the light of all the legitimate interests concerned.

The overshadowing significance of that step could not be exaggerated. It meant that the free peoples of the earth had decided that a just and lasting settlement must be promptly found, and that the moral opinion of the world would support whatever decision the Assembly might finally reach upon such a basis.

AS WE all know, a few weeks ago the Special Committee submitted its findings. The recommendation of the majority of the committee—and it is pertinent to emphasize the fact that the nations represented in that majority could not conceivably be considered as having any partiality or any prejudice—proposed the partition of Palestine and the establishment within the Holy Land of a Jewish and an Arab state.

Many questions can legitimately be raised as to this, that, or the other detail contained in these proposals. But no unbiased man or woman can fail to recognize that, granted the lateness of the hour, granted the urgency of the need, granted the developments that have taken place since the report of the Peel commission was rendered ten years ago, and granted the crisis with which humanity today is convulsed, these proposals are the best that could at present be carried out and are inherently wise and just.

The majority report has, of course, been assailed by the Jewish extremists. It has, of course, been made the target of the Arab nationalists, who assert they will reject any settlement through which the Jewish people would at last attain the National Home long since prom-

ised to them. But I think there can be no question that a vast majority of the outstanding leaders of the Jewish people support the form of settlement now under consideration by the United Nations, however far short it may fall of the ideal for which they had hoped, and that a vast majority of the Arab peoples would accept, even though reluctantly, a settlement which puts an end to a controversy whose continuation can be of no benefit to them, were they to learn that the United Nations was determined to impose such a settlement.

If we view the world as it is today realistically, we cannot fail to see that force—economic force as well as armed force—still continues to be the dominating factor. Every delegate to the United Nations knows that unless the three great powers—Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—jointly support whatever decision the Assembly may reach, and jointly undertake to facilitate the carrying out of the Palestine settlement, no settlement is going to be carried out. However strongly the other member states may feel that the settlement proposed is altogether just, however sincerely they may believe that such a settlement is imperative if a major conflagration is to be averted, they possess by themselves neither the armed might nor the economic resources required to bring about its consummation.

The United States has now spoken. It recognizes the urgent need for a final solution at this session of the Assembly. It supports the majority plan which provides for partition and immigration. While I question the wisdom of some of the modifications it advances, I regard other suggestions offered as altogether desirable.

From the standpoint of the realistic approach to the crux of the problem there is no more encouraging feature of our government's long-awaited statement of policy than the declaration that "the United States is willing to participate in a United Nations program to assist the parties involved in the establishment of a workable political settlement in Palestine" . . . and "in meeting economic and financial problems and the problem of internal law and order during the transition period." For here are more than words or expressions of sympathy. Here is the promise of material help and cooperation.

The position of Great Britain was made known by the statement of Mr. Creech-Jones to the Assembly. We can at least hope that the position then announced may yet be modified. It would be inconceivable, if the Assembly now approves a final settlement based upon the provisions of the majority report, that the British government would evacuate its administrative and law-enforcement agencies from Palestine before the Assembly's plan could be implemented, and thereby open the Holy Land to probable bloodshed and anarchy at the very moment that the United Nations was preparing to assume responsibility. The present difficulties of the British people must not be overlooked. But the United

States was fully justified in urging that the mandatory power should not withdraw until a smooth transmission of authority can be assured.

There remains the problem of the attitude of the Soviet Union. Once before, at the Assembly's special session last spring, the Soviet government categorically stated it would support partition as an alternative form of settlement. The Soviet Union has now reaffirmed this position. We have reason for deep gratification that in this outstanding instance the Soviet government has shown a clear intention of helping to make the United Nations function and of working for world peace rather than for world disruption.

LET us strip away all unnecessary verbiage and assess the basic issues upon whose solution a Palestine settlement now depends. They are few in number.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are every day becoming more critical. If the Palestine settlement is thrown into the whirlpool of power politics that now threatens to engulf the entire family of nations, no solution will be attained. If Moscow and Washington permit the question of Palestine to be used as an instrument in this looming conflict between expansion and containment, whatever final decision the Assembly may now reach will be void. Yet there is no reason that can be found to justify so needless a frustration. The establishment in Palestine of the Jewish and Arab states now proposed could never in itself be regarded as a threat to the safety of the Soviet system or of the Western powers. Only if these two new states came under the exclusive domination of either the East or the West could any fear be legitimately aroused on the part of one of the major powers. Great Britain has announced its wish to begin immediately the withdrawal of its occupation forces from Palestine, save in the remote contingency that the Assembly's decisions need not be imposed. Moscow can, consequently, no longer charge that Britain intends to use Palestine as a strategic base against Russia.

