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The Jewish State in Palestine, 1947.

United Nations

Nations Unies

**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

**ASSEMBLEE  
GENERALE**

UNRESTRICTED

A/C.1/P.V. 50  
8 May 1947  
English  
SIMULTANEOUS

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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTIETH MEETING  
OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIRST SPECIAL SESSION

Lake Success, New York  
Thursday, 8 May 1947 at 11:00 a. m.

CHAIRMAN:	Mr. L. B. PEARSON	(Canada)
VICE-CHAIRMAN:	Mr. Padilla NERVO	(Mexico)
RAPPORTEUR:	Mr. KAUFFMAN	(Denmark)

CHAIRMAN: The Fiftieth Meeting of the First Committee is called to order.

CONSTITUTING AND INSTRUCTING A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO PREPARE FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE AT THE SECOND REGULAR SESSION (document A/C.1/136)

CHAIRMAN: We can now proceed with our business. The Committee will recall that yesterday it passed a resolution that it be proposed to the President of the General Assembly that a plenary meeting be called at once to consider the following resolution:

"That the First Committee grant a hearing to the Arab Higher Committee on the question before the Committee."

That resolution was referred to the President of the Assembly who discussed the matter, as you know, with the General Committee, as a result of which a plenary session was held yesterday afternoon at which the resolution which had been circulated in document A/C.1/155, as follows, was passed:

"THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY affirms that the decision of the First Committee to grant a hearing to the Arab Higher Committee gives a correct interpretation to the Assembly's intention."

It is satisfactory to know that the Committee is carrying out the Assembly's intention in this matter.

In connection with this decision taken yesterday afternoon at the Assembly, the Member of the Committee from Guatemala has asked whether the Committee would permit him to make a short statement explaining his vote. This procedure is, of course, somewhat irregular, to explain in this Committee a vote taken in the Assembly, but I am sure the Committee would not object to

extending that privilege to the Member of the Committee from Guatemala. If there is no objection, I will ask him to make that statement now.

Mr. ZEA-GONZALES (Guatemala) (Interpretation from Spanish): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have the honour of addressing you, especially as fellow representatives, for the purpose of avoiding misunderstandings and interpretations on this matter, which lend itself to incorrect interpretations, from the very moment which we took into account, with unnecessary emphasis, that we were placing in doubt the confidence which the President of the Assembly deserves. Thus, this incident was so involved that a negative vote would have been quite explicable. I wanted to do so, but I did not have the chance and therefore I could not express my opinion.

I wish to state very clearly that the delegation of Guatemala will always be against abnormal and obscure procedures. Guatemala maintains a position which is perfectly impartial, on this problem, and thus it can be clearly seen, by the previous rule, that it has completely afforded all interested parties the opportunity of expressing their points of view here. This impartiality, I must emphasize, is not only official but also a personal matter with the Members of my delegation.

CHAIRMAN: We will now return to the item on our agenda which we were discussing yesterday, when the resolution was introduced by the Member of the Committee from India. Several Members of the Committee, I know, are still anxious to speak on that item. Before calling on those Members of the Committee, I would like to inform the Committee that I have received the following telegram, addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, from the Secretary of the Jewish Agency for Palestine:



"Replying to your kind telegram of May 6 informing us of the text of the telegram sent simultaneously to Jerusalem, permit us to state, in the name of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, that we are pleased to accept the invitation of the General Assembly, and designate the following as our authorized representatives, namely, David Ben-Gurion, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Moshe Shertok, Hayim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halorin, Nahum Goldman, Dr. Emanuel Newman."

The Jewish Agency has indicated that it is now ready, through its authorized spokesman, a Member of its delegation, to make the statement which they have been invited to make by decision of the Assembly.

I would suggest to the Assembly that it might be desirable to hear that statement now, if no Member of the Committee objects to that procedure. At the end of that statement, it may be that some Member or Members of the Committee may wish to address oral questions to the representative of the Jewish Agency, on points arising out of that statement. I think it might be desirable to take advantage of their presence at this time, to address those questions, if they are in the minds of the Members. I venture also to suggest, for consideration of the Committee, that if any points are made in the statement of the Jewish Agency on which the Committee desires to receive further information, that possibly those points may be referred to in written questions to the Chairman of the Committee who could send them to the representatives of the Jewish Agency, and it might be desirable for the Committee to recall the delegation of the Jewish Agency to a subsequent session, to deal with those points which may arise in these written questions.

Now that is merely a suggestion that I make to the Committee with regard to the procedure of dealing with this matter. If it commends itself to the Committee, then I would call on the spokesman for the delegation of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, to take his place at our Committee table.

• Mr. GONZALES-FERNANDEZ (Colombia): I want simply to point out that I find the procedure suggested perfectly agreeable and a very good resume of all the things that have been said about the way of hearing the different agencies. I would like you to please, if you have no objection to it, extend that procedure to any other agency which will be heard by the Committee, so that we may have a sort of uniform handling of this problem, in a general way.

CHAIRMAN: I think that is a very sensible suggestion, and if the procedure I have outlined commends itself to the Committee, it might well, of course, be extended to cover any statements made by any other non-governmental agency who may be invited to appear before the Committee.

Col. HODGSON (Australia): I wish to be clear on this point. You said "oral questions", and then you went on to refer to "written questions". Do you mean we can ask the oral questions, through you, while they are here and subsequently, if we so desire, follow that up by written questions? I am not quite clear on the point.

CHAIRMAN: That is the idea I had in mind which I have put out for the consideration of the Committee. The Committee will decide. But I thought that at the end of the hearing this morning some Members of the Committee might wish to address oral questions to the spokesman. On reflection, and after reading the statement of the spokesman for the Jewish Agency, other points may arise and it may be that some Members will wish to address written questions through me, as a result of which it might be desirable to call on the spokesman for the Jewish Agency for a further statement.

Mr. GROMYKO (USSR) (Interpretation from Russian): If you have in mind written questions which will be made in addition to the oral questions and the statements which the representatives of the Jewish Agency and the Arab organizations plan to make here, I would say that it would be a suitable procedure. Certainly there would be no reason to object to a procedure which would make it possible for Members to ask oral questions of the representatives of the organizations and to request them to reply to those questions.

On the other hand, if you have in mind the substitution of the oral questions or oral statements which the representatives would like to make here to the Committee by written questions, as well as by written replies, then I would say that it would not be a very suitable procedure. Neither do I think this procedure would correspond to the decision which we have taken to the effect that the views of the representatives here should be heard in the Political Committee, and I hope you had in mind not the second alternative

which I have mentioned, namely, the substitution of oral questions by written questions, since the organizations were given the right to make their views heard. If it were the latter, it would be a rather autocratic procedure, and I hope you had in mind the first alternative which I have mentioned, namely that the statements which will be made here by these representatives of the Jewish and Arab organizations in an oral form may be supplemented by questions and answers in a written form.

CHAIRMAN: In reply to the representative of the Soviet Union, I am sorry I did not make it clear that I had in mind the first alternative, that the written questions to which replies might be received later in a subsequent statement would be supplementary to the oral questions and replies and would not in any way replace them. That is what I had in mind.

Are there any further comments on this procedure?

(No response.)

CHAIRMAN: If that procedure is agreeable, it might be applied to the representatives of other agencies when the occasion arises.

I will now call on the spokesman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, who will make his statement, after which there will possibly be oral questions, and when those questions have been dealt with the Committee will proceed with its discussion of the item on the agenda, as there are several members on the list of speakers. If there is no objection, we shall ask the spokesman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and his colleagues to take their place around the table.

(At this point, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, took a seat at the Committee table.)



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14-15

and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, presumably within the terms of a mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes.

The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the War, been conducted by the mandatory power as <sup>if</sup> it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine; whereas, it is assumed to administer that country, of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the mandate which clearly defined its rights and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people and that fact, I take it, motivated the General Assembly of the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish Agency of Palestine to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their goodwill and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency, you will recall, is recognized in the mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people <sup>in</sup> and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home.



It is the only recognized public body in the Mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote Article 4, "...for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

Under Article 6, the Jewish Agency is entitled, further, to co-operate with the Administration in permitting "...close settlement by Jews on the land"; and, by Article 11, it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish Agency, which we have the honour to represent, therefore speaks not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish national home; it speaks also for the Jewish people of the world, who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged, by the same Article 4 of the Mandate, "...to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

I have spoken of "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish national home." In defining the terms of reference of the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint, and in all the committee's future investigations, these, in my judgment, should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today. To proceed without relation to them would be to detour into a political wilderness as far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced

persons, would only contribute to confusion.

The Balfour Declaration, which was issued by His Majesty's Government as a "...declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspiration," declares:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

The Mandate, in its preamble, recognizes "...the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and "...the grounds for reconstituting"-- I call your attention to the word "reconstituting"--"their national home in that country."

These international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law.

Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the Chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is Article 80 of the Charter, which reads: "Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment, will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance, if it will keep the proper perspective always in view.

A generation ago, the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making; it has not yet been fully established. No international community has cancelled or even questioned that right. The Mandatory Power, which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home, has unfortunately, in recent years, grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish national home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

"There could be no doubt," he said, "as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand, it was contemplated that, when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

"The notion that Jewish immigration," he continued, "would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent



minority, never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come, a great Jewish state rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others.

American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish national home. Thus, President Wilson, on March 3, 1919, stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

That the Government of the United States does not now consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud, of Saudi Arabia, dated October 29, 1946. He wrote: "The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now Members of the United Nations."

"The United States," wrote President Truman, "which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these people should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine."

"I am happy to note," declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish National Home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

It should, of course, be clear -- and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear -- that when we speak of a Jewish State, we do not have in mind any racial State or any theocratic State but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish State is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labour Party in 1945 -- now represented by the present Government of United Kingdom which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

"Here, we halted halfway, irresolutely between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war and there is an irresistible case for it now."

When your Committee of Inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future Government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor -- the international obligation to ensure the continuous development of the Jewish National Home -- should be kept, in our judgment, constantly in mind. I believe it would be extremely helpful to the Committee of Inquiry if the Mandatory Government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine Mandate to it rather than wait for the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the Committee in thinking through the problem and at arriving at helpful recommendations for the future Government of Palestine.



It is illogical, I fear, to ask the Committee of Inquiry to consider the future Government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present Government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the Committee of Inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement. In Palestine, they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting this National Home after the long weary centuries of their homelessness and relying upon the honour and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable handicaps. The task was enormous.--Untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor, neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and to other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove a blessing not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was a great leader of the Arab peoples, at the Peace Conference following the First World War. On March 3rd, 1919, he wrote:

"We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist Movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

Your Committee of Inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East with which Palestine and with which the destinies of the Jewish National Home are naturally bound up.

Your Committee of Inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects, which will result in great economic and social improvement not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

The Committee of Inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real, the fundamental causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came, not with weapons but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community, whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children, is being driven to a pitch of resentment and tension and

lamentably driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore.

They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees -- men, women, and children who have been through all the hells of Nazi Europe -- are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish National Home by a Mandatory Government which assumed, as its prime obligation, to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country.

They will also investigate, I hope, how the Mandatory Government is carrying out another of its obligations which was to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land; when, in actual practice, it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than six per cent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish National Home discriminatory racial laws which the Mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

By way of digression, let it be said -- if it need be said at all -- that we are not engaged, nor shall we be engaged, in any criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization; and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which first among the nations gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the Displaced Persons Camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two years -- it is exactly two years today since VE Day -- after the close of the war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer.



While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while inter-governmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow--perhaps tomorrow--redemption may come that keeps their spirit from breaking utterly. Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the conscience of mankind, speaking through you and through your Committee of Inquiry, will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the Committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that, pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no delay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your Committee of Inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the mandatory government.

I hope that I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

The Jewish people places great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people, and though we have often, on the long hard road which we have traveled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles. In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst. The representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions--we hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.



CHAIRMAN: Does any Member of the Committee wish to address any questions to Dr. Silver on any points arising out of his statement and which concern the item on our agenda which we are discussing now?

Mr. ASAF ALI (India): I shall confine myself very strictly indeed to the statement made by Dr. Silver.

I must first of all congratulate him on the eloquence of facts and the moderation born of long centuries of suffering. I assure him that truth shall win in the last resort and human conscience will not abandon its function. He will permit me, therefore, to put to him just a few questions which arise out of his statement.

The very first question which I should like to ask him is this: What was the number of Jews from outside in Palestine in 1900, again in 1930, and finally in 1939 when the White Paper of 1939 was issued by the British Government?

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Silver will no doubt make a note of that question. I do not suppose we can expect him to produce all these facts without a little consideration. We might go on to the next Member of the Committee who has expressed a desire to ask a question. That is the Member of the Committee from Poland.

Mr. ASAF ALI (India): I have six more questions.

CHAIRMAN: Then you may ask the other five. Dr. Silver might make a note of all these questions and answer them at his convenience.

Dr. Abba Hillel SILVER: (Representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine): I should prefer, if I may, to collect all these questions and at some proper moment perhaps request the opportunity of answering them, because I should like to give as complete and satisfactory replies as I can.

CHAIRMAN: I think that would probably be better--if the questions were addressed to you now and, if you see fit, they may be answered later, either orally or in writing.

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A/C.1/P.V.50  
29-30

Mr. ASAF ALI (India): My next question would be whether Dr. Silver recognizes the fact that there is a very clear distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home, which is mentioned in the mandate. Does he also recognize the fact that even the statement, to which he made a reference, which was made by the representative of the Liberal Government--or the Labour Party--referred not to a Jewish state but to a Jewish national home?

My third question is concerned with Dr. Silver's reference to European Jewry. Will he be so kind as to provide us with some idea of the age of the various communities of National Jewry living in Europe, who would now like to go back to the national home; how long have they lived in Europe; and are they easily assimilable in Palestine?

My fourth question is as follows: He has made a statement to the effect that at Paris in 1919 an extremely conciliatory statement was made by a great Arab leader who welcomed the Jews to Palestine. Is there any reason why the Arabs are resisting immigration now?

My fifth question relates to the refugees from nazi oppression. The Nazi Government in Europe has been completely suppressed and Nazi Germany is now under the control of the Security Council, or, at any rate, the United Nations. If that is so, is there any reason why these refugees cannot be resettled in their natural German home where they speak the language of the country and where they find themselves far more easily assimilable.

My sixth and last question would be about the conditions which are currently prevailing in Palestine. It is very gratifying to learn that Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency, has recognized the noble role which the people of the United Kingdom have played in recognizing the urgency of the Jewish problem. May I know why public servants of the Government of the United Kingdom, who are doing their duty under extremely difficult circumstances, are being picked off today by violence?

CHAIRMAN: Most of those questions, not all of them, are factual in character and the information can no doubt be secured and can possibly be circulated in written form. One or two of them are not quite so factual. I hope they will not, in their reply, provoke a debate on issues which are not yet within the terms of reference of this Committee and I hope it will not come within its terms of reference.

There are further questions that some members would like to address to you, Dr. Silver, on points which will, I hope, help us in our work of constituting and instructing the special committee of inquiry, and for that purpose the representative of Poland would like to address one or two questions to you.

Mr. FIDERKIEWICZ (Poland): I would like to ask the representative of the Jewish Agency Dr. Silver just two questions.

First of all, who represents the Jewish Agency, how many organizations, how is the Executive Committee established and organized, and how does it work?

The second question: Have there been any attempts at collaboration between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine?

Sir Alexander CADOGAN (United Kingdom): I am not quite sure, Mr. Chairman, that I shall be in order. I was not strictly intending to address a question to Dr. Silver, but rather to make a comment on a certain passage in his speech. I should be in a sense perhaps rather replying to a question he put to me. I did want to make a very short declaration in one sentence which I thought might be helpful.

CHAIRMAN: I think this questioning process ought to work both ways.

Sir Alexander CADOGAN (United Kingdom): I merely wish to say that I would like to dispel any misunderstanding which might still exist, which may have arisen out of the terms of the letter in which I had the honour to request the Secretary-General to summon a meeting of the Special Assembly. In that letter there was a passage stating that my Government would be prepared to give full and complete information to the Assembly. I wish to make it quite clear, and formally, that, if the General Assembly sets up a special investigating committee, my Government of course will be entirely at the disposal of that committee and will give all possible information, which will include an account of their stewardship.



Mr. GONZALEZ-FERNANDEZ (Colombia): I hope to be quite in order, Mr. Chairman. According to our resolution, we are going to hear the views of the different agencies with regard to constituting and instructing this committee. With your permission, I should like to ask Dr. Silver, not as an element of final judgment for us, but simply as an element of illustration, what the views of the Jewish Agency for Palestine are regarding the composition of the investigating committee. We have up to this point two proposals presented in a formal manner and a suggestion presented by another delegation. I should like very much to know the point of view of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, simply as an illustrative element.

CHAIRMAN: No doubt, Dr. Silver will take that question under advisement too.

Mr. ANDREWS (South Africa): I would very shortly like to join with my Indian colleague in complimenting Dr. Silver on the very moderate, eloquent, and precise address that he has made to this Committee. I am sure that it is going to be extremely helpful to us in our deliberations in considering the question of instructing and setting up this committee of inquiry. I would hope too that, if we hear any further representatives, the high standard, which Dr. Silver has maintained, will be continued before this Committee. I would only ask him one question and that has relation to the terms of reference which we may be giving this committee of inquiry. Dr. Silver has referred to the homeless Jews in Europe. If he would be so kind as to help me clarify my own mind, he said that the committee of inquiry should look into the condition of the homeless Jews in Europe. I would ask him, does he mean that the committee of inquiry should look into that situation as a whole or only in relation to the question of continuing immigration into Palestine.



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34-35

CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions?

(No response)

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Silver, you have given the Committee something to think about, and the Committee has given you a few questions to think about. There may be additional ones submitted in writing, which we will pass on to you. The result of this is, I suppose, that we may request you or another representative of your Agency to again appear before this Committee, and we would be most grateful if you would hold yourself in readiness for that purpose.

Dr. Abba Hillel SILVER (Jewish Agency for Palestine): I thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the courtesy you have extended to me.

CHAIRMAN: We should now proceed, I suppose, with the further discussion of this item on the agenda, the constituting and instructing of the committee of inquiry. You will recall that yesterday we had two resolutions on this point, but that we were engaged in a general debate, not specifically on any particular resolution. Since yesterday, however, an additional resolution has been submitted by the delegation of El Salvador, which is now being circulated. We shall now continue the general discussion on the matter.

Mr. PONCE (Ecuador) (Interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Ecuador has studied with some considerable attention the important draft resolutions presented by the delegations of the United States and the Argentine Republic, each of which has the same praiseworthy purpose of organizing in the best way the special committee which is to study the problem of Palestine.

The delegation of Ecuador regrets very sincerely that it cannot give its support to the draft resolution of the Argentine Republic, and declares its adherence to the draft resolution of the United States, for the reasons which I now have the honour of stating.

A fundamental characteristic of the American draft resolution which our delegation supports is the constituting of a special committee which excludes the countries directly interested in the problem of Palestine, with the laudable desire of seeing to it that the special committee be afforded the greatest impartiality and independence possible.

We do not wish to say that it is possible to assure absolute independence and impartiality, but we do mean that the countries which are not directly interested in the problem, the countries whose rights are not under consideration and who do not have interests in this matter of a political, economic, strategic, or of another similar nature, will more closely approach impartiality and independent judgment than the others which are defending their rights or attempting to protect their interests.

In the words of the distinguished representative of the United States, spoken yesterday before this Committee:

"This selection is made with regard to the geographical distribution of the States as well as with the idea in mind of having States which do not have apparent close interests involved in the problem they will have to study."

This would permit the report which the committee will prepare to gain the respect and support of the countries here, and of all peoples or almost all peoples a condition necessary for the attainment of an effective solution.

The impartiality and independence which, to a notable degree, the committee will have will perhaps give its report an uncontestable moral force. We believe that the committee which the Assembly of the United Nations will finally approve can hardly be vetoed by the Mandatory State.

As our delegation said a few days ago before the General Committee, this special committee which will be constituted, while taking into consideration the elements of impartiality and independence, will not be another of the many commissions which have already studied the problem of Palestine, nor will its report be considered as merely one more report which is to be added to the various ones already existing.

Three countries of America figure among the seven countries on the special committee suggested by the United States. They are Canada, Peru, and Uruguay, for whom our delegation will vote with pleasure. Also, we are very satisfied to have Sweden, Holland, Czechoslovakia, and Iran as members of the special committee.

As far as the terms of reference are concerned, the delegation of Ecuador finds the breadth which the American proposal provides to be advisable.

Among the points of greatest weight and gravity which the special committee will have to study, no doubt, is the point of the Mandate itself, because we have heard statements from countries which denied its validity. We need to know



the significance and scope of the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917; the significance and scope of the Mandate of 1922; the significance and scope of the term, "Jewish home in Palestine." We need to know the significance, scope and legality of the White Paper of 1939. We need to know, as well, the situation of the Jews in Europe, as well as the conditions prevailing at present in Palestine.

The report which the special committee is to present to the Assembly in September must point the way toward a praiseworthy and immediate solution of the problem. The most equitable solution and the most just solution will be the one which will impose upon the parties the least sacrifice, because we can well foresee that in any case there will be sacrifices. The fairest and most just solution would be the one which could be carried out without the use of force, or with a minimum use of force.

Only the moral authority of the United Nations, duly supported, can bring about an early solution to this problem which casts new shadows upon the peace of the world, a world which scarcely knows whether peace has yet been re-established. It is now the responsibility of the small, neutral countries to study, with impartiality and independence as far as possible, the problem of Palestine, so that the General Assembly of the United Nations may later adopt an equitable and efficacious solution.

The time for this decision--and even more important, the time for carrying it out--will be the time of greatest responsibility for the great countries. Upon these latter countries will depend, in the last analysis, the future of the international Organization. The United Nations is faced with a very serious situation, the consequences of which are related intimately with the maintenance of peace, security, and the continuous progress of humanity.

Mr. PALZA (Bolivia) (Interpretation from Spanish): The object which I have in taking the floor is that of supporting the proposal which has just been made by our honourable colleague, the representative of Ecuador. The point of view of the delegation of Bolivia on this matter which is under discussion consists of the following: Between the two proposals which we have before us-- that is to say, the proposal of the United States and the proposal of Argentina-- there is a substantive difference. In the second or Argentine proposal, the five great powers would take part. But on the committee which is to undertake the study of the problem of Palestine there must not be representatives of any one of the five great powers. This is the point of view which, in the judgment of the delegation of Bolivia, is the right one, because the elementary concept is that no one should be a part of, and a judge in, his own case.

On the other hand, the proposal of the United States presents, in briefer terms, the matter which was the objective of the Argentine proposal--that is to say, both resolutions had the same purpose which we are seeking: that of constituting a committee which will be sufficiently impartial so that it may study this grave and delicate problem in the broadest and most complete way possible. The American proposal has the great merit of being simpler and clearer. Therefore with all due respect for the Argentine proposal, the delegation of Bolivia, I repeat, would like to join in the proposal made by Ecuador, which supports the American proposal and requests that it be put to the vote.

Mr. STOLK (Venezuela) (Interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Venezuela feels that with the decision already adopted by the General Assembly, the previous questions which have been under consideration concerning the point for which the delegations of fifty-five countries were called, will have been terminated, and it will be possible to study, without any further delay, the appropriateness of constituting the committee proposed by the Government of the United Kingdom and the composition and powers which will <sup>be</sup> given to this committee.

We have heard the interesting statement of the distinguished representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and all of us hope that the Arab Higher Committee will also be heard on the matter which is occupying our attention, so that we will be able to make a decision in this matter after the statements of both parties concerned are heard.

In yesterday morning's meeting, there were two interesting proposals presented; one, from our colleague from the United States, and the other from the Republic of Argentina. There has just been circulated a new draft resolution by the delegation of El Salvador referring to the terms of reference of the committee which we propose to establish. We have heard an explanation of the first two resolutions and the opinions of some of our colleagues concerning them.

To these commentaries, I wish to add a few observations which I feel are indispensable, so that those who are in a position to do so may clear up certain aspects of the problem, and those delegations who have not formed a definitive opinion yet can determine their position in full knowledge of factors which will influence, doubtlessly, the standard which we adopted in constituting this committee. Upon this will depend the success of the task which the committee is going to have, and the favourable support which its decisions will have.



The content of both proposals -- I am referring to the United States proposal and the draft resolution of Argentina -- have some points in common, as well as other points which can compliment each other; those relating to the breadth and liberty of the functions of the committee, the guarantee that the parties will be heard by the investigating committee, the point which refers to budgetary questions, and the time limit for presenting a report. These proposals differ in their fundamental points as has been noted by others who have preceded me. One proposal advocates the constituting of a committee by neutral countries. I would say less-interested or more impartial countries, because I do not believe...

CHAIRMAN: May I ask the representative of Venezuela to speak a little slower as the simultaneous interpreters are having a little difficulty.

Mr. STOLK (Venezuela) (Interpretation from Spanish): Of course. I was saying that one of the two proposals recommends the committee be set up of neutral countries. I would rather call them less-interested countries or more impartial countries, because I do not believe that at the present moment, after the recent experience of war, it would be convenient to use the term I am criticizing..

With all respect, we have heard the irrefutable reasons for defending this and thesis, /with no less reason we have also heard the statement made with regard to the permanent Members of the Security Council, so that the countries called middle-sized and small can take up a responsibility which would be exclusive as regards the investigation of facts, collating of data, and the formulation of recommendations on the Palestine problem, and they may exercise the capacity they have to contribute in a calm spirit towards the solution of the great post-war problem.

The other proposal, on the other hand, has a different viewpoint. Its content derives from the agreement of the signers of the San Francisco Charter who, in view of the great responsibilities of the Five Great Powers to maintain peace, dedicated the famous rule of unanimity amongst them, which we know as the veto right and which is applicable to questions of substance in the Security Council. This concept, in other words, is nothing more than the recognition that the permanent Members of the Security Council find themselves obligated, because of faith, because of their political power and their economic power to assume the great responsibilities that weigh on them, and what is more important, to do all they can to consider and resolve the great problems that face humanity on a level of principle, in an atmosphere of mutual confidence, with a view to equitable solutions, solutions inspired in the ideals of peace, justice and equality, so as to make possible understanding and support for the solutions reached. The role of other States in such circumstances would be a co-operative, useful role.

With regard to the question at hand, we know that two of the five permanent Members of the Security Council do not wish to take part in the committee for Palestine. I repeat that the reasons for taking this position have been stated.

I respect the attitude of the representative of Argentina when he stated that he would not insist on his draft which was based on the co-operation of the Five Great Powers, if one or more of them do not want to be a member of the committee.

I wonder if we should not first clear up the scope of the statements made by the representatives of these two countries. What does their position mean exactly? What is the thought of this Committee? If the responsibility falls on one of the States to be a member of the committee, is it obligatory or is it subject to excuses? If we do not consider all this, it seems to me we cannot

further our work and reach convenient and firm decisions.

This is why I want to know whether the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom are disposed to be represented in the Palestine committee, in case this First Committee and the General Assembly should decide that the committee of inquiry should include permanent Members of the Security Council, or if the criterion suggested up to now would not rather favour the contrary thesis, should it be accepted by a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

I wish finally to state sincerely that I cannot form a clear opinion on this question because I recognize that there may be reasons or scruples of conscience or personal convictions that perhaps forbid, to a State of the United Nations, the acceptance of a majority vote on this question of forming a committee which was the purpose of this Special Session of the General Assembly

CHAIRMAN: The representative of Venezuela has addressed a rather important question to the permanent Members of the Security Council, and they may, in due course, wish to reply to this question.

Mr. HAGLOF (Sweden): I take it that this general discussion which we are having is meant to be a preliminary discussion. The Swedish delegation, for which I have the honour to speak, would be very happy to have an opportunity, first of all, to listen carefully to other delegations before we come to a definite opinion on this question which, after all, is the principal question of this special session.

What I can offer today are only remarks of a very general nature. There are, of course, before us, two main questions. The first question concerns the terms of reference, and the second question concerns the constitution or the composition of the special committee. I fully agree with what was said yesterday by more than one representative here, that the first question is, in a way, the most important one. Anyway, that is the first question, and we have to agree on the terms of reference before we can take any final decision on the composition of the special committee.



In the view of the Swedish delegation, the terms of reference should be as wide as possible. The Committee should not be merely a fact finding Committee, but a Committee with the duty of making definite recommendations. This is, as far as I can see, not quite clear from the Argentinian draft resolution, wherein it is stated only that the committee should study the situation in Palestine and give a report to enable the Assembly to consider the question. It seems to me, if I may say so, that the American draft on this point is clear, wherein it is stated that a committee should prepare for the consideration of the Assembly of the future Government of Palestine. Later on this is amplified by stating "...proposals for the solution of the problem of Palestine..." I think it is important that in those terms of reference we should not exclude any possible alternative such as "The Independence of Palestine", "The Cessation of the Mandate," etc.

I wonder, and this is only a suggestion, whether it would not be useful to speak alone of the future Government, but also of the future status of Palestine. All this, of course, may be much clearer when we have also listened to the other parties today. Maybe this point will be clear to us after we have listened to the Jewish Agency, and the Arab Higher Committee.

With regard to the second main problem before us, the problem of the composition of the committee, it is not possible at the present stage to reach any definite decision. The draft resolution presented today by the honourable representative of El Salvador, concerns only, as far as I can see it, the terms of reference. However, the two drafts which we have before us also contain recommendations as to the composition of the special committee. The two drafts give us a very clear-cut choice between two different methods. I am uncertain as to whether or not it is possible in the course of these deliberations to mix the two drafts and to arrive at a compromise between the methods. But, I think, for the sake of argument, it is good that we have two

drafts with two very clear-cut alternatives.

The representative of the United States pointed out yesterday that either method has its advantages and disadvantages. It is clear to me that if the special committee is going to be composed solely of representatives of--I would not like to say neutral countries because neutrality is a term which has very little to do with this matter--but may I say representatives of countries which have no interest of their own in the matter, that in our opinion the work of the committee will be carried <sup>on</sup> more smoothly, and at least from a technical point of view, in a more effective manner. Moreover, a committee of this kind, composed of representatives of, may I say, disinterested States, will be more sheltered from accusations of partiality.

On the other hand, it is clear that there are many questions of high policy involved in the Palestine problem and that whatever solution the special committee will recommend to the Assembly, this solution will require the very material support of the Great Powers. The discussions we have had in this Assembly already have, I think, only confirmed the impression that the Palestine question can be solved within the framework of the United Nations only if the Great Powers are agreed as to the course to be followed.

There are certainly many more arguments, but I will limit myself to say that it seems difficult at the present stage of our deliberations to strike a real balance between the advantages and disadvantages of the two methods. There is, however, one point which seems to me to be of certain great importance. We take it for granted that if we, in this Committee, should finally decide in favour of a committee composed only of representatives of smaller powers, that such a decision would presuppose the Great Powers are agreed in not wishing to participate. I would like to express that in a more positive way. It is only if the Great Powers declare they find it useful and in the interests of the United Nations to abstain from participation, that I think the smaller powers

would have sufficient reasons for taking this difficult task upon themselves.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, the Swedish delegation would like to point out, as I think other representatives have done before them, the necessity of keeping the number of Committee Members as small as possible. We all know, by experience, that it is easier to work within a small body. It seems to us that the Membership should not pass seven, or maybe nine.

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I see/in the Argentinian draft resolution it is stated the committee should transmit its report to the Secretary-General not later than the first of September. I fully agree, and I would like to express the hope that we will be able to fix today, or one of the next few days, the date when the committee should start its work.

Mr. BELT (Peru) (Interpretation from Spanish): In this preliminary debate, the delegation of Peru wishes to express its appreciation to the Republics of Argentina and the United States for the proposals they have submitted for our consideration. The constituting of a special committee of investigation for the Palestine problem is a worthy contribution to the essential work of this special General Assembly. The standard that inspires the constitution of this committee in the proposal of the United States is in agreement with that of my Government, inasmuch as my Government considers that it favours the possibilities of a harmonious, impartial, and constructive task that corresponds to the need--that of investigating the pertinent data and submitting to the next General Assembly proposals for the solution of the Palestine problem. I wish, in this regard, to state that the adjective "neutral" in this case cannot mean indifference, passivity, or lack of interest in relation to this question, which is an obviously universal question. Its importance and urgency has been the cause of our gathering here.



The blood that spills itself today in Palestine is a cause of anguish to us, and we all, in our hearts and on our lips, invoke peace, and invocation that was made so vibrantly and so eloquently by the representative of New Zealand. There cannot then exist that kind of neutrality in today's world, and still less among the Members of the United Nations with regard to a human problem of such significance. We understand, rather, that neutrality in this case means absence of vested interest, prejudice with regard to the question that might compromise or upset the impartiality and spirit of justice which is necessary for the study and investigation and consideration of the solutions to the Palestine problem.

Peru appreciates the mention made of it in the proposal of the United States. We all know, in human affairs, how desirable it is to fulfill honourable and profitable posts, and we understand that a post on the Palestine Commission is a great honour, but also a great responsibility, and it is not one we seek. However, whatever States the Assembly selects, we all have confidence that the Members of the United Nations will not evade or refuse either the duties or the responsibilities that will be entrusted to them. The delegation of Peru wishes, in particular, to express its agreement with the clause of the United States proposal which refers to the functions and powers of the Commission, which it finds well formulated and as ample and wide in scope as necessary for the fulfillment of the great task which has been entrusted to the Commission.

Mr. HENRIQUEZ-URENA (Dominican Republic) (Interpretation from Spanish): The two principal proposals which have been submitted for the consideration of the Committee are at the present moment the most interesting points in our debate. They show great care in their formulation, and great attention in the study of the problems that are being considered. It has been said that it would

be possible to combine them. There is a first question on which they differ, as has been said here already. That is <sup>the</sup> question of the participation of the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council in that Commission of Inquiry. I am in favour of the opinion of the Dominican delegation that effectively the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council could well form part of this Commission, but there is a point as yet unsettled, which is that some, or one of them has expressed the desire not to be on the Commission. In that case, we should either be able to count on the presence of all, or if not, to support the proposal suggested by the United States, which excludes them, and which looks rather towards the essential points, that the constitution of this Commission be limited to a group of nations that are not partial--that is to say, nations, that are impartial in this question.

I agree with many of my colleagues in thinking that the word "neutral" does not have the same meaning as might be given it at other times. I cannot forget, with regard to the concept of neutrality, the clever words of a Pan-American statesman at a time when his country was debating an electoral problem between Conservatives and Liberals. It was said that the neutral party was going to settle the question. This statesman said: "Those whom I know are neutral conservatives and neutral Liberals both." In this case, it is necessary to take into account the concept of impartiality, the concept of not being a party. This means being impartial, and this is what we seek--impartiality--those nations ... because of their interest and conditions--geographical and political--do not have a direct interest in this question. If, in effect, the negative attitude persists amongst the Permanent Members of the Security Council of not forming a part of the Commission, we should favour the formula suggested so correctly by the United States. Within its limits there is a possibility of conciliation with another phase of the question suggested by Argentina--that is,

a more proportional geographical distribution, enlarging perhaps, even if not by a number exceeding two or three, the number of Members that are to constitute this Commission. Instead of seven we could have perhaps nine or ten. This would not change the question substantially, and it would give us the possibility of taking into account a broad geographical distribution which would be more in agreement with the points of view set forth in the Rules of Procedure of the United Nations.

That is to say, there are some regions of the earth that are not taken into account by the brief mention of seven Members. Even in the proportion in which Member States of Europe and of America are represented, it might be taken into account that there is no nation of southern Europe, as there is in America--some from the north and from the south. Therefore, there would perhaps be Members missing from tropical America, namely Central America and the Antilles.

This last part of the question is easily made acceptable by increasing the number of Members of the Commission, which would satisfy the proposal of Argentina and bring it into line with the proposal of the United States.

The proposal just distributed, emanating from the Republic of El Salvador, refers to another important point of the question, that is, the terms of reference of this Commission. It might be thought that if we go on to vote the solution adopted with its basis in the United States proposal, <sup>we</sup> would already have established and settled the problem of the terms of reference, or whether there would be room for enlarging and expatiating on points as here suggested, so as to define better some of the matters that are to be recommended to the Committee.



It seems to me that there would be no obstacle once the United States proposal is approved, with a few corrections as suggested. It would still remain for the Committee to make more definitive and more precise, in a separate proposal rather than an amendment, this question of the terms of reference, because it might well be that some delegations, among them, mine, would consider it interesting to specify these points exactly, and make them concrete in the recommendations made to the Committee.

Therefore, we have, in the El Salvador proposal, a reference to a phase of the question not considered in the speeches made up to now, on the question of consultations and information, questions suggested, for example, by the Indian delegation. They might be cause for certain action which the Committee would have to take. I refer also to other questions made by other delegations, to the Jewish Agency which we have here this morning.

The Swedish delegation has also made some suggestions on the form which it would be well to consider in these terms of reference, the judicial status that might be given to Palestine or to the Government that might be given it. These and other points or phases of the question can perhaps be considered of sufficient importance to be formulated concretely for study.

It seems to me that the only way to reconcile these two procedural questions with regard to the proposal that is to be approved, would be, as I have said, once the United States proposal is approved, with slight corrections, that we should make it possible, in case the Committee should think it necessary, to specify, in an additional proposal, some concrete point which we might think necessary with regard to the terms of reference. All this, besides what has been generally expressed in the first proposal, would then have become resolutions.

That is what I think is pertinent to submit now for the consideration of the Committee.

Mr. PAPENEK (Czechoslovakia): I would like to make a few observations, in this general discussion, only as far as it concerns the composition of the special committee. The delegations of the United Nations propose that a special committee to prepare for the consideration, at the next regular session of the Assembly, how the future government of Palestine should be constituted. In our opinion, the proposals that such a committee should prepare and bring to the General Assembly, should be just. But it is not enough to be just. They must be acceptable, and they must be acceptable, first of all, to those who will be charged with their execution.

It seems to me that in the first place, <sup>the great Powers and</sup> the Mandatory Power will be charged with the execution of the proposals that will emanate from that committee. Therefore, why should they not participate in the preparation of such a proposal? If they are ready to accept a proposal of a committee of disinterested Powers, it seems to me that they should be ready to prepare, or help prepare, a proposal for the next session, themselves. In that way they would facilitate the discussions and decisions of the General Assembly.

The proposal of the United States contains a great thought concerning the decisions of those who do not participate in the conflict or in the problem. This principle is on the basis of the courts of justice in every civilized country. We must not forget that there is behind such a decision of a judge, of a court, an executive state power. Without such a state power which is ready to force the execution, there is no reason to have any decision. Unfortunately, the United Nations have not gone that far. The committee, whatever it will propose, will not have a backing of a power which would force its execution.

The United Nations is based on the principle of agreement, of collaboration, not only among those who do not participate directly in the problem, but of those who are directly participating. The Security Council is based on this

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58-60

principle. There has to be agreement among the great Powers. If we have a committee which will be based on the decision of disinterested Powers, we are endangering, instead of facilitating, the work of the United Nations, and especially of the General Assembly. Yesterday it was stated here that these decisions or discussions in the Security Council--the Peace Conferences were mentioned--do not give us any assurance of such agreement. This was stated also in connection with the Report of the Military Staff Committee. I agree. But even if there is no agreement on every problem, I have to hear as yet that anyone would propose that the peace treaties be concluded without the participation of the great Powers, or perhaps that the military force of the United Nations should be prepared and created without the participation of the great Powers.



That is why we feel that although the committee should be a very small one, those who will be called on to carry out the decisions should help to prepare the decisions. Therefore, I agree with the first part of the proposal of the representative of Argentina. Unfortunately, I could not agree with the second part of it, which leaves the composition of the committee to mere chance. If we leave it that way, it could happen that, next to the five Great Powers -- if we agree on that -- we could have four other Members of the British Commonwealth. I do not think that the United Kingdom Government had this in mind when they proposed that this special session of the Assembly should be called, but we must not leave this important decision to mere chance. We must take decisions and we must take responsibilities for these decisions.

Sir Alexander CADOGAN (United Kingdom) I asked your leave to speak at this stage only in order to answer the question put by the honourable representative of Venezuela.

He asked whether my Government would, amongst the permanent Members of the Council, refuse to serve on the investigating committee. My answer is that my Government is as good a Member of the United Nations as any other, and if this Assembly decided to request us to serve on the committee, we should not, of course, refuse to accede to that request. But having said that, I should like to remind the Committee of a short intervention I made the other day on this subject.

Apart from objections which we see to the inclusion in the investigating committee of the permanent Members of the Security Council, I would ask the Committee to remember that my Government are in rather a particular position. They would find themselves, if they were members of that committee, at times in the witness stand, and then after that, a moment or two later, would resume their seats with the jury. It is a principle, of course, that we have always -- and

I think everybody has -- upheld, that no man should be judged in his own cause, and I think we should be put in a somewhat embarrassing and difficult position.

I should like to make short reference to observations that have been made regarding the inclusion of the permanent Members in the investigating committee. It has been said that it is unreasonable to exclude from the investigating committee those powers who will bear the greatest responsibility in carrying out any decisions or recommendations. I would point out that the investigating committee is not a final body; it is merely preparing the case for ultimate decision. That decision must rest with the Assembly, including all the Members of the United Nations, who will all have to take their share in carrying out the decisions of the Assembly.

Mr. AUSTIN (United States): I was asked to answer a question, and I should like to associate my answer with the response of the representative of the United Kingdom, both of us having been inquired of at the same time by the distinguished representative of Venezuela.

CHAIRMAN: I think the Committee would be glad to hear the reply of the United States representative to that question before we adjourn for lunch.

Mr. AUSTIN (United States): This will be very brief.

The purpose of our position in this matter is to expedite a report presenting all substantial claims and all probative facts; that is, to hasten it, to get it back to the Assembly in time for the meeting in September. Our fear is that opposing views and debate among the permanent Members -- if they were on that special committee -- over details, would cause delay by the intrusion of other interests which are perfectly obvious here. Everybody knows about them. They are constantly arising on mere details.

It would be better to have the permanent Members of the Security Council, who will participate in the ultimate decision, reserve the presentation of their

views until after a special committee has settled details and has reported facts. We believe that they will be reported impartially by any committee, but the probability of arriving at an impartial decision is greatly enhanced by starting off right and by having that committee set up as nearly free<sup>as possible</sup>/from these strong adverse interests that we constantly run into when the permanent Members participate in the decision and in the debate leading up to it.

We recognize our responsibility. We will face it. And it will come at the right time, and that is after this preliminary investigation and the reporting of the facts. The permanent Members should not be divided here and the theory of the unanimity of the permanent Members and their responsibility avoided and disintegrated in this case. We think it would be unwise to deviate from the policy and the principles of the Charter by having any one of the permanent Members on this special committee unless all of them are on that committee.

The position of the United Kingdom is understood by all of us. We respect it. They are trying to adhere to that attitude of impartiality and of not sitting on both sides of the same table at the same time. We think that an unbalanced arrangement of permanent Members, with the special obligations which they have under the Charter, would not be wise in this case any more than in any other case. All or none seems to us such an advisable arrangement that the United States adheres to the idea of a special committee which excludes the permanent Members.

The United States will not now -- and I hope will never -- take an attitude of intransigence and of refusing to co-operate. I am sure the committee understands that that is our attitude. Nevertheless, it does hope that the First Committee will find it possible, as the distinguished representative of the Argentine has done, to give considerate regard to the strong conviction expressed by the United States that none of the permanent Members ought to be appointed to the special committee.



5/8/47

TEXT OF STATEMENT BY DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER,  
CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE EXECUTIVE OF  
THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

*Ben Simon - Chairman*

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the United Nations:

Permit me at the outset to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this Committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you in the matter of constituting and instructing a special committee of this body which is to study the problem of Palestine and which is to bring in recommendations for the future of that country. We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just 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 and all of its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace; but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which, heretofore and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made presumably within the terms of a mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes. The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the war, been conducted by the mandatory power as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine, whereas it had assumed to administer that country of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the Mandate which clearly defined its rights and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people, and this fact, I take it, motivated ~~our friends~~ in the Assembly of the United Nations to ~~use that~~ <sup>extend</sup> an invitation ~~be extended~~ to the Jewish Agency to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their goodwill and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency, you will recall, is recognized in the Mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home. It is the only recognized public body in the Mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote Article 4, "for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country." Under Article 6 the Jewish Agency is entitled further to cooperate with the Administration in permitting close settlement by the Jews on the land; and by Article 11 it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish Agency, whom we have the honor to represent, speaks, therefore, not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish National Home. It speaks for the Jewish people of the world who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged, by the same Article 4 of the Mandate, "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

I have spoken of the Jewish people and the Jewish National Home. In defining the terms of reference for the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint and in all their future investigations, these should be regarded as key terms  
and

basic concepts. They were the key terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today. To proceed without relation to them would be to detour into a political wilderness so far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, will only contribute to confusion. The Balfour Declaration which was issued in behalf of His Majesty's Government as "a declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations", declares that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The Mandate, in its preamble, recognizes "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country." These international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and of present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history. Certainly the United Nations, guided by its great principle proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained", can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law. Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and, therefore, especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is Article 80 of that Chapter which reads "except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements made under Articles 77, 79 and 81 placing each territory under the trusteeship system and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in and of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples of the terms of existing international instruments to which members of the United Nations



may respectively be parties."

It is the perspective of your Committee of Inquiry on the entire problem which will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance if it will keep the proper perspective always in view. A generation ago the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people shall be given the right long denied and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. This national home is still in the making. It has not yet been fully established. No international community has cancelled, or even questioned, that right. The Mandatory Government which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish National Home has unfortunately in recent years grievously interfered and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish National Home be an accomplished fact? The answer to this question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937. "There could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty . . . On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them . . . and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

The answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at that time, who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil and many others. American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish National Home. Thus, President Wilson on March 3, 1919 stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." That the Government of the United States does not now consider the Jewish National Home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn-Saud of Saudi Arabia, dated October 29, 1946. "The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish National Home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations. The United States, which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of, or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these peoples should be prepared for self-government and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine. I am happy to note that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish National Home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

It should, of course, be clear, and I regret that statements made by certain delegates in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear, that when we speak of a Jewish state we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights

for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race, and without domination or subjugation.

What we have in mind by the Jewish State is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labor Party in 1945, now represented by the present Government of Great Britain which requested this special session of the United Nations. "Here we halted half-way, irresolutely, between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now."

When your Committee of Inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor, -- the international obligation to insure the uninterrupted development of the Jewish National Home -- should be kept constantly in mind.

I believe that it would be extremely helpful to the Committee of Inquiry if the Mandatory Government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine Mandate to it, rather than wait for the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the Committee in thinking through the problem and in arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine. It is illogical, I fear, to ask of the Committee of Inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the Committee of Inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement.



In Palestine they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting their national home after the long, weary centuries of their homelessness, and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in the few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable physical handicaps. The task was enormous -- untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor -- neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, not only to the Jews of Palestine, but to the Arabs and other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove of benefit, not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors, was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was ~~the~~<sup>the</sup> great leader of the Arab peoples at the Peace Conference following the first World War. On March 3, 1919, he wrote: "We Arabs.....look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, insofar as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home....I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

They will conclude, we are confident, that, if allowed to develop uninterruptedly, the standards of life which are being developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific methods will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East with which the

destinies of the Jewish National Home are naturally bound up.

The Committee of Inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many important projects, which will result in great economic and social improvement not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

The Committee of Inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real -- the fundamental -- causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came, not with weapons, but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children, is being driven to a pitch of resentment and tension, lamentably driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore. They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees, men and women and children, who have been through the hells of Nazi Europe, are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish National Home by a Mandatory Government which assumed as its prime obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country. They will also investigate, I hope, how the Mandatory Government is carrying out another of its obligations which is to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land, when in actual practice it is severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 6% of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish National Home, discriminatory racial laws which the Mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemn.

By way of digression, let it be said, if it need be said at all, that we are not engaged nor shall we be engaged in any criticism or condemnation of the people of Great Britain. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we

have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization. We shall never forget that it was Great Britain which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the Displaced Persons' camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two years -- it is exactly two years today since V-E Day -- after the close of a war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer. While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while inter-governmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow, perhaps tomorrow, redemption may come, that keeps their spirits from breaking utterly. Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish National Home. I hope that the conscience of mankind, speaking through you and through your Committee of Inquiry, will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the Committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine. There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem which brooks no delay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status



which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed, will not only be a boon to these suffering human beings, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness, and will enable the deliberations of your Committee of Inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the Mandatory Government.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that I have not abused your patience and the patience of the delegates of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation: the Jewish people place <sup>e</sup> great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness, and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people and though we have often, on the long hard road which we have travelled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles. In these tragic years when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have builded what we did build had we not preserved our unshakeable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

<sup>the Jewish people</sup>  
~~We~~ belong in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your Allies in the war and joined their <sup>sacrifices</sup> ~~strength~~ to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst — the representatives of a people and a land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values, inspiring human personalities, and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions. We hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient home land, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

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**THE JEWISH AGENCY  
BEFORE  
THE UNITED NATIONS**

**MAY, 1947**

**Statements by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
Moshe Shertok, David Ben-Gurion**

*At the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to the Palestine question, representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine appeared before the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee. This pamphlet contains the text of their representations. These are:*

**The statement made by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, head of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine—May 8, 1947**

**Replies to the questions asked Dr. Silver, given by Moshe Shertok, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency—May 12, 1947**

**Supplementary statement made by David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency—May 12, 1947**

## Statement made for the Jewish Agency by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

*May 8, 1947*

**M**r. Chairman and Delegates to the United Nations:

I should like to say at the outset that were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of the deliberations he will have an opportunity to participate here.

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this Committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you 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 that country. We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just 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 and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace; but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which, heretofore and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made presumably within the terms of a mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes. The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the war, been conducted by the mandatory power as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine, whereas it had assumed to administer that country of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the Mandate which clearly defined its rights and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people, and that fact, I take it, motivated the General Assembly of the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish Agency of Palestine to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their goodwill and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency, you will recall, is recognized in the Mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home. It is the only recognized public body in the Mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote Article 4, "for



the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country." Under Article 6 the Jewish Agency is entitled further to cooperate with the administration in encouraging "close settlement by the Jews on the land"; and by Article 11 it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish Agency, which we have the honor to represent, therefore speaks, not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish National Home. It speaks also for the Jewish people of the world who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged, by the same Article 4 of the Mandate, "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

**I** HAVE spoken of "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish National Home." In defining the terms of reference of the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint and in all the committee's future investigations, these in my judgment should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today. To proceed without relation to them would be to detour into a political wilderness so far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, will only contribute to confusion. The Balfour Declaration which was issued by His Majesty's Government as "a declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations", declares: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The Mandate, in its preamble, recognizes "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and "the grounds for reconstituting"—I call your attention to the word "reconstituting"—"their national home in that country."

These international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and of present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history. Certainly the United Nations, guided by its great principle proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained", can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law. Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and which is, therefore, especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is Article 80 of the Charter which reads:

except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements made under Articles 77, 79 and 81 placing each territory under the trusteeship system and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

It is the perspective of your Committee of Inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment, will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance if it will keep the proper perspective always in view. A generation ago the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people shall be given the right long denied and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making. It has not yet been fully established. No international community has cancelled, or even questioned, that right. The Mandatory Power which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish National Home has unfortunately in recent years grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish National Home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

There could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty . . . On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them . . . and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing.

The same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at that time, who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil and by many others. American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish National Home. Thus, President Wilson on March 3, 1919 stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." That the Government of the United States does not consider the Jewish National Home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of

President Truman to King Ibn-Saud of Saudi Arabia, dated October 29, 1946.  
He wrote:

The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of a Jewish National Home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations. The United States, which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of, or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these peoples should be prepared for self-government and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine. I am happy to note that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish National Home, however, *has not as yet been fully developed.*

**I**T SHOULD, of course, be clear,—and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear,—that when we speak of a Jewish State we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race, and without domination or subjugation.

What we have in mind by the Jewish State is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted in 1945 by the British Labor Party—now represented by the present Government of The United Kingdom—which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

Here we halted half-way, irresolutely, between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now.

When your Committee of Inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor—the international obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish National Home—should be kept, in our judgment, constantly in mind.

