



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

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

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

Reel
182

Box
67

Folder
725b

The Jewish State in Palestine, 1947.

The Jewish State in Palestine

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

Printed in the Congressional Record of May 16, 1947

*Not printed
at Government
expense*

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1947

745246-21234

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:

.

745246—21234

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.

PLEADED OVERCUTLOOK

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 to-day 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

Scouts, 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."

745246-21234

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 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.

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 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 30 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 300 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 I tell them, 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 displaced 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 TACED

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 Faisal'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 Faisal-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 1918); 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 co-operation. 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 32 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.

745346—21134

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, 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.

743346-21234

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 105th St. and Ansel Rd.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.
RABBI

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

Vol. XXXIII

May 18, 1947

No. 31

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

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

THE TEMPLE BULLETIN

Published weekly, except during the summer vacation,
by Tifereth Israel Congregation, East 105th and Ansel
Road, Cleveland 8, O. Subscriptions 50¢ per Annum.
GA 0150 Member Union of American Hebrew Cong

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, *Rabbi*

JULIUS J. NODEL

Ass't Rabbi, Editor

Lillian Berman Miller
Director of Religious Education

Harry A. Levy, *Executive Secretary*

Residence: FA, 3950

Entered as second class matter November 12, 1931
at the Post Office, Cleveland, Ohio
under the Act of March 3, 1879

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 Tiv 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 Nadel 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 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 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 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 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 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.

THE TEMPLE GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGES THE FOLLOWING CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE PRAYER BOOK FUND:

In memory of grandmother, Minnie Trattner Berk by Rhoda Frances Cohn. In memory of parents, Bessie and Karl Greenberg by Mrs. W. W. Sirak, Mrs. D. L. Lazerick and Mrs. Max L. Spitz. In memory of Charles K. Sunshine by Mrs. Kate S. Goldstein.

In honor of marriage of Joseph M. Cowan and Tessie Alice Spero by Mr. and Mrs. S. Cowan.

TO THE FLOWER FUND:

In memory of Dr. Morris Coplan by Mrs. Camillo Taussig and Mrs. Emil Taussig. In memory of David Rothchild of Columbus, Georgia by Mrs. J. B. Kohn. In memory of David Rothchild by Mrs. Edna Siegel.

In memory of David Rothchild by Mr. and Mrs. D. N. Myers and Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Klinckman.

TO THE LIBRARY FUND:

In memory of Charles K. Sunshine by Mrs. Joseph E. Mayer. In memory of parents, Meyer and Ida Joseph by Mrs. Louis Gibbs and Mrs. A. G. Schock. In memory of uncle, Charles K. Sunshine by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Keller.

In honor of 70th birthday of Mrs. Isaac Stone by Mrs. Joseph E. Mayer.

TO THE SOPHIE AUERBACH SCHOLARSHIP FUND:

In honor of birthday of Mrs. Sophie Auerbach by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Buckman. In memory of birthday of mother, Fannie K. Weil by Mr. and Mrs. Irving K. Heller. In honor of 10th anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph E. Stein by Mr. and Mrs. Irving K. Heller.

In memory of David Rothchild by Mr. and Mrs. Harry Heiner. In memory of parents, Abe and Lottie Krohn by Mrs. S. H. Stecker. In memory of Dr. Morris Coplan and Edith Weil Davis by Sadie and Corna Stone.

In memory of Louis Horkheimer by Mrs. Henry Auerbach. In memory of Issy Loeb by Mrs. Stella Syde. In memory of Issy Loeb by Esther Einstein.

In memory of Issy Loeb by Nathan Loeser. In honor of recovery of A. M. Luntz by Mrs. George W. Furth.

TO THE RICHARD ALLAN FISHEL HONOR KEY AWARD:

Contribution by Mr. and Mrs. Jack Lewis and Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Haas. In honor of 50th birthday of Clarence Fishel by Mr. and Mrs. Al J. Zveig. In honor of 50th birthday of Clarence Fishel by Mr. and Mrs. Edward A. Schwartz.

In honor of 50th birthday of Clarence Fishel by Mrs. William Deutsch, Mrs. Ethel Ripper and Mrs. Phil L. Stern. In honor of 50th birthday of Clarence Fishel by Helen and Joe Hartzmark and Charlotte and Louis Herman. In honor of 50th birthday of Clarence Fishel by Mr. and Mrs. Alfred A. Weiskopf.

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

In Memoriam

The Temple notes with deep sorrow the passing of:

YETTA SFERO

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. Pion)

5

VOL. XIX • 1947

THE ANGLO-PALESTINE BANK LIMITED

**places at the disposal of its clients forty-four
years of banking experience, the network of its
branches in Palestine, the services of its office in
London and of its correspondents the world over.**

BARCLAYS BANK (DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS)

**BANKERS TO THE PALESTINE GOVERNMENT,
AGENTS FOR THE PALESTINE CURRENCY BOARD,
AUTHORIZED DEALERS IN FOREIGN CURRENCIES**

**JERUSALEM, TEL AVIV, HAIFA, JAFFA, NABLUS, GAZA
NAZARETH, HADAR HACARMEL, ACRE, RAMAT GAN**

C Y P R U S :

NICOSIA, FAMAGUSTA, LIMASSOL, LARNACA, KYRENIA

AND OVER 500 BRANCHES OVERSEAS

HEAD OFFICE : 54, LOMBARD STREET, LONDON E. C. 3

AFFILIATED TO BARCLAYS BANK LTD.



PALACE HOTEL GSTAAD SWITZERLAND

Ideal Holiday Spot in the
Bernese Oberland. — 3,300 feet.

First Class Throughout. — Best Food and Service
Three Tennis Courts — Swimming Pool
Spacious Grounds — Dancing & Entertainment

For all information apply to
Mr. E. SCHERZ, Manager



HASSNEH

INSURANCE COMPANY
OF PALESTINE LTD.