But since in all human probability the Assembly's recommendations for a Palestine settlement must be imposed and since an adequate police force must, therefore, be found, is it not unquestionable that if either the United States or the Soviet Union attempts to bring about the employment of its own troops for such a purpose, the Palestine question will inevitably become a cause for further suspicion, for further controversy, and for increased hostility between these two powers?

If the police force is American, the Soviet Union will construe such a decision as an aggressive step on our part. If the police force is Russian, such a measure will at once be interpreted throughout the West as a new indication of the Soviet government's intention to seize the Dardanelles and to dominate the Mediterranean.

And we know only too well from what has taken place in Korea what a joint Soviet-American administration of foreign territory implies.

It is for these reasons, which seem to me so altogether clear, that I publicly suggested some days ago that the major powers announce that no one of them would send military contingents to Palestine for policing duties, and that they agree that the Security Council should establish, after calling upon intermediate and lesser powers that had no conceivable interest in the Palestine settlement for their cooperation, a Palestine police force composed of military contingents from those powers, under the authority of the Council's Military Staff Committee. It has been said that such a suggestion is not realistic, that too many practical difficulties stand in the way, and that the problems of over-all authority and of expense constitute insuperable obstacles. The truth is, of course, that such a solution of the problem of security is wholly practicable provided the major powers wish to make it so.

If the Soviet Union and the United States are willing to cooperate in this regard, the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council is competent to adjust the question of over-all authority, and if the member states of the United Nations recognize in practice the obligation they have already unanimously incurred, the expenses of the administration of Palestine during the transition period and of an adequate police force are obviously expenses which should be shared proportionally by all the United Nations.

Frankly, such a solution of the need for maintaining law and order during the transition period seems to me far more effective and expedient than the suggestion of the United States that the United Nations establish a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis. A volunteer force would necessarily take a long time to recruit and assemble and a long time to train. What criterion, moreover, should prevail as to the national origin of the recruits? What percentage of recruits should any given country be allowed to send? What authority would be responsible for screening the recruits? Would there not be constant suspicion that agents of the major powers were being incorporated into such a volunteer force?

If the lesser powers, as I have suggested, sent some of their own military contingents to undertake the required policing work in Palestine during the transition period, these governments would be each responsible for the membership of the forces so employed, and none of the controversial questions I have mentioned could arise.

WHETHER we shall now see a Palestine settlement of the nature recommended to the Assembly by the majority of the Special Committee on Palestine depends primarily on whether the Soviet Union and the United States will permit the settlement to be carried out.

We are told that the troops of the Arab states are now encircling Palestine. Propaganda is being directed toward the delegates to the United Nations Assembly, and toward public opinion in the West, to make it appear that hostilities will be inevitable if the Assembly adopts the proposals of its Special Committee. If the Assembly permits such blackmail tactics—such an open violation of the solemn commitments into which every Arab country has entered—to remain unpunished, and to sway its final decisions, the authority of the United Nations will be irreparably impaired. But can anyone in this room believe that the threats of violence now being made could ever be carried out unless the Arab governments received the secret support of one of the great powers? Can anyone doubt that if Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States unanimously declared that the decision of the Assembly was also their decision and that they would unitedly support the execution of the steps required to impose it, the attempted blackmail which we are witnessing would not rapidly be shown up for what it is?

Unless the means of securing effective collaboration among the three major nations can now be found, not only will the final settlement of the Palestine problem continue to be remote, but the immediate consequences may be of appalling gravity. Is it already too late for us to have ground for the belief that some field for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States can yet be found? Must we assume that the one world for which we had hoped and for which we have striven is already irreparably divided into two worlds, with all of the consequences that such a division inevitably portends? Need we disregard the lesson which the history of recent centuries should teach us—that if two antagonistic and rival nations find some field for cooperation, this experiment in cooperation can bring about an alleviation of tension and encourage the gradual solution of controversies which had earlier seemed altogether insoluble?

I, for one, cannot reconcile myself to the belief that it is already too late. I believe that the Palestine settlement affords both the Soviet Union and the United States precisely such a field, within which cooperation between them is altogether feasible, and that if they will but employ it they will find the path toward the solution of the differences between them much easier to follow.