I believe that it would be extremely helpful to the Committee of Inquiry if the Mandatory Government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine Mandate to it, rather than wait for the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the Committee in thinking through the problem and in arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine. It is illogical, I fear, to ask of the Committee of Inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the Committee of Inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more instructive are the living



documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement. In Palestine they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting their national home after the long, weary centuries of their homelessness, and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable physical handicaps. The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor—neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine, but to the Arabs and other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove a blessing, not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors, was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was a great leader of the Arab peoples at the Peace Conference following the first World War. On March 3, 1919, he wrote:

We Arabs . . . look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, insofar as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. . . . I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world.

**Y**OUR Committee of Inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that, if allowed to develop uninterruptedly, the standards of life which are being developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific methods will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East with which Palestine and the destinies of the Jewish National Home are naturally bound up.

Your Committee of Inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects, which will result in great economic and social improvement not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

The Committee of Inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real—the fundamental—causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came not with weapons, but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children, is being driven to a pitch of resentment and tension and lamentably driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore. They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees,

men and women and children, who have been through all the hells of Nazi Europe, are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish National Home by a Mandatory Government which assumed as its prime obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country. They will also investigate, I hope, how the Mandatory Government is carrying out another of its obligations which is to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land, when in actual practice it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 6 per cent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish National Home, discriminatory racial laws which the Mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

By way of digression, let it be said, if it need be said at all, that we are not engaged nor shall we be engaged in any criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization. We shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the Displaced Persons' camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two years—it is exactly two years today since V-E Day—after the close of a war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer. While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while inter-governmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—redemption may come, that keeps their spirits from breaking utterly.

Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish National Home. I hope that the conscience of mankind, speaking through you and through your Committee of Inquiry, will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the Committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no delay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed, will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness, and will enable the deliberations of your Committee of Inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit,

in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can be made only by the Mandatory Government.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that I have not abused your patience and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation: The Jewish people places great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness, and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people and though we have often, on the long hard road which we have travelled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles. In these last tragic years when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have builded what we did build had we not preserved our unshakeable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your Allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst—the representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values, inspiring human personalities, and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions. We hope that that people, now again rebuilding its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

**At the close of Dr. Silver's statement the following questions were put to him by delegates and he was asked to prepare a reply for a later meeting:**

*Asaf Ali, INDIA:*

What was the number of Jews from outside Palestine in 1900, again in 1930, and finally in 1939 when the White Paper of 1939 was issued by the British Government?

My next question would be whether Dr. Silver recognizes the fact that there is a very clear distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish National Home, which is mentioned in the Mandate. Does he also recognize the fact that even the statement, to which he made a reference, which was made by the representative of the liberal government—of the Labor party—referred not to a Jewish state but to a Jewish National Home?

My third question is concerned with Dr. Silver's reference to European Jewry. Will he be so kind as to provide us with some idea of the age of the various com-



munities of national Jewry living in Europe, who would now like to go back to the National Home; how long have they lived in Europe; and are they easily assimilable in Palestine?

My fourth question is as follows: He has made a statement to the effect that at Paris in 1919 an extremely conciliatory statement was made by a great Arab leader who welcomed the Jews to Palestine. Is there any reason why the Arabs are resisting immigration now?

My fifth question relates to the refugees from Nazi oppression. The Nazi Government in Europe has been completely suppressed and Nazi Germany is now under the control of the Security Council, or, at any rate, the United Nations. If that is so, is there any reason why these refugees cannot be resettled in their natural German home, where they speak the language of the country and where they find themselves far more easily assimilable?

My sixth and last question would be about the conditions which are currently prevailing in Palestine. It is very gratifying to learn that Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency, has recognized the noble role which the people of the United Kingdom have played in recognizing the urgency of the Jewish problem. May I know why public servants of the Government of the United Kingdom, who are doing their duty under extremely difficult circumstances, are being picked off today by violence?

*Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, POLAND:*

First of all, whom does the Jewish Agency represent, how many organizations; how is the executive committee established and organized and how does it work?

The second question: Have there been any attempts at collaboration between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine?

*Dr. A. Gonzales Fernandez, COLOMBIA:*

I should like to ask Dr. Silver, not as an element of final judgment for us, but simply as an element of illustration, what the views of the Jewish Agency for Palestine are regarding the composition of the investigating committee.

*H. T. Andrews, SOUTH AFRICA:*

I would only ask one question and that has relation to the terms of reference which we may be giving this committee of inquiry. Dr. Silver has referred to the homeless Jews in Europe. If he would be so kind as to help me clarify my own mind, he said that the committee of inquiry should look into the condition of the homeless Jews in Europe. I would ask him, does he mean that the committee of inquiry should look into the situation as a whole or only in relation to the question of continuing immigration into Palestine?

## Replies by Moshe Shertok to the Questions Asked after Dr. Silver's Statement

*May 12, 1947*

**I** AM HERE to reply to the questions which were put to Dr. Silver after the conclusion of his address to the Committee. In so doing, I hope I may be permitted also to clear up some of the underlying issues, in order to bring out the meaning of my replies a little more clearly.

I would begin with a question asked by the representative of Poland as to the organization, composition and functions of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. In the Mandate, it was the Zionist Organization which was recognized as the Jewish Agency, with powers to advise and cooperate with the mandatory administration in matters concerning the Jewish National Home and to take part in the country's development.

At that time, the World Zionist Organization, founded fifty years ago, was already twenty-five years old. Subsequently, certain non-Zionist groups joined in forming an enlarged Jewish Agency, but the Zionist Organization has remained the main driving force. The World Zionist Organization has today local organizations in more than sixty countries—with a few exceptions, in every country where Jews live.

Within the Zionist movement, as in any democratically organized society, there are parties: the Labor party and other labor groups, the Center or General Zionists, the Mizrachi or the orthodox religious Zionists, and the Revisionists. This party division is reflected in our Congresses, which are held once in every two years after a general election in all countries. The Congress elects our executive. The present executive was elected by the 360 delegates to the Twenty-second Zionist Congress in Basle last December, who, in turn, were elected by nearly two million Zionist voters throughout the world. The executive has headquarters in Jerusalem and branches with resident members in New York, London and Paris.

Two things must be stressed. First, the Agency is the spokesman, not merely of Jews already settled in Palestine, but of all Jews throughout the world who are devoted to the idea of the Jewish National Home. The entire Jewish people, I might say, hold the Jewish Agency responsible for the success of that great enterprise. Secondly, the Agency is not merely an organ of national representation, but an instrument of nation-building, an institution of immigration, development and settlement. It mobilizes the energies and resources of our people for national reconstruction, and in Palestine it directs large-scale practical development work.

It has been responsible for bringing hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine and settling them there. It has carried out an extensive program of settlement on the land. It has stimulated major industrial development. It has supplied guidance and coordination to the vast volume of free initiative and

enterprise in the work of Jewish settlement. Our Jerusalem headquarters is divided into departments: political, financial, immigration, agricultural settlement, trade and industry, labor, etc.

During the war, the Jewish Agency acted, in a way, as a recruiting authority. It mobilized the Jewish war effort in Palestine in the cause of the United Nations. It supplied 33,000 volunteers for armed service within the British forces. They defended Palestine, served in most middle eastern countries and fought in the campaigns of Africa and Europe. All industrial, technical and scientific resources of Jewish Palestine were harnessed to the war effort.

SO MUCH for the Jewish Agency as such. Politically, its primary function has been to uphold and defend Jewish rights under the Mandate. Immigration is the crux of the problem and several of the questions put to Dr. Silver bear on that issue. In answering these questions, I must make one basic point clear by way of background.

If it is granted that the Jewish people are in Palestine as of right, then all the implications and corollaries of that premise must be accepted. The foremost is that Jews must be allowed to resettle in Palestine in unlimited numbers, provided only they do not displace or worsen the lot of the existing inhabitants who are also there as of right. If that basic premise is not granted, then there is very little to discuss.

It may sound quite plausible to argue that if the right of the Jews to return to Palestine is admitted on the grounds of ancient history, then the whole map of the world would have to be remade and chaos would ensue. But does the question really arise? Do the descendants of the Romans, for example, claim entry into England? Do they need England? Does their future, their very existence, depend on settling there? Or do the Arabs, for that matter, press to return to Andalusia in Spain? Is it a matter of life and death for them? The analogy is fallacious and misleading.

The great historic phenomenon of the Jewish return to Palestine is unique because the position of the Jewish people as a homeless people, and yet attached with an unbreakable tenacity to its birthplace, is unique. It is that phenomenon that has made the problem of Palestine an issue in international affairs, and no similar issue has ever arisen.

Were it not for the presence in Palestine today of over 600,000 Jews who refuse to be left in the minority position under Arab domination; were it not for the urge to settle in Palestine, of hundreds of thousands of homeless and uprooted Jews in Europe, in the Orient, and elsewhere; were it not for the hopes and efforts of millions of Jews throughout the world to re-establish their national home and build it up into a Jewish state, then the world would not be faced with the problem of Palestine as it is now. The problem is real and pressing. It cannot be made to disappear by conjuring up non-existent difficulties alleged to be involved in its solution.

WHEN the distinguished representative from India asks how many Jews from outside there were in Palestine at certain dates—the operating words being “from outside”—I must confess I am somewhat baffled. I can give him the round



figures for the Jewish population in those years—50,000 in 1900, 165,000 in 1930, 475,000 in 1939. Now it is about 630,000. Incidentally, there are more Jews in Palestine today than there were Arabs at the end of the first World War. But as to "Jews from outside," I cannot say. In a way, they are all from outside; they are practically all immigrants.

There was but a tiny Jewish community in Palestine prior to 1880. In the early 1880's, the return started, almost simultaneously from Russia and Rumania, from Morocco and southern Arabia, and since then it has been practically continuous. It started because the Jews had always believed it to be their inalienable right to resettle Palestine. That right was subsequently internationally recognized and enshrined in the Mandate. But quite apart from the Mandate, nothing will eradicate, from the hearts of Jews, the conviction that it is their right to return. So in that deeper sense, they are not from outside at all but sons of the country.

By the way, my Arab countrymen make much of the fact that Palestine has already taken in so many immigrants. These immigrants, they said, were received by the Arabs. We are very sorry, but we cannot concede them that credit. Conversely, they say that the Jews have settled in Palestine at the expense of the Arabs. That debit item, too, we cannot admit. There has been no receiving of Jewish immigrants by Arabs nor any settlement of Jews at the expense of the Arabs.

The Jews did not come as guests of anyone. They came in their own right. They received themselves and their brothers; and they did so by their own efforts and at the expense of no one else. Every acre of land we tilled was bought and had to be wrested from wilderness and desolation. Nothing was taken away—not one house, not one job. A tremendous amount of work, wealth and well-being was presented to the Arab population.

**T**HE honorable representative from India also asked what was the age of the Jewish communities in Europe; and whether, since the Hitler regime had been crushed, the Jewish displaced persons would not be better advised to stay in Germany.

As to the age of European Jewry, it is on the whole quite venerable, but age has not made for security. Three-quarters of that Jewry—6,000,000 people—are no more. But let us go back into the past. Jews had lived in Spain for a whole millennium when, in 1492, they were despoiled and expelled, and only those who gave up their Jewish identity and became Christians were allowed to remain. Jews have lived in Poland since the eleventh or twelfth century, but in the seventeenth they were the victims of ferocious massacres. Then there were pogroms under the Russian Czars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and in the last war, as we have just heard, came the final catastrophe. Nearly all of Polish Jewry—3,000,000 men, women and children—were wiped out by the Nazis.

In Germany, the beginnings of Jewish settlement are traced back to the fourth century. But just six centuries ago, most of the Jews in Germany were destroyed in a wave of frenzied persecution which swept Europe. Then, by the twentieth century, German Jews had reached the pinnacle of emancipation and were largely assimilated. Yet they were hurled down into the abyss of degradation and death. Even converts to Christianity were not spared.

It is true that Hitler is gone now, but not anti-Semitism. He was the product, not the source, of German Jew-hatred. Anti-Semitism in Germany and in many other parts of Europe is as rife as ever and potentially militant and fierce. Some Governments tried their best to keep it down, but they have a very hard job in doing so. The very age of European Jewry serves only to accentuate the basic historic insecurity of Jewish life in the dispersion.

**T**HE honorable representative of India has also asked whether the Jewish displaced persons would be assimilable in Palestine. The answer is yes. They would be perfectly assimilable in the Jewish community there—the one Jewish community in the world with a self-contained economic system and an independent cultural life which is eager and able to recover and absorb them. He asked whether they would not be better assimilable in Germany. The answer is no. You cannot settle in a graveyard, nor can you build a dwelling out of heaps of rubble.

Actually, most of the Jewish displaced persons are not from Germany itself, but from other countries. They are today in camps, or they otherwise continue as refugees because they cannot be resettled in Europe. They have now waited for two years, and in all this time no one has come forward with a solution to their problem. The clear recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee have remained on paper and, to them, they have proved a mockery.

No one has offered an alternative to Palestine. But even if there were an alternative, they refused to be treated as mere chattels. They appeal to the world to realize that they form part of a people which has a national will of its own. They want to go to the only country where they will feel at home, both individually and collectively. Their problem is inseparable from the problem of Palestine. It is the problem of Palestine.

To treat the issue of Palestine in isolation from the immigration issue would make as much sense as to study the beating of a heart in disregard of blood circulation. A solution for the problem of Palestine which would ignore the Jewish claim and the need for immigration would solve nothing. Whoever undertook to implement such a solution would be driven back by the sheer impact of reality to face the problem of immigration.

**I** MAY perhaps interpose here an answer to the question put by the honorable representative of the Union of South Africa. He asked whether we wanted the question of the DP's in Europe examined solely in connection with Palestine, or in its general aspect. Our answer is that we believe that only in Palestine can the problem of these people be permanently and constructively solved, for only there can their lives be rebuilt on secure foundations and their homes become part of the home of the entire people.

The immigration issue is not confined to that of the Jewish displaced persons and unsettled refugees in Europe. Various Jewish communities in Europe are involved, as well as the Jews of the Arab and Oriental countries. With regard to these, members of the United Nations have heard during the present session idyllic accounts of the conditions of complete equality and true brotherhood under which they live. The Jewish Agency is naturally very intimately acquainted with the position, and the picture as we know it is totally different.

In most of these countries Jews are treated as second or third-rate citizens. They live in perpetual fear of eruptions of fierce fanaticism, of which there have been tragic examples both in recent years and in the more remote past. Their lot ranges from precarious sufferance to active persecution. All formal statements under duress notwithstanding, their hopes and dreams are centered on Zion, and their youth has no other ideal but to join its builders.

We very strongly urge that the position of these communities should form part of the committee's investigations. But the most urgent problem is, of course, that of the displaced persons in Europe who are now on the brink of despair.

**T**HE present political crisis in Palestine is nothing but a clash between the dire needs of Jewish immigration and the current anti-immigration policy of the mandatory power. We were asked by the representative of India why public servants of the British Government in Palestine are today the victims of terrorist activity. The answer is because the White Paper of 1939 is still in force. Terrorism is a pernicious outgrowth of a disastrous policy.

The Jewish Agency has unreservedly condemned terrorist bloodshed, and in that attitude it is supported by the large majority of the organized Jewish community. Its harm to the Jews and to the Jewish future is far graver than to the Government and people of the United Kingdom. But Jewish efforts to resist and check terrorism are continually frustrated because Government action, in pursuance of the White Paper, adds fuel to the fire. Our efforts will continue, but the representative of India will no doubt agree that Palestine is not the only country which has been afflicted with this most hateful disease.

**A**NOTHER question was why, in contradiction to the Emir Feisal's attitude, the Palestine Arabs were now opposed to Jewish immigration. Since that question was put, we have heard a very able exposition of the Palestine-Arab case which fully covered the point. All I would add is that the uncompromising opposition to immigration now voiced does not invalidate the broader conception and bolder vision expressed in the Feisal-Weizmann agreement, which indicated a way of harmonizing Jewish and Arab aspirations within a wider framework, fully taking into account the independence then promised and now achieved by the Arabs in vast territories.

While I am on the point of promises, may I be permitted to recall that Sir Henry McMahon (British High Commissioner in Egypt during World War I) himself stated that Palestine was never included in the promises made by him to the Arabs, and that this was well understood at the time by the late King Hussein; also that Trans-Jordan, which was originally included in the Balfour Declaration, is today an Arab state.

**F**INALLY, the distinguished representative of India asked whether we recognized the distinction between a Jewish State and a Jewish National Home. The answer is that we do, but perhaps not quite in the sense in which the question was meant. The establishment of the Jewish National Home is a process. The setting up of a Jewish State is its consummation. That such consummation had been intended by the authors of the Jewish National Home policy and that a way was definitely left open for its achievement was conclusively proved by the



Palestine Royal Commission. The point was fully understood by those responsible for the 1944 Statement on Palestine of the British Labor Party executive.

The Indian representative drew attention to the use in that statement of the term "Jewish National Home" and not "Jewish State." But may I recall the words of Mr. Hugh Dalton, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when reporting on that statement of the executive to the Labor Party Conference. He urged common support, in consultation with the United States and Soviet Governments—and now I quote—"for a policy which will give us a happy, free, and prosperous Jewish State in Palestine." That was only two years ago.

The matter has a most vital bearing on the question of Palestine's independence. Unlike other mandates of Category A, the declared object of which was to prepare the country for independence, the Palestine Mandate has no such clause. Its primary purpose, in the words of the Royal Commission, is the establishment of the Jewish National Home. But, of course, the ultimate goal must be independence and the Mandate must be terminated.

So if, upon the termination of the Palestine Mandate, its original purpose is to be fulfilled, if the future of the Jewish National Home is to be permanently secured, if the national interest of the Jewish people is to be harmonized with other interests and not sacrificed for their sake, then a Jewish State must come into being. A home, in the words of a British statesman, in the debate on the White Paper for Palestine, is a place to which one is always free to come back. How is the National Home to fulfill its primary functions of being open to Jews in need of it, if it is to remain forever subjected to non-Jewish sovereignty?

An Arab minority in a Jewish State will be secure, if for no other reason, because the State will forever remain surrounded by Arab countries with which it will be most vitally interested to be at peace; also because there will always be Jewish minorities in other lands.

But a Jewish minority in an Arab State will have no such security at all. It will be at the mercy of the Arab majority, which would be free from all restraints. To provide boldly, if I may put it that way, for the independence of Palestine as a country, without placing an equal emphasis on safeguarding the independence of the Jews as a people, is to tear the problem out of its real context and load the dice heavily against the Jews. The whole issue is likely to be vitiated in advance by such an approach.

**T**HE question of our living with the Arab peoples and the relationship of a Jewish State with them is, of course, the dominant question of the future. The distinguished representative of Poland has asked, in his second question, whether there have been attempts at collaboration between Jews and Arabs. The answer is, yes, there have been, on both sides. Arabs and Jews have cooperated and are cooperating successfully in the wide and varied fields of municipal, commercial and labor affairs.

Arabic is taught in all Jewish secondary schools and in a large number of primary schools. The Jewish Agency is particularly active in spreading knowledge of Arabic in the Jewish settlements and promoting friendly relations between them and their Arab neighbors. From personal observation and direct experience

accumulated over a period of forty-one years' residence in Palestine, I can affirm that there is nothing inherent in the nature of either the native Arab or the immigrant Jew which prevents friendly cooperation. On the contrary, considering the admitted great difference of background, they mix remarkably well.

By mixing I do not mean assimilation, for the Jew does not come to Palestine to assimilate to the Arab, but to develop his own distinctive individuality. Nor does he expect the Arab to assimilate to himself. What I mean is cooperation between a self-respecting Jew and a self-respecting Arab, and between the two communities.

Today the issue is overshadowed and practical cooperation is hampered by the political conflict over the country's future. The present official leaders of the Arab states, having achieved practically all they wanted with so little sacrifice, refuse to admit the legitimacy of the national aspirations of another people. At the head of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine stands a man who, apart from other well-known aspects of his activity, was directly involved during the war in the Nazi policy of extermination of the European Jews.

Nevertheless, the Jews do not lose heart. They come to Palestine not to fight the Arab world, but to live at peace with it. They are not an outpost of any foreign domination. Their ambition is to integrate themselves into the modern structure of reviving Asia. They are an old Asiatic people returning to their home. At the same time, they are anxious to make their contribution to the great work of bridge-building between modern Asia and the rest of the world.

Their intense experience in development within the narrow confines of Palestine is yielding results which may be of value to all who are interested in social and economic progress in the Middle East and beyond. But their true partnership with their neighbors can only be based upon equality of status and mutual respect. They claim what is the natural right of any people on the face of the earth—that as many of them as possible should live together in their own country, freely develop their civilization, make their contribution to the common stock of humanity, and be self-governing and independent. They cannot possibly surrender that claim, and for its attainment they appeal for the assistance of the entire family of nations.

**I**N CONCLUSION, may I answer the question of the distinguished delegate from Colombia on our views regarding the composition of the special committee. We would not differentiate between big and small powers, nor would we suggest the exclusion of any Government merely because it happens to have or may develop a policy on Palestine. Having a policy does not necessarily mean being directly concerned as an interested party. But we believe that parties directly concerned should not serve on the committee. That should exclude the United Kingdom, for reasons put, if I may say so, with unanswerable cogency by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom himself. We would also definitely exclude the Arab states, unless it were agreed that the committee should contain one Arab and one Jewish member.

## Supplementary Statement by David Ben-Gurion

*May 12, 1947*

**I** AM GRATEFUL for the opportunity afforded to me to make a few supplementary remarks to the statement made by my colleague, Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

First of all, I would like to try to clarify further the nature of the problem which the mandatory power has placed before the United Nations, as this is essential for defining properly the terms of reference of the special committee. Last Friday, the representative of the United Kingdom, on behalf of his Government, declared that they tried for years to settle the problem of Palestine and had failed. They have, therefore, brought the problem to you in the hope that the United Nations would find a just solution.

This statement is open to misunderstanding. The mandatory power was not charged with discovering a solution to the Palestine problem and its failure was not in its inability to find the right solution. The mandatory power was charged by the League of Nations with the carrying out of a definite settlement. That settlement was set out and determined originally by the United Kingdom herself and subsequently confirmed by all the Allied and Associated Powers in the first World War, as well as by the Arabs through Emir Feisal and the Syrian Arab Committee. It was later embodied in the Mandate approved by fifty-two nations and made international law.

The terms of that settlement, as decreed by the conscience and the law of nations, are common knowledge. It is the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people.

At the time the United Kingdom took over the Mandate, the problem of Palestine had been clearly adjudicated and settled. The failure of the Mandatory Government, as admitted by the British representative, was a failure to carry out the settlement agreed upon and entrusted to it by the nations of the world. The failure became manifest with the introduction of a policy set forth in the White Paper of 1939, which violated the most essential terms of the Mandate and vitiated its entire purpose.

The White Paper policy, as you know, was condemned by the permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as incompatible with the Mandate and with the pledges repeatedly given by the Mandatory Government itself. It was also denounced by the most eminent political leaders of the United Kingdom itself, including all the prominent members of the present Government of the United Kingdom, as a breach of faith. Only recently, the White Paper was again unanimously condemned by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The White Paper policy is responsible for the misery and deaths of a large number of Jews and for cruel acts of expulsion of Jewish refugees.



It is responsible for establishing in Palestine a police state without parallel in the civilized world. It is responsible for the introduction in Palestine of racial discrimination against Jews in land legislation. This is the real nature of the failure of the mandatory power.

Therefore, I venture to suggest that the first problem facing the United Nations is how to set right that failure and to ensure that international obligations toward the Jewish population in Palestine are faithfully fulfilled.

**T**HE second point to which I would like to invite the attention of your committee is the fact that in Palestine you are faced not merely with a large and growing number of Jews, but with a distinct Jewish nation. There are Jews and Jewish communities in many countries, but in Palestine there is a new and unique phenomenon—a Jewish nation, with all the attributes, characteristic resources and aspirations of nationhood. This nationhood springs from a long history and an uninterrupted connection for 3,500 years with its ancestral soil.

Palestine, which for the Jewish people has always been and will always remain the Land of Israel, was in the course of centuries conquered and invaded by many alien peoples, but none of them ever identified its national fate with Palestine. The Jewish nation in Palestine is rooted not only in past history but in a great living work of reconstruction and rebuilding, both of a country and of a people.

The growth of this nation and its work of reconstruction must not and cannot be arrested—and this, for two reasons. One is the existence of large numbers of homeless Jews for whom there is no other salvation in the future except in their own national home. The second is that more than two-thirds of the land in Palestine is still waste land, uncultivated, unsettled and believed by the Arabs to be uncultivable. The history of our settlement in the last seventy years has shown that this land can be and is being cultivated by us.

This is not because we are more skilled or more capable than others, but because this is the only soil in the world which we call our own. We are not, like our Arab neighbors, in possession of vast underpopulated territories, like Iraq, Syria, Arabia, etc. We must therefore make use of every bit of free land in our country, even desert land.

**A**NOTHER observation is this: we are told that the Arabs are not responsible for the persecution of the Jews in Europe, nor is it their obligation to relieve their plight. I wish to make it quite clear that it never entered our minds to charge the Arabs with solving the Jewish problem, or to ask Arab countries to accept Jewish refugees. We are bringing our homeless and persecuted Jews to our own country and settling them in Jewish towns and villages. There are Arab towns and villages in Palestine—Nablus, Jenin, Ramleh, Zarnuka, Lydda, Tarshiha. You will not find a single Jewish refugee in any of them. The Jews who have returned to their country are settled in Petah Tiqva, Rishon le Zion, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Daganah, the Negev and other Jewish towns and villages built by us.

The return of the Jews to their country is a work of self-liberation and self-reconstruction, which is contributing to the reconstruction and liberation of the country as a whole.

My fourth and last remark is this. We have no conflict with the Arab people. On the contrary, it is our deep conviction that historically the interests and aspirations of the Jewish and Arab peoples are compatible and complementary. What we are doing in our country, in Palestine, is reclaiming the land, increasing the yield of the soil, developing modern agriculture and industry, science, and art, raising the dignity of labor, insuring women's status of equality, increasing men's mastery over nature and working out a new civilization based on human equality, freedom and cooperation in a world which we believe is as necessary and beneficial for our Arab neighbors as for ourselves.

A Jewish-Arab partnership, based on equality and mutual assistance, will help to bring about the regeneration of the entire Middle East. We Jews understand and deeply sympathize with the urge of the Arab people for unity, independence and progress, and our Arab neighbors, I hope, will realize that the Jews in their own historic homeland, can under no conditions be made to remain a subordinate, dependent minority as they are in all other countries in the Diaspora. The Jewish nation in its own country must become a free and independent state with a membership in the United Nations. It is eager to cooperate with its free Arab neighbors to promote the economic development, social progress and real independence of all the Semitic countries in the Middle East.

I most earnestly suggest to your committee that the real, just and lasting solution of the problem before you is a Jewish State and a Jewish-Arab alliance.

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*The Jewish State in Palestine*

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Addresses before  
**The United Nations**

at Lake Success, New York

May 8 and 12, 1947

by

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, Ohio, President of  
the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine;

Mr. Moshe Shertok, Head of the Political Department  
of the Agency

and

Mr. David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Executive Com-  
mittee of the Agency

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## The Palestine Problem

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. J. HOWARD McGRATH

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Friday, May 16 (legislative day of  
Monday, April 21), 1947*

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, at the recent special session of the United Nations General Assembly called to consider the Palestine problem, three splendid statements were made by the spokesmen for the Jewish people.

These arguments, presented by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, president of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine; by Mr. Moshe Shertok, head of the political department of the agency and by Mr. David Ben-Gurion, the chairman of the executive committee of the Jewish Agency, set forth fully the historic right and justification of the Jewish people to establish a homeland and a Jewish state in Palestine.

The three statements comprise a magnificent presentation of the Jewish case and a splendid review of the historic American support of this great cause.

I commend these statements to the attention of all fair-minded people interested in a just solution of one of the world's most pressing problems, and I request their publications in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of the Congress and the country.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

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## Statement by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, May 8, 1947

I should like to say at the outset that were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of the deliberations he will have an opportunity to participate here.

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you 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 that country. We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just 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 and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

### PLEASED OVER OUTLOOK

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore, and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, presumably within the terms of a

mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes.

The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the war, been conducted by the mandatory powers as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine; whereas it is assumed to administer that country, of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the mandate, which clearly defined its rights and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people and that fact, I take it, motivated the General Assembly of the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish agency of Palestine to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their good will and their gallant action. The Jewish agency, you will recall, is recognized in the mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is the only recognized public body in the mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote article 4, " \* \* \* for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

Under article 6, the Jewish agency is entitled further to cooperate with the administration in permitting " \* \* \* close settlement by Jews on the land"; and, by article 11, it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

745246—21234

The Jewish agency, which we have the honor to represent, therefore, speaks not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish national home; it speaks also for the Jewish people of the world, who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged, by the same article 4 of the mandate, " \* \* \* to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

I have spoken of "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish national home." In defining the terms of reference of the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint, and in all the committee's future investigations, these, in my judgment, should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today.

To proceed without relation to them would be to detour into a political wilderness as far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, would only contribute to confusion.

#### BALFOUR DECLARATION CITED

The Balfour Declaration, which was issued by His Majesty's Government as a " \* \* \* declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspiration," declares:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

The mandate, in its preamble, recognizes " \* \* \* the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and " \* \* \* the grounds for reconstituting"—I call your

attention to the word "reconstituting"—  
"their national home in that country."

Those international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law.

Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is article 80 of the Charter, which reads:

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments, to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment, will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance, if it will keep the proper perspective always in view.

A generation ago the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual

heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making; it has not yet been fully established. No international community has canceled or even questioned that right. The mandatory power, which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home, has unfortunately in recent years grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish national home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

"There would be no doubt," he said, "as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand, it was contemplated that, when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

"The notion that Jewish immigration," he continued, "would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent minority, never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General



Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come, a great Jewish state rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others.

#### QUOTES WOODROW WILSON

American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish national home. Thus, President Wilson, on March 3, 1919, stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

That the Government of the United States does not now consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud, of Saudi Arabia, dated October 23, 1946. He wrote:

"The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the First World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent States which are now members of the United Nations."

"The United States," wrote President Truman, "which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these people should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine."

"I am happy to note," declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

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It should, of course, be clear—and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear—that when we speak of a Jewish state, we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish state is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labor Party in 1945—now represented by the present Government of the United Kingdom, which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

"Here we halted halfway, irresolutely between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now."

When your committee of inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor—the international obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish national home—should be kept, in our judgment, constantly in mind. I believe it would be extremely helpful to the committee of inquiry if the mandatory government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine mandate to it rather than wait for the next assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the committee in thinking through the problem and at arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

It is illogical, I fear, to ask the committee of inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present government

to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the committee of inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement. In Palestine they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting this national home after the long weary centuries of their homelessness, and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable handicaps.

The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor, neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and to other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove a blessing not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors was envisaged by the Emir Faisal, who was a great leader of the Arab peoples, at the Peace Conference following the First World War. On March 3, 1919, he wrote:

"We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist

organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, insofar as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you, and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East with which Palestine and with which the destinies of the Jewish national home are naturally bound up.

Your committee of inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country, which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects which will result in great economic and social improvement, not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

#### WOULD INVESTIGATE VIOLENCE

The committee of inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real, the fundamental causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came, not with weapons but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community, whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children, is being driven to the pitch of resentment and tension and lamentably driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore.

They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees—men, women, and children who have been through all the hells of Nazi Europe—are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish national home by a mandatory government which assumed, as its prime obligation, to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country.

They will also investigate, I hope, how the mandatory government is carrying out another of its obligations, which was to encourage also settlement of the Jews on the land; when, in actual practice, it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 6 percent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish national home discriminatory racial laws which the mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

By way of digression let it be said—if it need be said at all—that we are not engaged nor shall we be engaged in any criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization; and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the displaced persons camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated 2 years—it is exactly 2 years today since VE-day—after the close of the war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer.

While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while intergovernmental discussions and ne-

gotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—redemption may come that keeps their spirit from breaking utterly.

Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the conscience of mankind, speaking through you and through your committee or inquiry will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that, pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no delay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the white paper policy of 1939 was imposed will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your committee of inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the mandatory government.

I hope that I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations



here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

The Jewish people place great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people, and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have traveled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles.

In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst. The representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions—we hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

### **Statement by Mr. Moshe Shertok, May 12, 1947**

I am here to reply to the questions which were put to Dr. Silver after the conclusion of his address to the committee. In so doing, I hope I may be permitted also to clear

up some of the underlying issues, in order to bring out the meaning of my replies a little more clearly.

I would begin with a question asked by the representative of Poland as to the organization, composition, and functions of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. In the mandate, it was the Zionist organization which was recognized as the Jewish agency, with powers to advise and cooperate with the mandatory administration in matters concerning the Jewish national home and to take part in the country's development.

At the time, the World Zionist Organization, founded 50 years ago, was already 25 years old. Subsequently, certain non-Zionist groups joined in forming an enlarged Jewish agency, but the Zionist organization has remained the main driving force. The World Zionist Organization has today local organizations in more than 60 countries—with a few exceptions, in every country where Jews live.

Within the Zionist movement, as in any democratically organized society, there are parties: the labor party and other labor groups, the center or general Zionists, the Mizrachi or the orthodox religious Zionists, and the revisionists. This party division is reflected in our congresses, which are held once in every 2 years after a general election in all countries. The congress elects our executive, the present executive was elected by the 360 delegates to the twenty-second Zionist congress in Basle last December, who, in turn, were elected by nearly 2,000,000 Zionist voters throughout the world. The executive has headquarters in Jerusalem and branches with resident members in New York, London, and Paris.

#### **AGENCY'S DUTIES OUTLINED**

Two things must be stressed. First, the agency is the spokesman, not merely of Jews already settled in Palestine but of all Jews throughout the world who are devoted to the idea of the Jewish national home. The entire Jewish people, I might say, hold the

Jewish agency responsible for the success of that great enterprise. Secondly, the agency is not merely an organ of national representation, but an instrument of nation-building, an institution of immigration, development, and settlement. It mobilizes the energies and resources of our people for national reconstruction, and in Palestine it directs large-scale practical development work.

It has been responsible for bringing hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine and settling them there. It has carried out an extensive program of settlement on the land. It has stimulated major industrial development. It has supplied guidance and coordination to the vast volume of free initiative and enterprise in the work of Jewish settlement. Our Jerusalem headquarters is divided into departments: political, financial, immigration, agricultural settlement, trade and industry, labor, etc.

During the war the Jewish agency acted, in a way, as a recruiting authority. It mobilized the Jewish war effort in Palestine in the cause of the United Nations. It has supplied 33,000 volunteers for armed service within the British forces. They defended Palestine, served in most middle eastern countries and fought in the campaigns of Africa and Europe. All industrial, technical, and scientific resources of Jewish Palestine were harnessed to the war effort.

So much for the Jewish agency as such. Politically, its primary function has been to uphold and defend Jewish rights under the mandate. Immigration is the crux of the problem and several of the questions put to Dr. Silver bear on that issue. In answering these questions, I must make one basic point clear by way of background.

If it is granted that the Jewish people are in Palestine as of right, then all the implications and corollaries of that premise must be accepted. The foremost is that Jews must be allowed to resettle in Palestine in unlimited numbers, provided only they do

not displace or worsen the lot of the existing inhabitants who are also there as of right. If that basic premise is not granted, then there is very little to discuss.

It may sound quite plausible to argue that if the right of the Jews to return to Palestine is admitted on the grounds of ancient history, then the whole map of the world would have to be remade and chaos would ensue. But does the question really arise? Do the descendants of the Romans, for example, claim entry into England? Do they need England? Does their future, their very existence, depend on settling there? Or do the Arabs, for that matter, press to return to Andalusia in Spain? Is it a matter of life and death for them? The analogy is fallacious and misleading.

#### JEWISH POSITION UNIQUE

The great historic phenomenon of the Jewish return to Palestine is unique because the position of the Jewish people as a homeless people, and yet attached with an unbreakable tenacity to its birthplace, is unique. It is that phenomenon that has made the problem of Palestine an issue in international affairs, and no similar issue has ever arisen.

Were it not for the presence in Palestine today of over 600,000 Jews who refuse to be left in the minority position under Arab domination; were it not for the urge to settle in Palestine, of hundreds of thousands of homeless and uprooted Jews in Europe, in the Orient, and elsewhere; were it not for the hopes and efforts of millions of Jews throughout the world to reestablish their national home and build it up into a Jewish state, then the United Nations would not be faced with the problem of Palestine as it is now. The problem is real and pressing. It cannot be made to disappear by conjuring up nonexistent difficulties alleged to be involved in its solution.

When the distinguished representative from India asks how many Jews from outside

there were in Palestine at certain dates—the operating words being “from outside”—I must confess I am somewhat baffled. I can give him the round figures for the Jewish population in those years—50,000 in 1900, 165,000 in 1930, 475,000 in 1939. Now it is about 630,000. Incidentally, there are more Jews in Palestine today than there were Arabs at the end of the First World War. But as to “Jews from outside,” I cannot say. In a way, they are all from outside; they are practically all immigrants.

There was but a tiny Jewish community in Palestine prior to 1880. In the early 1880's, the return started, almost simultaneously from Russia and Rumania, from Morocco and southern Arabia, and since then it has been practically continuous. It started because the Jews had always believed it to be their inalienable right to resettle Palestine. That right was subsequently internationally recognized and enshrined in the mandate. But quite apart from the mandate, nothing will eradicate, from the hearts of Jews, the conviction that it is their right to return. So in that deeper sense, they are from not outside at all but sons of the country.

By the way, my Arab countrymen make much of the fact that Palestine has already taken in so many immigrants. These immigrants, they said, were received by the Arabs. We are very sorry, but we cannot concede them that credit. Conversely, they say that the Jews have settled in Palestine at the expense of the Arabs. That debit item, too, we cannot admit. There has been no receiving of Jewish immigrants by Arabs nor any settlement of Jews at the expense of the Arabs.

The Jews did not come as guests of anyone. They came in their own right. They received themselves and their brothers; and they did so by their own efforts and at the expense of no one else. Every acre of land we tilled was bought and had to be wrested

from wilderness and desolation. Nothing was taken away—not one house, not one job. A tremendous amount of work, wealth, and well-being was presented to the Arab population.

The honorable representative from India also asked what was the age of the Jewish communities in Europe; and whether, since the Hitler regime had been crushed, the Jewish displaced persons would not be better advised to stay in Germany.

As to the age of European Jewry, it is on the whole quite venerable, but age has not made for security. Three-quarters of that Jewry—6,000,000 people—are no more. But let us go back into the past. Jews had lived in Spain for a whole millennium when, in 1492, they were dispossessed and expelled, and only those who gave up their Jewish identity and became Christians were allowed to remain. Jews have lived in Poland since the eleventh or twelfth century, but in the seventeenth century they were the victims of ferocious massacres. Then there were pogroms under the Russian czars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and in the last war, as we have just heard, came the final catastrophe. Nearly all of Polish Jewry—3,000,000 men, women, and children—were wiped out by the Nazis.

In Germany, the beginnings of Jewish settlement are traced back to the fourth century. But just six centuries ago, most of the Jews in Germany were destroyed in a wave of frenzied persecution which swept Europe. Then, by the twentieth century, German Jews had reached the pinnacle of emancipation and were largely assimilated. Yet they were hurled down into the abyss of degradation and death. Even converts to Christianity were not spared.

#### ANTI-SEMITISM SURVIVES HITLER

It is true that Hitler is gone now, but not anti-Semitism. He was the product, not the source of German Jew-hatred. Anti-



Semitism in Germany and in many other parts of Europe is as rife as ever and potentially militant and fierce. Some governments tried their best to keep it down, but they have a very hard job in doing so. The very age of European Jewry serves only to accentuate the basic historic insecurity of Jewish life in the dispersion.

The honorable representative of India has also asked whether the Jewish displaced persons would be assimilable in Palestine. The answer is "Yes." They would be perfectly assimilable in the Jewish community there—the one Jewish community in the world with a self-contained economic system and an independent cultural life which is eager and able to receive and absorb them. He asked whether they would not be better assimilable in Germany. The answer is "No." You cannot settle in a graveyard, nor can you build a dwelling out of heaps of rubble.

Actually, most of the Jewish displaced persons are not from Germany itself, but from other countries. They are today in camps, or they otherwise continue as refugees because they cannot be resettled in Europe. They have now waited for 2 years, and in all this time no one has come forward with a solution to their problem. The clear recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee have remained on paper, and, to them, they have proved a mockery.

No one has offered an alternative to Palestine. But even if there were an alternative, they refused to be treated as mere chattels. They appeal to the world to realize that they form part of a people which has a national will of its own. They want to go to the only country where they will feel at home, both individually and collectively. Their problem is inseparable from the problem of Palestine. It is the problem of Palestine.

To treat the issue of Palestine in isolation from the immigration issue would make as much sense as to study the beating of a heart in disregard of blood circulation. A solution

for the problem of Palestine which would ignore the Jewish claim and the need for immigration would solve nothing. Whoever undertook to implement such a solution would be driven back by the sheer impact of reality to face the problem of immigration.

I may perhaps interpose here an answer to the question put by the honorable representative of the Union of South Africa. He asked whether we wanted the question of the DP's in Europe examined solely in connection with Palestine, or in its general aspect. Our answer is that we believe that only in Palestine can the problem of these people be permanently and constructively solved, for only there can their lives be rebuilt on secure foundations and their homes become part of the home of the entire people.

The immigration issue is not confined to that of the Jewish displaced persons and unsettled refugees in Europe. Various Jewish communities in Europe are involved, as well as the Jews of the Arab and oriental countries. With regard to these, members of the United Nations have heard during the present session idyllic accounts of the conditions of complete equality and true brotherhood under which they live. The Jewish agency is naturally very intimately acquainted with the position, and the picture as we know it is totally different.

In most of these countries Jews are treated as second- or third-rate citizens. They live in perpetual fear of eruptions of fierce fanaticism, of which there have been tragic examples both in recent years and in the more remote past. Their lot ranges from precarious sufferance to active persecution. All formal statements under duress notwithstanding, their hopes and dreams are centered on Zion, and their youth has no other idea but to join its builders.

#### INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNITIES URGED

We very strongly urge that the position of these communities should form a part of the committee's investigations. But the

most urgent problem is, of course, that of the displaced persons in Europe who are now on the brink of despair.

The present political crisis in Palestine is nothing but a clash between the dire needs of Jewish immigration and the current anti-immigration policy of the mandatory power. We were asked by the representative of India why public servants of the British Government in Palestine are today the victims of terrorist activity. The answer is because the white paper of 1939 is still in force. Terrorism is a pernicious outgrowth of a disastrous policy.

The Jewish agency has unreservedly condemned terrorist bloodshed, and in that attitude it is supported by the large majority of the organized Jewish community. Its harm to the Jews and to the Jewish future is far graver than to the government and people of the United Kingdom. But Jewish efforts to resist and check terrorism are continually frustrated because government action, in pursuance of the white paper, adds fuel to the fire. Our efforts will continue, but the representative of India will no doubt agree that Palestine is not the only country which has been afflicted with this most hateful disease.

Another question was why, in contradiction to the Emir Feisal's (Arab leader at 1919 peace conference) attitude, the Palestine Arabs were now opposed to Jewish immigration. Since that question was put, we have heard a very able exposition of the Palestine-Arab case which fully covered the point. All I would add is that the uncompromising opposition to immigration now voiced does not invalidate the broader conception and bolder vision expressed in the Feisal-Weizmann agreement, which indicated a way of harmonizing Jewish and Arab aspirations within a wider framework, fully taking into account the independence then promised and now achieved by the Arabs in vast territories.

While I am on the point of promises, may

I be permitted to recall that Sir Henry McMahon (British High Commissioner in Egypt during World War I) himself stated that Palestine was never included in the promises made by him to the Arabs, and that this was well understood at the time by the late King Hussein (King Hussein of Hedjaz, Sherif of Mecca in 1915); also that Trans-Jordan, which was originally included in the Balfour Declaration, is today an Arab state.

Finally, the distinguished representative of India asked whether we recognized the distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home. The answer is that we do, but perhaps not quite in the sense in which the question was meant. The establishment of the Jewish national home is a process. The setting up of a Jewish state is its consummation. That such consummation had been intended by the authors of the Jewish national home policy and that a way was definitely left open for its achievement was conclusively proved by the Palestine Royal Commission. The point was fully understood by those responsible for the 1944 statement on Palestine of the British Labor Party executive.

The Indian representative drew attention to the use in that statement of the term "Jewish national home" and not "Jewish state." But may I recall the words of Mr. Hugh Dalton, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when reporting on that statement of the executive to the Labor Party Conference. He urged common support, in consultation with the United States and Soviet Governments—and now I quote—"for a policy which will give us a happy, free, and prosperous Jewish state in Palestine." That was only 2 years ago.

The matter has a most vital bearing on the question of Palestine's independence. Unlike other mandates of category A, the declared object of which was to prepare the country for independence, the Palestine mandate has no such clause. Its primary pur-

pose, in the words of the Royal Commission, is the establishment of the Jewish national home. But, of course, the ultimate goal must be independence and the mandate must be terminated.

So if, upon the termination of the Palestine mandate, its original purpose is to be fulfilled, if the future of the Jewish National Home is to be permanently secured, if the national interest of the Jewish people is to be harmonized with other interests and not sacrificed for their sake, then a Jewish State must come into being. A home, in the words of a British statesman, in the debate on the white paper for Palestine, is a place to which one is always free to come back. How is the national home to fulfill its primary functions of being open to Jews in need of it, if it is to remain forever subjected to non-Jewish sovereignty?

#### WOULD SECURE ARAB MINORITY

An Arab minority in a Jewish state will be secure, if for no other reason, because the state will forever remain surrounded by Arab countries with which it will be most vitally interested to be at peace; also because there will always be Jewish minorities in other lands.

But a Jewish minority in an Arab State will have no such security at all. It will be at the mercy of the Arab majority, which would be free from all restraints. To provide boldly, if I may put it that way, for the independence of Palestine as a country, without placing an equal emphasis on safeguarding the independence of the Jews as a people, is to tear the problem out of its real context and load the dice heavily against the Jews. The whole issue is likely to be vitiated in advance by such an approach.

The question of our living with the Arab peoples and the relationship of a Jewish State with them is, of course, the dominant question of the future. The distinguished representative of Poland has asked, in his second

question, whether there have been attempts at collaboration between Jews and Arabs. The answer is, yes, there have been, on both sides. Arabs and Jews have cooperated and are cooperating successfully in the wide and varied fields of municipal, commercial, and labor affairs.

Arabic is taught in all Jewish secondary schools and in a large number of primary schools. The Jewish agency is particularly active in spreading knowledge of Arabic in the Jewish settlements and promoting friendly relations between them and their Arab neighbors. From personal observation and direct experience accumulated over a period of 41 years' residence in Palestine, I can affirm that there is nothing inherent in the nature of either the native Arab or the immigrant Jew which prevents friendly cooperation. On the contrary, considering the admitted great difference of background, they mix remarkably well.

By mixing I do not mean assimilation, for the Jew does not come to Palestine to assimilate to the Arab, but to develop his own distinctive individuality. Nor does he expect the Arab to assimilate to himself. What I mean is cooperation between a self-respecting Jew and a self-respecting Arab, and between the two communities.

Today the issue is overshadowed and practical cooperation is hampered by the political conflict over the country's future. The present official leaders of the Arab States, having achieved practically all they wanted with so little sacrifice, refuse to admit the legitimacy of the national aspirations of another people. At the head of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine stands a man who, apart from other well-known aspects of his activity, was directly involved during the war in the Nazi policy of extermination of the European Jews.

Nevertheless, the Jews do not lose heart. They come to Palestine not to fight the Arab world, but to live at peace with it. They are



not an outpost of any foreign domination. Their ambition is to integrate themselves into the modern structure of reviving Asia. They are an old Asiatic people returning to their home. At the same time, they are anxious to make their contribution to the great work of bridge building between modern Asia and the rest of the world.

#### PARTNERSHIP OF EQUALITY ASKED

Their intense experience in development within the narrow confines of Palestine is yielding results which may be of value to all who are interested in social and economic progress in the Middle East and beyond. But their true partnership with their neighbors can only be based upon equality of status and mutual respect. They claim what is the natural right of any people on the face of the earth—that as many of them as possible should live together in their own country, freely develop their civilization, make their contribution to the common stock of humanity, and be self-governing and independent. They cannot possibly surrender that claim, and for its attainment they appeal for the assistance of the entire family of nations.

In conclusion, may I answer the question of the distinguished delegation from Colombia on our views regarding the composition of the special committee. We would not differentiate between big and small powers, nor would we suggest the exclusion of any government merely because it happens to have or may develop a policy on Palestine. Having a policy does not necessarily mean being directly concerned as an interested party. But we believe that parties directly concerned should not serve on the committee. That should exclude the United Kingdom, for reasons put, if I may say so, with unanswerable cogency by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom himself. We would also definitely exclude the Arab States, unless it were agreed that the

committee should contain one Arab and one Jewish member.

#### Statement by Mr. David Ben-Gurion, May 12, 1947

I am grateful for the opportunity afforded to me to make a few supplementary remarks to the statement made by my colleague, Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

First of all, I would like to try to clarify further the nature of the problem which the mandatory power has placed before the United Nations, as this is essential for defining properly the terms of reference of the special committee. Last Friday, the representative of the United Kingdom, on behalf of his Government, declared that they tried for years to settle the problem of Palestine and had failed. They have, therefore, brought the problem to you in the hope that the United Nations would find a just solution.

This statement is open to misunderstanding. The mandatory power was not charged with discovering a solution to the Palestine problem and its failure was not in its inability to find the right solution. The mandatory power was charged by the League of Nations with the carrying out of a definite settlement. That settlement was set out and determined originally by the United Kingdom herself and subsequently confirmed by all the Allies and associated powers in the First World War, as well as by the Arabs through Emir Feisal and the Syrian Arab Committee. It was later embodied in the mandate approved by 52 nations and made international law.

The terms of that settlement, as decreed by the conscience and the law of nations, are common knowledge. It is the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people.

At the time the United Kingdom took over the mandate, the problem of Palestine had been clearly adjudicated and settled. The

failure of the mandatory government, as admitted by the British representative, was a failure to carry out the settlement agreed upon and entrusted to it by the nations of the world. The failure became manifest with the introduction of a policy set forth in the white paper of 1939, which violated the most essential terms of the mandate and vitiated its entire purpose.

The white-paper policy, as you know, was condemned by the permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as incompatible with the mandate and with the pledges repeatedly given by the mandatory government itself. It was also denounced by the most eminent political leaders of the United Kingdom itself, including all the prominent members of the present Government of the United Kingdom, as a breach of faith. Only recently the white paper was again unanimously condemned by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The white-paper policy is responsible for the misery and deaths of a large number of Jews and for cruel acts of expulsion of Jewish refugees.

It is responsible for establishing in Palestine a police state without parallel in the civilized world. It is responsible for the introduction in Palestine of racial discrimination against Jews in land legislation. This is the real nature of the failure of the mandatory power.

Therefore, I venture to suggest that the first problem facing the United Nations is how to set right that failure and to insure that international obligations toward the Jewish population in Palestine are faithfully fulfilled.

The second point to which I would like to invite the attention of your committee is the fact that in Palestine you are faced not merely with a large and growing number of Jews, but with a distinct Jewish Nation. There are Jews and Jewish communities in many countries, but in Palestine there is a new and unique phenomenon—a Jewish Nation, with all the attributes, characteristic resources, and aspirations of nationhood. This nationhood springs from a long history and an uninterrupted connection for 3,500 years with its ancestral soil.

745246—21234

#### CANNOT ARREST PROGRESS

Palestine, which for the Jewish people has always been and will always remain the Land of Israel, was in the course of centuries conquered and invaded by many alien peoples, but none of them ever identified its national faith with Palestine. The Jewish Nation in Palestine is rooted not only in past history but in a great living work of reconstruction and rebuilding, both of a country and of a people.

The growth of this nation and its work of reconstruction must not and cannot be arrested—and this, for two reasons. One is the existence of large numbers of homeless Jews for whom there is no other salvation in the future except in their own national home. The second is that more than two-thirds of the land in Palestine is still wasteland, uncultivated, unsettled, and believed by the Arabs to be uncultivable. The history of our settlement in the last 70 years has shown that this land can be and is being cultivated by us.

This is not because we are more skilled or more capable than others, but because this is the only soil in the world which we call our own. We are not, like our Arab neighbors, in possession of vast underpopulated territories, like Iraq, Syria, Arabia, etc. We must therefore make use of every bit of free land in our country, even desert land.