Sum Assured (Life Branch)	LP. 4,100,000
Total Annual Income for 1946	LP. 483,200
All Funds	LP. 640,000

Head Office: Hassneh Building,

44 Lillienblum St., TEL-AVIV. Phone 44-31/2. P.O. B. 805



J. CEGLA & CO. LTD.

IMPORTERS • EXPORTERS • SHIPPING AGENTS

Leading in
AGRICULTURAL SUPPLIES

FERTILIZERS • MANURE • PEAT
GUANO • INSECTICIDES • CHEMICALS

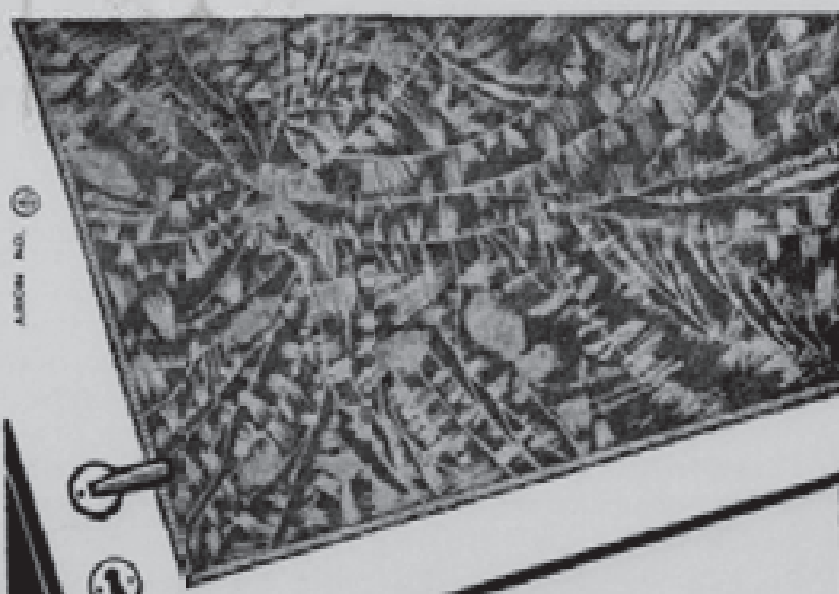
LOCUST BEANS (CAROBS) • FISHMEAL
OIL SEEDS • OILCAKES • MEAT MEAL

EXPORTERS OF "PALGUM" CAROB GUM OF
SUPERIOR QUALITY AND HIGH VISCOSITY

HEAD OFFICE:

25, ROTHSCHILD BLVD. **TEL AVIV** PHONE: 2182-5757
CABLES: CEGLACO P.O. B. TEL AVIV 1461

BRANCHES & REPRESENTATION throughout PALESTINE & MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES



LIGHT and PRIVACY behind
**PHOENICIA
FROST GLASS**

THE PALESTINE WINDOW GLASS WORKS "PHOENICIA" LTD.
HAIFA

PALESTINE RAILWAYS

**A PLEASANT APPROACH TO HISTORICAL SIGHT-SEEING IN PALESTINE AND THE
SUREST APPROACH TO SAFE, CHEAP AND EXPEDITIOUS HANDLING OF GOODS**

**REGULAR PASSENGER AND GOODS SERVICES WITHIN PALESTINE
AND WITH ALL NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST.**

**THE PORTS OF PALESTINE, HAIFA, JAFFA AND TEL-AVIV,
ARE THE GATEWAYS TO THE MIDDLE EAST.**

**AMPLE UP-TO-DATE FACILITIES FOR THE HANDLING OF CARGO, EXCELLENT
RAIL AND ROAD CONNECTIONS WITH THE CITIES OF PALESTINE
AND WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST.**

USE THE RAILWAYS AND PORTS OF PALESTINE

TEEPOL "X" FOR INDUSTRY

A SHELL PRODUCT

The newest and most interesting synthetic detergent for use in the following industries: —

TEXTILE (COTTON, SILK,
DYEING WOOL, RAYON, etc.)
LAUNDRY
LEATHER and FUR
ENGINEERING
RUBBER

TEEPOL 'X' is a sulphonate product preventing the deposit of Lime—Soaps in the process of Washing, Dyeing and Wet-Finishing.

TEEPOL 'X' which is an Ester Salt, is a surface active material comprising the sodium salts of the higher secondary alkyl sulphates, and is therefore anion active.

TEEPOL 'X' is also successfully used in the COSMETIC industry, for the manufacture of shampoos, and is an excellent medium for the cleaning of equipment in the FOOD industry.

For details concerning any particular application in which you may be interested, please apply to

THE SHELL COMPANY of PALESTINE LTD.
JERUSALEM TEL-AVIV HAIFA



JERUSALEM ELECTRIC & PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATION LTD.

POWER

HEATING

ELECTRICITY

FOR ALL PURPOSES IS AVAILABLE IN
JERUSALEM, BETHLEHEM, RAMALLAH
AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS

LIGHTING

COOKING

Full information regarding tariffs, etc., may be obtained from

LOCAL OFFICE
JULIAN'S WAY
P. O. B. 185

LONDON OFFICE
66, QUEEN STREET
E. C. 4

**SYSTEM: A. C. 3 Phase, 50 Cycles distributed at 6,600
or 380 and 220 volts**

PALESTINE AND MIDDLE EAST

PUBLISHED MONTHLY • No. 5 • VOLUME XIX • MAY, 1947 • TEL-AVIV

Publishers: Mischar w'Teasla Co. Ltd. • Editorial Office: 57 Nachlat Benyamin St. Tel Aviv • Telephone 2497

EDITOR: B. TOROKOR • ASST. EDITOR: FAY DORON

UNITED NATIONS PRELUDE

THE 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 councils 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 spokesman 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

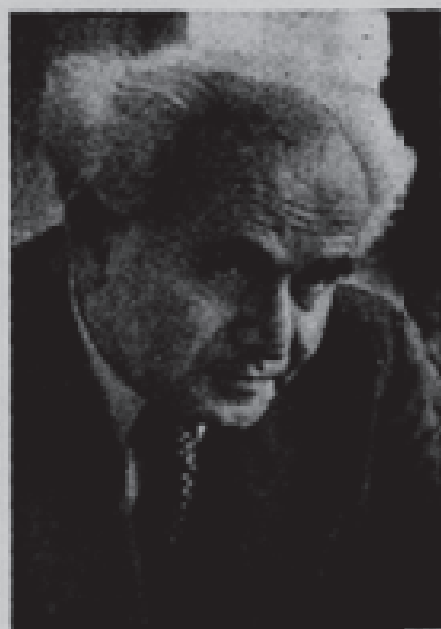
SEND A COPY OF THIS MAGAZINE TO YOUR FRIENDS

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 51 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 1947 — 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 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 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.