There has been no greater tragedy in recorded history than that which the Jewish people have suffered during these past few years. Yet it is possible that through the settlement of the Palestine problem—the one fitting compensation which humanity can offer the survivors of that tragedy—the peoples of the world may find the way to avert a new holocaust, toward which we seem to be so rapidly drifting and in which all that remains of our civilization would inevitably be destroyed.

from HAIFA ... to Port de Bouc

There is a new policy in British deportation. Where once Jewish refugees, intercepted by His Majesty's ships "somewhere off Palestine," were torn from Haifa and deported to Cyprus, the British Colonial Office now has decreed that the "illegals" be shipped back to their original port of embarkation.

More than 4500 Jewish immigrants have been sent back to Port de Bouc, a small port in Southern France. For a few fleeting moments they had reached their goal. They had reached . . . Palestine. They had walked on its beaches and had dazzled in its sunlight. But only for a few moments. For even as they walked the quays of Haifa, they were already on their way back to the continent which spelled graveyards, crematoria and rubble ghettos.

Who were these 4500 passengers?

To a British official in Germany, they were the "dregs of the ghettos" who illegally attempted to steal into Palestine.

To the world, they were the shattered remnants of a Nazi-Europe which had exterminated 6,000,000 of their relatives during the war years.

To the Jews, they were brothers and sisters making their weary way home to Palestine—the internationally-guaranteed Jewish homeland.

Their journey to the French port had not been an easy one. From all the Jewish "capitals" of Europe, they had assembled. From Dachau, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Mauthausen . . . From partisan bands and slave-labor camps. On foot, by stealth . . . came the living.

The Haganah ship was the culmination of their struggle. As it headed out to sea, there rose within them the fervent hope that they would soon find peace in Palestine. But the British had other ideas. Far, far from the territorial waters of Palestine was fought the battle of the "Exodus 1947." Jews were bombarded with tear gas bombs, pummeled with high-pressure water hoses

and sprayed with machine-gun fire. Then His Majesty's Navy went in for the "kill." Ramming the unprotected sides of the immigrant vessel time and time again, the "Exodus 1947" soon began to founder and list.

Three Jews were killed and more than a hundred others were wounded. Among the dead was William Bernstein, first mate of the Haganah vessel, and the first American to die for the Jewish struggle in Palestine. The ship was a mad scene of smashed timber and weeping women and children. All this, according to the testimony of the Captain of the "Exodus 1947," the British had done many miles outside of the territorial waters of Palestine. If true, it was piracy on the high seas . . . a violation of international maritime law.

But law-breaking was an old story for the British. They had begun to smash legal documents many years ago . . . almost as soon as the Palestine Mandate was awarded to them by 52 nations of the world.

The Jewish survivors aboard the "Exodus 1947," we believe, had every legal right to enter Palestine. "Let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority," said the British Labor Party as recently as 1945. This time the British Mandate completely disregarded the unanimous resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This resolution adopted on May 15, 1947 called "upon all governments and peoples . . . to refrain pending action by the General Assembly on the report of the Special Committee on Palestine, from the threat or use of force or any other action which might create an atmosphere prejudicial to an early settlement of the question of Palestine."

Such is the low state to which British justice has fallen. In its Operation against "Exodus 1947," we charge that Britain has done violence to its own conscience in its shameful treatment of innocent Jewish immigrants; it has defaulted its honor to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

AMERICAN ARTS COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

Paramount Bldg. — 323 W. 6th St. — L. A., 13

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 7, 1947.

Empty Purse—Empty Promise

Time was when Great Britain's bonds were as good as her word, and her word was respected throughout the world as a priceless and inviolable pledge.

Now each is equally suspect.

True, her word is still as good as her bonds; but who will be found to claim that either has value?

Her purse is bankrupt.

So is her honor.

British honor lies dead, a suicide, wrapped in a paper shroud—the infamous White Paper which made a lie of the Balfour Declaration and a mockery of British justice.

The critical condition of the British economy was laid bare before the Parliament and before the world yesterday by Prime Minister Attlee.

Can honor be resurrected and economy revived?

Yes—but it will take more than promises to wipe the bloodstains from the Imperial Flag which flies today over Palestine; and it will take more than pledges of austerity to regain the confidence and credit necessary to Britain's survival.

And it should take more.

We must demand more.

The time for suggestion has long passed.

The British Prime Minister lists three major factors essential to survival.

First is relaxation of clauses in the present U. S. loan agreement which presently provide that Britain must not discriminate against us with our dollars, by buying only from areas which will agree to keep the dollars from returning to us in trade.