Another observation is this: We are told that the Arabs are not responsible for the persecution of the Jews in Europe, nor is it their obligation to relieve their plight. I wish to make it quite clear that it never entered our minds to charge the Arabs with solving the Jewish problem, or to ask Arab countries to accept Jewish refugees. We are bringing our homeless and persecuted Jews to our own country and settling them in Jewish towns and villages. There are Arab towns and villages in Palestine—Nablus, Jenin, Ramleh, Narnucka, Libia, Terschicha. You will not find a single Jewish refugee in any of them. The Jews who have returned to their country are settled in Petah Tiqva, Rishon le Zion, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Daganla, the Negev, and other Jewish towns and villages built by us.

The return of the Jews to their country is a work of self-liberation and self-reconstruction, which is contributing to the reconstruction and liberation of the country as a whole.

My fourth and last remark is this. We have no conflict with the Arab people. On the contrary, it is our deep conviction that historically the interests and aspirations of the Jewish and Arab peoples are compatible and complementary. What we are doing in our country, in Palestine is reclaiming the land, increasing the yield of the soil, developing modern agriculture and industry, science, and art, raising the dignity of labor, insuring women's status of equality, increasing men's mastery over nature, and working out a new civilization based on human equality, freedom and cooperation in a world which we believe is as necessary and beneficial for our Arab neighbors as for ourselves.

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A Jewish-Arab partnership, based on equality and mutual assistance, will help to bring about the regeneration of the entire Middle East. We Jews understand and deeply sympathize with the urge of the Arab people for unity, independence, and progress, and our Arab neighbors, I hope, will realize that the Jews in their own historic homeland, can under no conditions be made to remain a subordinate, dependent minority as they are in all other countries in the Diaspora. The Jewish nation in its own country must become a free and independent state with a membership in the United Nations. It is eager to cooperate with its free Arab neighbors to promote economic development, social progress, and real independence of all the Semitic countries in the Middle East.

I most earnestly suggest to your committee that the real, just, and lasting solution of the problem before you is a Jewish state and a Jewish-Arab alliance.





# *The* TEMPLE BULLETIN



**THE TEMPLE**  
*East 105<sup>th</sup> St. and Ansel Rd.*  
**CLEVELAND, OHIO**

**Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.**  
**RABBI**

**Julius J. Nodel, M. H. L.**  
**ASSISTANT RABBI**

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May 18, 1947

No. 31

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**SUNDAY MORNING**  
**10:30 o'clock**

*The Temple Women's Association*  
*Fiftieth Anniversary Service*

*Dr. Silver*  
*will speak on*

*Looking Backward and Forward*

**MUSIC : THE SILVERBERG TRIO**  
**Sisterhood Members Will Participate in the Service**

**Friday Evening Service**  
**5:30 to 6:00**

**Saturday Morning Service**  
**11:15 to 12:00**

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**Shabuot, Confirmation, May 25th**  
**Services, 9:30 A.M. in The Temple**

## THE TEMPLE BULLETIN

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### HIGH SCHOOL, COLLEGE GRADUATION JUNE 1ST

The graduation exercises of The Temple High School and The Temple College will be held Sunday morning, June 1st at 10:30 A.M. in The Temple. Rabbi Nodel will deliver the commencement address. The following students will be graduated from the High School Department: Sylvia Bincovitz, Rita Gray, Joanne Heller, Arlene Klausner, Rita Merecki, Shirley Robbins, Naomi Selzman, Lore Simons, Shirley Teklin, David Auerbach, Werner Dannhauser, Jay Hirsch, Arthur Levine, Julius Silberberger, Jr., Bob Spero and Herbert Strauss.

Graduates of the College Department are Maxine Adelstein, Franklin Glanz, Doris Klausner, Virginia Loeb and Helene Ronis.

### T. W. A. PRESENTS NEW CYCLORAMA TO TEMPLE

A new cyclorama for the stage in Mahler Hall is being presented by The Temple Women's Association and has been purchased through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Manheim.

### FINALS OF ORATORICAL CONTEST HELD SUNDAY

This Sunday morning, from 9:00 to 10:00, the finals of the Auerbach Oratorical Contest will be held in the Chapel. Those selected from the pre-finals held last Sunday are Jay Hirsch, Allan Schwartzberg, Herbert Strauss and Werner Dannhauser.

## LAST HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE HELD AT EDUCATIONAL ALLIANCE

The last debate of the year by the High School Debating Team was held last Tuesday, May 13th at the Council Educational Alliance before a joint meeting of two Jewish Youth Council affiliates, the Jewish Music Group and the Tiu Club.

The subject was "Resolved: Palestine Should Be Partitioned". David Auerbach, Werner Dannhauser and Julius Silberberger supported the affirmative side of the question. Supporting the negative were Jay Hirsch, Allan Schwartzberg and Herbert Strauss. Alvin Kitay was Chairman.

## CALENDAR OF EVENTS

### FRIDAY, MAY 16

5:30 P.M.—Vesper Service

### SATURDAY, MAY 17

9:00 A.M.—Religious School  
Junior High Department  
Confirmation Rehearsal

11:15 A.M.—Sabbath Morning Service

### SUNDAY, MAY 18

9:00 A.M.—Oratorical Contest Finals

10:00 A.M.—Religious School  
Elementary—High School  
Departments

10:30 A.M.—Temple Women's Association 50th anniversary service

8:30 P.M.—Annual High School Night  
Mahler Hall

### MONDAY, MAY 19

8:30 P.M.—Home Study Group  
"Judaism and Christianity"

### TUESDAY, MAY 20

9:30 A.M.—Temple Women's Association Sewing Groups

### WEDNESDAY, MAY 21

2:00 P.M.—Temple Women's Association Golden Jubilee Celebration.  
The Temple—Mahler Hall

### THURSDAY, MAY 22

4:30 P.M.—Confirmation Rehearsal

### FRIDAY, MAY 23

5:30 P.M.—Vesper Service

# HISTORY OF TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION PRESENTED IN PAGEANT MAY 21st

ROBERT MERRILL METROPOLITAN OPERA STAR  
GUEST ARTIST

The Golden Jubilee meeting of The Temple Women's Association will be held on Wednesday afternoon, May 21st at 2:00 P.M. in The Temple. An original pageant directed and acted by sisterhood members will tell the story of the Association and its activities from the conception of its organization. Robert Merrill, star of the Metropolitan Opera will be the guest artist on this occasion. A reception and tea in Mahler Hall will follow the program.

Mrs. Edwin S. Goldstein will be the narrator for the pageant. Those participating are:

*Pages:* Mesdames Leonard I. Abrams and Mrs. Merrill Sands.

*Ladies Go Visiting:* Mesdames Jared Faulb, Alan Sands, James Shulman, Miss Suzanne Bialosky and Miss Dorothy Mathis.

*Message of the Altar Flowers:* Mrs. Fred Sands.

*Our Women Go To War:* Mesdames Norman Klivans, Mark Graves and Miss Dorothy Katz.

*Tuesday Sewing:* Mesdames Lawrence Bloom, Bernard Lane, Donald Arnold and Tobias Felber.

*Dedicating the Organ—Boys' Choir.*

*Meeting the Challenge of World War II:* Mesdames Morton Bialosky, Richard Haber, Robert Miller and David Kyman.

*Our Temple Family:* Mesdames Louis Wolf, Max Meisel and Herbert Simon.

## FOR CONFIRMANTS HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES

\*An Assortment of  
Attractive Gifts

\*Uniongrams

At the Tuesday Sewing Group  
of The Temple Women's  
Association

## HIGH SCHOOL NIGHT PARTY SUNDAY NIGHT

The Annual High School Night Party and Dance will be held in Mahler Hall at 8:30 P.M. Sunday, May 18th. All members of the student body of the High School Department will attend. Confirmants of the class of 1947 will be honored guests at the party.

A special feature of the evening will be a dramatic review presented by members of the Student Council and Dramatic Club. A last will and testament will be read. Miss Margaret Mulac will conduct a "get-together" hour. Refreshments will be served and an unusual dance feature will be dancing to an orchestra seen and heard on the screen. Words of greeting will be extended by Rabbi Silver and Rabbi Nodel and Jay Hirsch, President of the Student Council.

## Memorial Anniversaries

*The following names of loved ones, whose Yahrzeit occurs this week, will be mentioned during the Kaddish prayer at the Friday Evening and Sunday Morning services.*

Elsie Seligman

Barbara Strauss

David Dauby

Edna F. Schaffner



## RABBI SILVER'S PRESENTATION IN THE U. N. OF THE ZIONIST CASE FOR PALESTINE

*Following is the complete text of the remarks made on May 8th before the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine:*

I should like to say at the outset that were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of deliberations he will have an opportunity to participate here.

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you 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 that country.

We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just 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 and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore, and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, presumably within the terms of a mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes.

The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the war, been conducted by the Mandatory power as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine; whereas, it is assumed to administer that country, of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the

purposes of the Mandate which clearly defined its right and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people and that fact, I take it, motivated the general assembly of the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish agency of Palestine to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their goodwill and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency, you will recall, is recognized in the mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is the only recognized public body in the mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote Article 4, "... for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

Under Article 6, the Jewish Agency is entitled, further, to co-operate with the administration in permitting "... close settlement by Jews on the land"; and, by Article II, it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish Agency, which we have the honor to represent, therefore speaks not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish national home; it speaks also for the Jewish people of the world, who are devoted to this historic ideal. For it was charged, by the same Article 4 of the mandate "... to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

I have spoken of "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish national home." In defining the terms of references of the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint; and in all the committee's future investigations, these, in my judgment, should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour declaration and of the Mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today. To proceed without relation to them would be to de-

tour into a political wilderness as far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the difference between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, would only contribute to confusion.

The Balfour declaration, which was issued by His Majesty's government as a . . . "declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations," declares:

"His Majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a nation home for the Jewish people."

The mandate, in its preamble, recognizes . . . "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and . . . "the grounds for reconstituting"—I call your attention to the word "reconstituting"—"their national home in that country."

These international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law.

Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is Article 80 of the Charter, which reads: "except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any people, or the terms of existing international instruments to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance, if it will keep the proper perspective always in view.

A generation ago, the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and

spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine.

That national home is still in the making; it has not yet been fully established. No international community has canceled or even questioned that right. The Mandatory power, which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home, has unfortunately, in recent years, grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish national home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

"There could be no doubt," he said, "as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand, it was contemplated that, when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

"The notion that Jewish immigration," he continued, "would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent minority, never entered into the head of any one engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was an important member of the government which issued the Balfour declaration; by General Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come, a great Jewish state rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others.

American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish national home. Thus, President Wilson, on March 3, 1919, stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

That the government of the United States does not consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia dated Oct. 29, 1946. He wrote: "The government and

people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first world war, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations."

"The United States," wrote President Truman, "which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these people should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine."

"I am happy to note," declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

It should, of course, be clear—and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear—that when we speak of a Jewish state we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish state is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labor party in 1945—now represented by the present government of the United Kingdom—which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

"Here, we halted halfway, irresolutely between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war and there is an irresistible case for it now."

When your committee of inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor—the international obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish national home—should be kept, in our judgment, constantly in mind. I believe it would be extremely helpful to the committee of inquiry if the mandatory government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine Mandate to it rather than wait for the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the committee in thinking through the problem and at arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

It is illogical, I fear, to ask the committee of inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the committee of inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement. In Palestine they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting this national home after the long weary centuries of their homelessness and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable handicaps. The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor, neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and to other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove a blessing not only to themselves but to their Arab neighbors was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was a great leader of the Arab peoples, at the peace conference following the first world war. On March 3, 1919, he wrote:

"We Arabs look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the peace conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the



entire Near East with which Palestine and with which the destinies of the Jewish national home are naturally bound up.

Your committee of inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects, which will result in great economic and social improvement not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

The committee of inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real, the fundamental causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came, not with weapons but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community, whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children, is being driven to a pitch of resentment and tension and lamentably driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore.

They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees—men, women, and children who have been through all the hells of Nazi Europe—are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish national home by a mandatory government which assumed, as its prime obligation, to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country.

They will also investigate, I hope, how the Mandatory government is carrying out another of its obligations which was to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land; when, in actual practice, it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 6 per cent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish national home discriminatory racial laws which the mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

By way of digression, let it be said—if it need be said at all—that we are not engaged nor shall we be engaged, in our criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization, and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which first among the nations gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the committee of inquiry will also visit the displaced

persons camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two years—it is exactly two years today since V Day—after the close of the war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer.

While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their safe flight, and while inter-governmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—redemption may come that keeps their spirit from breaking utterly. Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the conscience of mankind, speaking through you and through your committee of inquiry, will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that, pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no delay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed, will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your committee of inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the mandatory government.

I hope I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

The Jewish people places great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people, and though we have often, on the long hard road which we have traveled, been disillusioned, we have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles. In these last

tragic years, when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose

national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst. The representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions—we hope that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of United Nations.

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In honor of 50th birthday of Clarence Fishel by Mr. and Mrs. Max Jacobs.

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### In Memoriam

The Temple notes with deep sorrow the passing of:

### YETTA SPERO

and extends its heartfelt sympathy to her bereaved family.

# PALESTINE

IN THIS ISSUE:  
PALESTINE  
BEFORE U.N.

## AND MIDDLE EAST



THE "ILLEGALS". Survivors from D.P. Camps captured in a refugee ship and forcibly deported from Palestine shores  
(Photo: H. Pinn)

# 5

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# PALESTINE AND MIDDLE EAST

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## UNITED NATIONS PRELUDE

**T**HE proceedings of the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Palestine reflect the bewildering complexity of the present international situation. The session met against the background of the acute tension that has developed in recent months between the United States and Great Britain, on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other. It was inevitable that these differences and conflicts should affect also the consideration of the Palestine problem. From the Jewish angle there was substantial ground for anxiety regarding the outcome of this unprecedented debate. Most of the States represented at the Session had had little direct contact with the Palestine problem. Of the Big Three, Great Britain had through its Foreign Minister more than once repudiated the basic conceptions of Zionism and advocated a return to the exploded policies of dispersal and assimilation. Russia's attitude had not yet been officially defined, but it was generally believed to favour the Arabs. As for the smaller States, there was every reason to apprehend that the Arab demand for the immediate establishment of an independent Palestine State would find ready support. Nor could there be any illusion concerning the very substantial advantage which the Arab cause enjoyed ab initio in the counsels of an international organisation in which it was solidly advocated by a bloc of seven member states acting in complete unison on every major and minor question.

■ ■ ■

It is a remarkable testimony to the independence and maturity of the United Nations Organisation that despite these initial advantages possessed by the Arabs the Jewish case should have received a fair hearing and the fierce anti-Zionist onslaught of the Arab States should have been repulsed along the entire front. The session revealed that the United Nations Organisation has already evolved a sense of collective responsibility which enabled it to bring some order into the chaotic problem with which it had been faced by the Mandatory Power. This achievement is all the more remarkable when it is considered that the whole procedure was without precedent. Palestine and the Jewish question had never before been discussed by such an authoritative international forum. On the few occasions when Palestine had appeared on the agenda of the Council of the League of Nations the discussion had been brief and confined to specific problems that had arisen. The basic issues had rarely been touched. In the Permanent Mandates Commission where indeed fundamental problems had more than once been raised, the discussion was confined to a small group of legal and administrative experts. Now for the first time the whole problem was open for discussion by the world's most authoritative international body. And for the first time, too, the

Jews were allowed to have a word in it. That had not been easy to attain. Opposition had come from various and sometimes unexpected quarters. The first proposal for the admission of Jewish representatives to the General Assembly with full rights other than the right to vote was rejected by a majority. Among those who opposed it were also the Americans who were concerned not to establish a precedent on the strength of which other non-official bodies or national groups not possessing statehood might be admitted to the Assembly. The Americans for their part proposed that the Jews be allowed to appear merely before an ad hoc sub-committee of the Political Committee and there only for the purpose of stating their case, without taking part in the discussions. This was rejected as being evidently inadequate, more especially after the representatives of the Arab States had, day after day, dinned their crude arguments into the ears of the Assembly. Finally, it was decided, by a large majority composed of the Soviet Union, the Western European and Latin American countries, that the Political Committee should invite the Jewish Agency and listen to its statements and views on all the issues to be discussed. The gradual evolution of the mind of the Assembly on this crucial question is a significant indication of its independence. Its judgment was also evident in the rejection of the claims of Jewish dissident groups to be given equal status with the Jewish Agency in appearing before the Political Committee. There is reason to believe that influential quarters had supported these claims and encouraged the dissidents to press them. The Assembly realised the inherent unfairness of this procedure and rejected the demand. So it came about that the Jewish Agency was able to appear as the authoritative spokesmen of the whole Jewish people — the first time that the Jewish people had been given the chance to make an appearance before such a representative international forum.

■ ■ ■

The second controversial issue was the formulation of the terms of reference of the Fact-Finding Commission. The Arab States had from the beginning been pressing hard to secure from the Assembly acceptance in principle of their claim for the immediate grant of independence to an Arab-dominated Palestine. When the proposed terms of reference came up for discussion, they insisted that they should contain a specific directive to this effect. In this effort they had the support of numerous States, in particular of Soviet Russia, whose attitude was clearly inspired by a desire to put an end to the actual mandatory regime. The representatives of the Jewish Agency were consulted on this point and expressed themselves opposed to the inclusion of the independence directive



in the terms of reference. While the Jewish representatives were not in principle opposed to independence as the ultimate status of Palestine, they clearly realised that the whole issue would be vitiated in advance if the Commission were to be given specific instructions to recommend the immediate grant of independence to present-day Palestine. The United States was strongly opposed to the Arab proposal, but in view of the wide support which the "independence formula" had received, they suggested a formula referring not to the independence of the "population" of Palestine, but to that of the "peoples" of Palestine, which would clearly have made it possible for the Committee to recommend the establishment of both a Jewish and an Arab State. Altogether six resolutions were introduced on this crucial point. The French representative urged that he could not support any of them as they were designed to forestall the material decision in one direction or another. He accordingly moved that the whole of the paragraph be deleted from the terms of reference. This was accepted by the Dominions and the Americans and supported by a large majority. Thus the "independence" directive which had caused such a storm was quietly buried.

The same thing happened to the Arab attempt to prevent the Fact-Finding Committee from visiting the D. P. camps in Europe. Their evident purpose was to separate the Palestine problem from the Jewish question. In this matter, however, they found themselves opposed not only by the Americans, but also by the Russians and numerous other States. The Committee was given authority to conduct its investigation in Palestine and wherever else it might deem useful. Equally significant was the ruling of the committee on the British motion that the U. N. should discuss the question of "the future status of Palestine". Despite strenuous opposition on the part of the movers and the Arab States, this formula was altered to read "all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine."

It will be evident from the above summary that apart from the Arab bloc, which throughout maintained a consistent anti-Jewish attitude, the member States of the Assembly did not vote along fixed alignments. Not infrequently several States supported the identical motion from widely divergent motives. The reticent attitude of the United States in regard to a problem on which its Government had, during the last year, made a number of very definite pronouncements, gave rise to considerable comment and criticism, but it was probably dictated by their firm insistence on the purely procedural purpose of the meeting. Apart from the question of the admission of the Jewish Agency to the meeting of the Political Committee, on which they were apparently anxious to avoid creating a precedent for the hearing of other non-governmental bodies, their attitude appeared to be designed to prevent any decision being taken which might prejudice the results of the forthcoming investigation. The British representative was not so objective. According to Mr. Ben Gurion's report to the Jewish Elected Assembly in Jerusalem, the British "tried generally to create the impression that they were standing aside, although behind the scenes they played a very active part, getting others to do their work." The attitude of Russia was perhaps the most baffling issue.

■ ■ ■

Russia had hitherto carefully avoided showing her hand on the Palestine issue, apart from criticising the Mandatory regime. At the present session, it supported the admission of the Jewish Agency to the meeting of the Political Committee, while, on the other hand, giving powerful aid to the Arab effort to have the independence directive inserted in the terms of reference. Neither

of these attitudes could reveal the mind of the Russian government on the essential issues. It therefore came as a great surprise that, at the very end of the session, Mr. Gromyko volunteered a comprehensive statement which left no room for doubt on the Russian attitude towards the Palestine problem. The statement went far beyond the procedural questions on the agenda. It revealed a deep understanding of the tragic position of the Jewish survivors in Europe and of the failure of the civilised world to deal effectively with this burning problem. Nor was his analysis limited to the Jewish tragedy in Europe. It went to the roots of the political aspect of the Jewish problem. "It would be wrong", said Mr. Gromyko, "if we disregarded the aspiration of the Jews to a State of their own and deprived the Jewish people of the right to fulfil this aspiration. It would be unjustified to deprive the Jewish people of this right, especially if we take into account all it has passed through during the Second World War. Therefore the investigation of this aspect of the problem, as well, and the preparation of suitable recommendations should form an important part of the Committee's tasks." Russia favours a solution of the Palestine problem either by setting up, by agreement with Arabs and Jews, of an independent Palestinian state, or, if such agreement cannot be attained, by the partition of the country and the setting up of two independent states. The statement of Mr. Gromyko left a deep impression on the Assembly. In revealing the attitude of the Russian Government towards the Palestine problem, this statement cleared the air and laid the bogey which had been the main plank of the anti-Zionist propaganda, particularly in the United States. The notion had been spread that unless the Western Powers would fall in with the wishes of the Arab League, the latter would go over with flying colours to Soviet Russia. That bogey has been effectively disposed of by Mr. Gromyko's outspoken pronouncement.

■ ■ ■

No survey of the proceedings at Flushing Meadows would be complete which failed to pay tribute to the dignified and effective presentation of the Jewish case by the spokesmen of the Jewish Agency — Dr. Silver, Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Shertok, the substance of whose statements is given elsewhere in this issue.

The strength and dignity of the Zionist declarations were in marked contrast to the crude and unbalanced utterances and threats with which the spokesman of the Arab Higher Committee and the delegates of Syria and Iraq harangued the Assembly. Yet, as Mr. Ben Gurion rightly pointed out, it would be an unjustified exaggeration to say that a Zionist line had been taken by the session of the United Nations. "It must be stated", he said in his report to the Elected Assembly in Jerusalem, "that the Zionist formulas were not accepted but that the anti-Zionist formulas were rejected, and they were rejected with the full knowledge that they were anti-Zionist formulas."

A good beginning has been made but no more than a beginning. The preparation of the Jewish case before the U. N. Fact-Finding Committee — the nineteenth committee of inquiry investigating Palestine problems — will call for a comprehensive and strenuous effort on behalf of the Jewish Agency. It is only when the Committee has reported to the forthcoming session of the Assembly in September of this year that fundamental decisions will be taken though even then there is no certainty as to whether the British Government will act upon them. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that a great moral weight will attach to whatever this authoritative body will recommend to the next session of the Assembly.

J. P. COHEN

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# ESSENCE OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

## MANDATORY'S FAILURE • JEWISH STATE AND JEWISH-ARAB ALLIANCE

BY DAVID BEN-GURION  
CHAIRMAN, JEWISH AGENCY



THE representative of the United Kingdom has declared on behalf of his Government that they had tried for years to settle the problem of Palestine and had failed. They have therefore brought the problem to the United Nations in the hope that the U. N. would find a just solution. This statement is open to misunderstanding. The Mandatory Power was not charged with discovering a solution to the Palestine problem, and its failure was not in its inability to find a right solution. The Mandatory Power was charged by the League of Nations with the carry-

ing out of a definite settlement. That settlement was set out and determined originally by the United Kingdom herself and subsequently confirmed by all the Allied and Associated Powers in the First World War, as well as by the Arabs through Emir Feisal and the Syrian Arab Committee. It was later embodied in the Mandate, approved by 52 Nations and made international law. The terms of that settlement, as decreed by the conscience and the law of nations, are common knowledge. It is the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people.

### BREACH OF FAITH

At the time the United Kingdom took over the Mandate, the problem of Palestine had been clearly adjudicated and settled. The failure of the Mandatory Government, as admitted by the British representative, was the failure to carry out the settlement agreed upon and entrusted to it by the nations of the world. That failure became manifest with the introduction of the policy set forth in the White Paper of 1939 which violated the most essential terms of the Mandate and vitiated its entire purpose. The White Paper policy was condemned by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as incompatible with the Mandate and with the pledges repeatedly given by the Mandatory Government itself; it was also denounced by the most eminent political leaders of the United Kingdom itself, including all the most prominent members of the present Government of the United Kingdom, as a breach of faith. Only recently, the White Paper was again unanimously condemned by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The White Paper policy is responsible for the misery and death of a large number of Jews and for the cruel acts of expulsion of Jewish refugees. It is responsible for establishing in Palestine a police state without parallel in the civilized world. It is responsible for the introduction in Palestine of racial discrimination against Jews in land legislation. This is the real nature of the failure of the Mandatory Power. Therefore I venture to suggest that the first problem facing the United Nations is how to set right that failure and to ensure

that international obligations towards the Jewish population of Palestine are faithfully fulfilled.

The second point to which I would like to invite attention is the fact that in Palestine you are faced not merely with a large and growing number of Jews, but with a distinct Jewish nation. There are Jews and Jewish communities in many countries, but in Palestine there is a new and unique phenomenon — a Jewish nation, with all the attributes, characteristic resources and aspirations of nationhood. This nationhood springs from a long history and an uninterrupted connection for three thousand five hundred years with its ancestral soil. Palestine, which for the Jewish people has always been, and will always remain, the Land of Israel, was in the course of centuries conquered and invaded by many alien peoples, but none of them ever identified its national faith with Palestine. The Jewish nation in Palestine is rooted not only in past history but in the great living work of reconstruction and rebuilding, both of the country and of the people. The growth of this nation and its work of reconstruction must not and cannot be arrested — and this for two reasons. One is the existence of large numbers of homeless Jews for whom there is no other salvation in the future except in their own national home. The second is that more than two-thirds of the land in Palestine is still waste land, uncultivated, unsettled and believed by the Arabs to be uncultivable. The history of our settlement in the last seventy years has shown that this land can be and is being cultivated by us. This is not because we are more skilled or more capable than others, but because this is the only soil in the world which we call our own. We are not, like our Arab neighbours, in possession of vast underpopulated territories like Iraq, Syria, Arabia, etc. We must therefore make use of every bit of free land in our country, even desert land.

Another observation is this: We are told that the Arabs are not responsible for the persecution of the Jews in Europe, nor is it their obligation to relieve their plight. I wish to make it quite clear that it never entered our minds to charge the Arabs with solving the Jewish problem, or to ask Arab countries to accept Jewish refugees. We are bringing our homeless and persecuted Jews to our own country and settling them in Jewish towns and villages. There are Arab towns and villages in Palestine — Nablus, Jenin, Ramleh, Zarnuga, Tarschicha. You will not find a single Jewish refugee in any of them. The Jews who have returned to their country are settled in Petach Tikva, Rishon Le Zion, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Degania, the Negeb, and other Jewish towns and villages built by us. The return of the Jews to their country is a work of self-liberation and self-reconstruction which is contributing to the reconstruction and liberation of the country as a whole.

### JEWISH-ARAB PARTNERSHIP

My fourth and last remark is this: We have no conflict with the Arab people. On the contrary, it is our deep conviction that historically the interests and the aspirations of the Jewish and Arab peoples are compatible and complementary. What we are

(Continued on page 84)



# TEST CASE FOR UNITED NATIONS

## INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE • END OF JEWISH BONDAGE

BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

MEMBER OF JEWISH AGENCY EXECUTIVE



THE just solution of the grave international problem of Palestine will prove a blessing not only to Palestine and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace; but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of the United Nations, the great organisation for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest. It is gratifying that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore,

and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, presumably within the terms of a mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes. The administration of Palestine has since the outbreak of the war been conducted by the Mandatory Power as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine; whereas it has undertaken to administer that country, of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the Mandate, which clearly defined its rights and obligations.

### BASIC CONCEPTS

The problem of Palestine is of course of paramount importance to the Jewish people and that fact, no doubt, motivated the General Assembly of the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish Agency to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their goodwill and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency is recognised in the Mandate for Palestine as a public body authorised to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home. It is the only recognised public body in the Mandate. It is recognised as such, to quote Article 4 of the Mandate, "for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and subject always to the control of the administration to assist and take part in the development of the country". Under Article 6 the Jewish Agency is entitled further to cooperate with the Administration in promoting "close settlement by the Jews on the land"; and by Article 11 it is given a preferred status in respect of the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish Agency therefore speaks not merely for the organised Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish National Home; it speaks for the Jewish people of the world who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged by the same Article 4 of the

Mandate "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home".

In defining the terms of reference of the Committee of Inquiry and in all their future investigations, the terms "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish National Home" should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key terms and basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate under which Palestine is or should be administered today. To proceed without relation to them would be to detour into a political wilderness so far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, would only contribute to confusion. The Balfour Declaration which was issued by His Majesty's Government as "a declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations" declares: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people". The Mandate, in its preamble, recognises "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and "the grounds for reconstituting" — I call attention to the word "reconstituting" — "their national home in that country". Those international commitments of a quarter of a century ago which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly the United Nations guided by its great principle proclaimed in its Charter "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained" can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law. Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision was written into the chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under Mandate. This is Article 80 of the Charter which reads: "Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements made under Article 77, 79 and 81 placing each territory under the trusteeship system and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Charter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties". It is the perspective of the U. N. Committee of Inquiry on the entire problem which will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance if it will keep the proper perspective always in view.

### FUTURE OF NATIONAL HOME

A generation ago the international community of the world of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right long denied and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making. It has not yet been fully established. No international community has challenged or even questioned that right. The Mandatory Power which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportu-



nity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home has unfortunately in recent years grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored. When will the Jewish National Home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937: "There could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews would be a permanent minority, never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing". This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at that time, and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others. American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish National Home. Thus President Wilson on March 3, 1919, stated: "I am persuaded that the allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth." That the Government of the United States does not now consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia dated October 29, 1946. He wrote: "The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish National Home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first world war which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations. The United States which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at the time. It took the position to which it still adheres that these peoples should be prepared for self-government and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine". "I am happy to note", declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed".

It should of course be clear that when we speak of a Jewish state, we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish state is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labour Party in 1945 — now represented by the present government of Great Britain which requested this special session of the United Nations: "Here we halted half-way, irresolute between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now". When the U. N. Committee of Inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine this inescapable and irreducible factor — the international obligation to ensure the continuous development of the Jewish national home — should be kept constantly in mind.

I believe that it would be extremely helpful to the Committee



U. N. General Assembly on Palestine at Flushing Meadows  
(U. N. Photo)

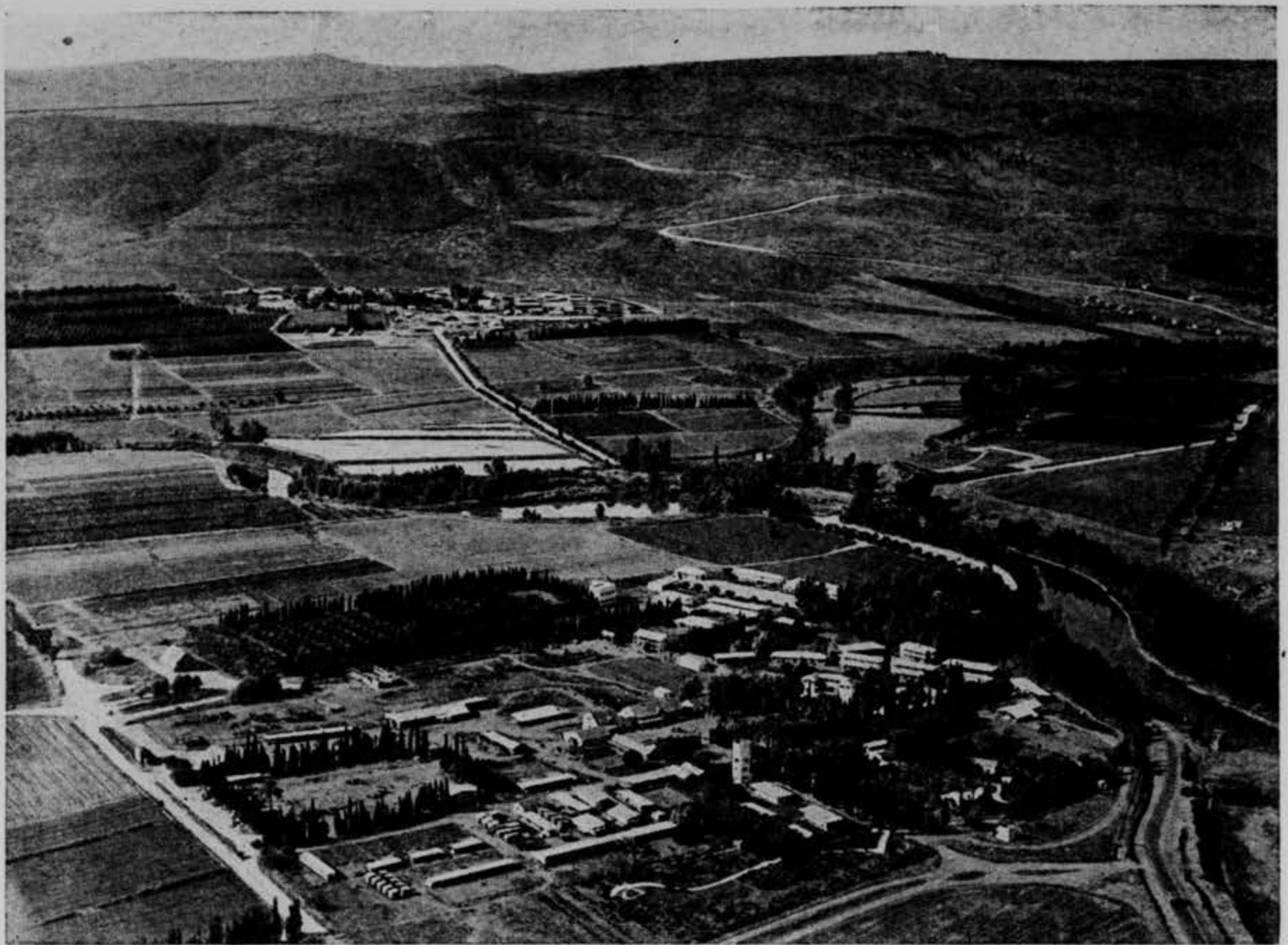
of Inquiry if the mandatory government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine mandate to it rather than wait for the next assembly of United Nations. It would assist the committee in thinking through the problem and in arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine. It is illogical, I fear, to ask the Committee of Inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

#### TESTIMONY OF ACHIEVEMENT

I believe that the Committee of Inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement. In Palestine they will see what the Jewish people inspired by the hope of reconstituting their national home after the long weary centuries of their homelessness and relying upon the honour and the pledged word of the World Community has achieved in the few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable handicaps. The task was enormous — untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor — neglected through the centuries; and the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove of benefit not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbours was envisaged by Emir Feisal who was the great leader of the Arab peoples at the peace conference following the first world war. On March 3, 1919, he wrote: "We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organisation to the Peace Conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best insofar as we are concerned to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home... I look forward, and my people with





JEWISH PIONEERING ACHIEVEMENTS: The Reclaimed Countryside — Jordan Valley Communal Settlements

Photo: Keren Hayesod (Z. Kluger)

me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the community of civilised peoples of the world." We are confident that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific methods will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East with which Palestine and the destinies of the Jewish national home are naturally bound up. The Committee of Inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many important projects which will result in great economic and social improvement not alone in Palestine but in all neighbouring countries are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

#### CAUSES OF UNREST

The Committee of Inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real, the fundamental, causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came not with weapons but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children is being driven to the pitch of resentment and tension lamentably driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore. They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees, — men, women and children, who have been through all the hells of Nazi Europe — are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish national home by a mandatory government which assumed as its prime obligation to

facilitate Jewish immigration into that country. They will also investigate, I hope, how the Mandatory Government is carrying out another of its obligations which is to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land; when in actual practice it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than six percent of that tiny country and is enforcing today in the Jewish national home discriminatory racial laws which the Mandate as well as the Charter of the U. N. severely condemn. By way of digression let it be said that we are not engaged nor shall we be engaged in any criticism or condemnation of the people of Great Britain. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization; and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which first among the nations gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the displaced persons camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitted to continue unabated two years after the close of a war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer. While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while intergovernmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow — perhaps tomorrow — redemption may come





Tel Aviv, the Urban Capital of Jewish Palestine, founded in 1909 on a barren stretch of sand dunes

Photo : Z. Kluger (Municipality of Tel Aviv).

that keeps their spirits from breaking utterly. Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the conscience of mankind speaking through U. N. and through its Committee of Inquiry will make it possible for those weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hope and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the Committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that pending ultimate decisions and implementations these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine. There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem which brooks no delay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed, will not only be a boon to these suffering human beings but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of the Committee of Inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the Mandatory Government.

The Jewish people places great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of the United Nations. It has faith in its collective

sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people and though we have often on the long, hard road which we have travelled been disillusioned we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles.

#### VICTORY OF TRUTH

In these last tragic years when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakeable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate in this task which the U. N. have undertaken.

We belong in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representative of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst — the representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions. We hope that that people now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland will be welcomed before long to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

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# THE RIGHT TO HOME AND FREEDOM

## CRUX OF PALESTINE ISSUE • REPLIES TO U. N. QUERIES

BY MOSHE SHERTOK

HEAD, POLITICAL DEPT., JEWISH AGENCY



**T**O treat the issue of Palestine in isolation from the immigration issue would make as much sense as to study the beating of a heart in disregard of blood circulation. A solution for the problem of Palestine which would ignore the Jewish claim and the need for immigration would solve nothing. Whoever undertook to implement such a solution would be driven back by the sheer impact of reality to face the problem of immigration. This is the crux of the Palestine problem.

To begin with, one basic point must be made clear. If it is granted that the Jewish people are in Palestine as of right, then all the implications and corollaries of that premise must be accepted. The foremost is that Jews must be allowed to resettle in Palestine in unlimited numbers, provided only they do not displace or worsen the lot of the existing inhabitants who are also there as of right. If that basic premise is not granted, then there is very little to discuss. It may sound quite plausible to argue that if the right of the Jews to return to Palestine is admitted on the grounds of ancient history, then the whole map of the world would have to be re-made and chaos would ensue. But does the question really arise? Do the descendants of the Romans, for example, claim entry into England? Do they need England? Does their future, their very existence, depend on settling there? Or do the Arabs, for that matter, press to return to Andalusia in Spain? Is it a matter of life and death for them? The analogy is fallacious and misleading. The great historic phenomenon of the Jewish return to

Palestine is unique because the position of the Jewish people as a homeless people, and yet attached with an unbreakable tenacity to its birthplace is unique. It is that phenomenon that has made the problem of Palestine an issue in international affairs, and no similar issue has ever arisen.

Were it not for the presence in Palestine today of over 600,000 Jews who refuse to be left in the minority position under Arab domination; were it not for the urge to settle in Palestine, of hundreds of thousands of homeless and uprooted Jews in Europe, in the Orient, and elsewhere; were it not for the hopes and efforts of millions of Jews throughout the world to re-establish their national home and build it up into a Jewish state, then the United Nations would not be faced with the problem of Palestine as it is now. The problem is real and pressing. It cannot be made to disappear by conjuring up non-existent difficulties alleged to be involved in its solution.

### RETURNING SONS

The question has been asked by the distinguished representative from India as to how many Jews from outside there were in Palestine at certain dates — the operating words being "from outside." In round figures the Jewish population at various times was 50,000 in 1909, 165,000 in 1930, 475,000 in 1939. Now it is about 630,000. Incidentally, there are more Jews in Palestine today than there were Arabs at the end of the first World War. But as to "Jews from outside", I cannot say. In a way, they are all from outside; they are practically all immigrants. There was but a tiny Jewish community in Palestine prior to 1880. In the early 1880's the return started, almost simultaneously from Russia and Rumania, from Morocco and Southern Arabia, and since then it has been practically continuous. It started because the Jews had always believed it to be their inalienable right to resettle Palestine. That right was subsequently internationally recognised and enshrined in the mandate. But quite apart from the mandate, nothing will eradicate, from the hearts of Jews, the conviction that it is their right to return. So in that deeper sense, they are not from outside at all but sons of the country.

The Arab spokesmen make much of the fact that Palestine has already taken in so many immigrants. These immigrants, they say, were received by the Arabs. But we cannot concede them that credit. Conversely, they say that the Jews have settled in Palestine at the expense of the Arabs. That debit item, too, we cannot admit. There has been no receiving of Jewish immigrants by Arabs nor any settlement of Jews at the expense of the Arabs. The Jews did not come as guests of anyone. They came in their own right. They received themselves and their brothers; and they did so by their own efforts and at the expense of no one else. Every acre of land we tilled was bought and had to be wrested from wilderness and desolation. Nothing was taken away — not one house, not one job. A tremendous amount of work, wealth and well-being was presented to the Arab population.

### SCOURGE OF DISPERSION

The honourable representative from India also asked whether since the Hitler regime had been crushed, the Jewish displaced persons would not be better advised to stay in Germany. Three-quarters of that Jewry — 6,000,000 people — are no more. But let us go back into the past. Jews had lived in Spain for a whole millennium when, in 1492, they were despoiled and expelled, and only those who gave up their Jewish identity and became

Trophy of Royal Navy: Seized Immigrant Ship, with inscription "The Germans destroyed our families and homes. Don't you destroy our hopes".





Christians were allowed to remain. Jews have lived in Poland since the eleventh or twelfth century, but in the seventeenth they were the victims of ferocious massacres. Then there were pogroms under the Russian Czars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and in the last war came the final catastrophe. Nearly all of Polish Jewry — 3,000,000 men, women, and children — were wiped out by the Nazis. In Germany, the beginnings of Jewish settlement are traced back to the fourth century. But just six centuries ago, most of the Jews in Germany were destroyed in a wave of frenzied persecution which swept Europe. Then, by the twentieth century, German Jews had reached the pinnacle of emancipation and were largely assimilated. Yet they were hurled down into the abyss of degradation and death. Even converts to Christianity were not spared. It is true that Hitler is gone now, but not anti-Semitism. He was the product, not the source of German Jew-hatred. Anti-Semitism in Germany and in many other parts of Europe is as rife as ever and potentially militant and fierce. Some Governments tried their best to keep it down, but they have a very hard job in doing so. The honourable representative of India has also asked whether the Jewish displaced persons would be assimilable in Palestine. The answer is yes. They would be perfectly assimilable in the Jewish community there — the one Jewish community in the world with a self-contained economic system and an independent cultural life which is eager and able to receive and absorb them. He asked whether they would not be better assimilable in Germany. The answer is no. You cannot settle in a graveyard, nor can you build a dwelling out of heaps of rubble.

Actually, most of the Jewish displaced persons are not from Germany itself, but from other countries. They are today in camps, or they otherwise continue as refugees because they cannot be resettled in Europe. They have now waited for two years, and in all this time no one has come forward with a solution to their problem. The clear recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee have remained on paper and, to them, they have proved a mockery. No one has offered an alternative to Palestine. But even if there were an alternative, they refuse to be treated as mere chattels. They appeal to the world to realise that they form part of a people which has a national will of its own. They want to go to the only country where they will feel at home, both individually and collectively. Their problem is inseparable from the problem of Palestine. It is the problem of Palestine.

The honourable representative of the Union of South Africa asked whether we wanted the question of the DP's in Europe examined solely in connection with Palestine, or in its general aspect. Our answer is that we believe that only in Palestine can the problem of these people be permanently and constructively solved, for only there can their lives be rebuilt on secure foundations and their homes become part of the home of the entire people.

The immigration issue is not confined to that of the Jewish displaced persons and unsettled refugees in Europe. Various Jewish communities in Europe are involved, as well as the Jews of the Arab and Oriental countries. With regard to these, members of the United Nations have heard idyllic accounts of the conditions of complete equality and true brotherhood under which they live. The Jewish Agency is naturally very intimately acquainted with the position, and the picture as we know it is totally different. In most of these countries Jews are treated as second or third-rate citizens. They live in perpetual fear of eruptions of fierce fanaticism, of which there have been tragic examples both in recent years and in the more remote past. Their lot ranges from precarious sufferance to active persecution. All formal statements under duress notwithstanding, their hopes and dreams are centered on Zion, and their youth has no other idea but to join its builders. We very strongly urge that the position of these communities should form part of the Inquiry Committee's investigations. But the most urgent problem is, of course, that of the displaced persons in Europe who are now on the brink of despair.

## ROOTS OF TERRORISM

The present political crisis in Palestine is nothing but a clash between the dire needs of Jewish immigration and the current anti-immigration policy of the mandatory power. We were asked by

the representative of India why public servants of the British Government in Palestine are today the victims of terrorist activity. The answer is because the White Paper of 1939 is still in force. Terrorism is a pernicious outgrowth of a disastrous policy. The Jewish Agency has unreservedly condemned terrorist bloodshed, and in that attitude it is supported by the large majority of the organised Jewish community. Its harm to the Jews and to the Jewish future is far graver than to the Government and people of the United Kingdom. But Jewish efforts to resist and check terrorism are continually frustrated because Government action, in pursuance of the White Paper, adds fuel to the fire. Our efforts will continue, but the representative of India will no doubt agree that Palestine is not the only country which has been afflicted with this most hateful disease.

Another question was why, in contradiction to the Emir Feisal's (Arab leader at 1919 Peace Conference) attitude, the Palestine Arabs were now opposed to Jewish immigration. This point has been fully covered in the statement of the Palestine-Arab case. All I would add is that the uncompromising opposition to immigration now voiced does not invalidate the broader conception and bolder vision expressed in the Feisal-Weizmann agreement, which indicated a way of harmonizing Jewish and Arab aspirations within a wider framework, fully taking into account the independence then promised and now achieved by the Arabs in vast territories. While I am on the point of promises, I should like to recall that Sir Henry McMahon (British High Commissioner in Egypt during World War I) himself stated that Palestine was never included in the promises made by him to the Arabs, and that this was well understood at the time by the late King Hussein (King Hussein of Hedjaz, Sherif of Mecca in 1915). It will also be recalled that Trans-Jordan, which was originally included in the Balfour Declaration, is today an Arab state.

## HOME AND STATE

Finally, the distinguished representative of India asked whether we recognized the distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home. The answer is that we do, but perhaps not quite in the sense in which the question was meant. The establishment of the Jewish national home is a process. The setting up of a Jewish State is its consummation. That such consummation had been intended by the authors of the Jewish national home policy and that a way was definitely left open for its achievement was conclusively proved by the Palestine Royal Commission. The point was fully understood by those responsible for the 1944 Statement on Palestine of the British Labour Party Executive. The Indian

"A war between Gentiles and Jewry" — Bevin. Military Deportation Party on board captured Refugee Ship in Haifa (Photo: Rosenblueth)







Target of Army Operations: "Illegals" Herded into Deportation Ships

representative drew attention to the use in that statement of the term, "Jewish national home" and not "Jewish state". But may I recall the words of Mr. Hugh Dalton, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when reporting on that statement of the Executive to the Labour Party Conference. He urged common support, in consultation with the United States and Soviet Governments "for a policy which will give us a happy, free, and prosperous Jewish state in Palestine." That was only two years ago.

The matter has a most vital bearing on the question of Palestine's independence. Unlike other mandates of Category A, the declared object of which was to prepare the country for independence, the Palestine mandate has no such clause. Its primary purpose, in the words of the Royal Commission, is the establishment of the Jewish national home. But, of course, the ultimate goal must be independence and the mandate must be terminated. So if, upon the termination of the Palestine mandate, its original purpose is to be fulfilled, if the future of the Jewish national home is to be permanently secured, if the national interest of the Jewish people is to be harmonized with other interests and not sacrificed for their sake, then a Jewish State must come into being. A home, in the words of a British statesman, in the debate on the White Paper for Palestine, is a place to which one is always free to come back. How is the national home to fulfill its primary functions of being open to Jews in need of it, if it is to remain forever subjected to non-Jewish sovereignty? An Arab minority in a Jewish state will be secure, if for no other reason, because the state will forever remain surrounded by Arab countries with which it will be most vitally interested to be at peace; also because there will always be Jewish minorities in other lands. But a Jewish minority in an Arab state will have no such security at all. It will

be at the mercy of the Arab majority, which would be free from all restraints.

The question of relationship of a Jewish state with the Arab people and of Jews living together with the Arabs is, of course, the dominant question of the future. The distinguished representative of Poland has asked whether there have been attempts at collaboration between Jews and Arabs. The answer is, yes, there have been, on both sides. Arabs and Jews have cooperated and are cooperating successfully in the wide and varied fields of municipal, commercial and labour affairs. Arabic is taught in all Jewish secondary schools and a large number of primary schools. The Jewish Agency is particularly active in spreading knowledge of Arabic in the Jewish settlements and promoting friendly relations between them and their Arab neighbours. From personal observation and direct experience accumulated over a period of forty-one years' residence in Palestine, I can affirm that there is nothing inherent in the nature of either the native Arab or the immigrant Jew which prevents friendly cooperation. On the contrary, considering the admittedly great difference of background, they mix remarkably well. By mixing I do not mean assimilation, for the Jew does not come to Palestine to assimilate to the Arab, but to develop his own distinctive individuality. Nor does he expect the Arab to assimilate to himself. What I mean is cooperation between a self-respecting Jew and a self-respecting Arab, and between the two communities. Today the issue is overshadowed and practical cooperation is hampered by the political conflict over the country's future. The present official leaders of the Arab states, having achieved practically all they wanted with so little sacrifice, refuse to admit the legitimacy of the national aspirations of another people. At the head of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine stands a man, who, apart from other well-known aspects of his activity, was directly involved during the war in the Nazi policy of extermination of the European Jews.

#### GOOD NEIGHBOURS

Nevertheless, the Jews do not lose heart. They come to Palestine not to fight the Arab world, but to live at peace with it. They are not an outpost of any foreign domination. Their ambition is to integrate themselves into the modern structure of reviving Asia. They are an old Asiatic people returning to their home. At the same time, they are anxious to make their contribution to the great work of bridge-building between modern Asia and the rest of the world. Their intense experience in development within the narrow confines of Palestine is yielding results which may be of value to all who are interested in social and economic progress in the Middle East and beyond. But their true partnership with their neighbours can only be based upon equality of status and mutual respect. The Jews claim what is the natural right to any people on the face of the earth — that as many of them as possible should live together in their own country, freely develop their civilisation, make their contribution to the common stock of humanity, and be self-governing and independent. They cannot possibly surrender that claim, and for its attainment they appeal for the assistance of the entire family of nations.

#### ESSENCE OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

(Continued from page 77)

doing in our country, in Palestine, is reclaiming the land, increasing the yield of the soil, developing modern agriculture and industry, science and art, raising the dignity of labour, ensuring women's status of equality, increasing man's mastery over nature, and working out a new civilisation based on human equality, freedom and cooperation in a world which we believe is as necessary and beneficial for our Arab neighbours as for ourselves.

Jewish-Arab partnership, based on equality and mutual assistance, will help to bring about the regeneration of the entire

Middle East. We Jews understand and deeply sympathize with the urge of the Arab people for unity, independence and progress, and our Arab neighbours, I hope, will realize that Jews in their own historic homeland, can under no conditions be made to remain a subordinate, dependent minority, as they are in all other countries in the Diaspora. The Jewish nation in its own country must become a free and independent state, with membership in the United Nations. It is eager to cooperate with its free Arab neighbours to promote economic development, social progress, and real independence of all the Semitic countries in the Middle East. I most earnestly suggest that a real, just and lasting solution of the problem is a Jewish State and a Jewish-Arab alliance.

# REPORT FROM FLUSHING MEADOWS

CLOSE-UP OF U. N. • HIGHLIGHTS OF ASSEMBLY

BY FAY DORON

OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT AT U. N.

DELEGATES and pressmen making their way to the United Nations building in Flushing Meadows saw the American countryside looking its best. Summer is in the air and the trees are clouds of pink and white blossom. This burgeoning of nature has always been linked by the poets and the optimists with a renewed belief in mankind. But it is symptomatic that the winds of spring are carefully kept at bay in the United Nations headquarters, where the Assembly meets in a man-made atmosphere of air conditioning and artificial lighting.

The victory of technical achievements over nature may be taken to symbolise the underlying battle fought out at Flushing Meadows, where power politics and the stench of oil, amid which one can perceive the acrid smell of far-off gunpowder, suffocate the still small voice of human conscience.