SUBSCRIBE
TO "PALESTINE AND MIDDLE EAST"

THE RIGHT TO HOME AND FREEDOM

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

BY MOSHE SHERTOK

HEAD, POLITICAL DEPT., JEWISH AGENCY



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. 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 powers. 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" — Rev. Military Deportation Party on board captured Refugee Ship in Haifa (Photo: Rosenbluth)





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.

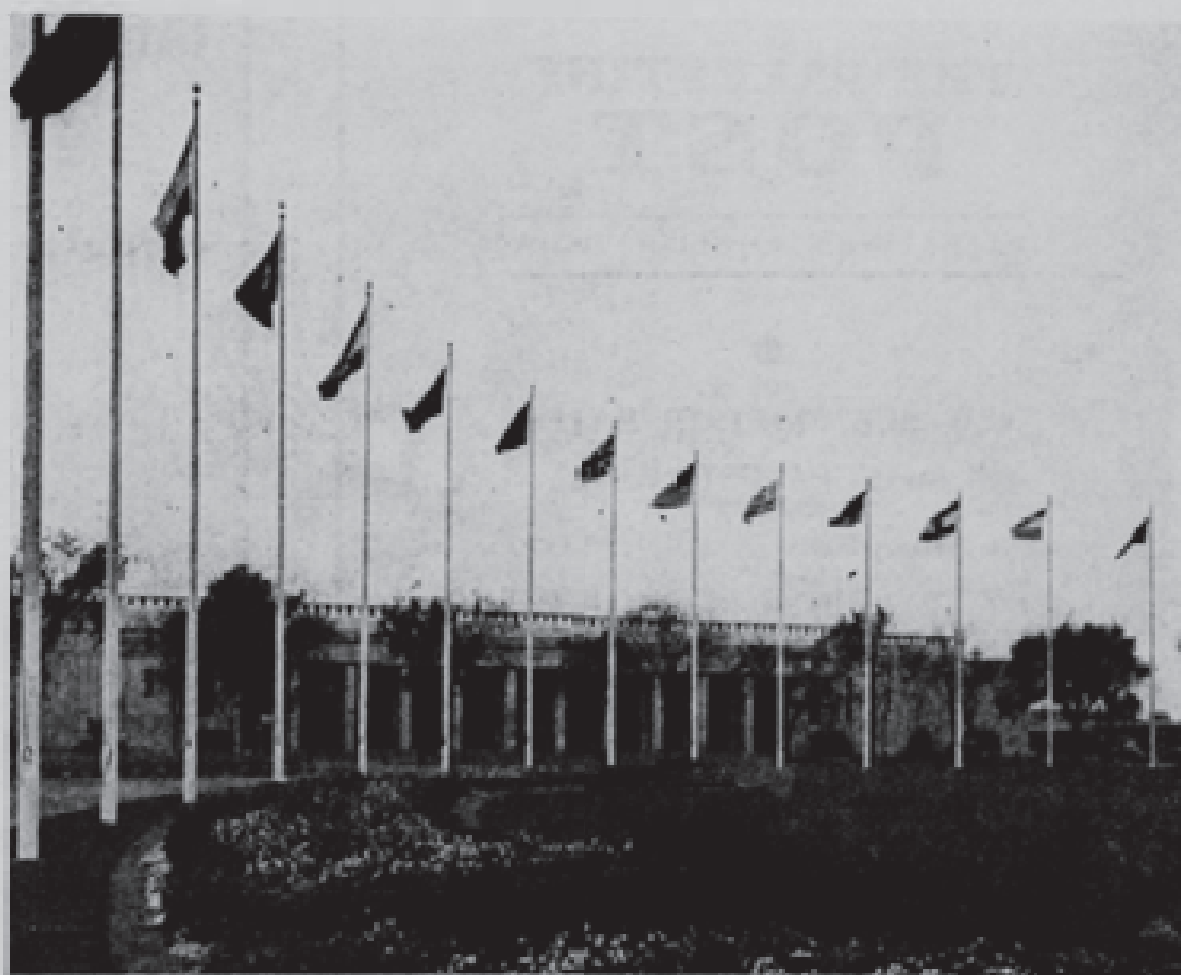
Looking back over the three long weeks of endless debate and bickering, however, the Jewish observer may derive a certain feeling of relief. After the first few days of bitter disappointment, when the representatives of the five Arab States had the freedom of the floor with no one to gainsay their statements 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 Organization 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.

THE PALESTINE POST

PALESTINE'S ENGLISH DAILY

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES: IN PALESTINE

3 months	LP. 1.600
6 months	LP. 3.200
12 months	LP. 6.250

ABROAD

3 months	£ 1.14.0	\$ 7.00
6 months	£ 3. 8.0	\$ 13.50
12 months	£ 6.16 0	\$ 27.00

CHEVRA LESHIKUN AMAMI LIMITED

(Popular Housing Company Ltd.)

21 MONTEFIORE ST., TEL-AVIV

Tel. 4463/5696

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.