Next is a pledge of reduction in British military forces, presently numbering 1,297,000 men.

Third is a pledge to increase production at home, particularly in coal, even if it means longer hours for labor and new controls on freedom of movement and employment.

It is evident that Britain pins her hope on the good will of the United States not only to renegotiate present loan terms, but to pledge new credits when the present loan is exhausted.

What good will?

If we are to pay the piper, we have not merely the right, but the duty, to call the tune.

Our loan to Greece is coupled with a program to ensure the development of democracy from the quasi-dictatorship of Greek Royalists—who incidentally were restored to Greece by the now flagging power of British arms.

Why should we tolerate British dictatorship in Palestine?

It is too little known that the British Mandate over Palestine was established by treaty with us, negotiated separately and after the League of Nations had granted it for the avowed purpose of creating a Homeland there for Jews, as well as protecting the rights of all its inhabitants.

Our treaty gave consent, only because of the terms of the understanding implemented by the Balfour Declaration.

The League of Nations has expired.

But our treaty still stands; a treaty which has been transgressed since the White Paper was issued, and is flagrantly violated today by Dictator Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham under direction of the British Foreign Office.

We alone are left with the legal as well as the moral duty to call a halt to the maintenance of British troops and British military overlordship in Palestine.

Who can doubt that funds from our loan, and nothing else, sustain this mockery of human decency?

If Britain's armed forces are to be reduced, what of Palestine, where soldiers paid with our funds tyrannize over Jews as though they were slaves of an ancient Rome?

An independent Palestine, under the United Nations, with the backing of the United States, would free a hundred thousand British soldiers for the mines, and hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Imperial yoke.

We have no wish to see Britain perish.

But before we sustain British life, we must demand the death of British tyranny.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1947.

Britain's Super Dachau

Hitler invented the modern concentration camp for Jews.

But Great Britain has succeeded in surpassing her one-time Nazi foes, by establishing the largest concentration camp for Jews the world has yet seen.

Palestine, a "Homeland" for Jews?

If a jail is a home—

If a slave state is home—

If home is where a Jew has no civil right—

If home is where Jews may be arrested on sight just because they are Jews—

If home is where rioting British soldiers may commit indiscriminate murder with impunity, as long, that is, as the victims are Jewish men, women and children—

If Palestine is a Jewish homeland under the British mandate—then Dachau was a Jewish homeland under the Nazis.

Great Britain has a new "war hero" today.

Hero, that is, of the new war of extermination—Great Britain's war against Jews.

He is Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, dictator of Palestine, whose functions the clever British seek to dignify by the title of "High Commissioner."

The sentries and barbed wire around this British slave-state finally stand revealed before the world for what they really are: Prison walls.

It was bad enough when the world understood that these well-patrolled barriers were for the purpose of keeping Jews out of the "homeland" solemnly promised by the British of another day.

But now it becomes clear that these barriers are also for the purpose of keeping the new-made slaves inside their torture camp, as well.

The British dictator of Palestine has cut off escape from Palestine for his potential victims by banning travel from his domain.

Mayors of Palestinian towns have been torn violently from their homes to face their British overlords in secret inquisition.

Whole communities are frozen, with movement, even conversation, forbidden.

The charge? Jew.

Remember Lidice?

Her desperate citizens, driven to a frenzy by the brutal callousness of the Nazi invaders who raped, tortured, beat and murdered at will, at last fought back, and Nazi blood was spilt.

In revenge, the Nazis wiped out all those of the village, and murdered all who were in it, their justification being "atonement" for the life of a member of the master race.

The world, including the British, swore always to remember Lidice.

But Britain's memory of Lidice has taken a peculiar and vicious twist.

Britain is remembering Lidice, only to seek to emulate what the Nazis did there.

Must all Palestine become a vast new Lidice before we act to stay the hand of the new blood-mad tyrants?

We must demand, at once, in the name of the United States of America, before the United Nations, that Britain's mandate over Palestine be revoked for cause, British troops removed, her dictatorship cease, and Palestinian independence under United Nations joint trusteeship declared without delay.

If United Nations action is delayed, or blocked, then we must act alone in the name of all the men and women who died believing they did so in a righteous cause.

It must be remembered that Britain has treaty obligations to the United States to maintain the mandate on its original terms.

We did not hesitate to fly to the aid of Turkey and Greece when it appeared our ideology was threatened.

Shall we hesitate now when our honor, as well, is at stake?