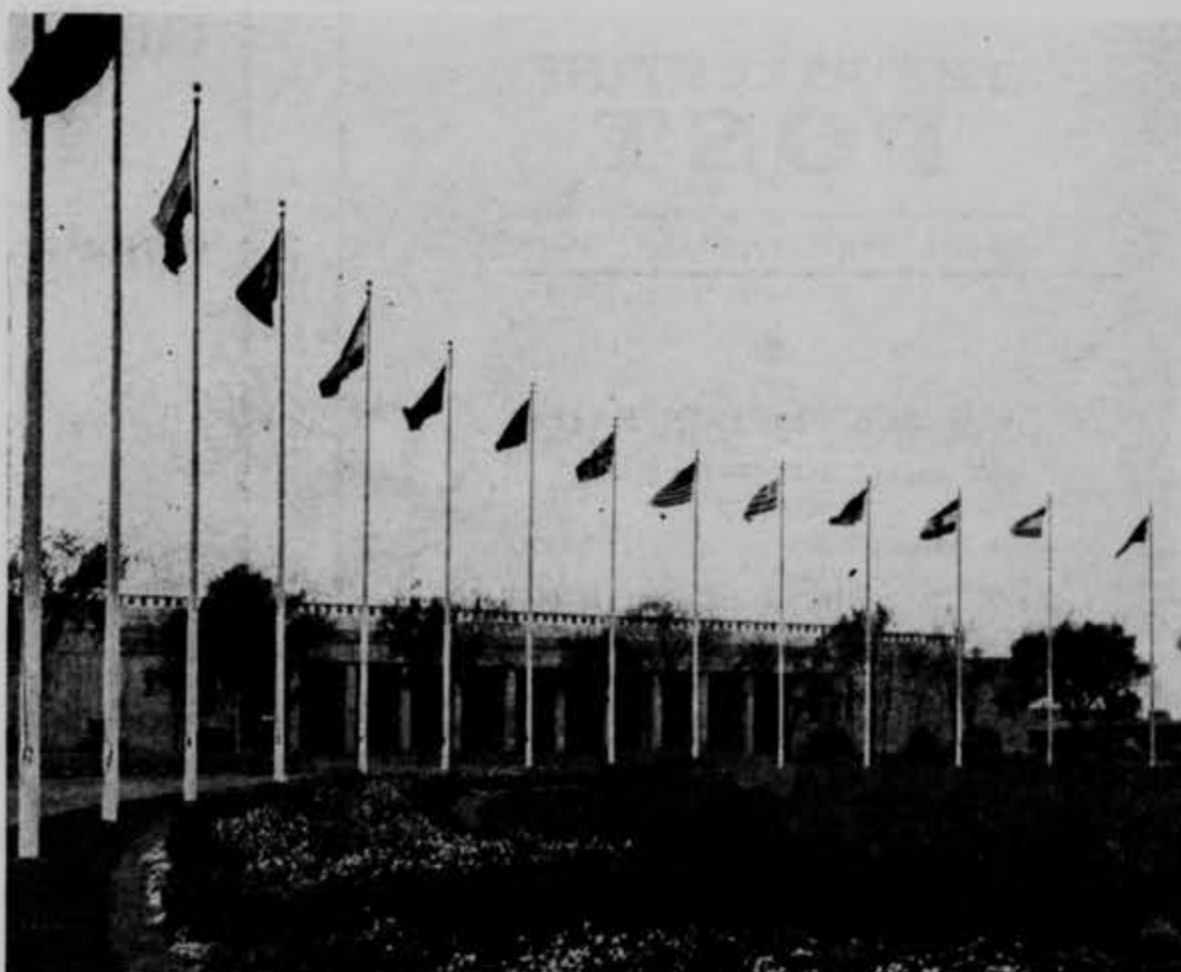
Looking back over the three long weeks of endless debate and bickering, however, the Jewish observer may derive a certain feeling of relief. After the first few days of bitter disappointment, when the representatives of the five Arab States had the freedom of the floor with no one to gainsay their statements or to state the Jewish case, the Assembly began to regain its sense of equilibrium and finally its decision was more favourable than had at first been thought possible. The Jewish Agency was formally recognised and the important precedent set of non-governmental bodies being allowed to participate in the United Nations proceedings. The Arab resolution calling for the termination of the Mandate and the immediate independence of Palestine was defeated. And almost at the end of the session, Soviet Russia electrified the world with what may be called the "Gromyko Declaration."

The United Nations Organisation consists nominally of 55 member-states, but it speaks with two major voices — that of the Anglo-Saxon powers and that of Russia. The smaller nations generally move within the orbits of England, America or the Soviet Union. It was, perhaps, not altogether a coincidence that as my train pulled in to the Station, the guard should have

shouted: "United Nations, watch your step!" For it seemed to me later that most of the delegates were occupied chiefly in watching not only their own steps but those also of their neighbours and even more of the three Great Powers. There were, it is true, several occasions during those three weeks when some of the smaller countries broke out of step, but in the end the field will be found to contain only the three great protagonists of the world drama. Notable among the side-steppers was the Indian delegate who took every opportunity of "needling" Great Britain and kept the press gallery in a subdued guffaw. Darting through the discussions like a mosquito, the Indian representative dealt such pricks as declaring that his government condoned with England on the difficulties of her "untenable" position in Palestine.

The climate of the United Nations gathering was one of continual change. The weather vane veered continuously

with the wind of opinion, each breeze between the cardinal parties concerned switching it abruptly. No one could foretell from one hour to the next how things were going to shape, and the unhappy newspaperman had to be on the spot the whole time in order not to miss the rising storm or the prospect of fair weather. Thus, for instance, the Arabs had had a field day at the opening session. But they began to lose ground as they overplayed their hand. Not even the most prejudiced among the delegates could stomach their arrogance and their continual contempt for the Chair eventually aroused the anger of the usually suave chairman, Senor Oswaldo Aranha. Later, they began to make a comeback and reached a new peak when the Arab Higher Committee withdrew its application to appear before the Assembly. This show of injured pride quickly brought the United Nations to their knees and the Palestine Arabs were soon being besought to reconsider their refusal to appear and were finally assured of equal representation



Entrance to U. N. Assembly Hall at Flushing Meadows

(U. N. Photo)





Mr. David Ben-Gurion conferring with the Indian delegate, Mr. Asaf Ali, at Flushing

with the Jewish Agency. Flushed with their victory, the Palestine Arabs eventually made their major mistake. Touched on the raw by references to the head of the Higher Committee (made in the main by the Polish delegate and to a much lesser extent by the spokesmen of the Jewish Agency as well as by the memorandum submitted by the Nation Associates), Emile Ghory lost his temper. He made his by now notorious comment on the crucifixion and thus put himself outside the pale of modern civilised society. From that moment the Arab stock began to drop.

This episode was one of the three dramatic moments of the United Nations session, galvanising the Assembly as it did with a rude shock. The other two highlights were of greater significance. The first was the appearance of the Jewish Agency delegation and the deep impression created by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Mr. David Ben Gurion and Mr. Moshe Shertok as they made their statements on behalf of the Jewish people. The entire gathering seemed to realise that it was an historic occasion. The second dramatic episode was when Mr. Gromyko stated the Soviet Government's attitude to

the Palestine problem. He spoke in the Assembly Hall at Flushing, where there are no arrangements for simultaneous translation. As a result, the press gallery was almost empty for the reporters not knowing Russian had made for the bar to pass the time until the English translation should be forthcoming. For those who knew Russian, it was a "scoop" and there was a sudden flurry as people came hurrying back into the hall when it was known that Gromyko was making an historic speech. As the French interpreter stepped up to the rostrum and began his translation, one could feel the angry disappointment of the Arab delegates, the almost painful though highly controlled attention of the British representatives. Whatever may have been the motives behind the Russian statement there was no doubt as to the dramatic atmosphere it created.

Now the stage is being laid for the next act, but we shall have to wait for the denouement until September. The technical arrangements made for the convening of the family of nations were admirable. The Assembly met in an excellently lighted hall, where the acoustics were as good as are humanly possible. The proceedings were broadcast and televised. Speeches were translated almost miraculously and simultaneously into a number of languages by a system prepared, ironically enough, for the Nuremberg Trials. If mankind could achieve the same levels in matters of conduct and conscience as have been reached in the technical field, there might be hope for the world and recompense for the Jewish people.

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# U. N. ASSEMBLY AS SEEN FROM JERUSALEM

## FROM CYNICISM TO HOPE • JEWISH AND ARAB REACTIONS

BY WALTER EYTAN

THE proceedings of the U. N. Assembly's special session were followed in Palestine with the closest attention. Every newspaper, Jewish and Arab, carried long reports from Flushing Meadows and Lake Success. Many people who owned sufficiently powerful wireless sets made a daily practice of listening in to the speeches, which were broadcast direct from America. The Palestine Broadcasting Service did its share by devoting a great deal of time in its news bulletins to what the delegates of the U. N. were saying and doing. This excellent all-round coverage reflected the interest shown by all the inhabitants of Palestine in these lengthy discussions which were likely to affect their future for many years to come.

Before the special session started, the public was perhaps inclined to be pessimistic, if not a little cynical, about these debates and their outcome. The prospect of yet another commission aroused no great enthusiasm. There had already been seventeen or eighteen commissions — no one seemed certain of the exact number — and it was thought hardly likely that a nineteenth would make much difference. The fact that the U. N. meeting coincided with the first anniversary of the publication, and the almost simultaneous rejection, of the Anglo-American Committee's report was not lost on the politically conscious. Leading articles in all the newspapers brought it to the notice of the public at large, and contributed not a little to the widespread feeling of despondency. As the session got under way, however, the public mood underwent a noticeable change. It was seen that the delegates were in earnest, that they were genuinely seeking a solution, and that they were determined to do justice to all sides.

In particular, the attitude of the smaller nations was widely appreciated. They seemed to have made up their minds that Palestine should not become, or remain, the plaything of power politics. Perhaps they felt a natural sympathy with the Jews and Arabs, both of them small nations like themselves. Whatever the reason, their representatives talked sense and kept their feet planted firmly on the ground. Everyone spoke well of the chairmanship of Dr. Aranha and Mr. Pearson. A new sense of confidence quickly made itself felt in Palestine, particularly in Jewish circles. The Jews were satisfied, on the whole, that the international aspects of the Palestine pro-

blem were once again to the fore. They felt they had nothing to lose by public discussion of their case, and they had only one fear — that pressure might be brought to bear on the fact-finding commission not to visit Palestine. Some hints had apparently been dropped to this effect, and such a move would have been interpreted as a manoeuvre to prevent the commission from seeing Jewish achievements in Palestine for themselves. Happily, subsequent events proved this fear to have been unfounded, and the members of the commission are to have the opportunity of seeing everything they want.

The attitude adopted by the Arab States at the special session was disconcerting, though it cannot have come wholly as a surprise. Even Arabs were shocked at the things their spokesmen said and at their tactical blunders. The Arab newspaper "*Ash-Shaab*", for instance, asked: "Was it advisable to say in front of an international body that we hate the Jews because they are Jews?" There was, generally, a good deal of disagreement and heresy-hunting in the Arab camp. Observers could not help noticing the contradictory statements made by Arab delegates. The representative of Lebanon said in the course of the discussion that "the only valid, legal, international instrument or framework under which Palestine is at present governed and administered is definitely that of the Mandate of the League of Nations." The Iraqi delegate, however, said: "I want it to be thoroughly understood that the Mandate is illegal; the Mandate has never gained a legal foundation". What were the Arabs of Palestine to make of things if Arab spokesmen at the United Nations flatly contradicted one another in this way? This confusion and dissatisfaction found ample expression in Arab newspaper comment, which in one or two cases at least went so far as to question the right of the Arab Higher Executive to speak in the name of the Palestine Arabs. Mr. Henry Cattani's speech, however, met with general approval; he spoke with more restraint, and with greater regard for relevance, than most of the other Arab delegates. The general conclusion seemed to be that of one Arab newspaper which said: "We must select very carefully the people who are to defend us".

Jewish circles were satisfied, on the whole, with the hearing which had been given to the Jewish Agency and with the manner in which the Agency's representatives had put

their case. Full representation on the Assembly itself would of course have been preferred, but as this proved to be impossible it was felt that appearance before the Political Committee served essentially the same purpose. The opportunity which the United Nations gave to both the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine to state their views, even though they did not represent sovereign states, was particularly appreciated in Jewish circles. It was taken as a sign that the United Nations proposed to deal fairly with the two parties whose future would be most profoundly affected by their decision, in spite of their inability to claim the formal attributes of statehood. The prestige of the Jewish Agency, as the body internationally recognised to speak on behalf of the Jewish people in matters affecting Palestine, was undoubtedly strengthened both by the part it took in the proceedings of the Political Committee and by the tone and content of the speeches its representatives made.

It was thought unlikely that any of the Great Powers would take a definite stand at this preliminary stage. Great Britain had declared her intention of doing no more than submit the problem to the United Nations, without any kind of recommendation or suggested solution. Her motives were obscure, but the move seemed tactically intelligible. It was felt, however, that Great Britain's position was weakened by her declaration that she did not feel bound to accept the United Nations' decision. This had been stated by the First Lord of the Admiralty in the House of Lords and was expounded at greater length, though not very convincingly, by Sir Alexander Cadogan at the United Nations meeting. It was repeated explicitly by Mr. Bevin himself at the Labour Party's Conference at Margate on May 29th. Public opinion in Palestine, and not among Jews alone, held that if Britain was sincere in handing over to the United Nations a problem which she was unwilling or unable to solve on her own, she could not morally do other than abide by the United Nations' decision. To the people of Palestine, accustomed to daily displays of British armed might, the spectacle of Great Britain on the defensive at Lake Success had about it an element of the grotesque. It appears to be generally believed in this country that the settlement of the Palestine question which Great Britain favours is a continuation of the Palestine



mandate, in the form of a trusteeship, shorn of the clauses which provide for the establishment of a Jewish National Home. Certain Arab quarters ascribe to Great Britain motives and intentions which are even more sinister than this. It is doubtful whether more than one man in a hundred believes that Great Britain proposes to relinquish her control over Palestine, and Mr. Bevin's references to the Middle East in the last foreign affairs debate in the House of Commons and at the Margate Conference have done nothing to shake this generally held view. The main question, as seen by those who consider themselves realists, is how Great Britain's continued interest in Palestine can be reconciled with Jewish and Arab aspirations. The *Palestine Post*, on the day the Assembly's special session began, offered a solution in three succinct sentences: "No scheme for the future of Palestine stands any chance of general acceptance that does not make allowance for the reasonable satisfaction of both Jewish and Arab claims. It is only under such a scheme that Great Britain is likely to find satisfaction for her own legitimate claims. No plan has ever been propounded that will do justice to all three parties in an undivided Palestine". This is putting the case for partition in a nutshell, and it is probable that there is greater support for such a policy in Palestine to-day than for any other suggested solution.

The attitude of the United States at Lake Success and Flushing Meadows came in for a good deal of criticism from both Jews and Arabs. Initial American opposition to Jewish representation at the Assembly made a painful impression in Jewish quarters, and was not wholly made good by America's insistence, at a later stage of the proceedings, that no "independence" clause be included in the commission's terms of reference. Arab circles, of course, unanimously attacked the United States' attitude as "pro-Zionist", and oddly enough it still seems to be generally believed by Arabs that appeasement of her Jewish electorate is the only factor that weighs with America in deciding her Palestine policy. During the sittings of the U. N. Assembly it was clear, however, to all dispassionate observers that the United States were steering a careful middle course and were anxious not to commit themselves to anything or anyone. However disappointing this may be to those who believed that successive Presidents' messages to Zionist conventions were a sure pointer to American policy, it is a political

fact that is being increasingly realised and taken into account.

The sensation of the Assembly's special session was the closing speech of M. Gromyko, the Soviet delegate. Russia had for years been very careful not to commit herself on the Palestine issue, and little was known of her views on the subject apart from what could be gleaned from occasional articles in *New Times* and other periodicals. Her general view seemed to be that the people of Palestine must cast off the yoke of colonial servitude, but who exactly the "people of Palestine" were, and what they were to do after shaking off the shackles, was never made very clear. Communist parties all over the world, relying upon their recollection of Russian statements in the past, agreed that Zionism was a tool of British imperialism; and it was understood that Zionism and the Hebrew language were proscribed throughout the Soviet Union. And now M. Gromyko rose to his feet and made a speech that sounded, in parts, very much like a Zionist speech. He conceded the right of the Jews to a home of their own, and declared that his Government wished to see the establishment of an agreed Arab-Jewish State or, if this proved impossible, of separate Jewish and Arab States in Palestine. This declaration was welcomed in almost all Jewish circles, and Arab opposition was neither as loud nor as pointed as one might have expected. The general feeling seemed to be one of relief that Russia had at last declared herself on this subject. Her sphinx-like attitude in the past had encouraged all kinds of hopes and fears, and had thus contributed greatly to the general uncertainty of the situation. It had, moreover, been used — sometimes quite openly — for purposes of political pressure by the Arabs. "If you, Great Britain and America, do not concede our claims, you will drive us into the arms of Russia," seemed to be the line of reasoning. Always inherently unreasonable, owing to the lack of any common interest between the Arab ruling class and the leaders of a union of socialist republics, this threat has now been completely exploded. If Britain in the past two years appeased the Arabs for fear of the Soviet Union, there is now nothing left to appease them for. According to an exceptionally well informed political correspondent in London, this has already led to a modification, or at least to a review, of Britain's Palestine

policy — but outwardly, to Palestinian eyes, there has been no sign of this so far. That it must, logically, lead to such a modification, there can be no doubt; but logic is not a determining factor in politics, and few people in Palestine really believe that Great Britain will seize the chance that Russia has offered her. Although Russia's intention may have been merely to hasten British withdrawal from the Middle East, she has in fact given Great Britain — or more correctly, the United Nations — the opportunity of an agreed settlement of the Palestine problem. If such a settlement could be achieved, it might well be a stepping-stone to agreement on other problems which at present divide the "Slav" from the "Western" bloc. Palestinians are inclined to take more than a parochial view of M. Gromyko's proposals, whose salutary effect may in time be felt well beyond the borders of Palestine itself. Probably few people, even now, would claim to understand fully the Russian point of view, but at least the spell has been broken, the magic word has been said, and we may all yet have a chance of living happily ever after.

The Jews have welcomed the United Nations commission to Palestine and are confident that substantial justice will be done. The traditional Jewish belief in abstract justice has been well to the fore in newspaper comment during the past few days. No Jew can believe that a panel of impartial judges would fail to understand the Jewish case. The Arabs, on the other hand, have their doubts. Their leader in Palestine, Jamal Husseini, has expressed himself in very violent terms, which in fairness to him it may be best not to quote. With no threat of a Russian alliance left to fall back on, Arab leaders seem to be groping for something else as a support to keep them from falling. They learned at Lake Success that shrill voices do not carry far; we are unlikely to hear a repetition, except perhaps *sotto voce*, of Dr. Fadhil Jamali's threat to "throw the Zionists back into the sea". But, whether Jew or Arab, all Palestinians will be looking to September 1st, the day by which the commission has been asked to submit its report. It is only then, when the commission's recommendations come up for discussion, that it will be possible to assess Palestine's chances of peaceful development in the future. The voice will be the voice of the commission, but the decisions will be the Assembly's own.

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# MEMORANDUM TO UNITED NATIONS

## PROBLEM AND SOLUTION • PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN OPINION

*A comprehensive survey of the Palestine problem, advocating a Jewish State and a partition solution, was submitted to the U. N. General Assembly by prominent non-Jewish leaders of progressive American opinion, including Freda Kirchwey, Editor of "The Nation" and President of the Nation Associates, Philip Murray, President of Congress of Industrial Organizations, Henry A. Atkinson, Secretary of the Church Peace Union, James G. Patton, President of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, and others. Excerpts are given below from this notable document.*

THE Palestine case, now before the United Nations, is a challenge to the conscience of mankind. More than that, it is a challenge to the honour of the United Nations, its capacity to maintain peace, and its willingness to extend the area of human rights and dignity. Today on the continent of Europe 1,369,800 Jews remain alive out of a pre-war population of 6,500,000 exclusive of the Soviet Union, which had a Jewish population of 3,000,000, half of whom were destroyed by the Nazis. The mass slaughter of the Jewish people was accomplished by the Nazis without effective interference from other nations. Not until the war's end did the world come to know the full details of a horror so dark it defied belief — the story of more than six million Jews herded into camps, deported, starved to death, tortured to death, gassed to death, burned to death, or massacred in the towns where they lived.

The argument may be valid that no general measures of rescue were possible during the war years. But it must also be said that the Nazi extermination programme was planned by Hitler even before he came to power and was put into effect, bit by bit, throughout the years of bloodless conquest between 1933 and 1939. The pattern was everywhere the same: withdrawal of citizenship, suppression of organised opposition, denial of livelihood, expropriation of property, humiliation of the individual, and finally deportation and death. Few of those who could have been saved — even those who sought safety in flight — were saved, for no country was willing to open a single door to rescue a single life.

One people in one country was prepared to welcome these victims — the Jewish community in Palestine. But the doors of Palestine too were slammed shut in the face of the suppliants. The British White Paper, enacted in May, 1939, limited immigration to 75,000 in five years, at the rate of 15,000 per year. This restrictive order, which was declared illegal by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, was enacted, quite frankly, in an effort to appease the Arabs. This act of appeasement, like other similar acts of the Chamberlain government, resulted in failure. The White Paper violated the Mandate, but it did not buy the loyalty of the Arabs.

Their war record was one of enmity and double-dealing. The Jews, on the other hand, though injured and betrayed by the restrictions imposed in the White Paper, played a notable role in the defeat of the Axis. 1,300,000 Jews were in uniform in the armed forces of the United Nations: 550,000 Jewish men and women served in the armed forces of the United States; 500,000 in the armed forces of the Soviet Union; 65,000 in the armed forces of Britain. In Palestine 85,800 and 50,400 women volunteered for war service; 27,028 Palestine Jews served with the British forces in Palestine and France, Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Abyssinia, Libya, Greece, Crete, Iraq, Italy, Austria, and the Low Countries. Sixty units of Royal Engineers, transportation, ordnance, electrical, and mechanical services served and ranked high in the estimation of their respective commands. Selected civilian volunteers carried out secret raids in the Middle East and parachute missions in enemy Europe. Half of them lost their lives.

At the war's end the common assumption was that the first victims of Hitlerism would be the first to be rescued by a sympathetic world. That the doors of Palestine would be promptly opened to the Jews was taken for granted, especially after the Labour Party came to power in Great Britain. President Truman, within two months after the end of the war, despatched Earl Harrison to Europe to investigate the plight of the Jews. Upon receiving his report, on August 31, 1945, the President requested the British Labour government to open Palestine to the 100,000 Jewish refugees then in the German displaced persons camps.

Almost two years have passed. The refugees have not been admitted to Palestine except in insignificant numbers, even though the Anglo-American Committee — the eighteenth commission of inquiry since the Balfour Declaration — studied the problem anew in 1946 and again requested the admission of 100,000. Today the refugee colony in Germany, Austria and Italy numbers almost 250,000. Every method of exclusion and repression has been utilized by the British government to prevent the entry of these people into Palestine. Behind this policy is the larger purpose of seeking support for British imperial interests, both material and strategic, from the ruling

elements among the Arabs, even at the cost of defending a decadent feudal and hierarchical social system and at the same time violating the commitments embodied in the Palestine Mandate.

Five hundred thousand Jews in Europe, almost half of the surviving Jewish population, "may wish or be impelled to migrate from Europe", according to the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. An exhaustive study by the committee, country by country, revealed an active anti-Semitism which, added to the impoverishment and the psychological horror of living in countries responsible for the slaughter of their families and friends, has produced a frantic desire, as well as a need, to emigrate. In the words of the committee, while "the governments of the countries we visited expressed their opposition to anti-Semitism... this is a poison which after years of infection takes years to eradicate."

The refusal of the British to admit more than a thin trickle of the displaced Jews of Europe to Palestine has mobilized the entire Jewish community in opposition to this policy. Boatload after boatload of Jewish immigrants in past months has made its way to Palestine, only to be forcibly removed and sent to the Island of Cyprus. Each transfer has been accompanied by resistance, first on the part of the immigrants themselves, and second on that of the Jewish community. Regarding restrictions of the White Paper as illegal, the Jews of Palestine decline to regard any Jewish immigration as illegal.

All observers in Palestine report that the Jews will refuse a solution which fails to satisfy their demand for the admission of refugees and for the right to conduct their own affairs.

In the opinion of Crossman and others the Jews will fight to the finish to achieve their goal. Ben Gurion, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency, told Crossman in Palestine: "In deciding our destiny don't make the mistake of thinking of us as Jews like the Jews you have in London. Imagine that we are Englishmen fighting for our national existence, and calculate that we shall behave as you would behave if you were in our situation..."



# KUPAT-AM BANK LIMITED

BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1946

LIABILITIES			ASSETS		
SHARE CAPITAL					
AUTHORISED			CASH IN HAND AND AT BANKS		
10,000 Ordinary Shares of LP. 5 each	LP. Mils	LP. Mils			1,099,372.073
21,000 6% Cumulative Preference Shares	50,000.000		INVESTMENTS — at cost or market price		
"A" and "B" of LP. 5 each			whichever lower:		
19,000 5% Cumulative Preference Shares	105,000.000		British Government Securities	150,581.250	
"C" of LP. 5 each	95,000.000		Palestine Securities and other Investments	18,840.088	169,421.338
	250,000.000		SUBSIDIARY COMPANY —		
ISSUED AND PAID			Paid o/a of 995 shares of LP. 5 each	1,243.750	
6,670 Ordinary Shares of LP. 5 each	Issued	Paid	Advances	838.695	2,082.445
5,614 6% Cumulative Preference Shares	33,350.000	33,350.000	BILLS DISCOUNTED —		
"A" of LP. 5 each	28,070.000	28,070.000*)	less interest received in advance	155,305.773	
15,373 6% Cumulative Preference Shares	76,865.000	19,684.639*)	LOANS, ADVANCES AND SUNDRY		
"B" of LP. 5 each	2,275.000	2,275.000	ACCOUNTS		
455 5% Cumulative Preference Shares	140,560.000	83,379.639		553,534.328	708,840.101
"C" of LP. 5 each			PROPERTY :—		
GENERAL RESERVE			Building at Haifa and Safes		
DOUBTFUL DEBTS RESERVE			after depreciation	29,049.913	
CURRENT ACCOUNTS, DEPOSITS and			50% Shares in "Binyanei Bank"		
SUNDRY CREDITORS			Ltd. (T. A.) at cost	19,671.000	48,720.913
GUARANTEES AND ENGAGEMENTS			FURNITURE — after depreciation		
ON BEHALF OF CUSTOMERS— see contra			LIABILITIES OF CUSTOMERS FOR		
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT			GUARANTEES and ENGAGEMENTS		
Balance at 1.1.1946	14,027.248		— see contra		551,352.973
Dividend declared by Annual					
General Meeting of 16.6.1946					
LP. 4,515.258					
Bonusses and					
Donations " 6,439.355	10,954.613				
	3,072.635				
PROFIT FOR THE YEAR	20,922.380	23,995.015			
		2,582,974.774			
BILLS, MORTGAGES ETC. FOR SECURITY					
and COLLECTION — see contra					
	1,131,331.008				

\*) Part of "B" Pref. Shares converted into "A" Pref. Shares, in accordance with the Scheme of Conversion.

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S. RAPOPORT, General Manager.

NOTE : — Guarantees have been given by the Bank in respect of 502 Policies of "Habitahon Hahadadi" Shel Havrei Kupat Am, Aguda Hadadit Ltd.

Statement Pursuant to Section 107(5), Companies Ordinance, 1929: —

The profit of the Subsidiary Company for the year 1946 is not included in the Bank's accounts.

Directors :  
W. GLUSKIN, Chairman.  
S. RAPOPORT, General Manager

AUDITORS' REPORT : We have audited the Balance Sheet of Kupat Am Bank Limited as at December, 31, 1946, as above set forth, we have verified the cash in hand and at Banks, the investments and bills, we have checked the vouchers and documents and have obtained all the information and explanations required. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Bank's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Bank.

Tel Aviv, April 15, 1947.

ROJANSKY, STERN & Co.  
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BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1946

LIABILITIES				ASSETS	
	LP. Mills	LP. Mills	LP. Mills		LP. Mills
<b>SHARE CAPITAL</b>	<b>Authorised in</b>	<b>issued</b>	<b>paid</b>		
Founders' Shares	100.—	100.—	100.—	CASH IN HAND AND BALANCES WITH BANKS	63,502.349
5% Non-Cumulative Participating Preference Shares "A" Redeemable at the option of the Company	10,000.—	10,000.—	10,000.—	DEPOSITS WITH BANKS FOR FIXED PERIODS	13,087.581
Ordinary Shares	49,900.—	30,856.—	30,607.—	SECURITIES, at cost or market value, whichever is lower	73,622.979
	60,000.—	40,956.—	40,707.—	8,000 PREFERENCE SHARES of LP. 2.500 each in the Judea Insurance Co. Ltd., at cost	20,000.—
GENERAL RESERVE			20,000.—	MORTGAGES AND ADVANCES ON MORTGAGE AGREEMENTS	62,648.511
OTHER RESERVE ACCOUNTS			8,000.—	LOANS (including LP. 10,343.636 guaranteed by the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael Ltd.)	18,213.106
LIFE INSURANCE FUND			167,948.291	HOUSE PROPERTY, at cost, as per Deed of Sale	5,000.—
FIRE, ACCIDENT, MARINE AND GENERAL INSURANCE FUND			52,463.340	LOANS ON COMPANY'S POLICIES, WITHIN THEIR SURRENDER VALUE	7,110.787
CLAIMS ADMITTED OR INTIMATED				OUTSTANDING PREMIUMS	27,645.978
Fire, Accident, Marine and General Insurance	26,483.465			BALANCES DUE FROM OTHER INSURING COMPANIES	7,773.907
Less Advances	4,208.569			SUNDRY DEBTORS, Less Reserve	2,166.357
	22,274.896			RE-INSURING COMPANIES	
Life Assurance	947.792		23,222.688	Life Assurance Fund	49,079.370
BALANCES DUE TO OTHER INSURING COMPANIES			10,596.643	Fire, Accident Marine and General Insurance Fund	18,286.591
DEPOSITS BY RE-INSURING COMPANIES				Claims admitted or intimated	7,067.730
For Life Assurance Fund	37,294.399			COMMISSIONS FOR LIFE INSURANCE ON ACCOUNT OF FUTURE YEARS	11,813.941
For Fire, Accident, Marine and General Insurance Fund	11,916.378		49,210.777		
SUNDRY CREDITORS AND CREDIT BALANCES			6,581.838		
PREMIUMS RECEIVED IN ADVANCE (Net)			3,715.454		
INTEREST RECEIVED IN ADVANCE			92.799		
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT —					
Balance as at 31st December, 1946			4,471.357		
			387,010.187		387,010.187

E. KUTZENOK }  
J. SHRIER } Directors

## AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE SHAREHOLDERS OF ZION INSURANCE CO. LTD.


We have examined the above Balance Sheet of ZION INSURANCE CO. LTD. and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. We have verified the cash in hand, the balances with banks, and the securities. The latter include securities of a nominal value of LP. 7,000.— deposited with the Government of Palestine in compliance with the requirements of section 101 of the Companies Ordinance, 1929. A part of the mortgages, loans and securities are registered in the name of trustees on behalf of the Company. The above Balance Sheet is in our opinion properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the above Insurance Company, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Company.


Jerusalem, 7th April, 1947

BRAUDE & CO.  
Chartered Accountants, Auditors


## TNUVA-

PALESTINE'S  
LARGEST  
MARKETING  
ORGANISATION  
OF  
FARM PRODUCTS





# תנובה



## WINE

## COGNAC

## LIQUEUR





# SOLEL BONEH LTD.

The Contracting Organisation of the  
Jewish Labour Federation in Palestine

• • •

GENERAL CONTRACTORS FOR BUILDING, ROAD  
CONSTRUCTION AND OTHER PUBLIC WORKS

Also own and operate the following industries:

LIME & STONE PRODUCTION CO. LTD.  
HAIFA • TEL-AVIV • JERUSALEM

• • •

KOOR. INDUSTRIES AND CRAFTS CO. LTD  
Coordinating Industrial Enterprises:

VULCAN FOUNDRIES LTD., HAIFA  
"HAMAT" TOOLS AND MACHINERY  
MANUFACTURERS CO. LTD., TEL-AVIV  
THE PALESTINE WINDOW GLASS WORKS  
"PHOENICIA" LIMITED, HAIFA

"HAWAK" LIMITED

GENERAL BUILDING MATERIALS

Tel-Aviv Factory for Silicate Bricks at Nachlat Yehuda.

"KHARSAH" CERAMIC WORKS, HAIFA

• • •

THE PALESTINE PORTLAND CEMENT WORKS  
LTD. (Part Holding)

• • •

HAMGAPER LTD., HAIFA (part owners)  
Manufacturers of rubber and reclaimed rubber products.

• • •

HEROUTH LTD. TEL-AVIV, HAIFA, JERUSALEM  
Suppliers, Contractors and Manufacturers of Water and  
Sanitary Installations.

• • •

"OGEN" LTD., HAIFA

Operating, Building and Repairing of Launches and Boats.

• • •

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P. O. B. 563 • TELEPHONE 4311-15

BRANCH OFFICES:

39, LILIEBLUM STREET, TEL-AVIV  
1, BEN-YEHUDA STREET, JERUSALEM

# HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI

PALESTINE COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD.

HEAD OFFICE:

TEL AVIV, HAMASHBIR BLDG., SALAMEH RD., P.O.B. 130  
PHONE 6011-16

BRANCHES:

HAIFA, P. O. B. 295,  
PHONE 4271

JERUSALEM, P. O. B. 438,  
PHONE 3854

THE CENTRAL SUPPLYING INSTITUTION OF  
THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN PALESTINE

## SALES DEPARTMENTS:

GROCERIES — FEEDING STUFFS / GRAINS  
& CEREALS-SEEDS / CHEMICALS-FERTILIZERS /  
AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY — TOOLS &  
IMPLEMENTS / DAIRY EQUIPMENT — REFRIG-  
ERATION / IRRIGATION EQUIPMENT—PUMPS /  
INDUSTRIAL EQUIPMENT / ENGINEERING  
SUPPLIES OF EVERY DESCRIPTION / FISHING  
& FISH-BREEDING EQUIPMENT / BUILDING  
MATERIALS — FUEL & LUBRICATING OILS /  
TEXTILES — FOOT WEAR ETC. / STATIONERY  
& WRITING MATERIALS / HOUSEHOLD &  
KITCHEN UTENSILS

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PORTLAND CEMENT WORKS LTD. / HATZAMAR  
LTD. / MIN'AL LTD. / FLOUR & FODDER MILL /  
HAKHAYAL TEXTILE LTD. / SEED CLEANING &  
SELECTION PLANT

Some of the above enterprises are operated jointly  
with other companies

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY AND  
IMPLEMENTS MANUFACTURED IN  
AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS

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CONSUMERS' COOPERATION • HAMASHBIR-LAZARKHAN  
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# STEEL BROTHERS & CO. LTD.

(INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND)

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Chairman Managing

T. T. McCREATH  
Managing

SIR JOHN TAIT  
Managing

W. T. HOWISON

R. H. L. LANGFORD-JAMES

Authorised Capital £ 4,000,000 • Issued Capital & Reserves £ 3,150,000

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HEAD OFFICE: 24/28 LOMBARD STREET, LONDON E.C.3

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PALESTINE, TRANSJORDAN, SYRIA, THE LEBANON AND ITALY

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ATTOCK OIL CO. LTD.  
CONSOLIDATED COTTON&OIL MILLS LTD.  
BURMA CEMENT CO. LTD.  
PYINMA DEVELOPMENT CO. LTD.  
LENYA MINING CO. LTD.

### SUBSIDIARY AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES:

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CARBUTT & CO. (1928) LTD.  
GEORGE GORDON & CO. (BURMA) LTD.  
STEEL BROTHERS & CO. (THAILAND) LTD.  
PALESTINE MILLING & TRADING CO. LTD.

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GOVERNMENT of TRANSJORDAN AGENTS  
GOVERNMENT OF SYRIA AGENTS  
GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AGENTS

**PRINCIPAL OFFICE: 43, KINGSWAY • P.O.B. 1412, HAIFA • PHONE 4596**

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LEBANON  
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5,000,000 miles a month, TWA offers you  
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DAY, MAY 9, 1947.

# U. N. ASKED TO SET JEWISH HOMELAND AS BASIS OF INQUIRY

Dr. A. H. Silver, Representing  
Agency of Palestine, Cites  
Eminent Authors of Plan

FOR INTERIM IMMIGRATION

He Urges Assembly Group to  
Look Into DP Camps —  
Russia Would Enter Inquiry

*The text of Rabbi Silver's  
statement appears on Page 4.*

**By CLAYTON KNOWLES**

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 8  
—International obligations to insure development of a Jewish national home in Palestine must be the "basic and irreducible" consideration in any inquiry there, a spokesman for the Jewish Agency for Palestine asserted today before the United Nations Assembly's Political and Security Committee.

The Jewish Agency, claiming to speak for Jews the world over, subordinated seven other major requests to this one in submitting its views to the committee. It was the first time that the Jewish Agency had received a hearing before a world tribunal.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Agency, presented the organization's position in an eloquent, even-tempered, thirty-minute address. Flanked by Moshe Shertok and Dr. Nahum Goldman, fellow members of the Agency executive, the 54-year-old Zionist leader urged that the committee of inquiry that the Assembly is about to name visit both Palestine and Europe in its search for a solution.

## **Suggests Inquiry Elements**

The visit to Palestine, he said, would enable the committee to explore the potentialities of the country, seek the causes of the present tragic unrest there and learn at first hand how Great Britain, the mandatory power, is "carrying out another of its obligations, which is to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land."

In Europe, he declared, the committee should visit the displaced persons' camps to "see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two

Continued on Page 4, Column 7



## U. N. ASKED TO SET HOMELAND AS BASE

Those international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You

The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish National Home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent

a whole, or only in relation to the question of continuing immigration into Palestine?

100



Today: Partly cloudy, with moderate to fresh northwest winds; highest temperature in middle 50s.

Temperatures yesterday: Max. 58, Min. 46.  
Detailed Report and Map—Page 35

VOL. CVII No. 36,699

Copyright, 1947  
New York Tribune Inc.

FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1947

FIVE CENTS

# NEW YORK Herald Tribune CITY EDITION

## Long Distance Pay Rise Won, Strike Fades

Phone Union Board Here Studies \$2-to-\$5 Peace, With 22,000 Still Out

## Basic Wage Gain Is \$3.72 a Week

Western Electric Accord and Local Settlements Slated to Follow Pact

By Robert W. Glasgow Jr.

The strike of long-distance telephone workers—the most important phase of the nation-wide phone tie-up—appeared near its end last night following agreement in Washington between union and company officials on a \$2-to-\$5 wage increase.

Long-distance workers over the country were still on strike, however, pending ratification of the agreement by the nine-man executive board of the American Union of Telephone Workers. The executive board, in session all afternoon, continued to meet here last night at the union's headquarters, 401 Broadway.

Officials of the union, which represents 22,000 employees in the long-line department of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, declined to explain the delay in ratification. Earlier, in Washington, where the agreement was reached at 4:25 a. m., four members of the executive board who participated in negotiations had indicated the settlement was acceptable to them.

Some May Stay Out

Even if the agreement is ratified by the union's executive board, not all the 22,000 are expected to return to work until the Western Electric Company dispute is settled and Western Electric pickets are removed from in front of various telephone exchanges.

Government conciliators in Washington, where negotiations for two groups of Western Electric employees were being pushed, expressed belief that a speedy settlement in Western Electric would speed the long-line settlement. Negotiations for a third group of Western Electric workers—warehousemen—were conducted here yesterday and will be resumed today.

The long-distance agreement was expected also to open the way for speedy settlements in the remaining disputes involving local telephone service among A. T. & T.'s operating subsidiaries in the Bell Telephone System. However, no new agreements among these companies were reported yesterday.

Some 100,000 workers in New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, the District of Columbia, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota had returned to work.

## Berlin Names First Woman Lord Mayor

Frau Schroeder Succeeds Ousted Ostrowski

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

BERLIN, May 8.—For the first time in Berlin's history a woman was elected head of the city government today when the Berlin City Council chose sixty-year-old Frau Louise Schroeder as Acting Lord Mayor. She succeeds Dr. Otto Ostrowski, whose resignation on April 17 has not yet been accepted by the Kommandatura (Allied governing body for Berlin).

In electing Frau Schroeder head of this city of 3,500,000, the Berlin Aldermen broke with the Nazi tradition which confined women to "the kitchen, the nursery and to the church." She was chosen by an overwhelming majority.

Although she is known as "Frau," this is an honorary title often conferred on older unmarried women in Germany. The Acting Lord Mayor of Berlin has in fact never been married.

Frau Schroeder, a Social Democrat, will hold office until a permanent successor to Dr. Ostrowski can be chosen. This awaits Allied concurrence in his resignation, which was forced by the City Council and opposed by the Russians. The issue has been referred to the Allied Control Council.

Frau Schroeder, a native of Schleswig-Holstein, was a Reichstag Deputy from the inception of the Weimar Republic in 1919 until the rise to power of Adolf Hitler in 1933. She retired from politics during the twelve years of the Nazi regime and worked in a Berlin factory.

## Truman, at 63, Says He's Sure Peace and U. N. Will Triumph

In Best of Health, He Grins and Tells Reporters That the U. S. Has the World's Best Government, Even if It Makes Its President a Slave

By Tom Twitty

WASHINGTON, May 8.—President Truman greeted reporters today on his sixty-third birthday anniversary with his broadest grin and said he was positive that the world would attain lasting peace and that the United Nations eventually would carry out its charter.

With a bouquet of sixty-three American Beauty roses, the gift of his staff, at his back, the President varied his usual press-conference routine by making an impromptu speech in which he recalled that two years ago he had announced the formal surrender of Germany.

Since that time many serious obstacles have been successfully passed, he observed, expressing confidence that remaining problems also will be settled constructively.

The United States, he asserted, has the greatest government in the world—even though it does make a slave of its President.

He added that his philosophy has not changed in the slightest since he took office May 12, 1945, and that he felt today as he did then.

## Murtagh Calls Taber Charges Garage Graft 'Smear' to Halt Charge 'Rumor' Cuts in Budget

Sees Goldsmith, Gets No Data on Police Bribing; License Bill Is Modified

Joseph Goldsmith received an opportunity yesterday to back up his charge that charges bribe police to let cars park in streets overnight.

"All he could do was say he heard rumors," John M. Murtagh, Commissioner of Investigation, reported anti-climactically after questioning Mr. Goldsmith, president of the Taxpayers Union, closely for twenty minutes. "He didn't have a thing—certainly not evidence sufficient to warrant an investigation."

Several hours later, the Mayor's special traffic committee approved in modified form the controversial garage and parking lot bill. It was during a committee public hearing on the bill Tuesday that Mr. Goldsmith accused police of pocketing \$5 monthly for each car they allowed jammed garages to park outside.

The two major changes in the measure are the reduction of the base of the license fee to \$5 for establishments with a capacity of fewer than twenty-five cars and the elimination of the requirement that licensees post bonds ranging from \$2,500 to \$10,000.

Mr. Goldsmith appeared at Commissioner Murtagh's office, at 50 Pine Street, in answer to a subpoena sworn out at the behest of Mayor William O'Dwyer, who wanted Mr. Goldsmith to prove his indictment of the Police Department.

"I referred to the transcript of what he said Tuesday before the committee," the commissioner recounted, "and he agreed it was essentially correct. However, he

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## Senate Votes 2 More Union Curbs, 48-40

Restrictions on Welfare Funds and Check-Off Bring Veto Prediction

## Taft Offers Milder Damage Suit Plan

Injunction Provisos Out; He Urges Night Session; Limit on Debate Barred

By Raymond J. Blair

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The Senate, by a vote of 48 to 40, today wrote restrictions on union welfare funds and dues check-off into its omnibus labor bill.

Sources close to President Truman promptly commented that the Senate action made a Presidential veto even more certain. "I don't think there's any probability the President will sign the bill the Senate passes," one informant said. He noted that the House may insist on stiffening the Senate bill.

The restrictions provide that welfare funds must be genuine trust funds, jointly administered by labor and management. They require also that before an employer can deduct a worker's union dues from his wages, he must receive annually a written authorization.

Adoption of the amendment represented a comeback for the Senate Republican leadership headed by Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio. Yesterday the Taft forces suffered an unexpected defeat when sixteen Republicans, led by Senators Irving M. Ives, of New York, and Wayne Morse, of Oregon, voted with the Democrats to reject, 44 to 43, a proposed amendment to limit industry-wide collective bargaining.

Today the Ives-Morse forces tried to repeat their triumph but failed, even though they collected fourteen Republican votes—six of them from freshmen.

The fourteen Republicans voted with twenty-six Democrats against the proposal, but lost to a combination of thirty-three Republicans and fifteen Southern Democrats voting for it.

The amendment was in the bill originally as presented to the Senate Labor Committee by its chairman, Senator Taft. The Ives-Morse group knocked it out in committee, however.

The proposal was reintroduced on the floor by the four Senators who sponsored yesterday's ill-fated bargaining amendment—Joseph H. Ball, of Minnesota, and H. Alexander Smith, of New Jersey, Republicans, and Walter F. George, of Georgia, and Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, Democrats.

Senator Ball later introduced an amendment to forbid secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes and make unions liable to injunctions and damage suits for provoking them. The bill as it stands would make such strikes and boycotts "unfair labor practices."

The amendment, which also was removed from the bill in committee by the Ives-Morse forces, faces insurmountable opposition.

For this reason Senator Taft submitted a milder substitute, on which the Senate agreed to vote at 1 p. m. tomorrow.

Hopes of getting a final vote on passage of the bill this week were dimming, meanwhile, and Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, Republican whip, failed to

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פארלער טעקסט פון דר. סקאווער'ס רעדע פיי-י-ען

סרעדלע פריינדלעך

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
 DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES  
 DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY  
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1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This is often done through market research, which can involve surveys, focus groups, and other methods of gathering information about consumer preferences and behaviors.

2. Once a market need has been identified, the next step is to develop a concept for the new product. This involves brainstorming ideas and determining the key features and benefits of the product.

3. The third step is to create a prototype of the product. This can be done using a variety of methods, including 3D printing, computer-aided design (CAD), and other manufacturing techniques.

4. The fourth step is to conduct a feasibility study. This involves evaluating the technical, financial, and market viability of the product.

5. The fifth step is to develop a business plan for the product. This includes determining the production costs, pricing strategy, and distribution channels.

6. The sixth step is to secure funding for the product. This can be done through a variety of methods, including venture capital, angel investors, and crowdfunding.

7. The seventh step is to manufacture the product. This involves setting up a production line and ensuring that the product is manufactured to the highest quality standards.

8. The eighth step is to launch the product. This involves marketing the product and distributing it to the target market.

9. The ninth step is to monitor the product's performance. This involves tracking sales, customer feedback, and other metrics to ensure that the product is meeting its goals.

10. The tenth step is to iterate on the product. This involves making improvements based on customer feedback and market trends.

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1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The investigator must identify the problem and the scope of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the objectives of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the resources available for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the methods to be used in the investigation. The investigator must also identify the personnel who will be involved in the investigation. The investigator must also identify the timeline for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the budget for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the risks associated with the investigation. The investigator must also identify the benefits of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the stakeholders involved in the investigation. The investigator must also identify the communication plan for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the reporting structure for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the documentation requirements for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the ethical considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the legal considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the safety considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the environmental considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the social considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the cultural considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the political considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the economic considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the technological considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the environmental considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the social considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the cultural considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the political considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the economic considerations for the investigation. The investigator must also identify the technological considerations for the investigation.

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# Palestinian Arab's Statement to U. N. Assembly Committee

## PRESENTING THE CASE FOR THE ARABS AT LAKE SUCCESS



Henry Cattani (designated by arrow) addressing committee of the General Assembly of United Nations.

Special to The New York Times.  
LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 9.—The text of the statement made before the Political and Security Committee of the United Nations General Assembly today by Henry Cattani, a member of the delegation of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine:

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Delegates:

First of all, allow me to express to you and, through you, to the General Committee and the General Assembly the sincere thanks and deep appreciation of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine for the opportunity you have given us to appear before you today. We are also grateful for the great efforts you have spent on the preliminaries of this discussion and for the interest you have expressed in hearing the Arab case, which are evidence of your desire to do justice in this case.

I propose to limit my remarks to the fundamental elements of the problem, only to those elements which would assist the committee in its task of determining the terms of reference of the proposed special committee. Before doing so, however, I beg to ask for your indulgence, for I am not a public speaker and am speaking in a language other than my own.

I come to you as a representative of the people of Palestine, as an Arab whose roots are deeply imbedded in that tortured land. The Arab people are deeply anxious to find a just and lasting solution to the problem before you, because it is their own problem. The problem of their present life and their future destiny. No one is concerned with it as much as they are, since it involves their very existence as a people.

With this existence threatened, with the future of our children in doubt, with our national patriotism in danger, we come to you, the representatives of the organized community of nations, in the full assurance that your conscience will support us in our struggle to hold that which is dearest to any people's heart: the natural right of self-determination, which stands at the basis of your Charter.

### Picture of Palestine Prior to the First World War

It may be well to start by sketching a picture of Palestine prior to the First World War. Palestine was then included in the Ottoman Empire as part of the Province of Syria, but this inclusion did not in any way alter or affect the Arab character of Palestine. It had been inhabited for several centuries by Arabs, its customs, traditions and culture are Arab. Its towns and villages were Arab. Those are the facts; no amount of propaganda or distortion can change the Arab character, the Arab history, the Arab national characteristics of Palestine.

### Jews in Palestine in 1914

Other small communities lived in the midst of the Arabs inhabiting Palestine and other Arab countries: Jews, Armenians, Kurds and others. In all those Arab countries, the Jewish communities lived in peace and security. They even found for centuries amongst the Arabs more tolerance, more security and more happiness than they had encountered among some of the nations of Europe.

In Palestine, in particular, Jews represented in 1914 a small fraction of the population, about 8 to 10 per cent of the total. They had their own schools, synagogues and communal institutions; but one important fact should be noted: They had no national or political aims antagonistic or hostile to the Arabs. On the contrary, while retaining their religious, cultural and racial characteristics, the Jews merged harmoniously in the Arab structure. That explains why there was then no friction between Arabs and Jews, no riots, no disturbances. The contrast between the old era and the present day provides an understanding to the problem.

Politically, the Arabs of Palestine, like the Arabs of neighboring countries, were not then independent in the sense of forming a separate political entity. They shared, however, the sovereignty of an independent country and enjoyed full rights of citizenship, equal to the rights enjoyed by the Turkish citizens of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, Arabs rose to the highest executive, legislative and administrative positions.

Notwithstanding their enjoyment of full political rights, the Arabs wished to establish a purely Arab state independently of the Ottoman Empire. These were already several undercurrents aiming at the achievement of this object. These undercurrents rose to the surface and gained strength and violence during the first World War.

### Pledges

The Allied Governments encouraged this struggle of the Arabs for their independence, as it fitted with their plans for a victorious termination of the conflict. In particular, Great Britain made several pledges for the recognition and establishment of Arab independence.

In 1915 there was the pledge of Sir Henry McMahon (the British High Commissioner in Egypt) to King Hussein of Hedjaz, then Sheriff of Mecca, declaring that Great Britain "was prepared to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all regions lying within frontiers proposed by the Sheriff of Mecca."

Sir Henry McMahon purported to exclude from the pledge certain portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Hama, Hama and Aleppo. The portions excluded fell within the then French sphere of interest and claims. There was, however, no exclusion of that part of Syria now known as Palestine.

On the 24 November 1917, the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration without the consent or even knowledge of the Arabs and in contradiction of the McMahon pledge made in 1915. When news of this declaration reached the Arab world, doubts were created in the minds of the Arabs as to the sincerity of Allied aims concerning the future of the Arab countries and the Sheriff Hussein asked for an explanation. To allay Arab fears, the British Government delivered to King Hussein what is known as the Hogarth message, which pledged that Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed in so far as would be consistent with the "political and economic freedom of the Arab population." In other words, the Balfour Declaration was to be secondary and subservient to the "political freedom" of the population.