**BRING PALESTINE HOME TO
YOUR FRIENDS ABROAD—
Order Gift Subscriptions
to the "Palestine and Middle East"**

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				LP. Mils	LP. Mils
AUTHORISED			CASH IN HAND AND AT BANKS		1,099,372.973
10,000 Ordinary Shares of LP. 5 each	50,000.000		INVESTMENTS — at cost or marked price		
21,000 6% Cumulative Preference Shares			whichever lower:		
"A" and "B" of LP. 5 each	103,000.000		British Government Securities	130,581.250	
10,000 5% Cumulative Preference Shares			Palestine Securities and other Investments	18,940.088	169,421.338
"C" of LP. 5 each	95,000.000				
	<u>250,000.000</u>		SUBSIDIARY COMPANY —		
ISSUED AND PAID	Issued	Paid	Paid o/s of 295 shares of LP. 5 each	1,243.750	
6,670 Ordinary Shares of LP. 5 each	33,350.000	33,350.000	Advances	838.695	2,082.445
3,614 6% Cumulative Preference Shares					
"A" of LP. 5 each	28,079.000	28,079.000 ^(*)	BILLS DISCOUNTED —		
15,373 6% Cumulative Preference Shares			less interest received in advance	155,305.773	
"B" of LP. 5 each	76,865.000	19,684.639 ^(*)	LOANS, ADVANCES AND SUNDRY		
455 5% Cumulative Preference Shares			ACCOUNTS	553,534.328	760,840.101
"C" of LP. 5 each	2,275.000	2,275.000			
	<u>140,569.000</u>	<u>83,379.639</u>	PROPERTY :—		
GENERAL RESERVE		25,000.000	Building at Haifa and Safes		
DOUBTFUL DEBTS RESERVE		8,417.367	after depreciation	29,049.913	
CURRENT ACCOUNTS, DEPOSITS and			50% Shares in "Binyanei Bank"		
SUNDY CREDITORS		1,890,829.789	Ltd. (T. A.) at cost	19,671.000	48,720.913
GUARANTEES AND ENGAGEMENTS			FURNITURE — after depreciation		3,164.931
ON BEHALF OF CUSTOMERS— see contra		551,353.973	LIABILITIES OF CUSTOMERS FOR		
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT			GUARANTEES and ENGAGEMENTS		551,353.973
Balance at 1.1.1946	14,027.248		— see contra		
Dividend declared by Annual					
General Meeting of 16.6.1946					
LP. 4,515.258					
Bonuses and					
Donations — 6,439.355	16,954.613				
	<u>3,972.633</u>				
PROFIT FOR THE YEAR	30,923.340	21,995.615			
		<u>2,582,974.774</u>			
BILLS, MORTGAGES ETC. FOR SECURITY			BILLS MORTGAGES etc. for SECURITY		
and COLLECTION — see contra	1,131,331.008		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.

NOTE : — Guarantees have been given by the Bank in respect of 502 Policies of "Habitation Hahadati" Shel Haveri 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.
Certified Accountants—Auditors

THE PALESTINE CENTRAL TRADE & INVESTMENT CO. LTD.

SHARE CAPITAL LP. 450,000. —

FOUNDED BY: THE CONSOLIDATED PIPE AND TRADING AND MANUFACTURING CO. LTD.
IRON STORES LTD. TIMBER STORES LTD.

Associated Firms
and Merchants:

JACOB BOTKOVSKY LTD.
L. GLUCKMANN LTD.
GERSHON GUREVITZ
MANN & BERMAN LTD.
ARON NETANEL

H. PEARLIN LTD.
N. PECKER LTD.
M. PERLMANN (est. 1880) LTD.
EL. SAKER LTD.

SVIRSKY BROS.
H. TAIBER
SALOMON VENEZIA & CO.
HENRY ZIMMERMAN LTD.

Sole Distributors of the products of THE PALESTINE PORTLAND CEMENT WORKS LTD.

ZION INSURANCE COMPANY LIMITED

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1946

LIABILITIES				ASSETS	
	LP. Mils	LP. Mils	LP. Mils	LP. Mils	LP. Mils
SHARE CAPITAL	Authorised in				
	Shares of LP. 1.—	Issued	paid		
Founders' Shares	100.—	100.—	100.—		
5% Non-Cumulative Participating Preference Shares "A" Redeemable at the option of the Company	10,000.—	10,000.—	10,000.—		
Ordinary Shares	49,900.—	30,856.—	30,607.—		
	<u>60,000.—</u>	<u>40,956.—</u>	<u>40,707.—</u>		
GENERAL RESERVE			20,000.—		
OTHER RESERVE ACCOUNTS			8,000.—		
LIFE INSURANCE FUND			167,948,291		
FIRE, ACCIDENT, MARINE AND GENERAL INSURANCE FUND			52,462,340		
CLAIMS ADMITTED OR INTIMATED					
Fire, Accident, Marine and General Insurance	26,482,463				
Less Advances	4,208,569				
	<u>22,273,894</u>				
Life Assurance	947,792		22,222,658		
BALANCES DUE TO OTHER INSURING COMPANIES			10,596,643		
DEPOSITS BY RE-INSURING COMPANIES					
For Life Assurance Fund		37,294,399			
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		
			<u>387,010,187</u>		
					<u>387,010,187</u>

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 160 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.

• • •

SHIKUN AMAMI LTD. Housing Co.
HAIFA BUILDING CO. LTD. • HAIFA LANDS LTD.

• • •

HEAD OFFICE:

SOLEL BONEH BUILDING, 65, HARBOUR ST., HAIFA.
P. O. B. 562 TELEPHONE 4311-15

BRANCH OFFICES:

39, LILIENTHAL 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. 129
PHONE 6911-16

BRANCHES:

HAIFA, P. O. B. 295,
PHONE 4711

JERUSALEM, P. O. B. 428,
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

INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES:

SHEMEN LTD. / HAMGAPER LTD. / PALESTINE
PORTLAND CEMENT WORKS LTD. / HATZAMAR
LTD. / MIN'AL LTD. / FLOUR & FODDER MILL /
HAKHAVAL 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

A F F I L I A T I O N S:

HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI
(FINANCES & INVESTMENTS) CO. LTD.

CONSUMERS' COOPERATION
FUND LTD.

HAMASHBIR-LAZARKHAN
LTD.

STEEL BROTHERS & CO. LTD.

(INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND)

DIRECTORS

J. K. MICHIE
Chairman Managing

T. T. McCREATH
Managing

SIR JOHN TAIT
Managing

W. T. HOWISON

R. H. E. LANGFORD-JAMES

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

EAST INDIA MERCHANTS

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

BRANCHES: INDIA, BURMA, CHINA, CEYLON, THAILAND, CUBA
PALESTINE, TRANSJORDAN, SYRIA, THE LEBANON AND ITALY

MILLERS, PRODUCERS AND EXPORTERS, IMPORTERS SHIPPING AND INSURANCE AGENTS

MANAGING AGENCIES:

INDO-BURMA PETROLEUM CO. LTD.
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:

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

IN PALESTINE, TRANSJORDAN, SYRIA AND LEBANON:

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

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

BRANCH OFFICES:

PALESTINE
TRANSJORDAN
LEBANON
ITALY

JERUSALEM & TEL AVIV
AMMAN
BEIRUT
MILAN



ACROSS THE WORLD

In a world
of their own, TWA Starliners are
bringing the utmost in luxurious air transpor-
tation to travellers throughout the world. Flying
3,000,000 miles a month, TWA offers you
twenty years of flying experience
up where the world is one.