### Bassett Note Quoted

Again, in February, 1918, the acting British agent in Jeddah, Lieutenant Colonel Bassett, wrote to the Sheriff of Mecca:

"His Majesty's Government and their allies stand steadfastly for every cause aiming at the liberation of the oppressed nations, and they are determined to stand by the Arab peoples in their struggle for the establishment of an Arab world in which law shall replace Ottoman injustice and in which unity shall prevail over the rivalries artificially provoked by the policy of Turkish officials. His Majesty's Government reaffirm their former pledge in regard to the liberation of the Arab peoples. His Majesty's Government have hitherto made it their policy to insure that liberation, and it remains the policy they are determined unflinchingly to pursue by protecting such Arabs as are already liberated from all dangers and perils, and by assisting those who are still under the yoke of the tyrants to obtain their freedom."

"J. R. Bassett."

Then again, in June, 1918, the British Government in what is known as "the declaration to the seven" pledged that in regard to areas occupied by Allied forces, it is the wish and desire of His Majesty's Government that the future government of these regions should be based upon the principle of the consent of the governed; and this policy has and will continue to have the support of His Majesty's Government.

In June, 1918, the British High Commissioner in Egypt was authorized to inform the seven Arab leaders resident in Cairo that the British Government recognized the complete and sovereign independence of the Arabs in the areas that were independent before the war or were emancipated from Turkish control by the Arabs themselves, that in the parts of the Ottoman Empire occupied by Allied forces it desired the future regime to be based on the principle of consent of the governed and that it was its wish that inhabitants of areas still under Turkish control should receive their independence.

Then again, in November, 1918, the Anglo-French declaration was made which stated that the object aimed at by France and the United Kingdom in prosecuting the war in the East is the "complete and definite emancipation of the peoples and the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations. In order to carry out these intentions, France and Great Britain are at one in encouraging and assisting the establishment of indigenous governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia (Iraq), now liberated by the Allies, and in the territories the liberation of which they are engaged in securing, and recognizing these as soon as they are actually established. Far from wishing to impose on the populations of these regions any

particular institutions, they are only concerned to insure by their support and by adequate assistance the regular working of governments and administrations freely chosen by the population themselves."

One of the matters which the special committee to be set up will therefore have to investigate will be various pledges given to the Arabs, before and after the Balfour Declaration, with regard to the recognition of their independence.

### Arab Contribution to Allied Victory in Near East During First World War

The struggle which had as its background the will and determination of the Arabs to realize their independence was spared and encouraged by the assurances of the Allied powers regarding independence, political freedom and the establishment of governments freely chosen. The Arabs, in fact, made a substantial contribution to the Allied victory in the first world struggle. King Hussein of the Hedjaz joined the Allied armies, and Arabs from Syria, Lebanon and Palestine answered his call for revolt and joined the ranks of the Allies and fought with them. To quote from the report of the British military commission of inquiry set up to investigate causes of the disturbance in 1929 in Jerusalem:

"In fact, in June, 1918, recruitment for the Allied Sherif Army was in full swing in Palestine. These recruited were under the impression that they were fighting for the national cause and the liberation of their fatherland, while the evidence now before us shows that the real impression left in the minds of the Arabs as a whole was that the British Government would undertake the formation of an independent Arab state comprising Palestine."

### Value of Pledges

I do not wish to comment on the denial or breaking of pledges nor on the ethics or legality of making contradictory promises. I wish to emphasize, however, that the claim of the Arabs for termination of the mandate and recognition of their independence does not rest on promises or pledges. The Arabs of Palestine are not claiming their country on pledges made to them, for it belongs to them. Nor are the Arabs claiming their independence on assurances; they are entitled to such independence as being their natural and inalienable right. The value of those pledges, however, is twofold:

(1) In the first place, they nullify any contradictory assurance given to the Jews by the Balfour Declaration to be read as meaning more than a cultural home.

(2) In the second place, those promises show that the administration of the country in a manner inconsistent with, and contrary to, the wishes of the large majority of the inhabitants, is a glaring injustice.

I have mentioned the Balfour Declaration; it is at the root of all the trouble. It is the cause of the problem into which you are inquiring. It is the cause of the disturbance of peace and security in Palestine and the Middle East.

### Trouble Traced to Balfour

Several commissions of inquiry into the disturbances in Palestine have invariably found that the Balfour Declaration and its policy of immigration were the primary and fundamental cause of such disturbances.

When we remember that the Balfour Declaration was made without the consent, not to say the knowledge, of the people most directly affected; when we consider that its making is contrary to the principles of national self-determination and democracy, as also to the principles enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations; when we know that it was inconsistent with the pledges given to the Arabs before and after its date, it will be the duty of the special committee to inquire into the legality, validity and ethics of this document.

Out of the conflict of the First World War there emerged certain high principles which were to govern the organization of international relations and serve as the basis of the structure of modern civilization. The principles propounded by President Wilson—that is, the rejection of all ideas of conquest and recognition of the right of self-determination—were incorporated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Covenant laid down that to the peoples inhabiting territories which have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them there should be applied the principle that their well-being and development was a sacred trust of civilization. Moreover, in particularizing certain communities detached from the Turkish Empire, that is to say, the Arab nation, Article 22 laid down that, having regard to their develop-

ment, their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

### Incorporated in Mandate

Notwithstanding the pledges of Great Britain and the Allied Governments, notwithstanding Wilson's Fourteen Points; notwithstanding Article 22 of the Covenant; notwithstanding the riots in the country and the expressed opposition of the people of Palestine, the mandate was formulated in a manner embodying the Balfour Declaration.

One of the points which the special committee will have to consider will be the inconsistency of the mandate with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Article 22 is the primary and enabling instrument from which the mandate can derive its force and validity. If any, therefore, the mandate on Palestine has, in its inception or in its practical application, deviated or departed from the primary objectives of Article 22 of the Covenant, then it is ultra vires and null and void. There is no power in Article 22 of the Covenant which enables the embodiment in the mandate of provisions prejudicial to the interests of the people of the country.

A further issue which the special committee would have to inquire into is that the mandate was intended to be a provisional and transitory form of administration. The neighboring Arab countries, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Trans-Jordan, were similarly and at the same time placed under mandate. They are now making their contribution to the organization and maintenance of world peace and security. Mr. (Foreign Secretary) Bevin declared on Feb. 23, 1947, in the House of Commons, the following:

"In other states in the Middle East we also took on mandates and they have all led to self-government. I want to state that the cultural development of the Arabs and Jews in Palestine is of as high a standard as in any other Arab state."

### "A History of Troubles"

There is, therefore, no justice in the denial to the people of Palestine of the elementary rights of self-government and independence. If, with a view to continuing this injustice, it is argued that the cessation of the mandate might lead to bloodshed between Arabs and Jews, and even if that were at all true, it is no reason which carries any convincing force, as the whole history of the mandate since its inception is a history of troubles, disorders and bloodshed.

Another point which we suggest that the special committee inquire into is the effect of the dissolution of the League of Nations on the Palestine mandate. It was specifically provided in Article 22 of the Covenant that the mandate should be exercised by the mandatory "on behalf of the League of Nations," this being the primary condition under which the mandate was granted. The powers of a mandatory cannot legally outlive the existence of the person or body delegating such powers. The mandatory cannot be said today to be exercising its powers on behalf of the League, a body which has ceased to exist. Article 89 of the Charter of the United Nations has a negative operation in not interfering with existing rights. It has not the positive effect of conferring validity on or retaining in full force an agency or mandate which has ceased to have any validity.

Even if the mandate can be said to be still in existence, the special committee should, in my submission, be asked to consider the conflict between the provisions of the mandate imposing the obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration and the obligations undertaken by the British Government on becoming a party to the Charter of the United Nations. The obligations in the mandate relating to the Jewish national home and the facilitation of Jewish immigration, if such are to be construed to imply their discharge against the will of the original inhabitants of the country and the majority of the population, are clearly in conflict with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

### Assembly Resolution Recalled

They are again in conflict with the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted at its sitting on the 10th of December, 1948, which disapproved of the resettlement of displaced persons where the resettlement would be likely to disturb friendly relations with neighboring countries. The resolution further states that due weight should be given, among other factors, to any evidence of genuine apprehension and concern felt, inter alia, by the indigenous population of non-self-governing countries.

Another term of reference would be an inquiry into the practical application of the mandate, which in our contention would show:

- That it was not exercised within the scope and for the purposes contemplated by Article 22 of the Covenant;
- That it was not exercised for the benefit of the original inhabitants of the country;
- And that its further continuation is creating a situation which is affecting the peace and good order in Palestine and threatening peace and security in the Middle East.

### Arab Criticizes Britain

This inquiry would show, moreover, how the Arabs have lost their civil and political rights, which they enjoyed prior to the mandate; how the immigration initiated and facilitated under the mandate is threatening the very existence of the Arab nation. It will show how this immigration has led to troubles and bloodshed which have soiled the Holy Land. It will show how the British Government is giving administrative advice and assistance to another British Government calling itself the Palestine Government. It will show how no trace can be found of self-governing institutions and much less of any trace of the development of such institutions. It will show how many lives were lost as a result of the policy of enforcing the mandate and how much money has been spent on police posts and fortresses as compared with schools and hospitals.

Another aspect of the practical application of the mandate will show, during the last twenty-five years, more than half a million Jews were allowed to immigrate into the country against the wishes of its inhabitants and how the British Government not only used its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of the Balfour Declaration but fully and completely achieved it at the expense of many lives and suffering.

Further, in formulating the terms of reference of the proposed special committee of inquiry, it is not sufficient to point out what the problem is. It is equally important to invite attention to what the problem is not so as to avoid confusion of issues.

### "Racial" Prejudice Denied

(a) In the first place, the problem is not an Arab-Jewish problem. The Arab opposition to immigration and the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine is not based on any racial prejudice against Jews as Jews but would be equally strong whatever the race or religion of any group which might attempt to wrest the country from its Arab inhabitants or to force immigrants into it against the will of the Arabs.

(b) In the second place, the problem is not economic. It is often contended that the Jews of Europe can develop the country by colonizing it better than its inhabitants could. Even if the premises on which this argument rests were true, it would still be worthless, because it is an unacceptable and immoral argument. Such reasoning, if accepted, could justify any aggression by the more advanced against the less advanced nations of the world.

(c) In the third place, the problem is not connected with the refugees and displaced persons is not limited to any special religion or race. It is a humanitarian problem and it is the duty and concern of the civilized world to treat it as such. Indeed, this has been done, as is evidenced by the establishment of the International Refugee Organization. The linking of the refugee problem with Palestine has made, the solution of both problems infinitely more difficult, if not impossible. These are two different and distinct problems and each must be solved on its own merits and all countries of the world must participate and share the responsibility of its solution.

The Arab Higher Committee deems it absolutely essential that a recommendation be made to the mandatory to take immediate steps for the complete stoppage of all Jewish immigration into Palestine whether termed legal or illegal. For, in the view of the Arab population, all immigration of Jews into Palestine is illegal.

### "Twenty Centuries" Ago

(d) In the fourth place, the problem of Palestine cannot and should not be regarded as one of historical connection. The Zionists claim Palestine on the grounds that at one time, more than 2,000 years ago, the Jews had a kingdom in a part of it. Were this argument to be taken as a basis for settling international issues, a delocation of immeasurable magnitude would take place. It would mean the redrawing of the map of the whole world. It has been said that you cannot set back the hands of the clock of history by twenty years. What should then be said when an effort is made to set the clock of history back by twenty centuries in an attempt to give away a country on the ground of a tenuous historic association?

These are the observations which we wished to put before you at this stage. I hope I have succeeded, without overtaxing your patience, in indicating the real cause of the disease. I trust that the committee of investigation, and later on the General Assembly, will be convinced that this apparently complex problem cannot be solved except on the basis of principles already agreed upon by all the civilized world and sanctioned by the Charter. It is high time that Palestine's right to independence be recognized and that this tormented country enjoy the blessing of a democratic government. It is high time, also, that a policy which has been impeding the ethnological and political structure of the country be brought to an end by the highest body in the world.

We are not asking something which is out of line with what humanity has striven for throughout the ages; nothing more than what each of you would wish for his own country, nothing more than what is consecrated by the lofty principles and purposes of your very Charter, nothing more than what the greatest of masters who arose from that holy, but today tortured, land taught every one of us when he said: "Do unto others as ye would have them to do unto you."

## EGYPT FAILS TO GET LOAN

### U. S. State Department Says Legal Authority Is Lacking

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 9.—An appeal by the Egyptian Government for an \$88,000,000 loan with which to buy United States gold and thus increase the currency backing has been rejected, the State Department said today.

Legal authority is lacking for a long-term stabilization credit of this type, it was explained.

The Egyptian Government asked for the loan through the United States Embassy in Cairo six weeks ago.



## Economic Capital to Implement Merger

time, he said, there would be room for revision of the plans. However, if at the close of the November Big Four conference no progress had been achieved, General Clay left little doubt that the United States and British zones would be unified, politically as well as economically.

The economic consolidation calls for the moving to Frankfurt of the present German financial agencies of agriculture, from Stuttgart; transportation, from Bielefeld; and economics, from Minden. The agencies for finance and communications already are in Frankfurt.

WESSEN, Germany, May 9 (P)—German Communists said today they would campaign intensively against the economic merger of the British and United States zones. Two leaders, Max Reinmann and Kurt Mueller, said they favored a set-up under which all four major Allied powers would have a voice in administering Germany as a whole.

The Communist leaders expressed belief that the British and Americans intended eventually the establishment of a western German state completely divorced from the Russian-occupied eastern section.

The Communist argument is that the British and Americans, by fusing their zones economically, are leading the Germans to think in terms of a western German state with the result that unity of all four zones becomes progressively more difficult.

## Making History

Today, May 10, is the twelfth day of the Greater New York Fund's tenth annual campaign in behalf of 425 hospitals, health and welfare agencies and the ninety-seventh anniversary of the birth of Sir Thomas Lipton, who made five unsuccessful attempts to win the international yachting championship and the America Cup.

Sir Thomas was knighted in recognition of his benefactions to the poor of England. The reward won by business concerns and employ groups when they contribute to the Greater New York Fund is the satisfaction of knowing that they have done their part in helping support organizations and institutions that annually benefit more than 2,700,000 men, women and children of every race and creed.

This year the Fund seeks \$5,000,000 from business as its share in the over-all contribution need of \$52,300,000, required by the 425 participating agencies.

hope of improving the present starvation diet immediately.

Gen. Lucius D. Clay, United States Military Governor, said "we are making every effort to advance the arrival of food imports."

Earlier he had said that "as a last resort" United States troops could be used to bring out food being hoarded by German farmers.

A survey of all four occupation zones in Germany made by the Military Government's Civil Administration Division showed that Germany, with a post-war population of 83,911,150, would have to import food for 40 per cent of her people—27,000,000 persons—even if she manages to bring her agriculture back to the productivity of pre-war years.

The present density of the population in the four zones was 185 persons a square kilometer (0.286 square miles), compared with 185 in 1939. Only Belgium, England and the Netherlands have a greater density of population. The British zone is the most densely populated with 228 persons a square kilometer.

## APPEAL JOB DECISION

### 10 Non-Union News Employees Charge Union Bars Them

MINEOLA, L. I., May 9—Attorneys for the ten employees of the Rockaway News Company of Valley Stream filed a notice of appeal today from the decision of Supreme Court Justice Cortland A. Johnson. The notice was filed with the county clerk.

The workers had sought from Justice Johnson an injunction restraining their employer, a newspaper distributor, and the Newspaper and Mailers Union of Greater New York and vicinity from discharging them. They said that because they were non-union the union, under the terms of a closed shop agreement, was seeking their discharge. They declared willingness to join the union but said they were unable because membership is open only to sons of members.

In denying their petition for the injunction on Monday, Justice Johnson said he was powerless to act in the matter, adding that if any relief from the situation were desirable it would have to come from the Legislature.

## SOVIET GIVES BOND FIGURE

### Says Peasants Have Taken Share of Latest Internal Loan

MOSCOW, May 9 (P)—The Ministry of Finance announced today that Soviet peasants had subscribed or purchased outright 2,888,887,000 rubles worth of bonds of the new 20,000,000,000 ruble bond issue being floated by the Soviet Government for reconstruction.

It is difficult for foreigners to understand how it is that the Russians compute the results of the floating of a bond issue so quickly over so large a country. But it is also difficult for them to understand how the Russians gather their election returns so rapidly.

One thing is apparent, however, and that is that the Russians regard the loans very seriously, and they are taught to look upon their contributions as a patriotic gesture.

## SOVIET SEEN USING ALL CZECH URANIUM

### Pitchblende Deposits Reported Sent to Dresden for Refining—Details Are Obscure

By C. L. SULZBERGER

Special to The New York Times

STUTTGART, Germany, May 9—It is understood that considerable quantities of uranium are now being mined under joint Czechoslovak-Russian supervision at Jachimov (Joachimsthal), north of Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad), near the German border.

The ore extracted from the mines there—the largest pitchblende deposits in non-Russian Europe—is said to be shipped to Dresden in the Soviet zone of Germany. There, it is reported, it is processed and the uranium derived from the pitchblende is transported to the Soviet Union.

The Jachimov deposits are famous. They were expanded and developed by the Germans during the war. It is believed that most of the German experimental and technical equipment was seized by the Russians when they advanced westward.

Jachimov is of exceptional importance as pitchblende is the only known normal source of uranium in Europe. It is not known how much is now being extracted from the Jachimov mines, but it is said that normally it is not practicable to handle large quantities.

There are reports, too, that Soviet mineralogists are exploring the subterranean of the Soviet zone of Germany near Jachimov to see if the vein extends northward and westward.

It is understood that the Dresden processing reduces enormously the quantity of ore to be transported. It actually accomplishes only the first stage of uranium compounds not U-238.

Despite the importance of Jachimov, it is believed that its output is small when compared with the quantity of uranium used by the United States during the war. There are reports, however, that an effort has been made to increase the production and that a large labor force is now employed.

These reports are naturally difficult to confirm. The area, of course, is very well guarded. Reports that Soviet soldiers are participating in patrolling the section are officially denied. It is stated that this is now solely the job of the Czechoslovak military and that Jachimov was evacuated, with the rest of the country, last October.

Russian technicians and officials in such are known to be in Jachimov, working under the terms of the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement on Jachimov. Under terms of the special lease, practically all the mine's output is said to be leaving the country.

Rumors that this agreement was swiftly cooked up between the Russians and Czechoslovak Communists without approval of the Prague Government are strongly denied. It is officially said that President Eduard Benes reviewed and approved it before it was placed in effect.

The terms of the lease, its duration and financial arrangements are not generally known and efforts to obtain this information are disconcerted.

## TERM FOR M'DONALD UNTIL 1950 IS UPHELD

Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, May 9—Supreme Court Justice Isadore Bookstein today denied an application for an order directing the Secretary of State to certify that a District Attorney must be elected in Kings County next November.

The decision will be appealed to the Court of Appeals which will sit in Albany on Monday.

The case involves the question as to whether District Attorney Miles F. McDonald was elected in 1945 for a full four-year term, or whether he was elected only for the unexpired term of Mayor William O'Dwyer, who resigned as District Attorney following his nomination for Mayor.

Justice Bookstein held that McDonald was elected for a full term which does not expire until the end of 1949.

Sydney Squire, attorney for Elsie McGovern, who sought the order requiring election of a district attorney this year, said that the court should decide in accordance with legal provisions relating to elections to fill vacancies in comparable offices.

The 1944 law providing for election of a District Attorney in Queens County in odd-numbered years, the same as in the other four counties of New York City, was cited by John P. McGrath, attorney for Mr. McDonald, as a pattern. It provided for election of a District Attorney in Queens for a one-year term, to be followed thereafter by four-year terms, with the election falling in odd-numbered years.

## Soviet Zone, 'Bread Basket' of Germany, Now Found Afflicted by Food Shortages

Continued From Page 1

saying that "the Soviet zone can only escape by some miracle one of the worst years of starvation in Germany's history."

The impending critical food situation in the Russian zone was attributed to the severe winter, just as in the Western zones, and by the Oder River floods, which destroyed thousands of acres of autumn crops.

The British here, meanwhile, still were refusing to discuss conditions in their zone. This "news blackout"—officially denied but nevertheless in effect—may be broken tomorrow by Lord Pakenham, who was due to arrive here today from London. Lord Pakenham, who is Minister for the British Zone of Occupation, was scheduled to visit Dusseldorf, heart of

## RUSSIANS DEFIANT IN MARKING VICTORY

### Leading Publicists Emphasize Scorn of 'Super-Secret' Arms and U. S. 'Bluff'

By DREW MIDDLETON

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 9—Today the Russian people celebrated the second anniversary of the defeat of the Third Reich.

In Moscow's newspapers three of the Soviet Union's best-known publicists, Ilya Ehrenburg, Academician Eugene Tsiolkovsky and David Zaslavsky, wrote long articles breathing pride and defiance. In the streets and squares of the city hundreds of thousands of Russians watched vaudeville shows and movies and listened to the music of military bands and the stirring strains of war songs blared over amplifiers.

(Deputy Premier Gen. Nikolai A. Bulganin, Minister of the Armed Forces, declared in an order of the day that Soviet armed forces had won the war and saved the peoples of Europe—among which are the German people—from fascist oppression. The Associated Press reported.)

The general themes of the newspaper articles were the overwhelming Soviet share in the victory of 1945 and defiance of what Mr. Ehrenburg called "super-secret armaments" and Mr. Tsiolkovsky termed the American "bluff."

What was called the evil intentions of international capital and war mongers were assailed in each article, with the targets running from Wall Street to Greek Foreign Minister Constantine Tsaladaris.

Russia, Mr. Ehrenburg proclaimed, cannot be "intimidated by talk of super-secret armaments or various coalitions" or by those "fine fellows who are used to winning brilliant victories over Negroes in Carolina or Mississippi."

"Never Give Way"

The Russian people, Mr. Tsiolkovsky asserted, "never give way to those who try to bluff them."

Mr. Zaslavsky declared that gold and dollar diplomacy could not prevail over "the new democracy" and charged that for some in the United States and Britain, Germany's surrender was not a great victory but a great defeat.

The United States stands in the fore of those forces viewed as threatening world peace, the articles made clear. Mr. Ehrenburg told the United States of the magnitude of the Soviet war accomplishments as a warning reminding America and her "bullies" that she owed her present position to Russia.

Writing in *Izvestia*, Mr. Ehrenburg gave the British a patting pat on the back for their stamina but declared that "the salvation of Europe began June 22, 1941," when Germany invaded Russia. There was no discussion of Russian-German relations up to that time.

The great battles on the Eastern Front made those in Africa seem "an insignificant expedition," Mr. Ehrenburg added.

"When the Battle of Moscow was raging, a few divisions were capturing or surrendering Tobruk," he wrote. "When the Stalingrad battle was being fought, quartermaster sergeants were dividing the hotels of Algiers."

British and American soldiers, he kindly admitted, fought well when they got into battle, but their strategists were "infatuated with politics."

### Russians 'Saved' All

But he declared that it was the Soviet Army that "saved the Soviet Republic, the Louvre in Paris, the University of Prague, England's Magna Carta and the liberty of young Yugoslavia."

However, the "vultures" now were beginning to "whet their appetites" \* \* \* speaking about a new war \* \* \* clamoring for a crusade against the Soviet Union," Mr. Ehrenburg added.

Senator Tom Connally, he charged, "recently called us barbarians" \* \* \* and said that all "insulted humanity" would come out against us." Having risen to this pitch, Mr. Ehrenburg then roundly asserted that no one would follow United States reaction in its quest for a third world war. He said he found, however, that French reaction was growing stronger and wished to sell France for a loaf of bread and a sack of coal.

The latter is an allusion to the tripartite coal agreement signed by France, Britain and the United States during the Council of Foreign Ministers' meeting here. Not much was said about the agreement at the time.

Mr. Tarle, the most widely read of Soviet historians, took United States aid to Greece and Turkey as his text in *Red Star*, the Soviet Army newspaper. This aid was an example of the great increase of activities of the "new pretenders to world hegemony," he asserted. Meanwhile, he said, the United

## Egyptian Queen Flies Here to Do Shopping



Queen Nazlee Associated Press, 1939

Queen Nazlee, mother of King Farouk of Egypt, will arrive at noon today at La Guardia Field on a Pan American plane from London. The Queen, who is the widow of King Fouad, is traveling incognito and, according to a spokesman for the Egyptian Government, is coming here to shop and transact other personal business.

She is accompanied by two daughters, Faikan, 20 years old, and Fatima, 17. The plane left London last night. It was reported that the trip marked the first time the Queen has flown.

States was striving to get a better grip on the oil fields of Iran, Iraq and Syria and trying to justify "big game war budgets." The Greeks, he claimed, had been "walled away by the departing British to the incoming Americans."

In Germany, too, he said he found American reactionaries "inspiring" anti-Soviet forces, "including Dr. Kurt Schumacher, leader of the German Social Democrats." World opposition to a new war must be understood by "the Wall Street ring leaders," he asserted, for this opposition he called more durable than the "short-lived and dubious 'monopoly of the atomic bomb,'" Mr. Tarle declared.

The Soviet historian in another article in *Trud*, the trade union newspaper, hammered on the theme that the Soviet Army saved not only Russia "but all European civilization."

The Soviet Union and the army bore "nearly the entire brunt of the war without receiving any appreciable help at the fronts during the most dangerous, most critical days of the deadly struggle," he continued.

Mr. Tarle did not mention the Anglo-American operations in northwestern Europe. Mr. Ehrenburg admitted that there was a landing in Normandy, but claimed that it came two years too late.

### Second-Front 'Delay' Hit

Mr. Zaslavsky, in *Pravda*, devoted most of his words to belaboring United States and British politicians and their "shameful game of dragging out the opening of the second front."

It was common knowledge, to Mr. Zaslavsky at least, that "the terrible war could have been finished a year earlier," but a "rapid and complete victory was not in accordance with the wishes of some politicians."

Digging into his files, Mr. Zaslavsky came up with the name of Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, who "prophesied the victory of the German Army on the eve of its complete defeat" and "dreamed of the exhaustion of the Soviet Union."

Now, Mr. Zaslavsky wrote, "we hear the warlike tinkling of the dollar over the whole world." The steel sword of Germany that said "I take all" is dead, he proclaimed, but gold declares "I buy all."

However, although there is a "gold shower" in Greece, "the gold idol is overthrown, together with the other idols of the Old World."

### Says it 'Could Have Won Alone'

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 9—The Soviet Union could have won the war in Europe single-handed, an anonymous Moscow radio commentator claimed today in an English-language broadcast.

Lend-lease war aid to Russia by the United States and Britain was "only a drop in the bucket compared with the materials supplied by Soviet industry," the commentator said.

Referring to "the silly tale that humanity was saved from the threat of nazism and slavery by lend-lease and the opening of the Second Front," he asserted that "the opening of the Second Front took place after the Soviet Army had destroyed Adolf Hitler's main forces and when it had become clear that the Soviet Army was capable of occupying all Germany and liberating the peoples of Europe from the Nazi yoke single-handed."

The balance sheet of the war, he added, showed \$30,000,000,000 profits for "the American monopolists" compared with \$128,000,000,000 damages to the Soviet Union from "direct devastation and robbery by German occupationists on Soviet territory."

### Pope to Appear in Documentary

ROME, May 9 (P)—Pope Pius XII has consented to appear in the documentary film, "War Against War," being compiled by the Catholic Cinematographic Center, Vatican City sources said today. It will appeal for peace in seven languages. The film will be released about July 1. The Pope will make his speech in Italian, Spanish, French, German, English, Portuguese and Polish.

## ICAO VOTING SNAG HALTS SPAIN'S EXIT

### Rule on New Members' Rights to Ballot Delays Decision—Narrow Margin Indicated

By JOHN STUART

Special to The New York Times

MONTREAL, May 9—The final expulsion of Spain from the International Civil Aviation Organization met an unexpected delay this afternoon when the executive committee could not agree on the precise number of states entitled to vote.

At 5:30 o'clock this afternoon, after an hour's previous delay, the loudspeakers in the Hotel Windsor's ballroom announced that the session of the Assembly had been postponed.

It could not be determined if the executive committee whether thirty-three or thirty nations were entitled to vote. A. S. Drakeford of Australia, president of the Assembly and presiding at the executive committee's meeting, ruled that Belgium, Norway and Guatemala, having filed their adherence to the convention less than thirty days ago, would not be entitled to vote until the expiration of that thirty days.

According to this ruling, with only thirty nations entitled to vote this afternoon, it left a margin of only three votes in the Assembly to carry out yesterday's 18 to 3 decision of Commission One in favor of Spain's expulsion.

### Abstentions and Negatives

Spain is not voting. Portugal, Ireland and Switzerland will cast votes against Spain's expulsion, as they did in the commission yesterday. South Africa, Argentina and Peru gave strong indications that they would abstain.

Three or four more abstentions, or negative votes, would leave Spain in the ICAO, unaffiliated with the United Nations under the terms of the latter body's prescription. The abstentions are regarded as more likely than the negatives.

Proposed trips to the Laurentians and elsewhere for tomorrow were hastily canceled tonight and the reception of Mayor Camille Houde of Montreal buzzed this evening with whispered conferences.

Meanwhile, delegates representing nations holding that affiliation with the United Nations is more valuable than the presence of Spain in the ICAO devoted themselves to two purposes.

They sought to get Mr. Drakeford to change his ruling on Belgium, Norway and Guatemala, or to overrule it in the executive committee; and they were busy among the Latin-American delegations in an effort to insure that not more than three of them would vote negatively or abstain when the Assembly meets, probably on Monday.

### Task Titled Delicate

Their task is a delicate one. While there is no great evidence of sympathy for Franco Spain in the Latin-American delegations, they are a little resentful of "Yanqui" push. There is likewise the concern expressed by South Africa, Ireland and Switzerland over any cavalier treatment of small nations.

James M. Landis, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board and fresh from his successful conclusion of an air agreement in Argentina, seemed little inclined to continue such negotiations here.

He attributed his success in Buenos Aires to a session lasting from 6 o'clock one evening until 1 o'clock the next morning. Other members of the delegation, however, took up the task of gentle persuasion.

While spokesmen for the American delegation said tonight they believed that the Spanish resolution would go through smoothly and legally, they want it to pass by a sufficient number of vote above the necessary two-thirds to give it a substantial resemblance to unanimity.

Mr. Drakeford tonight announced that a subcommittee consisting of the delegates on the executive committee of Argentina, China, France, Ireland and the United States had been appointed to settle the question of what constitute two-thirds of the voting strength of the Assembly.

## CRIPPS DENOUNCES SOVIET PATENT GIBE

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 9—Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, denied tonight Russian charges that Britain had "derive some exclusive benefit by way of reparations" from patents on manufacturing processes acquired from Germany.

Addressing the Chartered Institute of Patent Agents, Sir Stafford branded as "a complete misrepresentation" these allegations. He said that they were "constant being suggested, especially by some of our Russian friends."

Sir Stafford recalled that on a cord adopted at the International Conference in London last year made freely available to the public patents formerly owned by German nationals and that the same policy had been applied to German technical patents.

"The Russians benefit from just as much as we do," he continued, "and this is made clear by the



Text of Statement Before I. N. by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on Zionists' Position on Palestine

Special to The New York Times  
LARK SUCCESS, Oct. 2.—Following is the text of the statement made today by the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine of the United Nations General Assembly by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which I have the honor to represent, is appreciative of the privilege which this Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has granted it to be represented at its deliberations and to express its views on the report which the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has submitted.

We have read the report with the deepest interest and the closest attention, and we are prepared to make our observations on it. We are greatly impressed with the earnest and conscientious labors which the eleven members of the Special Committee devoted to their task and which are reflected in the comprehensive and impressive document before us.

It was good to have a committee of neutrals examine the Palestine problem in an effort to arrive at a solution which would be morally justifiable and politically sound. We share entirely the view expressed in the report that the "opinions of members of an international committee who represent various civilizations, of different points of view, and have approached the question from different angles, may be of some value."

The Jewish Agency availed itself of the invitation extended to it by the Special Committee to present its case. We were happy to make available to the committee whatever information it desired of us, to answer any question, and to frankly state our thinking with it. We regarded it as an inalienable obligation to cooperate to the fullest extent with the United Nations, which had this grave international problem placed before it, and which assumed the responsibility for formulating a decision on the future government of Palestine.

**Arab Lack of Cooperation**

In this connection we find it necessary to point to a circumstance to which the report itself draws special attention—namely, the failure of the Arab Higher Committee to cooperate with the committee. The chairman of the United Nations Special Committee, during the hearings in Jerusalem, made an appeal by radio for the full cooperation of all parties. The Special Committee, which addressed the Arab Higher Committee regarding the decision of the latter not to cooperate and repeating the Special Committee's invitation for full cooperation, received in reply Mr. Jamal Husseini, vice chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, wrote that the committee found no reason to reverse the previous decision to abstain from cooperation.

One is at a loss to understand why the Arab Higher Committee was unwilling to present its case to the Special Committee of the United Nations. The Jewish Agency likewise has been subjected to the strains and disappointments of the numerous Palestine inquiries which preceded its having received the invitation to present its case. Why does the Arab Higher Committee come now to ask "justice and equity" at the hands of the United Nations? Where authority it had flouted and where competence to define the form of the future government of Palestine the Arab spokesman on Monday categorically denied?

The same spokesman treated us to an historic improvisation on the origin of the Jewish people and on the history of Palestine. History may not be an exact science but it is not a story out of the Arabian Nights. There are certain facts which do not yield to wishful thinking. Thus the record that the Jews of Western Europe are descended not from a tribe of Khazars in Russia is a relatively recent invention and was popularized in the racial mythologies of our day whose political motivations are clearly transparent. There is no doubt that the Arab Higher Committee has some amusement that the Arabs of Palestine would be among the last people on earth to wish to engage in genealogical research.

When the Allies liberated Palestine in 1917 along with other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, Palestine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no political or cultural distinction or distinguishable Arab nation in that province. There never had been. The Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century were not a new people but a tribe of Khazars in Russia who had held sway over that country which contained a very mixed and heterogeneous population for 400 years between 634 and 1071 A. D.—437 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071 the country was conquered by various Arab peoples, such as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Crusaders, the Egyptians, Mamelukes, and finally by the Ottoman Turks.

**2,000 Years of Jewish History**

By the time the Arabs conquered Palestine in 634 A. D., the Jewish people had already completed nearly 2,000 years of national history in that country, during which time they created a civilization which decidedly influenced the course of mankind, gave rise both to Judaism and Christianity, produced the Bible and brought forth prophets, sages and spiritual leaders who are revered not only by Judaism, but by Christianity and Islam as well.

"In the twelve centuries or more that have passed since the Arab conquest," reads the report of the Royal Commission of 1937. "Palestine has virtually dropped out of history. Palestine lay outside the main stream of the world's life. In the realm of thought, in science or in letters it made no contribution to modern civilization."

The very identity of Palestine as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jewish history. The country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion and only resumed a specific role in history when the Palestine Mandate was ratified. The Mandate acknowledged this history by setting Palestine in a distinct and separate context in relation to the Arab world. "I am persuaded," declared President Wilson on March 3, 1919, "that the Allied nations with the

fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Speaking in the House of Lords on June 27, 1923, Lord Milner, who called himself "a strong supporter of the pro-Arab policy," stated:

"Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the same footing as the other Arab countries. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter. . . . and the future of Palestine cannot possibly be left to be determined by the temporary impressions and feelings of the Arab majority in the country in the present day."

When the Palestine Mandate therefore recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" it was only stating a fact that was universal and acknowledged through the ages. And when it gave international recognition to the grounds for reconstituting the Jewish national home in that country—an act which Field Marshal Smuts, member of the War Cabinet, called "one of the greatest acts of history," it was only reaffirming the fact that the Jewish people had never surrendered the hope of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For to the Jews Palestine was and is a place of sacred shrines as to Christians and Moslems, but the home of their exiled people, the land of their national destiny, and throughout the centuries of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

**Arab Economic Grievances**

Concerning the Arab economic grievances which were aired here the other day, we wish only to refer to the report of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them as well as the relevant chapters in the Royal Commission report of 1937. To show how utterly groundless they are. These reports, as well as the memorandum of the Palestine Government which was submitted to the Special Committee of the United Nations—a document which can hardly be charged with pro-Jewish bias—conclusively show that the Palestine Arabs benefited considerably and directly from Jewish development in the economic, financial and social spheres.

We must take note, too, of the interesting contrast which the Arab spokesman attempted to draw between the terrorist acts of the Arabs of Palestine in 1936-39 acts which were never condoned by the British Government, and the terrorist acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today which the official bodies of Jewish Jewry have never condoned or approved.

"It has been officially admitted that in their several uprisings against the British in Palestine," stated the Arab spokesman, "the Arabs did not fight to face a noble man. As illustrative of this inability, permit me to quote the statement of Sir John Chancellor, the High Commissioner of Palestine, on the Arab riot of 1929. . . ."

"I have learned with horror of the atrocious acts committed by bodies of ruthless and bloodthirsty savages, the burning of farms and houses in town and country, and of the looting and destruction of property. These crimes have brought upon their authors the execration of all civilized peoples throughout the world."

In commenting upon the riots of 1929, the report of the Palestine Royal Commission has to say:

"There were similar assaults upon the persons and property of the Jews, conducted with the same reckless ferocity (as in 1929). Women and children were not spared."

**Role of Great Britain**

Before making our observations on the report itself, may we be permitted to comment on the statement which the Arab spokesman made at the beginning of your deliberations by Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones on behalf of His Majesty's Government?

It was the United Kingdom Government—whose representative placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. It was His Majesty's Government which recommended to the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 4 of the Charter for the future government of Palestine.

In making these far-reaching requests, with which the United Nations completely agreed, the United Kingdom surely must have in mind not the thought of ultimately imposing its own solution on the United Nations, but the hope that this great international body would find a solution which would be just and equitable to all.

It is a fact that the United Kingdom Government would have behind it such weight of authority that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accept it and to cooperate in its implementation.

Surely such loyal cooperation on the part of member nations is presupposed when any international problem is considered by the United Nations. Otherwise His Majesty's Government might as well have announced some months ago what it declared the other day: "We shall not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which is not accepted by both parties and which we cannot reconcile with our conscience." But we observe that His Majesty's Government is not being asked to accept a sole responsibility. The report of the Special Committee clearly recommends that it be so desired, and more members of the United Nations shall be invited to assist in the administering of the country

along with the present Mandatory Power.

The statement of Mr. Creech-Jones seems to go beyond that of Sir Alexander Cadogan's and implies that His Majesty's Government not only does not wish to assume sole responsibility for implementing the report, but reserves to itself the right of refusing any cooperation in implementing the final decision of the United Nations if, in its judgment, it does not comply with its own criteria of justice and with its own preferred technique of implementation.

**Challenge to United Nations**

One question whether in taking such a position—if we have understood the position correctly—the United Kingdom is helping to solve this difficult problem and whether its course will enhance the authority and prestige of the United Nations which has assumed responsibility over the Palestine question. It is clear to everyone that the solution of this problem represents a vital challenge to the United Nations and a crucial test of its future effectiveness.

In view of His Majesty's Government's reluctance to impose a policy by force of arms, a policy which would have behind it the sanction of the community of nations, one may be pardoned for inquiring why His Majesty's Government has not hesitated to employ in recent years a military force of 100,000 men, along with its navy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Palestine which the international body has approved, which is contrary to the purposes and provisions of the Mandate, and which has been thrice disapproved by international bodies.

It would have been more helpful if the statement of His Majesty's Government had been more revealing. Surely it must be clear to everyone that no settlement of the Palestine problem is possible without some enforcement.

The Palestine problem is not at all unique in this regard. The report to your Special Committee correctly states: "Taking into account the fact that devising a solution which will be fully acceptable to both Jews and Arabs is a task which is beyond the prospect of imposing a solution on them would be the basic condition of any recommended proposal."

It was the realization that such an Arab-Jewish agreement which is essential to the peace of the world, that prompted Mr. Bevin to turn the problem over to the United Nations. Mr. Creech-Jones' declaration, therefore, that "the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews" is very singular indeed and does not advance the solution at all.

**Principle of Partition**

It may be pertinent to recall that the principle of partition on which the majority report of the Committee is based was first projected by the all-British Royal Commission in 1937. At that time the British Government accepted that recommendation in principle and declared:

"In supporting a solution of the Palestine problem by means of partition, His Majesty's Government are much impressed by the advantages which it offers to the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs would obtain their national independence and thus be enabled to cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of neighboring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress. They would be finally delivered from all forms of Jewish domination."

"On the other hand, partition would secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and relieve it from any possibility of its being subjected in the future to Arab rule. It would convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State with full sovereignty over immigration."

"Above all, fear and suspicion would be replaced by a sense of confidence and security, and both peoples would be enabled to obtain, in the words of the Commission, 'the inestimable boon of peace.'"

Confronted as we now are by the latest expression of His Majesty's Government, we cannot help but reflect upon the course which has been followed by successive British Governments during the past decade. In 1937 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the Palestine problem, which, after an exhaustive study, recommended partition as a solution. After an initial approval of the plan, the British Government wound up by rejecting it and promulgated in its stead the White Paper policy of 1939 which was in complete contravention of the basic recommendation of the Royal Commission.

In 1945 the British Government invited the American Government to join in a two-nation inquiry into the Palestine problem with a view to its solution. This latest report of the Royal Commission submitted unanimous recommendations proposing this time not partition, but a unitary state. It called for the abrogation of the White Paper policy, including its racial land law. The Commission of 300,000 Jews, continued Jewish immigration thereafter, and the faithful implementation of the provisions of the Mandate. The British Government rejected the recommendations of this committee likewise and wound up by putting forward the Morrison and Bevin proposals which were diametrically opposed in substance and in spirit to the report of the Anglo-American Committee.

Finally, in 1947 the British Government proposed another examination of the Palestine problem, this time by the United Nations. As a result, a commission was appointed consisting of eleven neutral nations. This committee has now submitted a report which recommends a plan of partition coupled with economic union. But this report seems no more acceptable to His Majesty's Government than the earlier reports. It has indicated no support of the latest report and offers in its stead nothing.

**General Assembly Action Urged**

The failure, however, of the United Kingdom Government to give the United Nations a measure of guidance and support, and its announced intention of an early withdrawal from Palestine which we welcome, makes it more imperative than ever that the

majority of the country. In other words, the Jewish National Home is now to be confined to less than one-eighth of the territory originally set aside for it.

This is a sacrifice which the Jewish people should not be asked to make. The legitimate national aspirations of the Arab people have been fully satisfied. President Truman, in his letter of October 28, 1946, to the King of Saudi Arabia, calls attention to this fact: "I am happy to note," he writes, "that most of the liberated peoples [of the Near East] are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish National Home, however, has not yet been fully developed."

The Arabs possess today independent monarchies in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and independent republics in Syria and Lebanon. A population of 17,000,000 in Arab Asia occupies an area of 1,290,000 square miles, enormously rich in resources and potentialities. This area, which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and which, together with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied Nations, includes all the centers which are primarily associated in history with Arab and Moslem tradition in Palestine, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the nations of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish National Home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only 10,000 square miles in extent, and it is now proposed in the Majority Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish National Home by almost one-half.

**Objections to Majority Report**

It is not our intention at this time to enter into a detailed discussion of the many territorial proposals of the proposals of the Majority Report. But we feel constrained to point out at least two features which are open to most serious objections. The Majority Report eliminates western Galilee—that is, most of Galilee—from the Jewish State. The Peel Commission included western Galilee in the Jewish State. For reasons which we shall explain more fully at a later stage, we regard the proposed exclusion of western Galilee as an unjustified and a particularly grievous handicap to the development of the Jewish State.

Under the terms of the majority proposal, the city of Jerusalem is set up as a separate government unit. We would not question the propriety of placing the old city of Jerusalem, and its holy shrines, which may be outside the walls of the old city, in the custody of an international authority. But outside the old city a modern new city has grown up which contains a compact Jewish section of approximately 90,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central national institutions of the Jewish people.

Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a particularly severe blow. It would hold a unique place in Jewish life and religious traditions. It is the ancient capital of the Jewish nation and the place of the Jewish people throughout the ages of Jewish nationhood. The undevoted resolve of our people to be reconstituted as a nation in the land of Israel was formulated in the solemn vows of the Patriarchs of the exiled people throughout the ages: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." We strongly urge that the Jewish section of modern Jerusalem, outside the walls, be included in the Jewish State.

There are other modifications which we will take up at a later stage of these discussions.

**In the Event of Partition**

To return to the basic solution of partition, proposed by the Special Committee: It entails, as we have said, a very heavy sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. But if such a sacrifice is made, the Jewish people would be prepared to assume the responsibility for recommending acquiescence to the supreme organs of our movement, subject, of course, to further discussion of the constitution and territorial provisions which we assume will take place in the course of these sessions.

We would be prepared to do so because the proposal makes possible the immediate re-establishment of the Jewish State, a state for which our people ceaselessly strive through the centuries, and because it ensures immediate and continuing Jewish immigration which, as events have demonstrated, is possible only under a Jewish State. We would do so also as our contribution to the solution of a grave international problem and as evidence of our willingness to join with the community of nations in an effort to bring peace at last to the troubled land which is precious to the heart of mankind.

We are impressed with the recommendations in the report of an economic union between the two states. We approve of the conclusion reached by the committee that "in view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, it is essential that, to the extent feasible, and consistent with the creation of two independent states, the economic unity of the country should be preserved."

This appears to us to be a pro-

gressive and statesmanlike conception of great promise. The Jewish Agency is prepared to accept this proposal of a economic union. It should, however, be understood that this economic union, while it would bestow some benefits on the Jewish State, would also impose grave sacrifices. The acceptable limit of these sacrifices is, in principle, clear: the Jewish State must have in its own hands those instruments of financing and economic control that are necessary to carry out large-scale Jewish immigration and the related economic development. The Jewish State must have independent access to those world sources of capital and supplies that are indispensable for the accomplishment of these purposes.

The Majority Report provides, in effect, for a large subsidy from the Jewish to the Arab State, through equal sharing by the two states of the vast revenues from customs and joint services. This subsidy would be a very heavy one in relation to the national income. The Jewish Agency would, however, be prepared to assume this burden as one of its sacrifices designed to find a way out of the present intolerable impasse.

**Mean to Be Good Neighbors**

We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and business which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborhood, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is to be in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances, defend our rights to the utmost. We have built a nation in Palestine. That nation now demands its independence. It will not be dithered. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make a enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond it we cannot go.

The report recommends that "during the transitional period the authority entrusted with the task of administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations." In view of the statements of the Arab spokesman it is not clear now which will be this authority. We favor an international authority under the United Nations to supervise the implementation of its decision.

Above all, we urge that the transitional period be as brief as possible. A period of two years, in our judgment, considerably longer than is necessary or desirable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the powers and functions of administration to the two peoples in their respective states will take place at the end of the transitional period, but would be inaugurated as rapidly as possible. The Jewish people are ready to assume immediately all responsibilities which the establishment of the Jewish State will involve.

**As to Enforcement Measures**

We agree with the report that "whatever the solution, enforcement measures on an extensive scale may be necessary for some time." The Jewish people believe that the transition from the present status of the country to the new status of two independent states, will be attended by a minimum of bloodshed and conflict. Once the boundaries are defined and the states established by the United Nations they will be entitled to have their territorial integrity and sovereign rights respected and protected as fully as all other nations which are convened to peaceful relations under the Charter.

All members of the United Nations, whether in the neighborhood of Palestine or elsewhere, who are bound by the principles of the Charter, will be expected to respect the rights of these new states, under pain of being condemned as aggressors and subjected to international boycott. Moreover, we assume that in the constitution of whatever military or police force may be required during the transitional period, it will be made of the trained manpower available in Palestine which will be prepared to offer its services to the United Nations to maintain law and order.

The Jewish State, when it is established, will respect the sov-



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

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Entered as Second-Class Matter  
Postoffice, New York, N. Y.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1947.

LATE CITY EDITION

Partly cloudy today and tomorrow.  
WARMER TONIGHT.  
Temperatures Yesterday—Max., 48; Min., 36.3.  
Source Index, 1.46 A. M.; 1.48 P. M.; 1.50 P. M.  
Full U. S. Weather Bureau Report, Page 42.

THREE CENTS NEW YORK CITY

## SENATE VOTES 48-40 TO CURB UNION RULE OF WELFARE FUNDS

Also Puts Ban on Involuntary  
Check-Off as Taft Defeats  
a New Ives-Morse Attack

### SUITS ON UNIONS DEBATED

Chamber to Bailot Today on  
Permitting Employer Actions  
in Jurisdictional Strikes

By WILLIAM S. WHITE  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The Senate accepted today by forty-eight to forty another sharpening amendment to the Taft omnibus labor bill, a provision to knock out the involuntary check-off of union dues and to put limitations about employer contributions to union welfare funds.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, the Republican leader, thus regained command from his first defeat of yesterday and won the second of the four hardening alterations for which he has been appealing to the Senate in a great and prolonged debate.

Where sixteen Republicans had refused Mr. Taft's leadership yesterday to join twenty-eight Democrats in denying to him a proposal for restrictions upon industry-wide bargaining, fourteen parted with him today.

This time, however, he recruited more Democratic help.

Voting for the check-off welfare fund amendment were thirty-three Republicans and fifteen Democrats; against it the fourteen Republican dissenters joined twenty-six Democrats.

### Debate Starts on Suing Unions

With one loss and two victories, the Taft group at once set out in pursuit of objective Number 4. This was an amendment to permit employers to sue unions for damages resulting from jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts.

The debate on this proposal took a rather desultory tone at the start, for Mr. Taft's success here was threatened not so much along his left, but from the right.

The amendment, of which one of Senator Taft's closest associates in the struggle, Senator Joseph H. Ball, Republican of Minnesota, is the principal sponsor, originally would have granted to private employers the right to use the injunction to put down such strikes and boycotts.

Mr. Taft, who had decided long since not to try to thrust this issue forward and had abandoned the principle of the private injunction, was unable to take Mr. Ball along with him.

Senator Ball announced his insistence upon an unamended amendment, and Senator Taft then went up a substitute, upon which a vote will come tomorrow, embodying only the provision for suits for damages.

Passage of Bill Postponed

Mr. Ball conceded off the floor, "I'm probably licked," but said nevertheless he would press on.

Once this issue is disposed of, and this by agreement will be at 1 P. M. Eastern standard time tomorrow, no major amendment likely to provoke prolonged controversy will be left.

Earlier the leaders had hoped for a final vote on the entire bill tomorrow, but some opponents, including Senator Wayne Morse, Republican of Oregon, made it clear that they would have none of this. They contended that such a disposition would be unjustifiably hasty.

Late in the day a direct effort at pleading the Senate to take the final vote by Tuesday afternoon was made, but this, too, failed.

Senator Morse and Senator Irving M. Ives, Republican of New York, who yesterday had captained the party insurrection which brought Mr. Taft down for the first time, challenged him again today on the issue of prohibiting the involuntary check-off and restricting employer payments to union welfare funds.

Senator Ives argued that the subject was one for additional study by a proposed joint Congressional committee and that the penalties provided, \$10,000 fines or a year in jail, were "altogether excessive."

Summing up, he asserted: "It is an extremely ill-conceived piece of legislation."

Mr. Taft insisted that the amendment was in the interest of individual union members, since it provided that the benefits to be given to them under such funds must be

## Builders Here Facing Rise In the Costs of Union Labor

Despite Postponement of \$150,000,000 in  
Construction Operations, Reopening of the  
So-Called Master Agreement Is Asked

By LEE E. COOPER

New York builders, whose extensive post-war projects already have been sharply curtailed by a record 100 per cent rise in construction costs over pre-war levels, face the prospect of still higher costs when the so-called master agreement in the building trades is reopened within a few weeks at the request of the unions.

As a result of wage uncertainties and other upset market conditions which have brought on an industry "strike" prospective commercial and industrial construction operations representing an outlay of nearly \$150,000,000 in the metropolitan area have been postponed indefinitely.

Plans for scores of big warehouses, loft and manufacturing buildings and office skyscrapers prepared for erection when Government restrictions were removed have been shelved, along with about \$75,000,000 in projected housing work for Manhattan alone.

Leading contractors received

## Senate Committee Expected To Modify House Tax Cuts

By JOHN D. MORRIS  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The Senate Finance Committee completed the preliminaries today and prepared to start voting tomorrow on personal income tax reduction. Chairman Eugene D. Millikin of Colorado said that he expected a final vote by the end of the day after disposal of a number of proposed changes in the bill approved by the House.

Heading the list of amendments was one to make the tax cuts effective on July 1, instead of retroactively to Jan. 1, as voted by the House, and Senator Millikin said that he believed the committee would favor the July 1 date.

The only other major proposal likely to win the committee's approval would alter the bill's scale of reductions.

The House bill provides a 30 per cent reduction for persons with net taxable incomes of \$1,000 or less; cuts ranging from 30 to 20 per cent for those with incomes between \$1,000 and \$1,395.83; a 20 per cent reduction for persons with incomes between \$1,395.83 and about \$302,000, and 10.5 per cent on all income above \$302,000.

The Senate committee, it was indicated, will split up the 20 per cent reduction category, giving persons with incomes from probably \$100,000 to \$302,000 a cut of 15 per cent, instead of the full 20 per cent.

The main purpose of this move was understood to be to set up a point for trading with the House when the bill goes to conference for settlement of differences between the two chambers. The Senate conferees could then offer to eliminate that provision in exchange for a concession of the House conferees on the retroactive feature.

The Finance Committee also expects to dispose tomorrow of about sixteen other amendments and one complete substitute, offered by Senator Scott W. Lucas, Democrat, of Illinois.

The most popular of the pending amendments is one to permit hus-

Continued on Page 14, Column 5

Continued on Page 12, Column 4

## Youth Due to Go to Chair Again Today as High Court Denies Plea

By LEWIS WOOD  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—Two efforts to save Willie Francis from being sent to the electric chair in Louisiana again tomorrow failed today in the Supreme Court, but the justices held that the 17-year-old Negro could present "grave new allegations" to the State courts.

The justices, absent from the bench in conference for more than an hour, had before them charges that the executioner, and others who tried vainly to electrocute Francis last May, were drunk.

James H. Wright of Washington said in a petition:

"The scene was a disgraceful and inhuman exhibition, that as soon as the switch controlling the current was taken off, the drunken executioner cursed Francis and told him he would be back to finish electrocuting him, and if the electricity did not kill him he would kill him with a rock."

The court later denied Mr. Wright's plea for a writ of habeas

## GARAGE FEE PLAN REVISED BY MAYOR; SETS LOWER RATES

Plan for Levy Ranging From  
\$1 to \$100, Including Parking  
Lots, to Go to the Council

### REVENUE PHASE IS NIL FOR INTERIM IMMIGRATION

Proposal Is Made Solely to  
Ease City Traffic Problem,  
O'Dwyer Emphasizes

Mayor O'Dwyer made public late yesterday afternoon a revised bill for revenue fees for parking lots and garages as written by his traffic committee headed by Police Commissioner Arthur W. Wallender.

It is expected that when the legal phases are ironed out by Corporation Counsel Charles E. Murphy the revised bill will be submitted to the City Council to replace the present proposed legislation now pending before that body.

The Mayor had nothing to say when he distributed the two-page report that had been prepared earlier in the afternoon by the traffic committee with the assistance of Benjamin Fielding, Commissioner of Licenses, whose department would have the power to collect the fees.

A summary of the license fee provisions of the new bill follows:

1. For garages or parking lots holding not more than 25 cars, \$5. The original bill called for a \$25 fee.
2. For garages or parking lots holding 26 and not more than 50 cars, \$25. The original bill assessed a fee of \$50.
3. For garages or parking lots holding 51 and not more than 100 cars, \$50. The original bill sought to assess a \$100 license fee.
4. For garages or parking lots holding more than 100 cars, \$100. This was the same fee in the original bill.

### Jail Term and Fine Included

Under the terms of the new bill, violation of any provision of the legislation would make the licensee, upon conviction, subject to a fine of not more than \$250 and not more than thirty days in jail or both. Provision has also been made for the suspension or revocation by the Commissioner of Licenses for failure to comply with the regulations.

In addition to Commissioner Wallender at the meeting were

Continued on Page 17, Column 2

Continued on Page 4, Column 7

## U. N. ASKED TO SET JEWISH HOMELAND AS BASIS OF INQUIRY

Dr. A. H. Silver, Representing  
Agency of Palestine, Cites  
Eminent Authors of Plan

### The Test of Rabbi Silver's Statement Appears on Page 4

By CLAYTON KNOWLES  
Special to The New York Times

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 8.—International obligations to insure development of a Jewish national home in Palestine must be the "basic and irrefutable" consideration in any inquiry there, a spokesman for the Jewish Agency for Palestine asserted today before the United Nations Assembly's Political and Security Committee.

The Jewish Agency, claiming to speak for Jews the world over, subordinated seven other major requests to this one in submitting its views to the committee. It was the first time that the Jewish Agency had received a hearing before a world tribunal.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Agency, presented the organization's position in an eloquent, even-tempered, thirty-minute address. Published by Moshe Shertok and Dr. Nahum Goldmann, fellow members of the Agency executive, the 54-year-old Zionist leader urged that the committee of inquiry that the Assembly is about to name visit both Palestine and Europe in its search for a solution.

### Suggests Inquiry Elements

The visit to Palestine, he said, would enable the committee to explore the potentialities of the Jewish people, seek the causes of the Jewish problem, and find the first-hand how Great Britain got mandatory power, is "carrying out another of its obligations, which is to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land."

In Europe, he declared, the committee should visit the displaced persons camps to "see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two

Continued on Page 17, Column 2

Continued on Page 4, Column 7

## THE PRESIDENT AT 63



Mr. Truman with the cake he received from White House photographers who were dubbed the "One More Club" by the Chief Executive because of their "One more please, Mr. President" in requesting additional pictures.

The New York Times (NY Times)

## Truman Continues Hopeful Of Lasting Peace in World

By HAROLD B. HINTON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—President Truman believes lasting world peace will be attained and that the United States has the greatest Government in the world, he declared in a birthday

### statement at his news conference today.

His impromptu observations occupied most of the quarter of an hour he devoted to receiving newspaper and radio correspondents.

The lasting peace, on the subject of which he said he was optimistic, would be attained eventually, the President affirmed. He used the word "eventually" to describe his conviction that the United Nations would carry out its charter.

His remarks on the Federal Government came in response to a question whether his philosophy of life had changed since he entered the White House more than two years ago. He replied that it had not suffered the slightest change, and that the more he saw of the country's Government the better he liked it—even if it did make a slave of the President.

As the correspondents filed into his office there was a continuous series of murmurs of "Happy birthday, Mr. President," each of which he acknowledged with a smile and a slight bow. He was obviously in the best of health and enjoying how well he looked at the age of 63.

As the meeting settled into order, the President arose and began a discussion of the stirring events which had happened since he became the Chief Executive. He apologized for seeming to make a speech, but made it clear that the passage of those events had left an indelible mark on his memory.

He began by referring to his birthday press conference of 1945, when he summoned the White House correspondents to his office at 5:30 A. M. to announce the surrender of Germany. Pointing to the Delta Council, an organization of agricultural and business interests concerned largely with the cotton economy of this area, the President last month

Continued on Page 3, Column 5

Continued on Page 5, Column 3

## Russia to Get Flour in Rumania; U. S. Checks Famine Relief Terms

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The American Mission in Bucharest informed the State Department today that Rumania, in response to Russian demands, was about to deliver 400 freight car loads of wheat flour for use of the Soviet forces of occupation in that country.

There appears to be no question that Russia has the technical right under the armistice terms to make the demand. But exporting of grain to the Soviet Union, which has been reported, would be contrary to terms agreed to by Rumania when the United States recently allocated 88,000 tons of cereals to Rumania to alleviate famine.

The State Department is now checking these reports that grain is being shipped from Rumania to Russia. If these are found to be true, the Department said, it would have no recourse except to stop shipping our grain to Rumania because a definite promise

was made that, in contrast to flour, no grain would be shipped out of the country.

It was indicated that no representations had been made to Russia concerning the demand for flour, since the Soviet Union is considered to be within its legal rights in technically standing on the terms of the armistice for acquiring foodstuffs in Rumania for its forces of occupation.

It is considered obvious, however, that the Soviet action is in sharp contrast to our effort to relieve acute starvation in Rumania. The American Red Cross promptly made available \$2,500,000 worth of concentrated foods for the distressed in Moldavia Province. In addition, despite the urgency of demands elsewhere for available cereal stocks the United States allocated the 88,000 tons for alleviation of the emergency condition.

## NEAR EAST AID BILL PASSES HOUSE TEST; NOW SEEN AS SAFE

Large Majorities Shout Down  
Attempts to Amend or Kill  
Plan—Reject U. N. Inquiry

### ATOMIC CURBS DEFEATED

Austin Telegram for Support Is  
Read on Floor—Debate Due  
Today on Military Phases

By C. F. TRUSSELL  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The bill to help Greece and Turkey ward off communism weathered its initial voting tests in the House of Representatives today, and moved into an apparently safe position.

Tonight the bipartisan leadership in the fight to give first implementation to the new United States foreign policy was relieved. Tougher tests lay ahead, it was conceded. But these leaders saw encouraging signs in today's voting that were distinctly lacking when two days of general debate closed yesterday.

In today's tests, large majorities registered, with shouts, emphatic "noes," as proposals for revising the program appeared.

Knocked down decisively were amendments or technical motions to do these things: Kill the bill outright, force certain phases of the program before the United Nations, delay any aid to Turkey for a year, and tell President Truman statutorily that he must not give atomic materials or secrets to either country.

### Inquiry Plans Rejected

By overwhelming voice votes, the House rejected two proposals that the pressure assertedly exercised by Russia upon Turkey from the outside be proved or discounted through investigation by an agency of the United Nations.

One proposal, by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, Democrat, of California, would have sent the question of threats against Turkey to a United Nations investigation, with a year allowed for a report. Meanwhile, the \$100,000,000 program for strengthening Turkey's army would be inoperative.

The other, by Representative Jacob K. Javits, Republican, of New York, would have permitted aid to Turkey to begin with the enactment of the program. However, it would call for a simultaneous United Nations investigation into the alleged pressures upon Turkey. Mr. Javits suggested that the inquiry be proposed was similar to that already conducted by a United Nations commission into the guerrilla warfare troubles along the northern Greek border.

It had been expected widely at the Capitol that Mr. Javits' proposal would receive strong support. It was a phase of the arguments that the United States, by its proposed unilateral action, was "by-passing" the United Nations.

### Austin's Opinion Presented

Before the Douglas and Javits amendments were taken to a vote, Representative Charles A. Eaton of New Jersey, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, read to the House a communication just received from Warren R. Austin, United States delegate to the United Nations. Mr. Eaton had asked Mr. Austin for an opinion. Mr. Austin wired back promptly:

"In my opinion the United States program for aid to Greece and Turkey does not by-pass the United Nations. On the contrary, it would be a most essential act in support of the United Nations Charter and would advance the building of collective security under the United Nations. . . ."

"The proposed American program will assist in restoring stability and security in Greece and maintaining them in Turkey. When stable conditions are restored in Greece it should be possible to provide such further financial and economic assistance as might then be required through the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and related specialized agencies."

There still remained what was viewed by all leaders as the principal test. Representative Lawrence H. Smith, Republican, of Wisconsin, who heads up the opposition, will put before the House this proposal:

"That the whole program be approved, but conditionally. That the giving of \$400,000,000 of aid to Greece and Turkey be withheld for sixty days while the United Nations decided whether it could or could not act in concert as against

Continued on Page 5, Column 3



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## GROMYKO ASKS U. N. REOPEN GREEK CASE

Questions Authority to Continue Balkan Inquiry—Board There Seeks to Report in Person

By A. M. ROSENTHAL  
Special to The New York Times

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 8.—The Soviet Union moved today to open debate on Monday on the United Nations' authority to continue its on-the-spot investigation of Balkan border warfare.

Taking the initiative for Russia in the latest stage of the long Balkan dispute, Andrei A. Gromyko, Deputy Foreign Minister, formally asked the United Nations Security Council to reopen "the Greek question."

In a letter, he made it clear that he was throwing open the Greek controversy again because of the decision of the Council and its Balkan Investigating Committee to keep a subsidiary inquiry board in the area to maintain a watch on border flare-ups.

Soon after Mr. Gromyko's letter was received by Secretary General Trygve Lie, Dr. Alfonso Lopez of Colombia, the chairman, called a session of the Council for Monday at 3:30 P. M.

Would Report in Person  
Meanwhile, the investigating commission, now meeting in Geneva to prepare its report, called a request to Dr. Lopez asking for a decision on whether it could come to Lake Success to present its findings in person. The dispatch, from Lieut. Gen. Maurice Delvoe of Belgium, president of the commission, was put on the Council's agenda for Monday.

The latest Balkan controversy began early this week when Yugoslavia, Albania and later Bulgaria informed the investigators in Geneva that they would not cooperate with the subsidiary inquiry group. Representatives of the three Balkan Governments acknowledged that they had promised to help the full commission, but argued that their commitment did not cover the subcommittee.

The stand of the three countries was championed by the Soviet delegation in Geneva and challenged by the United States and Britain. The British-American stand was that the Balkan nations were bound by Article 25 of the Charter to abide by decisions of the Security Council and that the subcommittee remaining in the Balkans demanded their support because it had been created by the Council.

Insist Promises Be Kept  
The United States and British delegations here, it was reported officially, will insist to the Council that Bulgaria, Albania and Yugo-

## NEW RUSSIAN AUTOMOBILES IN MOSCOW



Zis cars that were used during the recent four-power conference. They are not yet on sale to the public. On the right is the Hotel Moscow.

slavia "keep their promises" to cooperate with the subcommittee and permit its members to enter their territory.

The dispute in the Balkans was accentuated this afternoon by official charges from the Greek Government that opposition "bandit" forces were continuing to operate from Yugoslav territory.

In a letter to Mr. Lie, Ambassador Vasili Dendrakis, permanent Greek delegate here, reported that on March 31 a detachment of the Greek Army had sighted guerrilla units crossing into Yugoslav territory at three points. The complaint added that one of the guerrilla units had fired on Greek troops from a point within Yugoslav territory.

Colombian Revolt Denied  
Special to The New York Times  
BOGOTA, Colombia, May 8.—Recent rumors circulated in Caracas, Venezuela, alleging an attempted coup against the Colombian Government are denied today in a press release from the Presidential Palace and characterized as "erroneous information."

The release says that the students' strike is now in process of solution and that many students have returned to their classes, while striking highway workers are returning to work and that generally the country is calm.

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61% OF QUOTA RAISED  
Greek War Relief Group Will Press Drive for \$12,000,000

The Greek War Relief Association, Inc., which is seeking \$12,000,000 during 1947 for relief purposes in Greece, announced yesterday that it had raised \$7,376,717, or more than 61 per cent of its goal.

Announcement of the status of the campaign, which is still going on, was made at a report meeting at the St. Moritz Hotel by Howard Hunter, national campaign director. The report was received by William Helis, president of the association, and Spyros Skoufas, board chairman. Both emphasized the necessity of raising the full quota.

During the next few weeks, Mr. Hunter said, an energetic follow-up campaign will be pursued in communities where the drive has just begun or where no campaign organizations were set up. He urged all committeemen to continue solicitations for additional funds.

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## NEAR EAST AID BILL PASSES HOUSE TEST

Continued From Page 1

the unilateral United States action proposed. If the United Nations could not act on its own, the United States program would go into operation.

Today Mr. Smith added what was called a "sugaring" proviso. Conceding that the United Nations was not yet equipped financially to undertake the Greek-Turkish problem, he proposed that \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 be provided by the United States to finance the United Nations action.

At the same time, Mr. Smith prepared another amendment that would cut the \$100,000,000 aid program to a maximum of \$50,000,000.

Members of the House began shouting for a taking of votes. Support of both the Douglas and Javits amendments was drowned by "noes."

Mrs. Douglas also proposed that atomic materials and information be withheld from Greece and Turkey by statute.

"We have not spent five minutes inquiring into the beliefs of King Paul of Greece, to whom under this bill the President would have authority to hand over anything or everything related to atomic energy," she said.

Proponents of the program argued that, with Greece and Turkey banned specifically, the law might be interpreted so as to admit construction that the United States

atomic secrets could be distributed elsewhere.

The debate also brought out the Atomic Energy Act passed by the last Congress permits the forwarding of atomic materials and information to foreign countries only upon specific approval by Congress. Another voice vote killed the Douglas amendment.

Pending as the House adjourned tonight until 10 A. M. tomorrow for a possible but not probable completion of action, was an amendment concerning the military phases of the Greek and Turkish programs. This, it was known, was only a local skirmish. An amendment will be offered later.

Representative George H. Bender, Republican, of Ohio, designed to make the program absolutely non-military. There appeared to be little concern over this impending test.

Representative Earl E. Muntz, Republican, of South Dakota, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, proposed that the military (both Army and Navy) missions be sent to Greece and Turkey consist of no more than 100 men each. Representative Walter H. Judd, Republican, of Minnesota, another committee member, sought to raise the limit to 200. As the bill now is written, Mr. Muntz contended, a division of fighting soldiers could be sent to either country.

Proponents of the program argued that the bill itself prescribed that military missions serve "in an advisory capacity only," but debate continued. There remained an apparent fear that missions would develop into "expeditionary forces," and lead to war.

Voting on this proposal was expected before mid-afternoon tomorrow. Foes of the program

continued their cry that they had been "gagged" during the general debate. When amendments were offered today they took full advantage of floor privilege under what is known as the "five-minute rule" during the amendment period.

Each proposed amendment brought on a fresh series of debates. Amendments that usually would call for minutes of debate demanded hours. Leaders expressed a hope that the final vote could be taken tomorrow, but this appeared in doubt unless the House went into night session.

U. S. and Chile Reach Air Accord  
SANTIAGO, Chile, May 8 (AP)—The United States and Chile have concluded negotiations for a commercial aviation treaty that will be signed here on Saturday. The Under-Secretary of Foreign Relations, Manuel Trucco, announced today. He said the treaty would give Chilean airlines the same facilities to operate into the United States that American lines receive to operate here.

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U. S. BRITAIN DRAFT  
BALKAN PEACE PLANUrge Salonika as Free Port,  
Foreign-Supervised Amnesty  
—Differ on Border RuleBy W. H. LAWRENCE  
Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, May 8.—The United States and Great Britain circulated among the members of the United Nations Balkans Investigating Commission today separate drafts of formal recommendations designed to restore peace and harmony on Greece's troubled northern frontier.

The highlights of the United States draft are proposals that Salonika be made a free port for Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; that the Greek Government invite international supervision of a new amnesty "for political prisoners and members of Greek guerrilla bands" and that a small permanent border commission be established to reduce and settle frontier incidents.

The United States also calls on the four Balkan Governments to negotiate three bilateral agreements similar to the 1931 Greek-Bulgarian pact and the 1928 Pan American Convention designed to seal frontiers in the event of civil disturbances and otherwise eliminate the causes of friction.

In general, there is no great difference between the United States and British drafts except that the British delegate, Richard T. Windle, leans more toward the appointment of a single high commissioner to supervise the frontier area, while the United States wants a small commission.

Would Bar Interested Powers  
If a commission were named, the British draft would exclude the appointment of representatives from the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France and China or any other country with a direct connection or interest in the affairs of any of the Balkan countries.

The British feel that the commission would be more nonpartisan if it excluded the Great Powers. The Americans, on the other hand, believe that it would be impossible to find true neutrals to handle such a responsibility, and face the fact that the commission, inevitably political, would have a United States member on it.

Although the United States draft does not spell out the proposed membership, informal discussions indicate it probably would include the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France, Poland and one other small country, perhaps from Latin America. The United States and British drafts have been circulated with the view of inviting discussion by the nine other members that may lead to changes before the full commission reaches the stage of formal recommendations.

Such discussions already have indicated that the amnesty recommendation may be omitted, and that the United States would not wish to see the United Nations have an interference in internal affairs and because—as reported from New York earlier this week—the Greek Government may make an independent move in that direction in advance of the commission's reports. The same thing may be true of the recommendation relating to a Salonika free port.

Refugees a Cause of Trouble  
Whether a commission or a high commissioner is named, either agency of the Security Council would be vested by the United Nations with power to investigate disputes in all four countries.

Whether Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria would agree to such a decision is open to question, especially since they served notice this week that they would not allow the investigating commission's subsidiary group to enter their countries to investigate new complaints while the issue still was before the Security Council.

Both drafts recognize that the presence of refugees, especially political refugees—in all four countries is a source of friction and a potential cause of trouble. This applies equally to anti-Communist refugees in Greece and anti-Government Greeks in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.

The two drafts ask the governments concerned to move the refugees as far away from the frontiers as possible. Both urge the encouragement of repatriation of such refugees, and suggest studies looking toward voluntary transfers of minorities.

BRITISH ZONE SETS  
LAND-REFORM RULES

Special to The New York Times

HAMBURG, Germany, May 8.—Two principles will guide the land-reform ordinance to be issued soon by the British Military Government, Air Vice Marshal H. V. Champion de Crespigny, regional commissioner of Schleswig-Holstein, announced today. Opening the Legislature's session in Kiel, he indicated that the ordinance would not be implemented in the near future.

He said the first principle was the reduction of the political and economic power attaching to the ownership of large estates by limiting the amount of land to be held by one owner. The second is to provide for land settlement and eventually for improvement in the pattern of agriculture.

As an immediate step, he explained, title to all undeveloped lands in excess of certain stated maximums will be taken from owners and handed to land commissioners to be established by each of the government. In this way, he added, ownership will be changed but occupation will not necessarily be changed until the land commissioner decides the time for the settlement of the land is ripe. During the period that elapses between the surrender of titles of land and its reversion to the proper use of the land will be the responsibility of the commission.

## A ROUSING OVATION FOR MEXICO'S PRESIDENT UPON HIS RETURN HOME



Señor Aleman surrounded by admirers who broke through police lines in Mexico City to greet him on his arrival from United States

MEXICO CITY, May 8.—The fervor of Mexico City's welcome to President Manuel Aleman last night on his return from the United States was carried over into an unofficial holiday today. The downtown section of the capital was virtually deserted.

President Aleman spent the day at home with his family. Newspapers uniformly characterized the midnight celebration that was touched off by the President's arrival at the airport as unprecedented in the nation's history. President Truman's plane, the

Sacred Cow, which Señor Aleman used throughout his tour, will return to the United States tomorrow with Lieut. Col. Henry Myers at the controls. Its passengers will include Ambassador Walter Thurston and his ailing mother, Mrs. John Ernest Thurston, whom the

United States envoy is taking north for her health. Mr. Thurston, who accompanied President Aleman and returned with him, will be on leave for three weeks. Dr. Raymond Geist, counselor of the embassy, will serve as chargé d'affaires.

FOOD COUNCIL BIDS  
PERON AID EUROPEAppeal Asks for Million Tons  
of Grain a Month for 3 Months  
to Tide Over EmergencyBy BESS FURMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The International Emergency Food Council has asked the Argentine Government to "exert every effort" to bring grain exports to hungry Europe up to a million tons a month for the next three months.

D. A. Fitzgerald, secretary general of the council announced today that this had been done through a strongly-worded cable message he had sent to President Peron following informal conversations with representatives of the Argentine Embassy here.

The message spoke of the bitter European winter and harsh spring, which upset ration calculations of many nations. It made hopeful mention of the very large harvests ahead in the United States and Canada. But it said that these two countries already have programmed virtually all the grain they will have available for export before harvest.

Vigorous Action Urged  
The message expressed confidence that the Argentine people, whose stocks would have to be the main reliance of the importing nations for further relief, would take vigorous action in the next ten to twelve weeks.

Argentina is one of two great grain-growing nations which has not joined the IEFEC. The other, Russia, makes no reports on stocks but is now generally regarded as having suffered considerable recent famine.

In an interview today, Dr. Fitzgerald declined to add to his statement so far as the Argentine situation is concerned. However, he emphasized that the Northern Hemisphere wheat stocks are low, saying that by July 1 there will be even less carry-over than a year ago, when stocks were considered small.

Overseas Hunger Zone  
Asked to name the countries now in the overseas hunger zone, he replied: Start with Ireland, and go on around the rest of the world.

He attributed the suddenly serious complaints from Britain as those of a country "just awfully tired of a seven-year ordeal."

He said there was no danger to the British bread ration so far as he could see statistically.

The IEFEC secretary general added that the executive committee of the Council is in session in London, and that it is making efforts to make grain allocations to countries where the most serious shortages develop.

To a report from overseas that grain shipments from this country are coming too slowly, particularly in the occupied zones of Germany, a Department of Agriculture spokesman today simply said that this country has this year shattered all grain-shipping records in the history of the world.

For the ten months, July through April, the record was 1,588,000 long tons; the April total 1,500,000 long tons. May export allocations total 1,294,000 long tons of grain and grain products; June allocations 1,002,000 long tons.

The 1946-47 grain exports from the United States not only will exceed shipments from any country in any year, but will also exceed the total of all exporting countries together in any one year before 1946, according to department officials.

May and June Allocations  
WASHINGTON, May 8.—The Agriculture Department today announced supplemental grain export allocations totaling 97,000 long tons for shipment to shortage areas during May and June.

The allocations include: The United States-United Kingdom zone in Germany, 24,000 long tons of barley and 9,000 long tons of wheat. This will replace emergency shipments made from the way. It also includes recently to relieve acute feed shortages in Rumania.

Switzerland, 7,000 long tons of oats and 9,000 long tons of wheat for seed. France, 36,000 long tons of corn, of which 9,000 may be by. Rumania, 9,000 long tons of corn. Jamaica, 3,000 long tons of flour, in wheat equivalent.

Administration Now Shifts  
Its Emphasis on Foreign AidEconomic Reconstruction of Western Europe  
Now Held Best Bar to Soviet ExpansionBy JAMES RESTON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—For the last eight weeks the Truman Doctrine has been discussed primarily in strategic, political and ideological terms. But today both Secretary of State Marshall and his chief assistant, Under-Secretary Dean Acheson, set Mr. Truman's words to a new tune.

"Since becoming Secretary of State," General Marshall wrote to Representative Robert L. Doughton, Democrat, of North Carolina, "I have spent most of my time in international political negotiations. This experience has reinforced my conviction that enduring political harmony rests heavily upon economic stability."

It was no accident that these two statements appeared today on the same theme. The Administration is not happy about the emotional response here and abroad to the military and ideological aspects of the Truman Doctrine. Consequently, a conscious effort is being made now to emphasize the positive economic problem of reconstructing Europe rather than the military and ideological program of blocking Russian expansion and Soviet communism.

The Best Barrier  
The Administration still has the same objective. It has not wavered in its sincere belief that Soviet expansion and infiltration must be stopped, if necessary by arming other nations in key strategic areas such as Greece and Turkey.

But it is increasingly convinced that the reconstruction of a sound democratic economy west of the Stalin-Trieste line is the only really effective barrier to expanding communism and it now is beginning to emphasize that theme.

This change of emphasis is clearly illustrated by a study of the speeches delivered by General Marshall and John Foster Dulles after their return from Moscow, and by Mr. Acheson today. Of the three, Mr. Acheson is the only one who even mentioned Greece and Turkey, and he touched on them only in passing on to the central problem of the economic reconstruction of Germany and the rest of Western Europe.

"If our joint administration can pump vitality into Western Europe," Mr. Dulles said, in emphasizing the point, "that will bring about more competent administration elsewhere. We will have achieved, by force of example,

what we could not achieve by persuasion at Moscow."

This trend toward the reconstruction of Western Europe as the main task in promoting peace already was evident late last year when the United States and British zones in Germany were unified. It was deflected into the Eastern Mediterranean and into an ideological argument by the necessity of taking a decision about Greece and Turkey.

Fear of Collapse Grows  
But the failure to reach an agreement on Germany and Austria at Moscow and the fear that Congress might approve the Greek-Turkish program and reject the Government's plans for Western Europe have brought the Administration back to the West with a shock.

There is far more apprehension in high quarters about the possible collapse of the economy of Western Europe than has been acknowledged in the last few months. Although the public debate has centered on Greece and Turkey, the doctrine eight weeks ago today, the private talk among our officials has been about how the United States can help get industrial, democratic Europe on its feet.

Even intense Republican partisanship is not saying that this shift in emphasis lends support to the charge made by some persons that the Administration has been engaged in a devious scheme to maintain political power and office at home.

It means simply that to attain its objective—namely, the preservation of peace and free institutions in Europe, and the preservation of full employment at home—the Administration has come to realize that it was placing too much emphasis on a broad, ideological crusade and not enough on the practical, economic tasks of reconstructing a strong Europe.

All Forms of Appeal Used  
Unfortunately, it is not so easy to switch the mood of Congress and the country. The Administration has centered its primary appeal in the last eight weeks on aid to Greece and Turkey, as if that were the most important aspect of the reconstruction problem. To do this, it has used all the dramatic appeals at its disposal, including secret meetings at the White House and the President's address to a joint session of Congress.

Now, however, the emphasis is shifting. The need to support the Administration on its Greek-Turkish program still is recognized as being vital since the President is committed to it before the world. But those who went to Moscow have come back convinced that the decisive testing ground for peace and a democratic Europe is in the West, and that the West cannot be maintained by anything but sound economic reconstruction.

GI Aid Rise is Opposed  
But School Group Backs \$7.50 More for Those With Children  
WASHINGTON, May 8.—The American Council on Education today advised Congress against making large increases in subsistence allowances to veterans attending school under the G. I. Bill of Rights.

The veteran himself has a definite responsibility for his own education, and the majority are accepting their fair share willingly and gratefully, Francis J. Brown, council staff associate, told a Senate Public Welfare subcommittee.

The subcommittee is considering a number of bills which would increase subsistence allowances for veterans students. Mr. Brown advised \$7.50 a month, most for veterans with children, but said allowances for single veterans should remain unchanged.

Van Kleeff Seen as Envoy Here  
Rotterdam, May 8.—Official Dutch quarters expect that Dr. E. N. van Kleeff, former delegate to the United Nations, will succeed Dr. Alexander Loudon as Ambassador to the United States.

SOVIET CALLS TEXT  
OF STASSEN WRONGMoscow Radio Objects to Way  
in Which Translator Employed  
'Cooperate' and 'Regulate'

LONDON, May 8.—The Moscow radio said today that "a number of deliberate alterations and unprecise points" appeared in the text of the recent conversation of Prime Minister Stalin with Representative Harold E. Stassen, as issued by Mr. Stassen and published by the American press.

The broadcast quoted a long and painstaking comparison of the texts as published by the Russian news agency Tass and the English language translation—but the chief differences appeared to be variations in the translation of words. Tass, for instance, preferred the word "collaborate" to "cooperate," as used in the English text, and the word "control" for "regulation."

Tass termed its version the correct one, saying the transcript handed to Mr. Stassen in Moscow was the one approved both by himself and by Mr. Stalin. The Tass translation, however, paraphrased the interview almost entirely, making virtually impossible a word-for-word comparison of the two versions.

Instances Cited by Moscow  
Here are some instances cited by Moscow:

(1) According to the American text, Mr. Stassen asked Mr. Stalin whether "these two economic systems (the American and Russian) can exist together in the same modern world in harmony with each other." But Tass said that Mr. Stassen had asked whether "these two economic systems could co-exist in one world and collaborate with each other after the war."

(2) Mr. Stassen quoted Mr. Stalin as saying "The U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. systems are different, but we didn't wage war against each other and the U. S. S. R. does not propose to." Tass reported merely that Mr. Stalin said: "The economic systems of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. were different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(3) Mr. Stassen, who challenged Mr. Stalin's pre-war collaboration, said that the two systems could not operate, said the Russian leader replied: "I might have said that one system was reluctant to cooperate, but that concerned only one side. But as to the possibility of cooperation, I adhere to Lenin, who expressed both the possibility and the desire of cooperation."

Paraphrase by Tass  
Tass, however, paraphrased this, and said "probably he (Stalin) had said that one system, the capitalist, for instance, did not want to collaborate, but this pertained to desires and not to possibilities of cooperation."

(4) Mr. Stassen reported that Mr. Stalin said: "Imperialism, the oppression of state monopoly and the oppression of workers are the evils of capitalism. We have been successful in America in preventing the monopoly of capitalism and the imperialistic trend, and that the workers have made greater progress through the use of their vote and their freedom than Karl Marx or Friedrich Engels thought they could make."

Tass paraphrased this to read that "Stassen said that much had been written to the effect that the capitalist system produced the evil of monopolies, imperialism and the oppression of the workers. He believed that in the U. S. A. the development of monopoly and imperialistic tendencies by capitalism and that the workers in the U. S. A. enjoyed a much greater degree of franchise than Marx or Engels could have imagined. In this way the difference between the economic system in the U. S. A. and that which existed in Hitler Germany."

(5) The Stassen text said that Mr. Stalin asked whether Mr. Stassen, speaking of economic stabilization, meant "the regulation of production," and that Mr. Stassen replied that "the regulation of capitalism." Tass paraphrased Mr. Stalin, saying he declared that Mr. Stassen meant "control of production," and that Mr. Stassen replied that "was correct."

This difference over the words "control" and "regulation" persisted through the two versions of this part of the discussion.

Stassen Praised Press  
SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., May 8.—Harold E. Stassen said today that the "American press as a whole deserves high commendation for its fair and thorough manner in handling the story" of his recent Moscow interview with Prime Minister Stalin of Russia.

Mr. Stassen expressed himself in commenting on the Moscow radio's assertion last night that "a number of deliberate alterations and unprecise points" appeared in the transcript of the interview.

"This undoubtedly refers to the small minority of the American press which did not print the text of the transcript as released in Washington, but did print a rewrite and partial paraphrase and condensation of the complete interview," Mr. Stassen declared.

"The fact that the London Bureau of the Associated Press compared the Russian broadcast to the Russian newspapers with the English text as released in Washington further corroborates the very careful and exact translation and reconciliation of the English and Russian notes which we made before the release."

"I still have in my possession the original notes in Russian of the conference."

The overwhelming majority of American newspapers, including nearly all leading newspapers from coast to coast, printed the complete and accurate text as released, and reserved their own comment for their editorial pages. The American press as a whole deserves high commendation for its fair and thorough manner in handling the story."

Salvador Official Flying Here  
SAY SALVADOR, El Salvador, May 8.—Foreign Minister Dr. Jose Antonio Quirós left here for the United States today by American military plane to receive treatment for an ailment at Managua, Nicaragua on Sunday. A relapse forced him to leave on Saturday night. He will proceed tomorrow for his country.

Arab-Jewish Phone Strike On  
JERUSALEM, May 8.—Two hundred Arab and Jewish telephone operators in the neighboring towns of Jaffa and Tel Aviv struck tonight. Indications were that the strike, which is over pay rates and working conditions, might spread to other parts of the country unless there was an immediate settlement. All sources affirmed the strike had no political significance.

Soviet Radio Is Truthful,  
Ours Not, Says Soviet Radio

By The Associated Press

LONDON, May 8.—The Soviet radio told the world today that it was truthful and objective, whereas the British and American radio was slanderous and biased.

"When Alexander Popov, the great Russian scientist, invented the radio he dreamed of enriching mankind with the most perfect method of communication and of broadening the outlook of peoples," Moscow Radio explained. "Russia does not admit Marconi's discovery."

"But the world has witnessed time and again that any great accomplishment of the human brain can be distorted."

Soviet information, the Moscow radio said, "is objective because we have nothing to hide. We have no monopolist press which pays generously for lies."

"American and British broadcasting companies follow the methods of the reactionary press which believes in slander."

3 AZERBAIJANIS  
EXECUTED AS REBELS

TEHRAN, Iran, May 8.—(AP)—Dispatches from Tabriz, Azerbaijan capital, announced today the execution of three former members of the Azerbaijan separatist movement during the Russian occupation.

They were identified as Maj. Said Anari and Dada Taghiadeh, members of the Azerbaijan Parliament when Jafar Pishavari headed the so-called "democratic government" there, and Hardun Harapetian, called by the semi-official Tehran newspaper Kikashat "the Butcher of Rezai."

At the same time the Tehran radio said the Tabriz population had marched to the offices of the Azerbaijan Government, "demonstrating their desire of having no 'immigrants' but the people of Azerbaijan."

The report did not identify the "immigrants," but the newspaper Tehran Mosavar reported a few weeks ago that "hordes of immigrants from Russia are being rushed into this country by ships, trucks and even planes."

The press also charged that Russia was exporting goods into Iran without paying customs duties.

LONDON, Friday, May 9.—(AP)—The Daily Worker said today that the United States would supply Iran "shortly" with \$300,000,000 worth of military goods, including tanks, fighter planes and small arms.

In Washington, State Department sources said negotiations had been under way for about a month for the sale of surplus military supplies to Iran. The Associated Press said. A formal announcement some time ago said the supplies would be to enable Iran to "maintain internal order" and to "repel aggression."

FRENCH FEAR RISINGS  
IN ALGERIA AND TAHITI

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, May 8.—Insurrections are brewing in both Tahiti and Algeria, the National Assembly was warned today during the debate on the Madagascar rebellion. Majority Deputies continued to urge prompt steps to suppress the Malagache uprising, while Communists and numerous native Deputies contended that France should drop coercive measures and turn toward preparing native independence.

The debate is expected to conclude tomorrow, when Overseas Minister Marius Moutet will define the Government's policy and Premier Paul Ramadier may affirm France's firm decision to maintain her former empire in the framework of a new French union.

Maurice Violette, a member of a de Gaulle group, said he had received word from Tahiti today that bands of natives whose activities were increasing in Tahiti were by methods that resembled those of the Viet Minh demanding independence for Tahiti, the election of a sovereign Constituent Assembly and the adoption of Tahiti's language as the official tongue.

An Algerian Deputy, Ahmed Mazerna, cited a report that the Algerian leader, Messali Hadj, had predicted that a revolt in Algeria would break out by May 20. Mr. Mazerna charged the French Army with suppressing the revolt in Madagascar with a reign of terror. He protested the Senegalese troops against native populations there and in Casablanca.

Two British Army dispatch riders have been missing since noon yesterday. They were last seen on the road between Ramleh, south of Jaffa, and Sarafand. In other incidents, two Jewish hikers were fired on today by Arabs on the road west of Jerusalem, and shots fired at a car on the outskirts of the city wounded two Arabs.

In Tel Aviv, three textile shops were set afire, apparently because the owners had refused to contribute to underground funds.

It was disclosed that an Arab truck driver had been killed last Sunday while trying to block the escape of the Jewish terrorists who blew open Acre prison.

Arab-Jewish Phone Strike On  
JERUSALEM, May 8.—Two hundred Arab and Jewish telephone operators in the neighboring towns of Jaffa and Tel Aviv struck tonight. Indications were that the strike, which is over pay rates and working conditions, might spread to other parts of the country unless there was an immediate settlement. All sources affirmed the strike had no political significance.

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U. N. WILL CONTINUE  
VITAL BROADCASTSNew Facilities to Be Found if  
State Department Transmitters Are Silenced

Special to The New York Times

LAKE SUCCESS, May 8.—The United Nations may seek outside radio facilities for overseas broadcasting, if it is deprived of outlets provided by the State Department in Washington.

Most of the United Nations transmitters and technical services are borrowed on a part-time basis from the State Department as a courtesy. Congress, however, is considering abandonment of the department's overseas broadcasting services for budgetary reasons.

While United Nations officials declined to comment on the threat to their own foreign broadcasting, they said every effort would be made to keep the United Nations on the air. Programs in Arabic, Latin America and the Far East are so widely received, said one radio expert, that they are considered "a must."

The United Nations Radio Division announced that two New York radio stations would rebroadcast the daily Actuality Review transmitted by the division. The program, consisting of recorded extracts from speeches made during the day's debate, will be carried by WJLA from 10:45 to 11 P. M. Monday through Saturday and by WQXR every morning from 11:15 to 11:30 A. M.

## "Alien-Minded" Seen

WASHINGTON, May 8.—(AP)—Representative Karl Stefan of Nebraska today called the State Department's Foreign Information Division "a nest of alien-minded radicals who are more interested in distributing to the world their extremist propaganda than they are in presenting an honest picture of America and its foreign policy."

Stefan, who is a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, said he had received information from a source in the State Department that the division was planning to publish a book titled "The Foreign Information Division: A History of Propaganda."

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RUSSIANS EAGER  
TO JOIN IN INQUIRYGromyko Rejects U. S., British,  
Chinese Thesis That Big 5  
Stay Off Committee

By NANCY MACLENNAN

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 8.—Andre A. Gromyko, of the Soviet Union, said today that the Big Five should shoulder their responsibility for the fate of Palestine through all stages of the United Nations work on the problem. He argued that there was no justification for the United States and Britain's opposition to being included in the peace organization's Palestine inquiry committee.

Declaring that Russia had no material interest in the Palestine problem and that the Soviet Jewish population, as far as he knew, does not have much interest in immigration to Palestine, Mr. Gromyko said that the United Nations would have a better chance of reaching agreement if the Big Five participated in all stages of the work, from the fact-finding of the United Nations inquiry committee to the rendering of a judgment by the United Nations General Assembly.

The Big Five, and also the Arab states, should be represented in the United Nations preliminary committee to study the facts of Palestine, Mr. Gromyko said.

**Russia Willing to Join**  
Speaking in the General Assembly's fifty-five-nation Political Committee, Mr. Gromyko said Russia was ready to participate, not only in the United Nations decision on Palestine but also in the assembling of facts in the case upon which—thereafter—the United Nations would largely base its decision.

The Soviet Union is interested in this problem because it is a member of this organization and because it is a permanent member of the Security Council. It is interested because it would wish to see such a decision taken which would correspond to the interests of the Palestine population, and which would also correspond to our general mutual interest, to the interest of the United Nations and to the interest of peace and international security.

Both the United States and Britain would accept membership in the initial Palestine inquiry committee if drafted, but both governments firmly oppose the inclusion of the Big Five should belong, since this would raise an obstacle to a fair, impartial report, Warren R. Austin, the United States delegate, and Sir Alexander Cadogan of the United Kingdom said.

The United States recognizes its responsibility and will face it "after this preliminary investigation and reporting of the facts," Mr. Austin said. He explained the United States position thus: "Our fear is that opposing views and debate among the permanent members [the Big Five]—if they were on the special committee—over details, would cause delay by the introduction of other interests which are perfectly obvious here. Everybody knows about them. They are constantly arising on mere details."

## The Problems Involved

Presumably, he was referring, among other problems, to the clash of Big Three political interests in the Near and Middle East, the special interests of Britain and the mandatory power administering Palestine, the United States' development programs for Greece and Turkey, Russia's desire for warm-water ports, rival oil interests and competition for the favor of the Arab peoples and of Jewish humanitarian interests throughout the world.

Britain's position was explained by Sir Alexander thus:

"My Government are in rather a peculiar position. They would find themselves, if they were members of that committee, at times the witness, stand and then after that, a moment or two later, would resume their seats with the jury. It is a principle, of course, that we have always—and I think everybody has—upheld, that no man should be judge in his own case, and I think we should be put in a somewhat embarrassing and difficult position."

China agreed with this British view not to evade responsibility, but to promote unanimity among the Big Five, upon the preservation of which the workability of the United Nations is based, Dr. Quo Tsi-chi, the Chinese representative said.

Under the chairmanship of Lester B. Pearson of Canada, who privately was reported to favor inclusion of the Big Five in the Palestine inquiry committee, the Political Committee debated the issue virtually all day.

This is the first time that a globally representative international body (in contrast with the Anglo-American committee of inquiry on Palestine) has attempted to solve the question. Hence, as delegates debated which principles should govern selection of the United Nations committee, they had unprecedented difficulty, and they divided the world mathematically, algebraically, geographically, politically and, finally, in the words of Ambassador M. Asaf Ali of India, speaking for the teeming populations of Asia, brought the question down to "human terms."

Yet the main proposals remained these:—the United States, recommendation for a "neutral" committee composed of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Iran, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay; Argentina's recommendation for a committee of the Big Five, an Arab state, preferably Syria, two Latin American states, one African or Asiatic state, one eastern European state, preferably Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Gromyko favored the Polish proposal over the Argentinian because the former provided for better representation from eastern Europe, he said.

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

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 were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of the deliberations he will have an opportunity to participate here.

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you 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 that country. We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just solution of this grave international problem which this international community is now earnestly seeking.

A successful solution will prove a blessing not only to Palestine and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

## Pleased Over Outlook

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the United Nations, as the conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore, and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by the political maneuvering of certain states.

The Soviet Union is interested in this problem because it is a member of this organization and because it is a permanent member of the Security Council. It is interested because it would wish to see such a decision taken which would correspond to the interests of the Palestine population, and which would also correspond to our general mutual interest, to the interest of the United Nations and to the interest of peace and international security.

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Presumably, he was referring, among other problems, to the clash of Big Three political interests in the Near and Middle East, the special interests of Britain and the mandatory power administering Palestine, the United States' development programs for Greece and Turkey, Russia's desire for warm-water ports, rival oil interests and competition for the favor of the Arab peoples and of Jewish humanitarian interests throughout the world.

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Mr. Gromyko favored the Polish proposal over the Argentinian because the former provided for better representation from eastern Europe, he said.

## ADDRESSING THE UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (designated by arrow), seated at special table between the Czechoslovak and Cuban representatives, at Lake Success yesterday.

cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law.

Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might be placed under a trusteeship, and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under a trusteeship.

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Article 79 and 81, placing each territory under a trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed to or to be interpreted as authorizing the United Nations to exercise its jurisdiction and its responsibilities in territories which are placed under a trusteeship system."

It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment, will prove decisive. It will be the perspective of the United Nations which will determine the rights of the Jewish people, and it is our conviction that the United Nations will prove of constructive significance, if it will keep the proper perspective always in view.

A generation ago, the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the conscience, was called upon to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making. It has not yet been fully established. No international community has canceled or even questioned that right. The mandatory power, which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home, has unfortunately, in recent years, grievously neglected and circumvented that obligation.

That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish national home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question will be well before the end of the century. It was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

"There would be no doubt," he said, "as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand, it was contemplated that, when the time arrived for accord, the representative of the Jewish people in Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the population, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

"The notion that Jewish immigration," he continued, "would have to be artificially restricted, that there had to be a permanent minority, never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people in whom we were appealing."

This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come, a great Jewish state rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others.

These international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You

states which are now members of the United Nations.

"The United States," said President Truman, "has not only the right but the duty to support the winning of that war, and not to divert itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, in which it still adheres, that these peoples should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine."

"I am happy to note," declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now members of the United Nations. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

It should, of course, be clear, and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear, that when we speak of a Jewish state, we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants, without distinction of religion or race, and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish state is most accurately stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labor party in 1936, now represented by the present Government of the United Kingdom which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

"Here, we halted halfway, irresolutely between conflicting policies. But there is such neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this new world of freedom and equality. There is no such thing as a Jewish state which is not a Jewish state."

When your committee of inquiry will come to consider the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor—the national obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish national home—must be kept in our judgment, constantly in mind. I believe it would be extremely helpful to the committee of inquiry if the mandatory Government would present its own views on the subject of the Palestine mandate to the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the committee in making through the problem and in reaching a just and equitable solution for the future government of Palestine.

It is illogical, I fear, to ask the committee of inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present Government to discover what was actually in the present administration, what neglect and what delay occurred in the past, and what condition so necessary to the carrying out of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the committee of inquiry should certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more important are the living documents, the visible testimonies, in Palestine. They will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting their national home after the long centuries of their homelessness, and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great and seemingly insurmountable handicaps.

The task was enormous—trained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor. The Jewish people, who had been persecuted and impoverished, were now being welcomed into a new land. The record of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with such a vision and high human idealism, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and to other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jewish people to Palestine would be a blessing not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was a great leader of the Arab people, at the Peace Conference following the first World War. On March 3, 1919, he wrote:

you and you will help us so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East, with which Palestine and with which the destinies of the Jewish people are naturally bound up.

Your committee of inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects, which will result in great economic and social improvement, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

## Would Investigate Violence

The committee of inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real, fundamental causes of the tragic violence and violence which today mark the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish people came, not with weapons but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community, whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children, is being driven to the pitch of resentment and tension and is actually driving some of its members to actions which we all should deplore.

They will ask themselves, I am sure, why thousands of helpless Jewish refugees—men, women and children who have been through all the horrors of Nazi persecution—are being driven away from the shores of their Jewish national home by a mandatory government which assumed, as its prime obligation, to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country.

They will also investigate, I hope, how the mandatory government is carrying out another of its obligations, which was to encourage also settlement of the Jews on the land; when, in actual practice, it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 5 per cent of the total area of the Jewish national home.

By way of digression, let it be said—if it need be said at all—that we are not engaged, nor shall we be engaged, in any criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contribution to democratic civilization; and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the displaced persons camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two years—it is exactly two years today since V-E Day—after the close of the war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer.

While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their plight, and while intergovernmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiry and investigation. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—redemption may come that keeps their spirit from breaking utterly.

Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the committee of inquiry will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that, pending ultimate decision, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no de-

lay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your committee of inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the mandatory government.

I hope that I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

The Jewish people place great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people, and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have traveled, been disillusioned, we have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles.

In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel has been under a great, heavy yoke of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong conviction that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine stand in the midst of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and noble deeds. They are your treasured possessions. We hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed here long by you in this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

At the close of Dr. Silver's statement the following questions were put to him by delegates and he was asked to prepare a reply for a later meeting:

## M. Asaf Ali, India

What was the number of Jews from outside Palestine in 1930, again in 1935, and finally in 1939 when the White Paper of 1939 was issued by the British Government?

My next question would be whether Dr. Silver recognizes the fact that there is a very clear distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home, which is mentioned in the mandate. Does he also recognize the fact that even the statement, "The Jewish people have the right to a Jewish state," is not a Jewish national home?

My third question is concerned with Dr. Silver's reference to European Jewry. Will he be so kind as to provide us with some idea of the age of the various communities of national Jewry living in Europe, who would like to go back to the national home; how long have they lived in Europe; and are they easily assimilable in Palestine?

My fourth question is as follows: He has made a statement to the effect that at Paris in 1919 an extremely conciliatory statement was made by a great Arab leader who welcomed the Jews to Palestine. Is there any reason why the Arabs are resisting immigration now?

My fifth question relates to the refugees from Nazi oppression. The Nazi Government in Europe has been completely suppressed and Nazi Germany is now under the control of the Security Council, or, at any rate, the United Nations. If that is so, is there any reason why these refugees cannot be resettled in their natural German home, where they speak the language of the country and where they find themselves far more easily assimilable?

My sixth and last question would be about the conditions which are currently prevailing in Palestine. It is very gratifying to learn that Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency, has recognized the noble role which the people of the United Kingdom have played in recognizing the urgency of the Jewish problem. May I know why public servants of the Government of the United Kingdom, who are doing their duty under extremely difficult circumstances, are being picked off today by violence?

## Dr. Alfred Fiedlerkewicz, Poland

First of all, who represents the Jewish Agency, how many organizations; how is the executive committee established and organized and how does it work?

## Dr. A. Gonzalez Fernandez, Colombia

I should like to ask Dr. Silver, as an element of final judgment for us, but simply as an element of illustration, what the views of the Jewish Agency for Palestine are regarding the composition of the investigating committee.

## H. T. Andrews, South Africa

I would only ask one question and that has relation to the terms of reference which we may be giving this committee of inquiry. Dr. Silver has referred to the homeless Jews in Europe. If he would be so kind as to help me clarify my own mind, he said that the committee of inquiry should look into the condition of the homeless Jews in Europe. I would ask him, does he mean that the committee of inquiry should look into the situation as a whole or only in relation to the question of continuing immigration into Palestine?

U. N. ASKED TO SET  
HOMELAND AS BASIS

Continued From Page 1

years—it is exactly two years today since V-E Day—after the close of a war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer."

Pending completion of the inquiry, the Agency spokesman appealed to the General Assembly for the establishment of some formula that would permit immigration "in essential numbers" to Palestine.

Other major developments at the special session of the General Assembly rolled through its tenth day were:

The Arab Higher Committee of Palestine acknowledged "with thanks" the invitation to a hearing extended by the Assembly and announced it would be "glad to appear before the First [Political and Security] Committee." Efforts were under way tonight to arrange this hearing for tomorrow afternoon.

The Soviet Union's representative announced that his country deemed it proper that the Big Five be represented on the committee of inquiry for Palestine. He contended that the great powers must agree on committee recommendations if the committee is to have any effect on definitive action at the fall session of the Assembly. This statement was made as United States and British representatives reiterated their countries' wish not to serve. 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 consider three resolutions presented for instruction of the proposed committee of inquiry. This step was dictated when El Salvador presented a third proposal. Earlier proposals were by the United States and Argentina.

The Jewish Agency marked the first expression of the viewpoint of a segment 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 now number approximately 600,000.

Although it received quasi-official status from the League of Nations, the Jewish Agency never appeared before that body.

Tracing the legal justification for a Jewish national home from the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the mandate of 1922, Dr. Silver, a Cleveland rabbi who has been a Zionist since his youth, declared: "You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history. The Jewish people have the right to a Jewish state."

He quoted Lord George, Winston Churchill, Field Marshal Jan Christian Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil, all representatives of the British Empire; Presidents Wilson and Truman and the platform of the British Labor party in support of the position.