TWA
TRANS WORLD AIRLINE

1, PRINCESS MARY AVE., TELEPHONE 4802
JERUSALEM



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

These International Councils 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

the program announced yesterday by the Zionist organization to the Peace Conference and we intend them to moderate and prosper. We will do our best, as far as we are able concerned, to help them through. We will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home. I look forward, and so do people with me, look forward, to a future in which we will be

There is a desperate urgency about this fragile human problem, my friends, which breaks on the

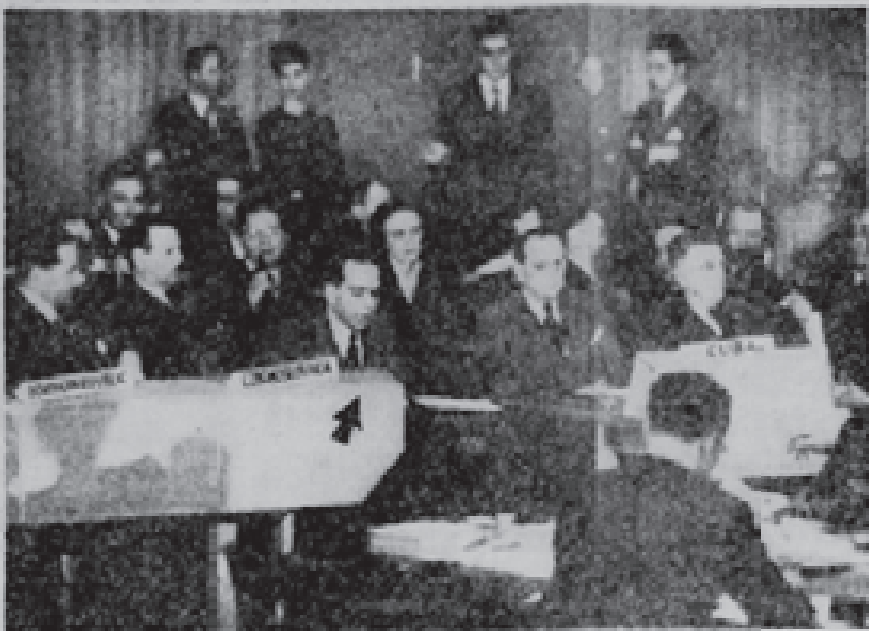
I would not ask the question and then the relation in the terms of reference which is may be giving this committee of inquiry. Dr. Milson has referred to the homeless Jews in Europe. If he would be asked as to why men should be asked as to why men should be asked as to why men should look into the condition of the homeless Jews in Europe, I would tell 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?

10

BASEBALL!
"OLD FASHION"
Today, 7:00 P. M. vs. **PHILADELPHIA**
Ladies' Day vs. **PHILADELPHIA**
BOSTON vs. **PHILADELPHIA**
GIANTS

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.

Mr. Henry Cattani, a member of the Arab Higher Committee, presented the case for the Arabs at the Lake Success conference. He stated that the Arabs had been living in Palestine for centuries and that they had a strong sense of national identity. He also pointed out that the British had been in Palestine for many years and that they had been responsible for the suffering of the Arabs.

On the 15th November 1947, the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration without the consent of the Arab people. The Arabs had been living in Palestine for centuries and they had a strong sense of national identity. They had been suffering from the British for many years and they had been responsible for the suffering of the Arabs.

Picture of Palestine Prior to the First World War. It may be well to start by describing 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 affect the Arab character of Palestine. It had been inhabited for several centuries by Arabs, its customs, traditions and culture were Arab. There are the factors on which the Arab character of Palestine is based.

Jews in Palestine in 1914. Other small communities lived in the region of the Arabs, including Palestinians and some Arab communities. Jews, Armenians, Kurds and others. In all these Arab communities, 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 4 to 5 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, aspirations or hostility to the Arabs. On the contrary, Jews retaining their religious, cultural and racial characteristics, the Jews merged harmoniously in the Arab character. 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 of the present.

Particularly, the Arabs of Palestine, like the Arabs of neighboring countries, were not then dependent on the arms of foreign, 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 were the highest executive, legislative and administrative personnel.

Notwithstanding their enjoyment of full political rights, the Arabs wished to establish a Jewish Arab state independently of the Ottoman Empire. There were already several undertakings aimed at the achievement of this object. These undertakings led to the surface and gained strength and violence during the First World War.

Pledges. The Allied Governments encouraged their 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 Sherif 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 Sherif of Mecca."

particular institutions, they are only concerned to insure by their support and by adequate assistance the regular working of government and administrative machinery.

One of the matters which the special committee has to 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 aided and encouraged by the assistance 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 War.

Notwithstanding the pledges of Great Britain and the Allied Governments, notwithstanding Wilson's Fourteen Points, notwithstanding Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, notwithstanding the will of the country which expressed recognition of the people of Palestine, the mandate was imposed in a manner violating the Balfour Declaration.

One of the points which the special committee will have to consider will be the implementation 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 derives its force and validity. It says, "It is the duty of the Mandatory to secure the well-being of the inhabitants of the territory."

Value of Pledges. I do not wish to comment on the denial or breaking of pledges made to the Arabs on the basis of making conditional promises. I wish to emphasize, however, that the claims of the Arabs for recognition of their independence 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 national and inalienable rights. The value of these pledges, however, is twofold.

First, in the first place, they imply any contemporary assurance given to the Jews by the Balfour Declaration is to be read as meaning more than a cultural bond. Second, in the second place, these promises show that the administration of the country is a matter of international law, and contrary to the wishes of the large majority of the inhabitants, it is a glaring injustice.

I have mentioned the Balfour Declaration in it at the root of the trouble. In the course of the problem now which you are studying, 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, or 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 effect of this document.

Out of the conflict of the First World War there emerged certain high principles which were to govern the organization of nations, national relations and were to be the basis of the structure of modern civilization. The principles proclaimed by President Wilson—that is, the rejection of all forms 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 state which formerly governed them there should be applied the principle that their well-being and development was a sacred trust of civilization. Moreover, in postulating 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 culture as independent nations can be permanently 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 of the League of Nations, notwithstanding the will of the country which expressed recognition of the people of Palestine, the mandate was imposed in a manner violating the Balfour Declaration.