The Jewish Agency's spokesman sat at the great oval table between the Cuban and Czechoslovak delegates. Emir Feisal al Saud of Saudi Arabia and Dr. Charles

Malik of Lebanon, representatives of two of the five Arab states in the United Nations, were not in their seats. They were represented by surrogates in their delegations.

Attention was rapt throughout. At the close of the remarks, Lester B. Pearson of Canada, committee chairman, invited questions. Ten in all were asked by four nations. Since answers required research, Mr. Pearson excused the agency's delegation, which probably will be recalled tomorrow, for answers.

M. Asaf Ali of India asked six questions. He wanted figures on the comparative Jewish population of Palestine in 1900, 1920 and 1939, when the White Paper was issued; the Agency's views on the difference between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home; background information on European Jews who seek to migrate; reasons for Arab resistance to current immigration; reasons why Jews cannot be resettled in Germany now that the Nazi yoke is removed, and an explanation of current violence in the Holy Land.

Often allied with the Arab states in debates of the current session, Mr. Asaf Ali asked more pointed questions than the others, who inquired merely about the background of the Jewish Agency, its views on the composition of the committee of inquiry and the type of study recommended in regard to homeless Jews in Europe. These questions came from Poland, Colombia and South Africa.

In setting up a subcommittee to deal with the terms of reference or instructions for the investigating committee, Mr. Pearson said, he acted to speed the work of the current session. Noting that El Salvador had asked its concept to those submitted yesterday by the United States and Argentina, he was backed by the Political Committee in the view that debate would be shortened later if there were preliminary agreement.

## Besides the United States, Britain, Russia, France and China, he named Argentina, Australia, Egypt, El Salvador, Canada and Czechoslovakia to the committee.

The committee met behind closed doors tonight and will meet again tomorrow morning in an attempt to frame a compromise proposal agreeable to all.

David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, arrived at 12:10 o'clock this morning at La Guardia Field on a Trans-World Airline plane from Palestine. He was accompanied by Max Schmiedt, Mr. Ben-Gurion will become the spokesman of the Jewish Agency before the United Nations.

A significant statement was made by Dr. Fadhil Jamali of Iraq, possibly giving an indication of the line that the Arab Higher Committee's testimony would take. He insisted that the committee of inquiry should seek to determine whether the British mandate was valid, whether it agreed with the Covenant of the League of Nations and whether it was proper for a peaceful world to thrust upon it a role on another without their consent.

The day's sessions adjourned at 5:30 P. M. The Political Committee will resume at 3 P. M. tomorrow.

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THE WEATHER  
Today: Partly cloudy, with moderate to fresh northwest winds; highest temperature in middle 50s.  
Temperatures Yesterday: Max. 49, Min. 36.  
Detailed Report and Map—Page 35

### Long Distance Pay Rise Won, Strike Fades

Phone Union Board Here Studies \$2-to-\$5 Peace, With 22,000 Still Out

### Basic Wage Gain Is \$3.72 a Week

Western Electric Accord and Local Settlements Slated to Follow Pact

By Robert W. Glasgow Jr.

The strike of long-distance telephone workers—the most important phase of the nation-wide phone tie-up—appeared near its end last night following agreement in Washington between union and company officials on a \$2-to-\$5 wage increase.

Long-distance workers over the country were still on strike, however, pending ratification of the agreement by the nine-man executive board of the American Union of Telephone Workers. The executive board, in session all afternoon, continued to meet here last night at the union's headquarters, 401 Broadway.

Officials of the union, which represents 22,000 employees in the long-lines department of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, declined to explain the delay in ratification. Earlier, in Washington, where the agreement was reached at 4:25 a. m., four members of the executive board who participated in negotiations had indicated the settlement was acceptable to them.

### Some May Stay Out

Even if the agreement is ratified by the union's executive board, not all the 22,000 are expected to return to work until the Western Electric Company dispute is settled and Western Electric pickets are removed from in front of various telephone exchanges.

Government conciliators in Washington, where negotiations for two groups of Western Electric employees were being pushed, expressed belief that a speedy settlement in Western Electric would follow the long-lines settlement. Negotiations for a third group of Western Electric workers—warehousemen—were conducted here yesterday and will be resumed today.

The long-distance agreement was expected also to open the way for speedy settlements in the remaining disputes involving local telephone service among A. T. & T.'s operating subsidiaries in the Bell Telephone System. However, no new agreements among these companies were reported yesterday.

Some 100,000 workers in New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, the District of Columbia, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota had returned to work.

### Berlin Names First Woman Lord Mayor

Frau Schroeder Succeeds Ousted Ostrowski

From the Berlin Tribune  
Copyright, 1947, New York Tribune Inc.

BERLIN, May 8.—For the first time in Berlin's history a woman was elected head of the city government today when the Berlin City Council chose sixty-year-old Frau Louise Schroeder as Acting Lord Mayor. She succeeds Dr. Otto Ostrowski, whose resignation on April 17 has not yet been accepted by the Kommandatura (Allied governing body for Berlin).

In electing Frau Schroeder head of this city of 3,500,000, the Berlin Aldermen broke with the Nazi tradition which confined women to "the kitchen, the nursery and the church." She was chosen by an overwhelming majority.

Although she is known as "Frau," this is an honorary title often conferred on older unmarried women in Germany. The Acting Lord Mayor of Berlin has in fact never been married.

### Truman, at 63, Says He's Sure Peace and U. N. Will Triumph

In Best of Health, He Grins and Tells Reporters That the U. S. Has the World's Best Government, Even if It Makes Its President a Slave

By Tom Twitty

WASHINGTON, May 8.—President Truman greeted reporters today on his sixty-third birthday anniversary with his broadest grin, and said he was positive that the world would attain lasting peace, and that the United Nations eventually would carry out its charter.

With a bouquet of sixty-three American Beauty roses, the 21st of his staff, at his back, the President varied his usual press-conference routine by making an impromptu speech in which he recalled that two years ago he had announced the formal surrender of Germany.

Since that time many serious obstacles have been successfully passed, he observed, expressing confidence that remaining problems also will be settled constructively.

The United States, he asserted, has the greatest government in the world—even though it does make a slave of the President.

He added that his philosophy has not changed in the slightest since he took office May 12, 1945, and that he felt today as he did

when he came to Washington in 1945 as a Senator from Missouri. Later, during the question period, he touched on the following subjects:

He said that he thought the nation had not had inflation; that what he had been trying to do was to prevent inflation.

He expressed gratification with the response to his price-reduction campaign, but he could not say whether the nation was over the peak of high prices.

The victory of Representative Thomas D'Alesandro, Democrat, of Maryland, in the Baltimore Mayoral election this week made him very happy, just as the earlier Democratic victory in the Chicago election did, he declared.

Studies are under way on the controversial portal-to-portal pay bill, and his answer on the question of a veto will be announced when he gets the facts.

He still hopes for passage of a compulsory military training bill at this session of Congress.

Comment was declined on a United States Chamber of Commerce charge that his "moral summa" (Continued on page 4, column 2)

### Senate Votes 2 More Union Troops to Get Curbs, 48-40

Restrictions on Welfare Funds and Check-Off Bring Veto Prediction

Unrest in Germany Grows as Farmers Refuse to Turn In Their Surplus

By Raymond J. Blair

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The Senate, by a vote of 48 to 40, today wrote restrictions on union welfare funds and dues check-offs into its omnibus labor bill.

Sources close to President Truman promptly commented that the Senate action made a Presidential veto even more certain. "I don't think there's any probability the President will sign the bill the Senate passes," one informant said. He noted that the House may insist on stiffening the Senate bill.

The restrictions provide that welfare funds must be genuine trust funds, jointly administered by labor and management. They require also that before an employer can deduct a worker's union dues from his wages, he must receive annually a written authorization.

Adoption of the amendment represented a comeback for the Senate Republican leadership headed by Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio. Yesterday the Taft forces suffered an unexpected defeat when sixteen Republicans, led by Senators Irving M. Ives, of New York, and Wayne Morse, of Oregon, voted with the Democrats to reject, 44 to 43, a proposed amendment to limit industry-wide collective bargaining.

The proposal was reintroduced on the floor by the four Senators who sponsored yesterday's ill-fated bargaining amendment—Joseph H. Ball, of Minnesota, and H. Alexander Smith, of New Jersey, Republicans, and Walter P. Byrd, of Virginia, Democrats.

Senator Ball later introduced an amendment to forbid secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes and make unions liable to injunctions and damage suits for violating them. The bill as it stands would make such strikes and boycotts "unfair labor practices."

The amendment, which also was removed from the bill in committee by the Ives-Morse forces, faces insurmountable opposition.

For this reason Senator Taft submitted a milder substitute, on which the Senate agreed to vote at 1 p. m. tomorrow.

Hopes of getting a final vote on passage of the bill this week were dimming, meanwhile, and Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, Republican whip, failed to (Continued on page 27, column 7)

### Jews State Case in U. N.; Want Own Nation Set Up, Palestine Opened to D.P.s

Discussing Plans for Jewish State in Palestine

Dr. Silver Cites World's Pledge, Bids U. N. Fill League of Nations Role

Addresses 55-Nation Political Committee

Asks Inquiry to Visit Holy Land, Also D.P. Camps; Arabs May Rebut Today

Text of Rabbi Silver's appeal—Page 2

By John C. Rogers

LAKE SUCCESS, L. I., May 8.—The Jewish Agency for Palestine told the United Nations today that it, as heir to the League of Nations, must recognize and honor "international commitments" which promised the Jews the right to establish a Jewish state in the Holy Land.

Pending a U. N. solution of the Palestine issue, the Jewish Agency asked immediate restoration of more or less free immigration into Palestine, with the settlers to be drawn from the ranks of Jews in displaced-persons camps in Europe.

The views of the agency, which had applied to testify before the U. N. General Assembly, were presented to the Assembly's fifty-five-nation Political Committee today in a thirty-four-minute speech by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, chairman of the Agency's American section.

Extremism Deplored  
In a historic scene—Rabbi Silver represented the first body other than a U. N. member ever to take part in the work of a major U. N. organ—the Jewish Agency official criticized Great Britain's administration of the Palestine mandate and, in one brief reference, deplored the extremes of the Jewish terrorists in the Holy Land.

He welcomed a U. N. inquiry into the Palestine problem. He re-emphasized that the Zionist movement is aimed at creating a Jewish majority in Palestine. And he asserted that any Jewish state there would be based on "full equality and rights" for all inhabitants, including Palestinian Arabs.

Four hours after the close of Rabbi Silver's speech late in the morning, the Arab Higher Committee delegates in New York formally accepted the Political Committee's offer to hear its side of the case, and it was assumed that the Arabs would be called soon, perhaps tomorrow.

Khalidi Issue Persists  
Apparently, the Higher Committee delegation still included the name of Rasim Khalidi, who has been denied an American visa for alleged activities in Germany during the war. However, while Arab leaders disputed today the right of the United States to bar a man from a U. N. appearance, the point was fast becoming academic because even if Khalidi won a respite, he probably could not get here from Jerusalem in time to testify for the Arabs.

Rabbi Silver, whose place at the committee table was a desk stuck in the gap between the Cuban and Czechoslovakian seats, covered briefly today many an aspect of the formidable Palestine problem, but in the main he directed himself to the item of business before the Political Committee.

This is the tough and controversial job of creating and instructing a special U. N. commission which will investigate the Palestine question and make recommendations on a permanent solution to the 1947 regular General Assembly meeting in September.

In the work that lies ahead of it, said the tall, gray-haired fifty-four-year-old rabbi, the special commission must never lose sight of one thing—the "inescapable and irreducible factor"—the international obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish national home in Palestine.

He made clear that by "national home" the Zionists mean a Jewish state, and he said that the international commitments which must be honored by the United Nations are the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the terms of the mandate for Palestine which Great Britain formally assumed in 1923, under the League of Nations.

To the fifty-five U. N. delegations, sitting around... at oval

### Murtagh Calls Taber Charges Garage Graft 'Smear' to Halt Charge Rumor Cuts in Budget

Sees Goldsmith, Gets No Data on Police Bribing; License Bill Is Modified

By Carl Levin

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The chairman and other Republican members of the budget-shaping House Appropriations Committee charged angrily today that Truman administration officials are conducting a "smear campaign" against appropriations cuts to discredit the Republican-controlled Congress.

The legislators, cast in the role of "six men" for the Republican economy drive, made it plain that they don't like the roars of complaint as they go about their fund-raising business. They aimed their reply directly at George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, and W. Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, both of whom held news conferences yesterday and protested cuts in their budgets for the fiscal year starting July 1.

"The heads of the other agencies apparently have not heard of the case of Mr. Johnson," Representative John Taber, of New York, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, commented.

His reference, he explained, was to Customs Commissioner W. R. Johnson, who recently dismissed several hundred border patrolmen and port inspectors ostensibly because of budget cuts, and who later stepped down to a job of lower rank while many of the dismissed workers were reinstated.

Representative Taber did not enlarge on his reference to the Johnson incident, but he said that the complaints are the reaction to economy by "chairbottomers and loafers."

"The most outstanding feature," (Continued on page 27, column 3)

### Fail to Repeat Triumph

Today the Ives-Morse forces failed, even though they collected fourteen Republican votes—six of them from freshmen.

The fourteen Republicans voted with twenty-six Democrats against the proposal, but lost to a combination of thirty-three Republicans and fifteen Southern Democrats voting for it.

The amendment was in the bill originally as presented to the Senate Labor Committee by its chairman, Senator Taft. The Ives-Morse group knocked it out in committee, however.

The proposal was reintroduced on the floor by the four Senators who sponsored yesterday's ill-fated bargaining amendment—Joseph H. Ball, of Minnesota, and H. Alexander Smith, of New Jersey, Republicans, and Walter P. Byrd, of Virginia, Democrats.

Senator Ball later introduced an amendment to forbid secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes and make unions liable to injunctions and damage suits for violating them. The bill as it stands would make such strikes and boycotts "unfair labor practices."

The amendment, which also was removed from the bill in committee by the Ives-Morse forces, faces insurmountable opposition.

For this reason Senator Taft submitted a milder substitute, on which the Senate agreed to vote at 1 p. m. tomorrow.

Hopes of getting a final vote on passage of the bill this week were dimming, meanwhile, and Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, Republican whip, failed to (Continued on page 27, column 7)

### 100 Marooned in River Tunnel In B. M. T. Tie-Up at Rush Hour

Sit in Train an Hour, Then Walk Half-Mile Back to Queens; 4 P. M. Short-Circuit From Pipe on Track Disrupts Traffic for Two Hours

One hundred passengers on a Manhattan-bound B. M. T. train were marooned in the East River tunnel from Queens yesterday when the subway's traffic between the two boroughs from 4 to 5:40 p. m.

Coming just as the rush hour approached, the block forced thousands of persons to take other lines and jammed the stations on each side of the river for hours. Hundreds milled around the platforms at Queensboro Plaza, anxious to go into Manhattan, while other hundreds crowded the Fifty-ninth Street-Lexington Avenue station, waiting to get to Queens.

The passengers marooned in the six-car Brighton-bound local were in no danger, the B. M. T. reported, and sat quietly in their seats until after 5 p. m. The emergency lights were on in the cars. About 5:15 p. m. subway guards and policemen led the passengers along the catwalk back to the Queens Plaza station, a walk of almost half a mile, in the course of which the tracks ascend from the tunnel under the river and onto the elevated structure; the station is high above the street. One of the passengers, Mrs. Bertha Shelling, sixty, of 1833 Stephen Street, Ridgewood, Queens, slipped and bruised her hip. She was treated at the station and taken home.

The train was just entering the tunnel, at Forty-first Road and Bridge Plaza North, Long Island City, when the first car struck a forty-inch length of pipe lying across the tracks. The pipe, a half inch in diameter "either was thrown or fell" into the tunnel from the Queensborough Bridge overhead, the B. M. T. reported.

The pipe became wedged between the train shoe and the third rail, causing a short circuit which welded all three—the pipe, the shoe and the rail. Emergency crews worked for almost an hour cutting the pipe loose, and all power in the tunnel was shut off until 5:40, when the train was pulled out.

Meanwhile, the jam became so heavy at Queens stations that subway guards and city policemen were rushed to the scene and issued (Continued on page 27, column 6)

### Greek-Turk Aid Upheld, 127-37, In House Test

Foes of Bill Fail to Kill It by Parliamentary Move After Amendments Loe

By Jack Weskley

WASHINGTON, May 8.—An effort to kill the \$400,000,000 Greek-Turkish aid program was defeated in the House tonight by a vote of 127 to 37—the first real test of House support for the stop-Communism policy.

By a standing vote, the House, sitting as a committee of the whole, crushed a motion of the bill's foes to report the Senate-approved measure back to committee with a recommendation to kill the enactment clause.

The test came after a turbulent third day of debate on the bill in which a militant group of the bill's opponents lost efforts to tar on amendments which would send the Greek issue to the United Nations and would prohibit sending atomic weapons or information to Greece and Turkey.

At the end of the day, the program's opponents were still fighting hard against the legislation, charging efforts to gag them, and supporters of the bill doubted it could go to a final vote before late tomorrow or Saturday.

After three proposed amendments had been defeated by roars of "No!" in voice votes, Representative George H. Bender, Republican, of Ohio, one of the leaders of the opposition, resorted to the parliamentary device of trying to kill the essential enactment clause.

Representatives rushed in from the cloakroom to get in on the (Continued on page 10, column 1)

### Laborite Wins Jarrow Election, 27th Victory Since Sweep of '45

By Don Cook

JARROW, England, May 8.—The Labor party's record of twenty-one months in office without a political defeat was maintained today with a 7,618-vote victory in the Jarrow by-election.

It was the twenty-seventh by-election held in Great Britain since Labor came to power in July, 1945. Not a single Parliamentary district that voted Labor in the general election has yet reversed itself and gone Conservative—an all-time record in British political history.

The new Labor M. P. for Jarrow is Ernest Fernyhough, thirty-eight-year-old trade union official. He takes the seat of the late Ellen Wilkinson, Minister of Education, who died in February.

Although Mr. Fernyhough, who polled 20,694 votes, was approximately 3,100 short of the 11,000 majority with which Miss Wilkin-

### City Has Coldest May 8 Since '98; Upstate Gets Snow; Crops in Peril

May, wet and chilly for a week, was chillier than ever yesterday. The temperature slipped to 36 degrees at 6:45 a. m. and clipped two degrees off the record for May 8 which had stood for forty-nine years. Upstate it snowed, and fruit growers crossed their fingers as weather men said colder.

A low of 35 degrees in the city—four degrees below the record set on May 9, 1923—was forecast for this morning and suburban areas were alerted to expect about 33 degrees and scattered frost. There was little or no frost in the state yesterday because of a high wind

which kept moisture from settling. This morning was expected to be calmer.

The Weather Bureau predicted that today would be partly cloudy and perhaps around the middle 50's.

Recent forecasts have gone awry, it was explained, because of unusual weather brought here by a polar air mass that moved across Canada too rapidly for normal warming. Benjamin Parry, meteorologist at the Bureau, said the (Continued on page 2, column 6)

### News on Inside Pages

#### CITY AND VICINITY

Board of Transportation to put pay rise up to O'Dwyer. Page 9  
Fitzpatrick assails Dewey's role in 1947 Legislature. Page 19  
Historic homes are demolished for Brooklyn highway. Page 11  
New York Central seeks boost in rate for commuters. Page 11  
Marine and aviation. Page 33

#### WASHINGTON

Truman asks for early report on military training. Page 4  
Roosevelt flies threatened with subpoena by Senators. Page 5  
Nation is urged to act promptly on fire prevention. Page 12  
Marshall links success of peace to boom in world trade. Page 11  
Support by Senate committee of 1947 tax cut forecast. Page 13  
Two \$1,000 checks traced to May despite his threats. Page 20

#### SPORTS

National League averts strike against Robinson. Page 24  
Ruth Foundation formed to aid sports for children. Page 24  
White Sox lose league lead as Red Sox triumph. 3-0. Page 24  
Dodgers play Cardinals in first night game of year. Page 25  
Giants down Reds, 7-4, with 3 runs in 8th inning. Page 25  
Assault heads field in Dixie at Pimlico today. Page 26  
Speeding Horse scores by head in dash at Belmont. Page 24  
News of Sport. Red Smith Page 24

#### FOREIGN

Palestine Arabs ambush Jewish police, killing one. Page 2  
French Reds lose bid to control social security system. Page 2  
French Reds accuse Socialists of aiding reactionaries. Page 3  
Britain decides to "freeze" dent owed to war-time Allies. Page 4  
MacArthur denies guaranteeing the defense of Japan. Page 8  
Greek Cabinet shift is imminent. U. S. in active role. Page 18  
H. G. Selfridge dies; gave U. S. type store to London. Page 18

#### NATIONAL

Acheson calls on U. S. to rebuild Germany and Japan. Page 8  
Meat packers' union asks wage increase of 15 cents. Page 13  
Miss Truman makes concert debut in Pittsburgh May 2. Page 11  
Partial text of America's Town Meeting of the Air. Page 23

#### EDITORIALS AND MISCELLANY

Page  
Air World. 28  
Honey & Hank. 34  
Also column. 31  
In Short. 31  
Amusem's 16-17, Mr. and Mrs. 31  
Books. 19  
Nature story. 27  
Bridge Deck. 37  
Obituaries. 18  
Business. 28-33  
Penny. 34  
Crosby. 17  
Puzzle. 35  
Editorials. 32  
Radio. 33  
Elliott article. 21  
Real estate. 22-23  
Fashions. 14  
Society. 22  
Financial. 28-32  
Mark Sullivan. 21  
Flower Potts. 34  
U. N. events. 3  
Food. 16  
Whetler. 27







## ATION FOR MEXICO'S PRESIDENT UPON HIS RETURN HOME



Imiters who broke through police lines in Mexico City to greet him on his arrival from United States

President Aleman spent the day at home with his family. Newspapers uniformly characterized the midnight celebration that was touched off by the President's arrival at the airport as unprecedented in the nation's history. President Truman's plane, the John Ernest Thurston whom the

## Administration's New Tune Shifts Stress on Foreign Aid

Economic Reconstruction of Western Europe Now Held Best Bar to Soviet Expansion

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—For the last eight weeks the Truman Doctrine has been discussed primarily in strategic, political and ideological terms. But today both Secretary of State Marshall and his chief assistant, Under-Secretary Dean Acheson, set Mr. Truman's words to a new tune.

"Since becoming Secretary of State," General Marshall wrote to Representative Robert L. Doughton, Democrat, of North Carolina, "I have spent most of my time in international political negotiations. This experience has reinforced my conviction that enduring political harmony rests heavily upon economic stability. . . . In no other way can we create an economic and social environment free from the unrest in which political instability is bred."

"When Secretary of State Marshall returned from the recent meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow," Mr. Acheson told his audience in Cleveland, Miss., "he did not talk to us about ideologies or armies. He talked about food and fuel and their relation to industrial production, and the relation of production to the organization of Europe and the relation of the organization of Europe to the peace of the world. . . . It was no accident that these two statements appeared today on the same theme. The Administration is not happy about the emotional response here and abroad to the military and ideological aspects of the Truman Doctrine. Consequently, a conscious effort is being made now to emphasize the positive economic problems of reconstructing Europe rather than the military and ideological program of blocking Russian expansion and Soviet communism."

## The Best Barrier

The Administration still has the same objective. It has not wavered in its sincere belief that Soviet expansion and infiltration must be stopped, if necessary by arming other nations in key strategic areas such as Greece and Turkey.

But it is increasingly convinced that the reconstruction of a sound democratic economy west of the Stettin-Trieste line is the only really effective barrier to expanding communism and it now is beginning to emphasize that theme. This change of emphasis is clearly illustrated by a study of the speeches delivered by General Marshall and John Foster Dulles after their return from Moscow. And by Mr. Acheson today. Of the three, Mr. Acheson is the only one who even mentioned Greece and Turkey, and he touched on them only in passing on to the central problem of the economic reconstruction of Germany and the rest of Western Europe.

"If our joint administration can pump vitality into Western Europe," Mr. Dulles said, in emphasizing the point, "that will bring about more competent administration elsewhere. We will have achieved, by force of example,

Sacred Cow, which Senator Aleman used throughout his year, will return to the United States tomorrow with Lieut. Col. Henry Myers at the controls. His passengers will include Ambassador Walter Thurston and his sister, Mrs. John Ernest Thurston whom the

United States envoy is taking north for her health.

Mr. Thurston, who accompanied President Aleman and returned with him, will be on leave for three weeks. Dr. Raymond Geist, counselor of the embassy, will serve as chargé d'affaires.

what we could not achieve by persuasion at Moscow."

This trend toward the reconstruction of Western Europe as the main task in promoting peace already was evident late last year when the United States and British zones in Germany were unified. It was deflected into the Eastern Mediterranean and into an ideological argument by the necessity of taking a decision about Greece and Turkey.

## Fear of Collapse Grows

But the failure to reach an agreement on Germany and Austria at Moscow and the fear that Congress might approve the Greek-Turkish program and reject the Government's plan for Western Europe have brought the Administration back to the West with a shock.

There is far more apprehension in high quarters about the possible collapse of the economy of western Europe than has been acknowledged in the last few months.

Although the public debate has centered on Greece and Turkey since the President enunciated his doctrine eight weeks ago today, the private talk among our officials has been about how the United States can help get industrial, democratic Europe on its feet as a unit strong enough to trade with the United States and block Soviet expansion.

Even intense Republican partisans are not saying that this shift in emphasis lends support to the charge, made by some persons, that the Administration has been engaged in a device to maintain political power and office at home.

It means simply that to attain its objective—namely the preservation of peace and free institutions in Europe, and the preservation of full employment at home—the Administration has come to realize that it was placing too much emphasis on a broad ideological crusade and not enough on the practical, economic tasks of reconstructing a strong Europe.

## All Forms of Appeal Used

Unfortunately, it is not as easy to switch the mind of Congress and the country. The Administration has centered its primary appeal in the last eight weeks on aid in Greece and Turkey, as if that were the most important aspect of the reconstruction problem. To do this, it has used all the transfer appeals at its disposal, including secret meetings at the White House and the President's address to a joint session of Congress.

Now, however, the emphasis is shifting. The need to support the Administration on its Greek-Turkish program still is recognized as being vital, since the President is committed to it before the world.

But those who want to move have come back convinced that the decisive testing ground for peace and a democratic Europe is in the West, and that the West cannot be sustained by anything but sound economic reconstruction.

announced supplemental grain export allocations totaling 97,000 long tons for shipment to shortage areas during May and June.

The allocations include:

- The United States-United Kingdom zone in Germany, 24,000 long tons of barley and 9,000 long tons of wheat. This will replace emergency shipments made from the German zone recently to relieve an acute feed shortage in Rumania.
- Switzerland, 7,000 long tons of oats and 9,000 long tons of wheat or seed.
- France, 36,000 long tons of corn, of which 9,000 may be rye.
- Rumania, 9,000 long tons of corn.
- Jamaica, 3,000 long tons of flour, wheat equivalent.

Salvador Official Flying Here

Special to The New York Times

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador, May 8.—Foreign Minister Dr. Jose Antonio Quiros left here for the United States today by American military plane to receive treatment or injuries suffered in an automobile accident at Managua, Nicaragua, on Sunday. A relapse forced him to land in Guatemala tonight, but he will proceed tomorrow if a condition permits.

Two British Army dispatch riders have been missing since noon yesterday. They were last seen on the road between Ramleh, south of Jaffa, and Wafatund. In other incidents, two Jewish hikers were fired on today by Arabs on the road west of Jerusalem, and shots fired at a car on the outskirts of the city wounded two Arabs.

In Tel Aviv, three Jewish shopkeepers were set afire, apparently because the owners had refused to contribute to underground funds.

It was disclosed that an Arab truck driver had been shot dead last Sunday while trying to block the escape of the Jewish terrorists who blew open a prison.

## GERMAN-JAPAN AID LINKED BY ACHESON

Continued From Page 1

area, the President last month canceled an engagement to address the meeting.

Mr. Acheson referred to the statements made by Secretary of State Marshall on April 28, following his return from the Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers—that Europe cannot wait until the Big Four reach a "compromise through exhaustion." As suggested by Premier Stalin, Secretary Marshall said then that "whatever action is possible . . . must be taken without delay."

Mr. Acheson explained "what Secretary Marshall meant" as follows: "The United States must 'push ahead with the reconstruction of those two great workshops of Europe and Asia—Germany and Japan—upon which the ultimate recovery of the two continents so largely depends. . . . We must take whatever action is possible immediately, even without full Four Power agreement, to effect a larger measure of European, including German recovery."

Mr. Acheson's statement linked Japan to aid of any American official with the United States determination to proceed as far as possible on a unilateral basis with the former enemies in the absence of Four Power agreements.

Mr. Acheson, in his program also put major emphasis on vastly increasing imports by the United States.

Production in this country is now running at the annual rate of \$210,000,000,000.

"Our exports of goods and services to the rest of the world during the current year, 1947, are estimated to total \$16 billions, an all-time peace-time high," he said. "Before the war our exports of goods and services fluctuated around \$4 billions annually. He added:

"In return for the commodities and services which we expect to furnish the world this year, we estimate that we will receive commodities and services from abroad to the value of about \$8 billions. This is just about half as much as we are exporting. . . . We wish that the imports were larger, but the war-devastated world is just not able to supply more."

Need for ITO Success Seen

CLEVELAND, Miss., May 8 (AP)—Under-Secretary of State Acheson gave as the first point in his program the importance to the United States of success at the present Geneva Conference in the establishing of the International Trade Organization.

Interpreting what the "facts of international life mean for the United States" and its foreign policy, he declared:

"They mean first that we in the United States must take as large a volume of imports as possible from abroad in order that the financial gap between what the world needs and what it can pay can be narrowed."

They also mean, he added, that: "The United States must undertake further emergency financing of foreign purchases if foreign countries are to continue to buy in 1948 and 1949 the commodities they need to sustain life and at the same time rebuild their economies."

"We are going to have to concentrate our emergency assistance in areas where it will be most effective in building world political and economic stability, in promoting human freedom and democratic institutions, in fostering liberal trading policies, and in strengthening the authority of the United Nations."

To carry out an economical and effective policy of relief and reconstruction, the United States "is coming to need the extension by Congress of certain executive powers over the domestic sale, transportation, and exportation of a limited list of commodities."

Finds Not Guilty in Killing

George Thomas, 45 years old, a merchant of 51 Cannon Avenue, Park S. E., pleaded not guilty yesterday afternoon in the Richmond County Court at Saint George to a first degree murder indictment for the killing of his father-in-law, Joseph Deering, 62 years old, of 41 Cannon Avenue, Tulsa, on April 26 last. He also pleaded not guilty to a second indictment accusing him of assault on his mother-in-law, Mrs. Stasia Deering, 56 years old, on the same day. Preceding Judge Thomas J. Voss committed him to prison without bail to await trial.

## SOVIET CALLS TEXT OF STASSEN WRONG

Moscow Radio Objects to Way in Which Translator Employed 'Cooperate' and 'Regulate'

LONDON, May 8 (AP)—The Moscow radio said today that "a number of deliberate alterations and unprecise points" appeared in the text of the recent conversation of Prime Minister Stalin with Republican leader Harold E. Stassen, as issued by Mr. Stassen and published by the American press.

The broadcast quoted a long and painstaking comparison of the texts as published by the Russian news agency Tass and the English-language translation—but the chief differences appeared to be variations in the translation of words. Tass, for instance, preferred the word "collaborate" to "cooperate," as used in the English text, and the word "control" for "regulation."

Tass termed its version the correct one, saying the transcript handed to Mr. Stassen in Moscow was the one approved both by himself and by Mr. Stalin. The Tass translation, however, paraphrased the interview almost entirely, making virtually impossible a word-for-word comparison of the two versions.

Instances Cited by Moscow

Here are some instances cited by Moscow:

- (1) According to the American text, Mr. Stassen asked Mr. Stalin whether "these two economic systems (the American and Russian) can exist together in the same modern world in harmony with each other." But Tass said that Mr. Stassen had asked whether "these two economic systems could co-exist in one world and collaborate with each other after the war."
- (2) Mr. Stassen quoted Mr. Stalin as saying "The U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. systems are different, but we didn't wage war against each other and the U. S. S. R. does not propose to." Tass reported merely that Mr. Stalin said: "The economic systems of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. were different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.
- (3) Mr. Stassen, who challenged Mr. Stalin's pre-war statement that the two systems could not co-operate, said the Russian leader replied: "I might have said that one system was reluctant to cooperate, but that concerned only one side. But as to the possibility of cooperation, I adhere to Lenin, who expressed both the possibility and the desire of cooperation."

Paraphrase by Tass

Tass, however, paraphrased this and said "probably he (Stalin) had said that one system, the capitalist, was reluctant, and did not want to collaborate, but this pertained to desires and not to possibilities of collaboration."

(4) Mr. Stassen reported that he, himself, said: "Imperialism, the development of state monopoly and the oppression of workers are the evils of capitalism practiced by the Nazis. It seems to me we have been successful in America in preventing the monopoly of capitalism and the imperialistic trend, and that the workers have made greater progress through the use of their vote and their freedom than Karl Marx or Friedrich Engels thought they could make."

Tass paraphrased this to read that "Stassen said that much had been written to the effect that the capitalist system produced the evil of monopolies, imperialism and the oppression of the workers. He believed that in the U. S. A. they had succeeded in preventing the development of monopolist and imperialist tendencies by capitalism and that the workers in the U. S. A. enjoyed a much greater degree of franchise than Marx or Engels could have imagined. In this lay the difference between the economic system in the U. S. A. and that which existed in Hitler Germany."

(5) The Stassen text said that Mr. Stalin asked whether Mr. Stassen, speaking of economic stabilization, meant "the regulation of production," and that Mr. Stassen replied "the regulation of capitalism." Tass paraphrased Mr. Stalin, saying he declared that Mr. Stassen meant "control of production," and that Mr. Stassen replied that "was correct."

This difference over the words "control" and "regulation" persisted through the two versions of this part of the discussion.

Stassen Praises Press

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., May 8 (AP)—Harold E. Stassen said today that the "American press as a whole deserves high commendation for its fair and thorough manner in handling the story" of his recent Moscow interview with Prime Minister Stalin of Russia.

Mr. Stassen, candidate for the Republican nomination for President, expressed himself in commenting on the Moscow radio's assertion last night that "a number of deliberate alterations and unprecise points" appeared in American press reports of the transcript of the interview.

The Moscow radio's statement was made upon its completion of a 4,000-word broadcast of the transcript for the Soviet provincial press.

"This undoubtedly refers to the small minority of the American press which did not print the text of the transcript as released in Washington, but did print a rewrite and partial paraphrase and condensation of the complete interview," Mr. Stassen declared.

Translation Was Careful

"The fact that the London Bureau of The Associated Press compared the Russian broadcast to the Russian newspapers with the English text as released in Washington further corroborates the very careful and exact translation and reconstruction of the English and Russian notes which we made before the release."

"I still have in my possession the original notes in Russian of the conference."

"The overwhelming majority of American newspapers, including nearly all leading newspapers from

## Russian V-E Proclamation Claims Sole Victory Credit

By The United Press

LONDON, May 8.—Russia's Minister for the Armed Forces, Nikolai A. Bulganin, proclaimed tonight that two years ago the Russians and their fighting forces had "completely routed Fascist Germany and victoriously ended the great patriotic war," Moscow said.

He did not mention any other country's participation in the war in his V-B Day statement. He ordered a 30-salvo artillery salute in the chief cities in celebration of the anniversary.

coast to coast, printed the complete and accurate text as released, and reserved their own comment for their editorial pages. The American press as a whole deserves high commendation for its fair and thorough manner in handling the story.

"With the great difference in press systems, the Russian press always has difficulty in understanding that the individual manner in which a few newspapers in America handle a story does not represent the American press as a whole."

Historian Is Conciliatory

LONDON, May 8 (AP)—Soviet historian I. L. Lemin, in a Moscow radio commentary on Prime Minister Stalin's statement to Harold E. Stassen that cooperation of capitalism and communism is possible, said tonight that the burning issues of international relations could be settled only on the basis of mutual concessions.

"The Soviet people," Mr. Lemin declared, "are firmly convinced of the advantages of their system . . . but they have no desire whatever to force their system on anyone."

Declaring there is a tendency in some unnamed quarters to assert that conflict is inevitable between these systems, the Soviet commentator said "there can be no cooperation without compromise; but compromise must not be one-sided."

RED CROSS BILL SIGNED

Truman Approves Changes in Charter to Reshape Government

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—President Truman approved today the first basic changes in the charter of the American Red Cross since 1905. The amendments were organizational in character, and were designed to bring the national headquarters into closer relation with the chapters in the field.

Under the measure signed today, the Governing Board will be enlarged from eighteen to fifty members, of whom thirty will be elected from chapter members at the national convention in Cleveland from June 9 to 12. The Board of Governors, as the enlarged organization will be called, will elect twelve members-at-large, and eight members will be named by the President. He will also name the principal officer.

Basil J. Connor, chairman, said that the changes insured that the Red Cross "will reflect the needs of all the people as an efficient and democratic instrument in its wide fields of service."

GI AID RISE IS OPPOSED

But School Group Backs \$7.50 More for Those With Children

WASHINGTON, May 8 (AP)—The American Council on Education today advised Congress against making large increases in subsistence allowances to veterans attending school under the G. I. Bill of Rights.

"The veteran himself has a definite responsibility for his own education, and the majority are accepting their fair share willingly and gratefully," Francis J. Brown, council staff associate, told a Senate Public Welfare subcommittee. The subcommittee is considering a number of bills which would increase subsistence allowances for veteran students. Mr. Brown advocated \$7.50 a month more for veterans with children, but said allowances for single veterans should remain unchanged.

NICKEL 'COLLECTOR' HELD

Paterson Man Found With 2,160 From Parking Meters

PATERSON, N. J., May 8 (AP)—David Nash, 48 years old, a public work employee, was arraigned today on a grand larceny charge, accused of stealing nickels from the city's parking meters.

When he was apprehended, Patrolman Peter Ventimiglia said, Nash had 1,160 five-cent pieces. The 1108, filling the self-appointed collector's raincoat pockets to overflowing weighed 25 pounds, the police charged. It was also half of the city's daily "take" from the meters.

Police Recorder Wendell W. Furey, who paroled the public works employee for a hearing next week, reported Nash told him he had been drinking and had fished one of the keys to the parking meters.

SCOTCH PRICE RISE FOUGHT

Distillers Would Keep Present Rate on Whisky Sent to U. S.

LONDON, May 8 (AP)—Scots pointed out tonight that it would be bad business to raise the price of whisky exported to the United States.

The Scotch Whisky Association issued a statement directed to tipplers who complained that Scotch was being exported to America at prices lower than those charged at home. Instead, the association pointed out, the wholesale price to American importers, before duties, freight and other charges, is 5 shillings a bottle (\$1) compared with 4 shillings 3 pence (86 cents) in Britain.

Scotch is one of the most important of Britain's exports to the dollar area.

Van Kleffens Seen as Envoy Here

Special to The New York Times

ROTTERDAM, May 8.—Official Dutch quarters expect that Dr. F. N. van Kleffens, former delegate to the United Nations, will succeed Dr. Alexander Loudon as Ambassador to the United States.

## U. N. WILL CONTINUE 'MUST' BROADCASTS

Special to The New York Times

LAKE SUCCESS, May 8.—The United Nations may seek outside radio facilities for overseas broadcasting if it is deprived of outlets provided by the State Department in Washington.

Most of the United Nations transmitters and technical services are borrowed on a part-time basis from the State Department as a courtesy. Congress, however, is considering abandonment of the department's overseas broadcasting services for budgetary reasons.

While United Nations officials declined to comment on the threat to their own foreign broadcasting, they said every effort would be made to keep the United Nations on the air. Programs to Europe, Latin American and the Far East are so widely received, said one radio expert, that they are considered "a must."

If Congress goes ahead with the plan to cut out the State Department's program, the United Nations may try to find outside facilities, although these are scarce and would involve considerable cost, the expert said.

The United Nations Radio Division announced that two New York radio stations rebroadcast the daily Actuality Review transmitted by the division. The program, consisting of recorded extracts from speeches made during the day's debate, will be carried by WJLA from 10:45 to 11 P. M. Monday through Saturday and by WQXR every morning from 11:15 to 11:30 A. M.

Robber-Slayer Sentenced

Joseph Castellano, 42 years old, of 409 First Street, Brooklyn, a longshoreman with a police record showing twenty-two arrests since 1922, but only one thirty-day sentence, was ordered yesterday to serve from forty years to life in Sing Sing by Judge Louis Goldstein in Kings County Court. Castellano was convicted last April 4 of second-degree murder in connection with the slaying of Louis Suarato, 46, on April 7, 1946, following an argument over the division of robbery loot.

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RUSSIANS EAGER TO JOIN IN 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.—Andre A. Gromyko of the Soviet Union said today that the Big Five should shoulder their responsibility for the fate of Palestine through all stages of the United Nations work on the problem. He argued that there was "no justification" for the United States and Britain's opposition to being included in the peace organization's Palestine inquiry committee.

Declaring that Russia had no material interest in the Palestine problem and that the Soviet Jewish population, as far as he knew, does not have much interest in immigration to Palestine, Mr. Gromyko said that the United Nations would have a better chance of reaching agreement if the Big Five participated in all stages of the work, from the fact-finding of the United Nations inquiry committee to the rendering of a judgment by the United Nations General Assembly.

The Big Five, and also the Arab states, should be represented in the United Nations preliminary committee to study the facts of Palestine, Mr. Gromyko said.

Russia Willing to Join

Speaking in the General Assembly's fifty-five-nation Political Committee, Mr. Gromyko said Russia was ready to participate, not only in the United Nations decision on Palestine but also in the assembling of facts in the case upon which, theoretically—the United Nations verdict largely would be based. He continued:

"The Soviet Union is interested in the Palestine problem exclusively from the political aspect of this problem. The Soviet Union is interested in this problem because it is a member of this organization and because it is a permanent member of the Security Council. It is interested because it would wish to see such a decision taken which would correspond to the interests of the Palestine population, and which would also correspond to our general mutual interest, to the interest of the United Nations and to the interest of peace and international security."

Both the United States and Britain would accept membership in the initial Palestine inquiry committee if drafted, but both Governments firmly believe that no member of the Big Five should belong, since this would raise an obstacle to a fair, impartial report, Warren R. Austin, the United States delegate, and Sir Alexander Cadogan of the United Kingdom said.

"The United States recognizes its responsibility and will face it after this preliminary investigation and reporting of the facts," Mr. Austin said. He explained the United States' position thus:

"Our fear is that opposing views and debate among the permanent members (the Big Five)—if they were on the special committee—over details, would cause delay by the intrusion of other interests which are perfectly obvious here. Everybody knows about them. They are constantly arising on mere details."

The Problems Involved

Presumably, he was referring, among other problems, to the clash of Big Three political interests in the Near and Middle East, the special interests of Britain as the mandatory power administering Palestine, the United States' development programs for Greece and Turkey, Russia's desire for warm-water ports, rival oil interests and competition for the favor of the Arab peoples and of Jewish humanitarian interests throughout the world.

Britain's position was explained by Sir Alexander thus:

"My Government are in rather a peculiar position. They would find themselves, if they were members of that committee, at times in the witness stand, and then after that, a moment or two later, would resume their seats with the jury. It is a principle, of course, that we have always—and I think everybody has—upheld, that no man should be judge in his own cause, and I think we should be put in a somewhat embarrassing and difficult position."

China agreed not to evade responsibility, but to promote unanimity among the Big Five, upon the preservation of which the workability of the United Nations is based, Dr. Quo Tai-chi, the Chinese representative, said.

Under the chairmanship of Lester B. Pearson of Canada, who privately was reported to favor inclusion of the Big Five in the Palestine inquiry committee, the Political Committee debated the issue virtually all day.

This is the first time that a globally representative international body (in contrast with the Anglo-American committee of inquiry on Palestine) has attempted to solve the question. Hence, as delegates debated which principles should govern selection of the United Nations committee, they had unprecedented difficulty, and they divided the world mathematically, geographically, politically and, finally, in the words of Ambassador M. Asaf Ali of India, speaking for the teeming populations of Asia, brought the question down to "human terms."

Yet the main proposals remained these—the United States recommendation for a "neutral" committee, composed of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Iran, the Netherlands, Peru and Uruguay; Argentina's recommendation for a committee of the Big Five, an Arab state, three American states other than the United States, a Pacific state, an African state and an Asiatic state; and Poland's recommendation for a committee of the Big Five, one Arab state, preferably Syria, two Latin American states, one African or Asiatic state, one western European state and one eastern European state, preferably Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Gromyko favored the Polish proposal over the Argentinian because the former provided for better representation from eastern Europe, he said.

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

Social 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 were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of the deliberations he will have an opportunity to participate here.

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you 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 that country. We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just 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 and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

Pleased Over Outlook

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore, and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, presumably within the terms of a mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes.

The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the war, been conducted by the mandatory powers as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine; whereas it is assumed to administer that country, of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the mandate, which clearly defined its rights and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people and, in fact, I take it, motivated the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish Agency for Palestine to state its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their good will and their gallant action. The Jewish Agency, you will recall, is recognized in the mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is the only recognized public body in the mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote Article 4, "... for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

Under Article 4, the Jewish Agency is entitled, further, to cooperate with the administration in permitting "... close settlement by Jews on the land," and, by Article 11, it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish Agency, which we have the honor to represent, therefore, speaks not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish national home; it speaks also for the Jewish people of the world, who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged, by the same Article 4 of the mandate, "... to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

I have spoken of "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish national home." In defining the terms of reference of the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint, and in all the committee's future investigations, these, in my judgment, should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today.

To proceed without relation to them would be to deviate into a political wilderness as far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, would only contribute to confusion.

Balfour Declaration Cited

The Balfour Declaration, which was issued by His Majesty's Government as a "... declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations," declares:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

The mandate, in its preamble, recognizes "... the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and "... the grounds for reconstituting"—I call your attention to the word "reconstituting"—"their national home in that country."

Those international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You

ADDRESSING THE UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE



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

cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law.

Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is Article 80 of the Charter, which reads:

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Article 77, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments, to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment, will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance, if it sees the proper perspective always in view.

A generation ago, the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making; it has not yet been fully established. No international community has canceled or even questioned that right. The mandatory power, which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home, has unfortunately, in recent years, grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish national home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

"There would be no doubt," he said, "as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand, it was contemplated that, when the time arrived for acceding representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

"The notion that Jewish immigration," he continued, "would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent minority, never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come, a great Jewish state rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others.

Quotes Woodrow Wilson

American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish national home. Thus, President Wilson, on March 2, 1919, stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

That the Government of the United States does not now consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, dated Oct. 29, 1946.

"The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations."

"The United States," wrote President Truman, "which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these people should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine."

"I am happy to note," declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

It should, of course, be clear—and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear—that when we speak of a Jewish state, we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish state is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labor party in 1945—now represented by the present Government of the United Kingdom which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

"Here, we have a conflict, not merely between conflicting policies, but there is, surely, neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such number as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war and there is an irresistible case for it now."

When your committee of inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor—the international obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish national home—should be kept in our judgment, constantly in mind. I believe it would be extremely helpful to the committee of inquiry if the mandatory Government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine mandate to it rather than wait for the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the committee in thinking through the problem and at arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

It is illogical, I fear, to ask the committee of inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present Government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the committee of inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement. In Palestine, they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting this national home after the long weary centuries of their homelessness, and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable handicaps.

The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor, neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and to other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove a blessing not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was a great leader of the Arab peoples, at the Peace Conference following the first World War. On March 2, 1919, he wrote:

"We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the Peace Conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help

you and you will help us so that the routine in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the strands of life which have been strangled in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East with which Palestine and with which the destinies of the Jewish national home are naturally bound up.

Your committee of inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects, which will result in great economic and social improvement not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development, pending a satisfactory political solution.

Would Investigate Violence

The committee of inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real, the fundamental causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came, not with weapons but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community, whose sole interest was in building a better life for themselves and their children, is being driven to the pitch of resentment and tension and to the monstrous driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore.

They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees—men, women and children who have been through all the hells of Nazi Europe—are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish national home by a mandatory government which assumed, as its prime obligation, to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country.

They will also investigate, I hope, how the mandatory government is carrying out another of its obligations, which was to encourage actual settlement of the Jews on the land; when, in actual practice, it is today severely restricting fine Jewish settlement on an area less than 6 per cent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish national home discriminatory racial laws which the mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

By way of digression, let it be said—if it need be said at all—that we are not engaged, nor shall we be engaged, in any criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization; and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-sighted British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the displaced persons camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated two years—it is exactly two years today since V-E Day—after the close of the war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer.

While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while inter-governmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these wretched men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiry and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—redemption may come that keeps their spirit from breaking utterly.

Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the conscience of mankind, speaking through you and through your committee of inquiry, will make it possible for these weary, men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that, pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no de-

lay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your committee of inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the mandatory government.

I hope that I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

The Jewish people place great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people, and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have traveled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles.

In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel became one great household of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst. The representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions—we hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

At the close of Dr. Silver's statement the following questions were put to him by delegates and he was asked to prepare a reply for a later session:

M. Asaf Ali, India

What was the number of Jews from outside Palestine in 1900, again in 1930, and finally in 1939 when the White Paper of 1939 was issued by the British Government?

My next question would be whether Dr. Silver recognizes the fact that there is a very clear distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home, which is mentioned in the mandate. Does he also recognize the fact that even the statement, which was made by a representative of the liberal government—the Labor party—referred not to a Jewish state but to a Jewish national home?

My third question is concerned with Dr. Silver's reference to European Jewry. Will he be so kind as to provide us with some idea of the age of the various communities of national Jewry living in Europe, who would now like to go back to the national home; how long have they lived in Europe; and are they easily assimilable in Palestine?

My fourth question is as follows: He has made a statement to the effect that at Paris in 1919 an extremely conciliatory statement was made by a great Arab leader who welcomed the Jews to Palestine. Is there any reason why the Arabs are resisting immigration now?

My fifth question relates to the refugees from Nazi oppression. The Nazi Government in Europe has been completely suppressed and Nazi Germany is now under the control of the Security Council, or, at any rate, the United Nations. If that is so, is there any reason why these refugees cannot be resettled in their natural German home, where they speak the language of the country and where they find themselves far more easily assimilable?

My sixth and last question would be about the conditions which are currently prevailing in Palestine. It is very gratifying to learn that Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency, has recognized the noble role which the people of the United Kingdom have played in recognizing the urgency of the Jewish problem. May I know why public servants of the Government of the United Kingdom, who are doing their duty under extremely difficult circumstances, are being picked off today by violence?

Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, Poland

First of all, who represents the Jewish Agency, how many organizations, how is the executive committee established and organized and how does it work? The second question: Have there been any attempts at collaboration between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine?

Dr. Alberto Gonzales Fernandez, Colombia

I should like to ask Dr. Silver, not as an element of final judgment for us, but simply as an element of the Jewish Agency for Palestine are regarding the composition of the investigating committee.

H. T. Andrews, South Africa

I would only ask one question and that has relation to the terms of reference which we may be giving this committee of inquiry. Dr. Silver has referred to the homeless Jews in Europe. If he would be so kind as to help me clarify my own mind, he said that the committee of inquiry should look into the condition of the homeless Jews in Europe. I would ask him, does he mean that the committee of inquiry should look into the situation as a whole or only in relation to the question of continuing immigration into Palestine?



courts and the Federal courts. My only objection to legislative proposals on this point is that they would set labor unions apart from everyone else and from every kind of organization in the country. This is accomplished by allowing suits in Federal court, regardless of the amount in controversy and in defiance of the constitutional provisions that jurisdiction of such private suits in Federal courts shall be limited to those controversies in which there is a diversity of citizenship between the parties.

Concerning the vital subject of mediation, I am definitely against the creation of a mediation board because I do not believe that device will promote industrial peace. Here are some of the reasons for my conclusion.

The creation of such a board is bound to interfere with and disrupt not only the voluntary mediation of the Conciliation Service, but a much larger area of successful collective bargaining between management and labor. This would tend to undermine that broad foundation which the twentieth-century fund report finds so essential for our economic well-being and for the cause of industrial peace.

Given a mediation board, both sides would tend to carry important issues straight to the board without making any real effort to reach a voluntary agreement among themselves. We saw this perfectly natural human tendency at work during the war. Time and time again, real negotiations between the parties practically came to a standstill, while the principals got ready for the big show in Washington.

Those who know the work of the Conciliation Service realize that last year our Commissioners aided in the peaceful settlement of 13,000 industrial disputes. What's more, in 9 cases out of 10 where commissioners were called in before work had halted, no stoppage occurred. Last year our conciliators also helped to settle 3,400 strikes. Nearly two-thirds of these had begun before either side called upon the Conciliation Service.

In my view, we would be very ill-advised to upset or bypass this highly useful machinery through the establishment of a mediation board.

And now a word or two about compulsory arbitration. To a good many people this looks like an easy answer to the strike problem. But they overlook the fact that if compulsory arbitration is to succeed in eliminating walk-outs and lock-outs, it must at the same time abolish or restrict the right to contract.

Thus the principle of compulsory arbitration does violence to our whole Anglo-Saxon concept of law. For it must be realized that if an arbitrator writes a contract which through a wage increase or any other provision, increases the cost to the employer, it will then become necessary for the arbitrator or some Government agency to look into or determine what the manufacturer may charge for his product. There is no escaping this chain of events.

That is why both labor and management are so opposed to such controls. They know that we cannot preserve our free economy if Government is to dictate the terms of labor-management agreements. Such a process does not lend itself to a little compulsion—it forecasts the end of freedom to contract.

Ten years have passed since the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Wagner Act. During that period the ranks of organized labor have increased very rapidly—management attitudes have changed and are still changing. Since the Wagner Act was passed, in 1935, a great body of law has developed in interpreting the act and its meaning. To a considerable degree the provisions of this act have influenced the course of collective bargaining itself, as well as the

pattern of union recruitment. Thus it is very difficult to know just how extensive or destructive any given change might prove to be.

For that reason I have repeatedly urged the Congress to make this matter the subject of a special study by a commission, as President Truman recommended in his state of the Union message.

And I would strongly recommend that such a study concern itself with the basic causes of labor disputes and industrial peace. Naturally I would recommend the kind of approach that is geared to today's reality and tomorrow's potentiality. I would look forward to the goal which the people of this Nation seek—secure abundance in a world at peace.

### Soldiers' Cemeteries Overseas

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. OWEN BREWSTER

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 16 (legislative day of Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Visits to Our Dead," published in today's Washington Post. The editorial deals with the situation in regard to our cemeteries overseas.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### VISITS TO OUR DEAD

There is something sacrilegious, almost ghoulish, about the practice now going on of disintering our war dead and shipping them back to this country for reburial. We are glad that President Truman has suggested an alternative to this painful process in the form of overseas pilgrimages for next of kin. The President's proposal is similar to the procedure advocated editorially by this newspaper on March 13. Mr. Truman expressed aptly the essentially humanitarian and equalitarian considerations involved. "I feel sure," he said, "that if they could see for themselves the care which is devoted to the graves of those who died in the First World War, and to the temporary cemeteries in which their own dead lie buried today, many of the next of kin would prefer that their loved ones should rest forever in the countries where they fell."

Congress has appropriated \$210,000,000, or approximately \$710 per body, for return of war dead to the United States. We do not advocate repeal of this measure, since the process is already under way. Possibly there are some families to whom the move would be comforting though the renewed grief adds a masochistic note. We do think, however, that from the standpoint of their own eventual satisfaction, next of kin ought to be permitted the alternative of an overseas visit to the graves. We hope, therefore, that Congress will adopt a plan similar to that contained in a bill introduced by Representative St. George to make such pilgrimages possible, much in the same way that Government aid was provided for such trips after World War I. Indeed, it is too bad that relatives cannot first make the trips to the neat and inspiring cemeteries where our war dead rest with their comrades, and then decide whether they wish the bodies returned. If this were the case, we are confident that the overwhelming sentiment would be for leaving the graves undisturbed.

### The Senator Who Walks Alone

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. W. LEE O'DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 16 (legislative day of Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Senator Who Walks Alone," written by Robert W. Akers, editor of the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise, and published in the Enterprise of the issue of May 9, 1947.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE SENATOR WHO WALKS ALONE

(By Robert W. Akers, editor, the Enterprise)

The Texans in Washington stick together—Congressmen, newspaper correspondents, Government officials. Any gathering that calls for the presence of the Lone Star delegation finds them all there, all, that is, except W. LEE O'DANIEL.

The capital Texas colony now takes this situation for granted. To a visitor who inquires, as I did last month, "Where's Senator O'DANIEL?", the reply is a shrug, a hastily spoken, "Oh, he never comes to these things," a change of subject.

Just when this situation started, I don't know, but I judged it must not have been long after the junior United States Senator arrived in Washington in 1941. It appears the rest of the Texans in Congress quickly concluded he didn't care to "play ball" with them, politically speaking.

It also appears outwardly that this interpretation is all right with Mr. O'DANIEL. He goes his own way and votes his own way. In a large proportion of instances his vote is not cast with that of the Democratic regulars, those who go along with the administration leadership.

These differences of opinion have put O'DANIEL on the back row as far as Federal appointments in the State are concerned. And that, in turn, has led to the recently exhibited antagonism between O'DANIEL and Senator CONNALLY, long-time party wheelhorse, who gets first choice in patronage decisions.

It also means that when delegations come to Washington seeking assistance on Federal matters they head for Senator CONNALLY's office. The senior Senator's long and loyal service as a Democratic Member of Congress has made him a man of great influence.

In 1948 O'DANIEL will ask reelection and that campaign is likely to be the most critical test ever faced by this unorthodox politician, who has never yet lost a vote contest.

O'DANIEL's political career has been contradictory. He goes after votes on a mass appeal basis—music, entertainment, shirt-sleeved appearances before the crowd, demands for benefits for the old folks, fiery denunciations that bring the familiar cry, "Pour it on 'em, Pappy."

In the Senate, however, he votes like a sound, conservative businessman—which is what he is, in fact. His legislative decisions have obviously been made on a basis of personal conviction and not on party regularity. Because he is a conservative businessman, by background, those personal convictions have been, time after time, contrary to Democratic, especially New Deal, policies. He is with the Republicans on many an issue.

A great many Texas businessmen, lifelong Democrats though they are, will say unhesi-



tatingly, "O'DANIEL's doing a good job up there. He has a common-sense attitude and he votes his personal beliefs."

So 1948 will bring a dramatic show-down. Will Texans, traditionally insistent upon Democratic regularity, return for another 6 years a Senator who has paid scant attention to party policies? An O'Daniel victory would be not only a tribute to his personal popularity but an acceptance of senatorial representation that deviates from the strict party line.

Opposing the junior Senator are expected to be Coke Stevenson, also an economic conservative, and LYNDON JOHNSON, who came within a hair's breadth of defeating O'DANIEL in a special senatorial election in 1941. JOHNSON, who represents the Austin district in Congress, has strengthened his State-wide political fences since his return from war service and obviously hopes to move forward.

State-wide polls indicate that O'DANIEL has lost much strength since he won by a comfortable margin over James V. Allred in the regular election of 1942.

The Senator says he is not worried by straw votes; that he is confident of reelection when the balloting really counts, and he continues to be the Senator who walks alone. He is out of the Republican councils, because he is a Democrat, and he is out of the Democratic councils because of an aggressively independent attitude.

Do I think he'll be reelected in 1948? I wouldn't even guess now. But, just on a basis of his perfect election-winning record, I certainly wouldn't bet against him.

### The Palestine Problem

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HOWARD McGRATH

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 16 (legislative day of  
Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, at the recent special session of the United Nations General Assembly called to consider the Palestine problem, three splendid statements were made by the spokesmen for the Jewish people.

These arguments, presented by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, president of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine; by Mr. Moshe Shertok, head of the political department of the agency and by Mr. David Ben-Gurion, the chairman of the executive committee of the Jewish Agency, set forth fully the historic right and justification of the Jewish people to establish a homeland and a Jewish state in Palestine.

The three statements comprise a magnificent presentation of the Jewish case and a splendid review of the historic American support of this great cause.

I commend these statements to the attention of all fair-minded people interested in a just solution of one of the world's most pressing problems, and I request their publications in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information of the Congress and the country.

Inasmuch as the statements are greater in extent than is permitted under the rule, I have secured from the Public Printer an estimate of the cost of printing them, which will be \$426.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, MAY 8, 1947

I should like to say at the outset that were Mr. David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, here this morning, he would be making this statement. Unfortunately, the arrival of Mr. Ben-Gurion has been delayed. He will be here tomorrow, and I hope that in the course of the deliberations he will have an opportunity to participate here.

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you 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 that country. We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just 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 and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

#### PLEASED OVER OUTLOOK

We are pleased that the Palestine problem will now be reviewed by an international body and that the thought and conscience of mankind will now be brought to bear on a situation which heretofore, and for some years now, has been made extremely difficult by unilateral action and by decisions made, presumably within the terms of a mandatory trust, but actually without the sanction or supervision of the international body which established that trust and which defined both its limits and its purposes.

The administration of Palestine has, since the outbreak of the war, been conducted by the mandatory powers as if it were vested with the sovereignty of Palestine; whereas it is assumed to administer that country, of which it was not the sovereign, as a trustee for carrying out the purposes of the mandate, which clearly defined its rights and its obligations.

The problem of Palestine is, of course, of paramount importance to the Jewish people and that fact, I take it, motivated the General Assembly of the United Nations to extend an invitation to the Jewish agency of Palestine to present its views. We thank all those who so warmly urged our admission for their good will and their gallant action. The Jewish agency, you will recall, is recognized in the mandate for Palestine as a public body authorized to speak and act on behalf of the Jewish people in and out of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish national home.

It is the only recognized public body in the mandate. It is recognized as such, to quote article 4, " . . . for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and, subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

Under article 6, the Jewish agency is entitled further to cooperate with the administration in permitting " . . . close settlement by Jews on the land"; and, by article 11, it is given a preferred status in respect to the construction and operation of public

works and the development of the natural resources of the country.

The Jewish agency, which we have the honor to represent, therefore, speaks not merely for the organized Jewish community of Palestine, the democratically elected National Council of Palestine Jews, who are today the pioneering vanguard in the building of the Jewish national home; it speaks also for the Jewish people of the world, who are devoted to this historic ideal, for it was charged, by the same article 4 of the mandate, " . . . to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

I have spoken of "the Jewish people" and "the Jewish national home." In defining the terms of reference of the committee of inquiry which you are to appoint, and in all the committee's future investigations, these, in my judgment, should be regarded as key terms and basic concepts. They were the key terms and the basic concepts of the Balfour Declaration and of the mandate under which Palestine is, or should be, administered today.

To proceed without relation to them would be to detour into a political wilderness as far as Palestine is concerned. To treat the Palestine problem as if it were one of merely reconciling the differences between two sections of the population presently inhabiting the country, or of finding a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, would only contribute to confusion.

#### BALFOUR DECLARATION CITED

The Balfour Declaration, which was issued by His Majesty's Government as a " . . . declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspiration," declares:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

The mandate, in its preamble, recognizes " . . . the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and " . . . the grounds for reconstituting"—I call your attention to the word "reconstituting"—"their national home in that country."

Those international commitments of a quarter of a century ago, which flowed from the recognition of historic rights and present needs, and upon which so much has already been built in Palestine by the Jewish people, cannot now be erased. You cannot turn back the hands of the clock of history.

Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, proclaimed in its Charter, "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained," can never sanction the violation of treaties and of international law.

Having this and similar situations in mind, a specific provision, you will recall, was written into the chapter of the Charter of the United Nations which deals with territories which might become trusteeship territories, and which is therefore especially applicable to territories now under mandate. This is article 80 of the Charter, which reads:

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments, to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the entire problem which, in our judgment, will prove decisive. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and its conclusions will prove of constructive significance, if it will keep the proper perspective always in view.

A generation ago the international community of the world, of which the United



Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine. That national home is still in the making; it has not yet been fully established. No international community has canceled or even questioned that right. The mandatory power, which was entrusted with the obligation to safeguard the opportunity for the continuous growth and development of the Jewish national home, has unfortunately in recent years grievously interfered with and circumscribed it. That opportunity must now be fully restored.

When will the Jewish national home be an accomplished fact? The answer to that question may well be given by the man who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued. I am quoting the testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, given before the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937:

"There would be no doubt," he said, "as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish state should be set up immediately by the peace treaty. On the other hand, it was contemplated that, when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

"The notion that Jewish immigration," he continued, "would have to be artificially restricted in order to insure that the Jews would be a permanent minority, never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

This same answer could also be given by Mr. Winston Churchill, who was an important member of the Government which issued the Balfour Declaration; by General Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time and who foretold an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and "in generations to come, a great Jewish state rising there once more"; by Lord Robert Cecil, and by many others.

#### QUOTES WOODROW WILSON

American statesmen shared this view of the Jewish national home. Thus, President Wilson, on March 3, 1919, stated: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

That the Government of the United States does not now consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud, of Saudi Arabia, dated October 29, 1946. He wrote:

"The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the First World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent States which are now members of the United Nations."

"The United States," wrote President Truman, "which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these people should be prepared for self-government, and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine."

"I am happy to note," declared the President, "that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The

Jewish national home, however, has not as yet been fully developed."

It should, of course, be clear—and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in recent days have tended to confuse what should be clear—that when we speak of a Jewish state, we do not have in mind any racial state or any theocratic state, but one which will be based upon full equality and rights for all inhabitants without distinction of religion or race and without domination or subjugation. What we have in mind by the Jewish state is most succinctly stated in a resolution adopted by the British Labor Party in 1945—now represented by the present Government of the United Kingdom, which requested this special session of the United Nations. I am quoting:

"Here we halted halfway, irresolutely between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now."

When your committee of inquiry will come to consider proposals for the future government of Palestine, this inescapable and irreducible factor—the international obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish national home—should be kept, in our judgment, constantly in mind. I believe it would be extremely helpful to the committee of inquiry if the mandatory government would present the account of its stewardship of the Palestine mandate to it rather than wait for the next assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the committee in thinking through the problem and at arriving at helpful recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

It is illogical, I fear, to ask the committee of inquiry to consider the future government of Palestine without first making a thorough study of the present government to discover what was faulty in the present administration, what neglect and what deviations occurred to have brought about a condition so dangerous and explosive as to necessitate the convoking of a special session of the United Nations to deal with it.

I believe that the committee of inquiry should most certainly visit Palestine. Written documents are important, but infinitely more instructive are the living documents, the visible testimony of creative effort and achievement. In Palestine they will see what the Jewish people, inspired by the hope of reconstituting this national home after the long weary centuries of their homelessness, and relying upon the honor and the pledged word of the world community, has achieved in a few short years against great odds and seemingly insurmountable handicaps.

The task was enormous—untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor, neglected through the centuries. And the period of building took place between two disastrous world wars when European Jewry was shattered and impoverished. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine has received the acclaim of the entire world. And what was built there with social vision and high human idealism has proved a blessing, we believe, not only to the Jews of Palestine but to the Arabs and to other non-Jewish communities as well.

That the return of the Jews to Palestine would prove a blessing not only to themselves but also to their Arab neighbors was envisaged by the Emir Feisal, who was a great leader of the Arab peoples, at the Peace Conference following the First World War. On March 3, 1919, he wrote:

"We Arabs look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation

here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, insofar as we are concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you, and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their places in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if allowed to develop uninterruptedly the standards of life which have been developed in Palestine, the concepts of social justice and the modern scientific method will serve as a great stimulus to the rebirth and progress of the entire Near East with which Palestine and with which the destinies of the Jewish national home are naturally bound up.

Your committee of inquiry should also consider the potentialities of the country, which, if properly developed, can, according to the expert testimony of those most qualified to speak on the subject, sustain a population much greater than the present one. Many more projects which will result in great economic and social improvement, not alone in Palestine but in all the neighboring countries, are awaiting development pending a satisfactory political solution.

#### WOULD INVESTIGATE VIOLENCE

The committee of inquiry should, while in Palestine, also look into the real, the fundamental causes of the tragic unrest and violence which today mar the life of the Holy Land to which our Jewish pioneers came, not with weapons but with tools. They will inquire, I am sure, why a peace-loving community, whose sole interest was in building a peaceful home and future for themselves and their children, is being driven to the pitch of resentment and tension and lamentably driving some of its members to actions which we all deplore.

They will ask themselves, I am sure, why shiploads of helpless Jewish refugees—men, women, and children who have been through all the hells of Nazi Europe—are being driven away from the shores of the Jewish national home by a mandatory government which assumed, as its prime obligation, to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country.

They will also investigate, I hope, how the mandatory government is carrying out another of its obligations, which was to encourage also settlement of the Jews on the land; when, in actual practice, it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 6 percent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish national home discriminatory racial laws which the mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

By way of digression let it be said—if it need be said at all—that we are not engaged nor shall we be engaged in any criticism or condemnation of the people of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with them. On the contrary, we have the highest regard and admiration for that people and for its monumental contributions to democratic civilization; and we shall never forget that it was the United Kingdom which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is only a wrong and unjustifiable policy which contradicts and tends to defeat the far-visioned British statesmanship of earlier years which we condemn.

We hope most earnestly that the Committee of Inquiry will also visit the displaced persons camps in Europe and see with their own eyes the appalling human tragedy which mankind is permitting to continue unabated 2 years—it is exactly 2 years today since VE-day—after the close of the war in which the Jewish people was the greatest sufferer.



While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while intergovernmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—redemption may come that keeps their spirit from breaking utterly.

Most of them are desperately eager to go to the Jewish national home. I hope that the conscience of mankind, speaking through you and through your committee of inquiry, will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and healing in the land of their fondest hopes, and that their liberation will not be delayed until the report of the committee is finally made and the action of the Assembly is finally taken, but that, pending ultimate decisions and implementations, these unfortunate people will be permitted forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic human problem, my friends, which brooks no delay. An immediate relaxation of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the white paper policy of 1939 was imposed will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your committee of inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. But the decisive contribution can only be made by the mandatory government.

I hope that I have not abused your patience, Mr. Chairman, and the patience of the representatives of the United Nations here assembled. Permit me to conclude with this observation:

The Jewish people place great hope upon the outcome of the deliberations of this great body. It has faith in its collective sense of justice and fairness and in the high ideals which inspire it. We are an ancient people, and though we have often, on the long, hard road which we have traveled, been disillusioned, we have never been disheartened. We have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles.

In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people is no less deserving than other peoples whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose representatives are now seated here. The Jewish people were your allies in the war and joined their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The representatives of the Jewish people of Palestine should sit in your midst. The representatives of the people and of the land which gave to mankind spiritual and ethical values inspiring human personalities and sacred texts which are your treasured possessions—we hope that that people, now rebuilding again its national life in its ancient homeland, will be welcomed before long by you to this noble fellowship of the United Nations.

#### STATEMENT BY MOSHE SHERTOK, MAY 12, 1947

I am here to reply to the questions which were put to Dr. Silver after the conclusion of his address to the committee. In so doing, I hope I may be permitted also to clear up some of the underlying issues, in order to bring out the meaning of my replies a little more clearly.

I would begin with a question asked by the representative of Poland as to the organization, composition and functions of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. In the mandate, it was the Zionist organization which was recognized as the Jewish agency, with powers to advise and cooperate with the mandatory administration in matters concerning the Jewish national home and to take part in the country's development.

At the time, the World Zionist Organization, founded 50 years ago, was already 25 years old. Subsequently, certain non-Zionist groups joined in forming an enlarged Jewish agency, but the Zionist organization has remained the main driving force. The World Zionist Organization has today local organizations in more than 60 countries—with a few exceptions, in every country where Jews live.

Within the Zionist movement, as in any democratically organized society, there are parties: the labor party and other labor groups, the center or general Zionists, the Mizrahi or the orthodox religious Zionists, and the revisionists. This party division is reflected in our congresses, which are held once in every 2 years after a general election in all countries. The congress elects our executive, the present executive was elected by the 360 delegates to the twenty-second Zionist congress in Basle last December, who, in turn, were elected by nearly 2,000,000 Zionist voters throughout the world. The executive has headquarters in Jerusalem and branches with resident members in New York, London, and Paris.

#### AGENCY'S DUTIES OUTLINED

Two things must be stressed. First, the agency is the spokesman, not merely of Jews already settled in Palestine but of all Jews throughout the world who are devoted to the idea of the Jewish national home. The entire Jewish people, I might say, hold the Jewish agency responsible for the success of that great enterprise. Secondly, the agency is not merely an organ of national representation, but an instrument of nation-building, an institution of immigration, development, and settlement. It mobilizes the energies and resources of our people for national reconstruction, and in Palestine it directs large-scale practical development work.

It has been responsible for bringing hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine and settling them there. It has carried out an extensive program of settlement on the land. It has stimulated major industrial development. It has supplied guidance and coordination to the vast volume of free initiative and enterprise in the work of Jewish settlement. Our Jerusalem headquarters is divided into departments: political, financial, immigration, agricultural settlement, trade and industry, labor, etc.

During the war the Jewish agency acted, in a way, as a recruiting authority. It mobilized the Jewish war effort in Palestine in the cause of the United Nations. It has supplied 33,000 volunteers for armed service within the British forces. They defended Palestine, served in most middle eastern countries and fought in the campaigns of Africa and Europe. All industrial, technical, and scientific resources of Jewish Palestine were harnessed to the war effort.

So much for the Jewish agency as such. Politically, its primary function has been to uphold and defend Jewish rights under the mandate. Immigration is the crux of the

problem and several of the questions put to Dr. Silver bear on that issue. In answering these questions, I must make one basic point clear by way of background.

If it is granted that the Jewish people are in Palestine as of right, then all the implications and corollaries of that premise must be accepted. The foremost is that Jews must be allowed to resettle in Palestine in unlimited numbers, provided only they do not displace or worsen the lot of the existing inhabitants who are also there as of right. If that basic premise is not granted, then there is very little to discuss.

It may sound quite plausible to argue that if the right of the Jews to return to Palestine is admitted on the grounds of ancient history, then the whole map of the world would have to be remade and chaos would ensue. But does the question really arise? Do the descendants of the Romans, for example, claim entry into England? Do they need England? Does their future, their very existence, depend on settling there? Or do the Arabs, for that matter, press to return to Andalusia in Spain? Is it a matter of life and death for them? The analogy is fallacious and misleading.

#### JEWISH POSITION UNIQUE

The great historic phenomenon of the Jewish return to Palestine is unique because the position of the Jewish people as a homeless people, and yet attached with an unbreakable tenacity to its birthplace, is unique. It is that phenomenon that has made the problem of Palestine an issue in international affairs, and no similar issue has ever arisen.

Were it not for the presence in Palestine today of over 600,000 Jews who refuse to be left in the minority position under Arab domination; were it not for the urge to settle in Palestine, of hundreds of thousands of homeless and uprooted Jews in Europe, in the Orient, and elsewhere; were it not for the hopes and efforts of millions of Jews throughout the world to reestablish their national home and build it up into a Jewish state, then the United Nations would not be faced with the problem of Palestine as it is now. The problem is real and pressing. It cannot be made to disappear by conjuring up nonexistent difficulties alleged to be involved in its solution.

When the distinguished representative from India asks how many Jews from outside there were in Palestine at certain dates—the operating words being “from outside”—I must confess I am somewhat baffled. I can give him the round figures for the Jewish population in those years—50,000 in 1900, 165,000 in 1930, 475,000 in 1939. Now it is about 630,000. Incidentally, there are more Jews in Palestine today than there were Arabs at the end of the First World War. But as to “Jews from outside,” I cannot say. In a way, they are all from outside; they are practically all immigrants.

There was but a tiny Jewish community in Palestine prior to 1880. In the early 1880's, the return started, almost simultaneously from Russia and Rumania, from Morocco and southern Arabia, and since then it has been practically continuous. It started because the Jews had always believed it to be their inalienable right to resettle Palestine. That right was subsequently internationally recognized and enshrined in the mandate. But quite apart from the mandate, nothing will eradicate, from the hearts of Jews, the conviction that it is their right to return. So in that deeper sense, they are from not outside at all but sons of the country.

By the way, my Arab countrymen make much of the fact that Palestine has already taken in so many immigrants. These immigrants, they said, were received by the Arabs.



We are very sorry, but we cannot concede them that credit. Conversely, they say that the Jews have settled in Palestine at the expense of the Arabs. That debit item, too, we cannot admit. There has been no receiving of Jewish immigrants by Arabs nor any settlement of Jews at the expense of the Arabs.

The Jews did not come as guests of anyone. They came in their own right. They received themselves and their brothers; and they did so by their own efforts and at the expense of no one else. Every acre of land we tilled was bought and had to be wrested from wilderness and desolation. Nothing was taken away—not one house, not one job. A tremendous amount of work, wealth, and well-being was presented to the Arab population.

The honorable representative from India also asked what was the age of the Jewish communities in Europe; and whether, since the Hitler regime had been crushed, the Jewish displaced persons would not be better advised to stay in Germany.

As to the age of European Jewry, it is on the whole quite venerable, but age has not made for security. Three-quarters of that Jewry—6,000,000 people—are no more. But let us go back into the past. Jews had lived in Spain for a whole millennium when, in 1492, they were dispossessed and expelled, and only those who gave up their Jewish identity and became Christians were allowed to remain. Jews have lived in Poland since the eleventh or twelfth century, but in the seventeenth century they were the victims of ferocious massacres. Then there were pogroms under the Russian czars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and in the last war, as we have just heard, came the final catastrophe. Nearly all of Polish Jewry—3,000,000 men, women, and children—were wiped out by the Nazis.

In Germany, the beginnings of Jewish settlement are traced back to the fourth century. But just six centuries ago, most of the Jews in Germany were destroyed in a wave of frenzied persecution which swept Europe. Then, by the twentieth century, German Jews had reached the pinnacle of emancipation and were largely assimilated. Yet they were hurled down into the abyss of degradation and death. Even converts to Christianity were not spared.

#### ANTI-SEMITISM SURVIVES HITLER

It is true that Hitler is gone now, but not anti-Semitism. He was the product, not the source of German Jew-hatred. Anti-Semitism in Germany and in many other parts of Europe is as rife as ever and potentially militant and fierce. Some governments tried their best to keep it down, but they have a very hard job in doing so. The very age of European Jewry serves only to accentuate the basic historic insecurity of Jewish life in the dispersion.

The honorable representative of India has also asked whether the Jewish displaced persons would be assimilable in Palestine. The answer is "Yes." They would be perfectly assimilable in the Jewish community there—the one Jewish community in the world with a self-contained economic system and an independent cultural life which is eager and able to receive and absorb them. He asked whether they would not be better assimilable in Germany. The answer is "No." You cannot settle in a graveyard, nor can you build a dwelling out of heaps of rubble.

Actually, most of the Jewish displaced persons are not from Germany itself, but from other countries. They are today in camps, or they otherwise continue as refugees because they cannot be resettled in Europe. They have now waited for 2 years, and in all this time no one has come forward with a solution to their problem. The clear recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee have remained on paper, and, to them, they have proved a mockery.

No one has offered an alternative to Palestine. But even if there were an alternative, they refused to be treated as mere chattels. They appeal to the world to realize that they form part of a people which has a national will of its own. They want to go to the only country where they will feel at home, both individually and collectively. Their problem is inseparable from the problem of Palestine. It is the problem of Palestine.

To treat the issue of Palestine in isolation from the immigration issue would make as much sense as to study the beating of a heart in disregard of blood circulation. A solution for the problem of Palestine which would ignore the Jewish claim and the need for immigration would solve nothing. Whoever undertook to implement such a solution would be driven back by the sheer impact of reality to face the problem of immigration.

I may perhaps interpose here an answer to the question put by the honorable representative of the Union of South Africa. He asked whether we wanted the question of the DP's in Europe examined solely in connection with Palestine, or in its general aspect. Our answer is that we believe that only in Palestine can the problem of these people be permanently and constructively solved, for only there can their lives be rebuilt on secure foundations and their homes become part of the home of the entire people.

The immigration issue is not confined to that of the Jewish displaced persons and unsettled refugees in Europe. Various Jewish communities in Europe are involved, as well as the Jews of the Arab and oriental countries. With regard to these, members of the United Nations have heard during the present session idyllic accounts of the conditions of complete equality and true brotherhood under which they live. The Jewish agency is naturally very intimately acquainted with the position, and the picture as we know it is totally different.

In most of these countries Jews are treated as second- or third-rate citizens. They live in perpetual fear of eruptions of fierce fanaticism, of which there have been tragic examples both in recent years and in the more remote past. Their lot ranges from precarious sufferance to active persecution. All formal statements under duress notwithstanding, their hopes and dreams are centered on Zion, and their youth has no other idea but to join its builders.

#### INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNITIES URGED

We very strongly urge that the position of these communities should form a part of the committee's investigations. But the most urgent problem is, of course, that of the displaced persons in Europe who are now on the brink of despair.

The present political crisis in Palestine is nothing but a clash between the dire needs of Jewish immigration and the current anti-immigration policy of the mandatory power. We were asked by the representative of India why public servants of the British Government in Palestine are today the victims of terrorist activity. The answer is because the white paper of 1939 is still in force. Terrorism is a pernicious outgrowth of a disastrous policy.

The Jewish agency has unreservedly condemned terrorist bloodshed, and in that attitude it is supported by the large majority of the organized Jewish community. Its harm to the Jews and to the Jewish future is far graver than to the government and people of the United Kingdom. But Jewish efforts to resist and check terrorism are continually frustrated because government action, in pursuance of the white paper, adds fuel to the fire. Our efforts will continue, but the representative of India will no doubt agree that Palestine is not the only country which has been afflicted with this most hateful disease.

Another question was why, in contradiction to the Emir Feisal's (Arab leader at 1919 peace conference) attitude, the Palestine

Arabs were now opposed to Jewish immigration. Since that question was put, we have heard a very able exposition of the Palestine-Arab case which fully covered the point. All I would add is that the uncompromising opposition to immigration now voiced does not invalidate the broader conception and bolder vision expressed in the Feisal-Weizmann agreement, which indicated a way of harmonizing Jewish and Arab aspirations within a wider framework, fully taking into account the independence then promised and now achieved by the Arabs in vast territories.

While I am on the point of promises, may I be permitted to recall that Sir Henry McMahon (British High Commissioner in Egypt during World War I) himself stated that Palestine was never included in the promises made by him to the Arabs, and that this was well understood at the time by the late King Hussein (King Hussein of Hedjaz, Sheriff of Mecca in 1915); also that Trans-Jordan, which was originally included in the Balfour Declaration, is today an Arab state.

Finally, the distinguished representative of India asked whether we recognized the distinction between a Jewish state and a Jewish national home. The answer is that we do, but perhaps not quite in the sense in which the question was meant. The establishment of the Jewish national home is a process. The setting up of a Jewish state is its consummation. That such consummation had been intended by the authors of the Jewish national home policy and that a way was definitely left open for its achievement was conclusively proved by the Palestine Royal Commission. The point was fully understood by those responsible for the 1944 statement on Palestine of the British Labor Party executive.

The Indian representative drew attention to the use in that statement of the term "Jewish national home" and not "Jewish state." But may I recall the words of Mr. Hugh Dalton, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when reporting on that statement of the executive to the Labor Party Conference. He urged common support, in consultation with the United States and Soviet Governments—and now I quote—"for a policy which will give us a happy, free, and prosperous Jewish state in Palestine." That was only 2 years ago.

The matter has a most vital bearing on the question of Palestine's independence. Unlike other mandates of category A, the declared object of which was to prepare the country for independence, the Palestine mandate has no such clause. Its primary purpose, in the words of the Royal Commission, is the establishment of the Jewish national home. But, of course, the ultimate goal must be independence and the mandate must be terminated.

So if, upon the termination of the Palestine mandate, its original purpose is to be fulfilled, if the future of the Jewish National Home is to be permanently secured, if the national interest of the Jewish people is to be harmonized with other interests and not sacrificed for their sake, then a Jewish State must come into being. A home, in the words of a British statesman, in the debate on the white paper for Palestine, is a place to which one is always free to come back. How is the national home to fulfill its primary functions of being open to Jews in need of it, if it is to remain forever subjected to non-Jewish sovereignty?

#### WOULD SECURE ARAB MINORITY

An Arab minority in a Jewish state will be secure, if for no other reason, because the state will forever remain surrounded by Arab countries with which it will be most vitally interested to be at peace; also because there will always be Jewish minorities in other lands.

But a Jewish minority in an Arab State will have no such security at all. It will be at the mercy of the Arab majority, which would be free from all restraints. To pro-



vide boldly, if I may put it that way, for the independence of Palestine as a country, without placing an equal emphasis on safeguarding the independence of the Jews as a people, is to tear the problem out of its real context and load the dice heavily against the Jews. The whole issue is likely to be vitiated in advance by such an approach.

The question of our living with the Arab peoples and the relationship of a Jewish State with them is, of course, the dominant question of the future. The distinguished representative of Poland has asked, in his second question, whether there have been attempts at collaboration between Jews and Arabs. The answer is, yes, there have been, on both sides. Arabs and Jews have cooperated and are cooperating successfully in the wide and varied fields of municipal, commercial, and labor affairs.

Arabic is taught in all Jewish secondary schools and in a large number of primary schools. The Jewish agency is particularly active in spreading knowledge of Arabic in the Jewish settlements and promoting friendly relations between them and their Arab neighbors. From personal observation and direct experience accumulated over a period of 41 years' residence in Palestine, I can affirm that there is nothing inherent in the nature of either the native Arab or the immigrant Jew which prevents friendly cooperation. On the contrary, considering the admitted great difference of background, they mix remarkably well.

By mixing I do not mean assimilation, for the Jew does not come to Palestine to assimilate to the Arab, but to develop his own distinctive individuality. Nor does he expect the Arab to assimilate to himself. What I mean is cooperation between a self-respecting Jew and a self-respecting Arab, and between the two communities.

Today the issue is overshadowed and practical cooperation is hampered by the political conflict over the country's future. The present official leaders of the Arab States, having achieved practically all they wanted with so little sacrifice, refuse to admit the legitimacy of the national aspirations of another people. At the head of the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine stands a man who, apart from other well-known aspects of his activity, was directly involved during the war in the Nazi policy of extermination of the European Jews.

Nevertheless, the Jews do not lose heart. They come to Palestine not to fight the Arab world, but to live at peace with it. They are not an outpost of any foreign domination. Their ambition is to integrate themselves into the modern structure of reviving Asia. They are an old Asiatic people returning to their home. At the same time, they are anxious to make their contribution to the great work of bridge building between modern Asia and the rest of the world.

#### PARTNERSHIP OF EQUALITY ASKED

Their intense experience in development within the narrow confines of Palestine is yielding results which may be of value to all who are interested in social and economic progress in the Middle East and beyond. But their true partnership with their neighbors can only be based upon equality of status and mutual respect. They claim what is the natural right of any people on the face of the earth—that as many of them as possible should live together in their own country, freely develop their civilization, make their contribution to the common stock of humanity, and be self-governing and independent. They cannot possibly surrender that claim, and for its attainment they appeal for the assistance of the entire family of nations.

In conclusion, may I answer the question of the distinguished delegation from Colombia on our views regarding the composition of the special committee. We would not differentiate between big and small powers,

nor would we suggest the exclusion of any government merely because it happens to have or may develop a policy on Palestine. Having a policy does not necessarily mean being directly concerned as an interested party. But we believe that parties directly concerned should not serve on the committee. That should exclude the United Kingdom, for reasons put, if I may say so, with unanswerable cogency by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom himself. We would also definitely exclude the Arab States, unless it were agreed that the committee should contain one Arab and one Jewish member.

#### STATEMENT BY BEN-GURION, MAY 12, 1947

I am grateful for the opportunity afforded to me to make a few supplementary remarks to the statement made by my colleague, Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

First of all, I would like to try to clarify further the nature of the problem which the mandatory power has placed before the United Nations, as this is essential for defining properly the terms of reference of the special committee. Last Friday, the representative of the United Kingdom, on behalf of his Government, declared that they tried for years to settle the problem of Palestine and had failed. They have, therefore, brought the problem to you in the hope that the United Nations would find a just solution.

This statement is open to misunderstanding. The mandatory power was not charged with discovering a solution to the Palestine problem and its failure was not in its inability to find the right solution. The mandatory power was charged by the League of Nations with the carrying out of a definite settlement. That settlement was set out and determined originally by the United Kingdom herself and subsequently confirmed by all the Allies and associated powers in the First World War, as well as by the Arabs through Emir Faisal and the Syrian Arab Committee. It was later embodied in the mandate approved by 52 nations and made international law.

The terms of that settlement, as decreed by the conscience and the law of nations, are common knowledge. It is the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people.

At the time the United Kingdom took over the mandate, the problem of Palestine had been clearly adjudicated and settled. The failure of the mandatory government, as admitted by the British representative, was a failure to carry out the settlement agreed upon and entrusted to it by the nations of the world. The failure became manifest with the introduction of a policy set forth in the white paper of 1939, which violated the most essential terms of the mandate and vitiated its entire purpose.

The white-paper policy, as you know, was condemned by the permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as incompatible with the mandate and with the pledges repeatedly given by the mandatory government itself. It was also denounced by the most eminent political leaders of the United Kingdom itself, including all the prominent members of the present Government of the United Kingdom, as a breach of faith. Only recently the white paper was again unanimously condemned by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The white-paper policy is responsible for the misery and deaths of a large number of Jews and for cruel acts of expulsion of Jewish refugees.

It is responsible for establishing in Palestine a police state without parallel in the civilized world. It is responsible for the introduction in Palestine of racial discrimination against Jews in land legislation. This is the real nature of the failure of the mandatory power.

Therefore, I venture to suggest that the first problem facing the United Nations is how to set right that failure and to insure that international obligations toward the Jewish population in Palestine are faithfully fulfilled.

The second point to which I would like to invite the attention of your committee is the fact that in Palestine you are faced not merely with a large and growing number of Jews, but with a distinct Jewish Nation. There are Jews and Jewish communities in many countries, but in Palestine there is a new and unique phenomenon—a Jewish Nation, with all the attributes, characteristic resources, and aspirations of nationhood. This nationhood springs from a long history and an uninterrupted connection for 3,500 years with its ancestral soil.

#### CANNOT ARREST PROGRESS

Palestine, which for the Jewish people has always been and will always remain the Land of Israel, was in the course of centuries conquered and invaded by many alien peoples, but none of them ever identified its national faith with Palestine. The Jewish Nation in Palestine is rooted not only in past history but in a great living work of reconstruction and rebuilding, both of a country and of a people.

The growth of this nation and its work of reconstruction must not and cannot be arrested—and this, for two reasons. One is the existence of large numbers of homeless Jews for whom there is no other salvation in the future except in their own national home. The second is that more than two-thirds of the land in Palestine is still wasteland, uncultivated, unsettled, and believed by the Arabs to be uncultivable. The history of our settlement in the last 70 years has shown that this land can be and is being cultivated by us.

This is not because we are more skilled or more capable than others, but because this is the only soil in the world which we call our own. We are not, like our Arab neighbors, in possession of vast underpopulated territories, like Iraq, Syria, Arabia, etc. We must therefore make use of every bit of free land in our country, even desert land.

Another observation is this: We are told that the Arabs are not responsible for the persecution of the Jews in Europe, nor is it their obligation to relieve their plight. I wish to make it quite clear that it never entered our minds to charge the Arabs with solving the Jewish problem, or to ask Arab countries to accept Jewish refugees. We are bringing our homeless and persecuted Jews to our own country and settling them in Jewish towns and villages. There are Arab towns and villages in Palestine—Nablus, Jenin, Ramleh, Narnucka, Libia, Terschicha. You will not find a single Jewish refugee in any of them. The Jews who have returned to their country are settled in Petah Tiqva, Rishon le Zion, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Daganla, the Negev, and other Jewish towns and villages built by us.

The return of the Jews to their country is a work of self-liberation and self-reconstruction, which is contributing to the reconstruction and liberation of the country as a whole.

My fourth and last remark is this. We have no conflict with the Arab people. On the contrary, it is our deep conviction that historically the interests and aspirations of the Jewish and Arab peoples are compatible and complementary. What we are doing in our country, in Palestine is reclaiming the land, increasing the yield of the soil, developing modern agriculture and industry, science, and art, raising the dignity of labor, insuring women's status of equality, increasing men's mastery over nature, and working out a new civilization based on human equality, freedom and cooperation in a world which we believe is as necessary and beneficial for our Arab neighbors as for ourselves.



A Jewish-Arab partnership, based on equality and mutual assistance, will help to bring about the regeneration of the entire Middle East. We Jews understand and deeply sympathize with the urge of the Arab people for unity, independence, and progress, and our Arab neighbors, I hope, will realize that the Jews in their own historic homeland, can under no conditions be made to remain a subordinate, dependent minority as they are in all other countries in the Diaspora. The Jewish nation in its own country must become a free and independent state with a membership in the United Nations. It is eager to cooperate with its free Arab neighbors to promote economic development, social progress, and real independence of all the Semitic countries in the Middle East.

I most earnestly suggest to your committee that the real, just, and lasting solution of the problem before you is a Jewish state and a Jewish-Arab alliance.

### The Situation in Palestine

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. OWEN BREWSTER

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 16 (legislative day of  
Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Stealing a March," published in this morning's Washington Post. The editorial deals with recent developments in Palestine and the Soviet attitude.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STEALING A MARCH

It is ironical that while the State Department has been counseling neutrality about Palestine the Soviet should have come out with a clear expression of its policy. It is a policy of alternatives. If a dual, democratic Arab-Jewish state proves impossible to bring about, then, says Mr. Gromyko, Russia would back a partition of Palestine between Arab and Jew. This was, of course, the conclusion of the famous British Peel report of 1937, and we ourselves have seen no plan that could improve upon it. Discarded at the time by the British, the report has gained more weight as time has gone on, particularly in view of the intervening Arab-Jew bitterness. Certainly there could be no settlement along the lines of the cantonization of Palestine heading up to a British Raj which was fathered by Britain's Mr. Morrison and our Mr. Grady. The British no less than the Americans must have been stunned by Mr. Gromyko's desertion of the sidelines.

Neutrality has hitherto been commended on the grounds that nothing must be done to injure the susceptibilities of the Arabs lest we thrust them into the arms of Russia. The whispers in Whitehall and the State Department have been working overtime on this theme. If the Arabs were left enraged, it is said, they would promptly embrace communism, and the Russians at a stroke would extend their sway even to the Moslems of India. The case wasn't even plausible. A united Arab world is more of an invention than a fact, even about Palestine, with the Lebanese stranger to the Saudi Arabians than to New Yorkers. Besides, they are run by pashas, landlords, and feudalists who would shudder at the thought

of leaning on Moscow. They know more about the Russians than their apologists. If Russia were to bestride the Middle East, the men who are now running the Arab League would be the first to be liquidated, perhaps on the ground that they had taken the place of the old Zionists as British agents. Mr. Gromyko exposes the hollowness of these whispered warnings of Arab-Soviet flirtations.

Actually the Russians in recent years have felt they had more in common with the Palestinian Jews. This is natural enough. In the first place, it is obvious now that the Zionists are no longer what the old Bolsheviks used to charge, viz, "the lackeys of British imperialists." Secondly, the advanced and progressive Jews of Palestine hold out much more promise to the Soviet Government than the backward Arabs controlled by the feudal cliques of kings and effendis. Moscow cannot forget the contribution that Jewish Palestine made to the war effort of the Allies. It was an invaluable workshop and Russia has a profound respect for the kind of technician that manned it.

But, aside from the fruits of Palestine industry, Palestine occupies a position of singular strategic importance. It is the virtual link between the three continents, lying on the Mediterranean within close touch of the Suez Canal, and it serves as the outlet and inlet for the trade of that area, chiefly Arabia's oil. Moreover, Zionist leadership is predominantly Russian in national origin. It seems to us, therefore, that there is nothing surprising in the Russian gambit at Flushing Meadow. Aside from discomfiting America and Britain, Russia may be disclosing where her interests really lie. At any rate, it is the kind of affirmativeness that long ago should have been forthcoming out of the State Department.

### Resignation From Congress

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. THOMAS D'ALESSANDRO, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. D'ALESSANDRO. Mr. Speaker, on May 6 last, I was honored by my fellow townsmen of the great historic city of Baltimore by being elected their mayor. As I am to be inaugurated next Tuesday, I, therefore, arise to tender my resignation as a Member of Congress, in which distinguished body I have had the honor to serve since 1938. Last November the voters of the Third Congressional District of Maryland elected me for the fifth consecutive time by an overwhelming majority. Naturally, I am deeply grateful to them as I am to the men and women of Baltimore who have chosen me to serve as their chief executive for the next 4 years.

Baltimore is a historic city filled with a rich heritage and a lofty tradition which entwines and threads about the Nation's early history. It is a thriving, prosperous municipality of more than 1,000,000 inhabitants. Situated on the Patapsco River, with the commanding Chesapeake Bay right off the city, a figurative stone's throw of Washington, the Nation's Capital, it is the gateway between the North and South. It has had a glorious past in the realm of culture, business, education, and patriotism. With the

realization of the planned improvements scheduled during the next 4 years, I am confident that it will have a wonderful future. In the character of its people—and I know it well—there is no room for prejudice, bigotry, hatred, or malice. There is, however, a fierce pride in the glory and achievements of the matchless contributions which many of its sons and daughters have made in the formation, preservation, and future greatness of our country.

My native city of Baltimore was incorporated in 1797, a decade before our founding fathers struck off at Philadelphia that immortal document—the Constitution; a little more than two decades when the immortal Jefferson was inspired to write the Declaration of Independence, and George Washington set forth as the head of the Continental Army to wrest independence for 4,000,000 people who were destined 171 years later to assume the leadership of the world. Now, I propose to return to my native city, humble in spirit, fully appreciating the magnitude of the task in this postwar era, but determined with strong resolution to devote all my time and talents to help make Baltimore one of the preeminent cities of the Nation.

It has been my pleasure, while a Member of Congress, to serve under two great Presidents, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman; and three eminent Speakers, Messrs. Bankhead, Rayburn, and Martin. I have been the recipient of much kindness at their hands. I shall always cherish to my dying day the strongest sentiments of deep and abiding friendship made while a Member of this body. Since I have been a Member of this distinguished body, I can truly say that I have never questioned the motives or integrity of any Member who may have differed with me on any political, economic, or social question of the day. And I can say, in all candor, that I have never favored any colleague except with gladness nor have I ever opposed any except with sadness.

As I leave here, I think of the critical problems which face our country in this hour. Our Nation, the guardian of democracy, is ascending the watchtower of the world in order to be prepared to safeguard the rights of free peoples. Two opposing philosophies are battling for the souls of modern man, democracy versus communism. This communistic assault upon mankind would chain, bind, and strap the bodies, minds, and souls of men and women while the forces of democracy, as we practice it, would give dignity to the human personality, endow it with rights which no government can take away, because God and not a human institution has bestowed them.

Sumner Welles, a fellow Marylander of mine, recently said;

The American people have entered the Valley of Decision. If the United States makes full use of the opportunity afforded by its position, its power, and its resources, it can determine the destinies of humanity. It can save western civilization.

With all my heart, I am convinced that divine providence has shaped our destiny so that we can become the liberator of mankind. It is no easy task. It is an uphill struggle. I am sure that wise



leadership here in Congress, in the State Department, and in the White House will bring about the high destiny that America must fulfill. It would be helpful if every American were to daily recall the words of Thomas Jefferson:

I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the minds of men.

And now I close with the fervent wish that we shall never give away the secrets of our atomic bomb until and unless security for us and the world is established. It was the product of the genius of our scientists, our engineers, our industrialists. We must be the guardians of its safety if we and our children are to live in this world. The future of the world and of ourselves lies within our grasp. We can defeat the much-discussed recession which economists so glibly talk about. We can do it by work, by production for the more we produce, the less will be the cost of living; the more things we can buy, the easier will be the building of our reserves—spiritual, financial, and physical.

Fellow Congressmen, I return to my city of Baltimore, enriched by my service and experience in this Chamber. I leave the pyramid of government to return to its base—the city. When the base, or the city, is strong, sound, and durable, the government at the top will be stable and enduring. There, in Baltimore, the metropolis city of Maryland, I shall labor in the interests of its people, confident that you will labor with vision and courage to set our Nation's problems aright.

### The Persistent Dream

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT**

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, May 16 (legislative day of  
Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Persistent Dream," which appeared in the Washington Star on Friday, May 16, 1947. I think it is one of the best editorials on the subject of a United States of Europe within the framework of the United Nations that has been written, that has come to my attention, this year.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE PERSISTENT DREAM

It is not a new idea that Winston Churchill preaches in calling for a United States of Europe. His latest address, formally launching a campaign in Britain to that end, is simply an eloquent affirmation of faith in an ancient dream. More important, it is a somber warning that the time is at hand when the peace of the Continent and the world demands that the dream take on substance; that it be translated into reality; that action be started on it now; not 10 years from now, or a century from now.

Nothing could be easier, of course, than to raise the usual realistic objections to this dream. It has had great and brilliant spon-

sors, off and on, for centuries past, but still the nations of Europe have seemed to cling more jealously than ever to their separate sovereignties. Politically, economically, historically, they have developed among themselves such rivalries, such antagonisms, such hates that the thought of uniting them has the appearance sometimes of being a wholly unattainable ideal for practical men in a hard and per-se world.

Yet it is a fact that the dream is persistent and that the movement to realize it is stronger today, and more widespread, than at any time in history. Mr. Churchill is not the only voice crying in the wilderness of unconnected and clashing sovereignties. His successor, Prime Minister Attlee, is on record as warning that the Continent must federate or perish. In France, in Italy, in the Lowlands, and elsewhere the same note is being sounded in mounting volume. The Government of Russia may be flatly against the idea, but Europeans are for it in ever-increasing numbers. Indeed, even in the New World, here in our own country, there is a great and growing sentiment for it, a sentiment summed up in the pending Fulbright-Boggs resolution to have Congress declare for a United States of Europe within the framework of the United Nations.

This dream persists for a good reason. In Mr. Churchill's words, divided Europe, because of its fragmentation into lands pulling against each other instead of together, has led itself and much of the outside world "into the pit of squalor, slaughter, and ruin." Today, as never before, there is a compulsion to unite, politically and economically, for common survival. The realistic objections are, in fact, unrealistic; worse, they add up to a defeatist invitation to catastrophe. A federated continent may be long in the making, but men with faith, every friend of a civilized and lasting peace, will keep on striving for it against all odds.

### State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1948

#### SPEECH OF

**HON. WALTER H. JUDD**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3311), making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, and for other purposes.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment to continue for a year Federal operation of the control towers at the 148 designated airports. I wish the subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce which has been investigating the whole matter of air safety and control had been able to complete its study and bring before us a well-considered over-all plan for development of airports, coordination of air traffic and proper allocation of costs among the Federal Government, States or municipalities, and those who use the airports, such as military planes, commercial planes, and private planes.

The subcommittee reports that it will be able to complete its work and report out basic legislation in the next few

months. Until we have enacted such legislation, I believe we must continue the present Federal support of the program as it has been developed by the Government during the war.

For instance, in my district is Wold Chamberlain Airport, which serves the Twin Cities and is already one of the busiest and most important in the country. As traffic to Asia expands, it should become the major port for air traffic to and from Alaska, Russia, and the Orient. Obviously, uniformity in signals and control is as essential for international air traffic as it is for sea navigation, lighthouses, and so forth. For Congress to reject the pending amendment would leave municipalities with the impossible task of making other arrangements in the 6 weeks between now and June 30, the end of the fiscal year. Some municipalities could take over the support of control towers; many could not. The net result would be disruption of the present efficient air-control system of the Nation. From the standpoint of our national defense alone, I cannot believe such action would be the part of wisdom or of economy, and I hope the amendment to continue the program for 1 year will be adopted.

### Completion of Veterans' Temporary Reuse Housing Program

#### SPEECH

OF

**HON. JOHN J. RILEY**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2780) to amend section 502 (a) of the act entitled "An act to expedite the provision of housing in connection with national defense, and for other purposes."

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Chairman, this bill, H. R. 2780, as reported by the House Committee on Banking and Currency would authorize the appropriation of funds to complete all suspended units covered by remittent contract with educational institutions and local agencies except those on which the Government has expended no funds, an estimated 1,622 units, and those on which the Government expenditures have been incurred only in dismantling or transportation, an estimated 2,108 units. This amendment would restore the funds for those 2,108 units. There is still no provision for the 1,622 units.

These 2,108 housing units have been dismantled. Parts of them are in one place and parts in another. The various colleges and communities have prepared the land and provided the utilities—on the sites—they have made their plans to use these houses. The housing, which this amendment would provide, is largely for the use of veterans who wish to complete their education at either high school or college. With the married veterans, time is of the essence. They have to obtain their education now or forego the opportunity. They cannot wait a