One of the points which the special committee will have to consider will be the implementation 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 derives its force and validity. It says, "It is the duty of the Mandatory to secure the well-being of the inhabitants of the territory."

A further issue which the special committee would have to consider is that the mandate was imposed in a manner violating the Balfour Declaration. The mandate was imposed in a manner violating the Balfour Declaration. The mandate was imposed in a manner violating the Balfour Declaration.

In other words, the Mandate that was also based on promises and they have led to the present situation. I want to state that the cultural development of the Arabs and Jews in Palestine is at least as advanced as in any other Arab state.

"A History of Trouble." There is, therefore, no justice in the denial to the people of Palestine of the elementary rights of self-government and independence. I, with a view to continuing this injustice it is argued that the question of the mandate must be decided between Arabs and Jews, and even if that were an all right, it is an issue which carries any controversy down to the whole history of the world's affairs in a series of trouble, disorders and bloodshed.

Another point which we must not forget is the effect of the implementation 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 power of a mandatory does not legally involve the exercise of the power or body delegating such power. The mandatory cannot, it said today to be exercising its powers on behalf of the League a body which has ceased to exist. Article 22 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 maintaining in full force in 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 obligation 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 Revoked. They are again in conflict with the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted at its sitting on the 11th of December, 1947, which disapproved of the establishment of displaced persons camps 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 of the indigenous population of non-immigrating countries.

Another term of reference would be an inquiry into the practical application of the mandate, which in our contention would show:

- (a) That it was not executed within the scope and for the purposes contemplated by Article 22 of the Covenant;
- (b) That it was not executed for the benefit of the original inhabitants of the country;
- (c) And that the 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 Criticism British. 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 imposed and facilitated under the mandate is threatening the very existence of the Arab nation. It will show how this immigration has led to trouble and bloodshed which have killed the Holy Land. It will show how the British Government is giving administrative advice and assistance to another British Government ruling over the Palestine Government. It will show how on these can be found self-governing institutions and much less of any form of the development of such institutions. It will show how many lives were lost as a result of the policy of entering the mandate and how much money has been spent on police posts and prisons as compared with schools and hospitals.

Another aspect of the mandate will show how, 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 last endeavor 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 question is 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 wherever 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 the 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 religious problem. The problem of the refugees and displaced persons is not limited to any special religion or race. It is a humanitarian problem and it is a global issue and concern of all civilized people to treat it as such. Indeed, this has been done, as is evidenced by the establishment of the International Refugee Organization. The taking of the refugee problem with Palestine has made, and would continue to make, 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 Committee, an 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 Jewish 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 monstrous or monstrous map would take place. It would mean the redrawing of the map of the whole world. It has been said that you cannot get 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?

There are the observations which we wished to set before you at this stage. I hope I have succeeded. Without oversteering 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 fortunate country enjoy the blessing of a democratic government. It is high time, also, that a policy which has been impairing 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 achieved. We are asking nothing more than what each of you would wish for his own country, nothing more than what is advocated 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

WASHINGTON, May 9.—An appeal by the Egyptian Government for an \$18,000,000 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.

EGYPT FAILS TO GET LOAN

U. S. State Department Says Legal Authority Is Lacking

WASHINGTON, May 9.—An appeal by the Egyptian Government for an \$18,000,000 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

By HENRY J. BROWN
The economic capital of the German Communist movement is being moved to Frankfurt for the coming year, according to the plans of the German Communist Party, which is expected to be completed by the end of the year.

The economic capital of the German Communist movement is being moved to Frankfurt for the coming year, according to the plans of the German Communist Party, which is expected to be completed by the end of the year.

WESSEN, Germany, May 8 (AP)—German Communists said today they would campaign intensively against the economic merger of the British and United States zones.

The Communist leaders expressed belief that the British and American moves 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 using their power 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 422 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 benevolence to the poor of England. The reward was by business concerns and welfare groups when they contribute to the Greater New York Fund in the satisfaction of knowing that they have done their part in helping support organizations and institutions that annually benefit more than 2,500,000 men, women and children of every race and creed.

This year the Fund seeks \$10,000,000 from business as its share in the overall contribution need of \$12,000,000, required by the 422 participating agencies.

Gen. Lucius D. Clay, United States Military Governor, said "we are making every effort to advance the economic 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 83,811,150, would have to import food for 10 per cent of its people—or 27,000,000 persons—even if the managers to bring for agriculture back to the productivity of pre-war years.

The present density of the population in the four zones was 120 persons a square kilometer (320 square miles), compared with 125 in 1919. Only Saxony, England and the Netherlands have a greater density of population. The British zone is the most densely populated with 128 persons a square kilometer.

APPEAL JOB DECISION

10 Non-Union News Employees Charge Union Bars Them

MIDWOLLA, 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 Clifford 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 union the union, under the terms of a closed shop agreement, was denying their discharge. They declared willingness to join the union but said they were unable because membership is open only to sons of members.

In dropping 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 Inflation Loan

MOSCOW, May 8 (AP)—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 as quickly over as 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 tending 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. MILLER
Special to The New York Times

STUTTGART, Germany, May 8.—It is understood that considerable quantities of uranium are now being mined under joint Czechoslovak-Russian supervision at Jachymov (Pachinostahl) 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 refined from the pitchblende is transported to the Soviet Union.

The Jachymov deposits are, however, 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.

Jachymov is of exceptional importance as pitchblende is the only known natural source of uranium in Europe. It is not known how much is now being extracted from the Jachymov 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 subsurface of the Soviet zone of Germany near Jachymov in an effort to find uranium northward and westward.

It is understood that the Dresden processing returns considerably the quantity of ore to be transported. It actually accelerates only the first stage of uranium compounds, not U-235.

Despite the importance of Jachymov, 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 mutually difficult to confirm. The aid, of course, is very well guarded. Reports that Soviet military are participating in processing the uranium are officially denied. It is stated that this is now solely the job of the Czechoslovak military and that Jachymov was evacuated with the rest of the country last October.

Russian technicians and officials in Jachymov have to be in Jachymov, working under the terms of the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement on Jachymov. Under terms of the special lease, practically all the mine's output is said to be leaving the country.

However, that this agreement was strictly worked up between the Russians and Czechoslovakia, without approval of the Prague Government, are strongly denied. It is officially said that President Benes has 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 discouraged.

TERM FOR M'DONALD UNTIL 1950 IS UPMELD

Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, May 8.—Supreme Court Justice Boschen 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 at Albany on Monday.

The case involves the question as to whether District Attorney McDonald was elected 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 Boschen held that McDonald was elected for a full term which does not expire until the end of 1949.

Sydney Spire, attorney for Elmer McDonald, 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 comparative 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 F. McDonald, senior partner for Mr. McDonald, senior partner. 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 to the Oder River floods, which destroyed thousands of acres of autumn crops.

The British here, meanwhile, still were refusing to discuss operations in their zone. This "area blackout"—officially denied by Soviet officials in effect—may be broken tomorrow by Lord Fabian, who was due to arrive here today from London. Lord Fabian, who is Minister for the British Zone of Occupation, was scheduled to visit Düsseldorf, east of

RUSSIANS DEFIANT IN MARKING VICTORY

Leading Publicists Emphasize Scorn of 'Super-Secret' Arms and U. S. 'Bluff'

By IRVING MIDDLETON
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 8.—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 Tarkov 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 theme of the newspaper articles was the overwhelming Soviet share in the victory of 1945 and defiance of what Mr. Ehrenburg called "super-secret armaments" and Mr. Tarkov termed the American "bluff."

What was called the evil intention of international capital and war mongers were assailed in each article, with the targets running from Wall Street to Greek Foreign Minister Constantine Trikoupi.

Russia, Mr. Ehrenburg proclaimed, cannot be intimidated by talk of super-secret armaments or various conditions "or by those one fellows who are used to winning brilliant victories over Napoleon in Caen or at Stalingrad."

"Never Give Way"

The Russian people, Mr. Tarkov 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 face of those forces viewed as threatening world peace, the article made clear. Mr. Ehrenburg told the United States of the war against the Soviet war against America and her "bullies" that she owed her present position to Russia.

Writing in Izvestia, Mr. Ehrenburg gave the British a postscripting put on the back for their attitude of Europe began June 10, 1941, when Germany invaded Russia. There was no discussion of Russian-German relations up to that time.

The great battle on the Eastern Front made those in Africa seem "an insignificant speck," Mr. Ehrenburg added.

"When the Battle of Moscow was raging, a few divisions were captured or surrendering Tobruk," he wrote. "When the Minsk battle was being fought, quartermen for sergeants were dividing the spoils of Algeria."

British and American soldiers, he kindly admitted, fought well when they got into battle, but their strategies were "intimated with politics."

Russians 'Moved' All

But he declared that it was the Soviet Army that "moved the Soviet Republic, the League in Paris, the University of Prague, England's Magna Carta and the liberty of young Yugoslavia."

However, the "villains" were beginning to "what their appetites" . . . speaking about a new war . . . clamoring for a crusade against the Soviet Union," Mr. Ehrenburg added.

Senator Tom Connally, he charged, "fervently called us barbarians" . . . and said that "all mankind humanity would come out against us." Having come to this pitch, Mr. Ehrenburg then readily asserted that no one would follow United States reaction to the quest for a third World War. He said he found, however, that French reaction was growing stronger and wished to tell France for a leaf of bread and a stick of coal.

The latter is an allusion to the telephone deal 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. Tarkov, 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 in world hegemony," he asserted. Meanwhile, he said, the United

Egyptian Queen Flies Here to Do Shopping



Queen Nafsa
Arrived Here, 1948

Queen Nafsa, 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, Farouk, 20 years old, and Fatma, 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 Iraq, Iraq and Syria and trying to put together "a big war budget." The Greeks, he claimed, had been "wiped 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 intensified by "the Wall Street ringmasters," he asserted, for this opposition he called more drastic than the "short-lived and feeble" democracy of the atomic bomb.

The Soviet historian in another article in Izvestia, the trade union newspaper, commented on the theme that the Soviet Army saved not only Russia "but all European civilization."

"The Soviet Union and the army gave the entire front of the war without receiving any appreciable help of the front during the most dangerous, most critical days of the deadly struggle," he continued.

Mr. Tarkov 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 'Died' His

Dr. Zaslavsky, in Pravda, devoted most of his writings to belittling United States and British pretensions and their "mammoth game of breaking out the opening of the second front."

"I 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."

Jogging into his files, Mr. Zaslavsky came up with the name of Herman W. Budge, military attaché at The New York Times, who "proclaimed the victory of the German Army on the eve of its complete defeat" and "denied of the exhaustion of the Soviet Union."

Now, Mr. Zaslavsky wrote, "we have the terrible looking of the dollar over the whole world." The end of Germany, he said, "I take it" is dead, he proclaimed, but still declares "I buy it."

"However, although there is a 'gold shower' in Greece, the gold is in the hands of the old world," he said.

Back If 'Could Have Won Alone'

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 8.—The Soviet Union could have won the war in Europe single-handed, an anonymous Moscow radio commentator claimed today in an English-language broadcast.

Land-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 Germany was saved from the threat of defeat and slavery by the threat of the Soviet Union," 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 has become clear that the Soviet Army was capable of occupying all Germany and liberating the people of Europe from the Nazi yoke single-handed."

The balance sheet of the war, he added, showed \$20,000,000,000 profits for "the American money power" compared with 120,000,000,000 damages to the Soviet Union from "direct devastation and robbery by German occupational and Soviet territory."

ICAO VOTING SNAG HALTS SPAIN'S EXIT

Rule on New Members' Rights to Ballot Delays Decision—Narrow Margin Indicated

By JOHN SEWART
Special to The New York Times

MONTREAL, May 8.—The final resolution 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 votekeepers 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. B. Deckerford of Australia, president of the Assembly and presiding at the executive committee's meeting, ruled that Belgium, Norway and Guatemala, having filed their application 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 off yesterday's 14 to 3 decision of Commission One in favor of Spain's expulsion.

Abstentions and Negatives

Spain is not voting. Portugal, Ireland and Switzerland will not vote 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, unharmed 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 Lower East and elsewhere for tomorrow were hastily canceled tonight at the exception of Mayor Coughlin's flight to Montreal boomed this evening with whispered confidence.

Meanwhile, delegates representing nations having that affiliation with the United Nations is more valuable than the presence of Spain in the ICAO devoted their efforts to two purposes.

They sought to get Mr. Deckerford to change his ruling on Belgium, Norway and Guatemala, or to override 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 Tended 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 "tough" push. There is growing concern expressed by South Africa, Ireland and Switzerland over any further involvement in small nations.

James M. Lendin, 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 8 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 speaking for the American delegation and tonight he believed that the Spanish resolution would go through smoothly and legally, they want it to pass by a sufficient number of votes above the necessary two-thirds to give it a substantial resemblance to unanimity.

Mr. Deckerford tonight announced that a subcommittee consisting of the delegates on the executive committee of Argentina, Chile, France, Ireland and the United States had been appointed to settle the question of what constitutes two-thirds of the voting strength of the Assembly.

CRIPPS DENOUNCES SOVIET PATENT GIBE

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 8.—Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, denied tonight Franco charges that Britain had "stolen some exclusive benefit by way of reparations" from patents in manufacturing processes acquired from Germany.

Addressing the Chamber of Lords of Patent Affairs, Sir Stafford branded as "a complete misreading" these allegations. He said that they were "constant being suggested, especially by one of our Russian friends."

Sir Stafford recalled that as a result adopted at the International Conference in London, just recently made freely available to the public patents formerly owned by German nationals and that the same policy had been applied to German lost secrets and patents.

"The Russians benefit from just as much as we do," he continued, "and it is not for us to be concerned with their benefit."

Pope to Appear in Documentar

ROME, May 8 (AP)—Pope Pius XII has consented to appear in a documentary film, "Was Again War," being compiled by the Catholic Cinematographic Center, Vatican City arrives said today. It will appear for peace in several languages. The film will be released about July 1. The Pope will make his speech in Italian, Spanish, French, German, English, Portuguese and Polish.

sovereignty of its neighbor states as fully as it will during the war. The Jewish people in Palestine is prepared to defend itself. It is not impressed by this threat. A people that has survived the accumulated fury of the centuries,

forced to fight empire in a better battle for survival, and during the last war some hundreds of thousands of the men fighting for freedom in all the liberating armies in the Allied nations—men like the brave American and British High School Committee was broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Britain and comprehending Hitler on his African ventures over the African—such a people will not be so easily deceived. I am confident, with this great international body which is constantly wrestling with this tremendously difficult problem and which is seeking a just and equitable solution, that the world is surmounting through sacrifice.

We recall with satisfaction that similar trends entered by the same parties during the first ap-

The Jewish people in Palestine, I repeat, will be prepared to defend itself. It will welcome, of course, whatever support can properly be given to it by the United Nations or any other permanent in the decisions of the United Nations.

If the British Withdraw

In this connection we must take note of the announcement made by the representative of the United Kingdom that its forces will be withdrawn to the United Kingdom. It is the transitional Palestine, which the transitional period, and may be subject to early withdrawal from Palestine. In that event, in order to avoid the danger of a civil war, it is necessary to take steps to ensure that the withdrawal of British forces will not affect public security. The Jewish people

Mr. Chapman and members of this committee. With this United Nations report we have reached the end of the road for the Jews of history. The course which will be followed will be fraught with strategy on all, the Jews, the Arabs and the United Nations. We hope that this will be a course of wisdom, justice and peace. The Jewish people hopefully awaits the decision of this body.

Twenty-five years ago a Jewish religious organization recognized the bitter hatred of the Jewish people against our program and set us firmly on the road of rejection. We were then regarded as persecutors or invaders and the Jews of the world, leaders and commoners of the

The Jewish people was condemned in the right to rebuild the national life in its historic home. It eagerly seized the long hoped-for opportunity and proceeded to rebuild that ancient land of Israel in the modern manner, to the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness blossom as the rose. Surely this great achievement, surveying this land and this people, is a task for which the work continues.

this undertaking advanced, that hope of the western communities. It will be a noble achievement which will redound to the everlasting glory of this world organization. It will be a supreme act of international justice.

**PARKE-BERNET
GALLERIES • Inc**
30 E. 57 ST • ZONE 22
Public Auction Sales

CHINESE ART
LINENS AND LACES
Sweet and silver-
plated ware • Table
glass and porcelain
Oriental rugs
A GROUP OF FURS*
*Exempt from Federal Tax
From Two Estates
Concludes Tomorrow

**Tests Conducted by H. H. FARRER,
L. J. HARRISON - A. N. BARNES
and A. WINDLEY**

ation-filtered water. Phone PLass: 8-0383 — or see phone directory for nearest Knickerbocker pick-up platform.



1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

decried as不可救药 (hopeless) that any solution for Palestine should be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general? We are at a loss to understand the meaning of this communication, because it is not correct to say that a mere Palestine, the "Jewish problem in general" is not a problem of Jewish immigration or refugees. It is the old problem of Jewish national homelessness.

There is but one solution to this problem, a national home. This was the Jewish demand from the beginning.

[illegible]

Manufacturers Trust Company
75 Banking Offices in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx and Queens

.....

Manufacturers Trust Company, 88 Broad Street, New York 10, N. Y.
Please send me full information about a Special Checking Account.

Name

Address

☐ Member National Payment Services Organization

ST-10-1

**FOR BETTER
DRINKS**

*Don't Spare The Ice
In Drinks—Use These
De Luxe Cubes At Home*

Cubes as pure and clear
you can read through them
—as free of taste as pres-
sion-filtered water. Phone
PLaza 8-0283—or see
phone directory for near-
est Kalosherbocker pick-up
platform.



© 1964 Kalosherbocker, Inc.
MADE IN U.S.A.

ately days while the United Nations decided whether it could or could not act in concert as against

U. S., BRITAIN DRAFT
BALKAN PEACE PLANUrges Salonika as Free Port,
Foreign-Supervised Amnesty
—Differ on Border Rule

By W. H. LAWRENCE

Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, May 8.—The United States and Great Britain circulated among the other members of the United Nations Balkan 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 draft, which was prepared by the British delegation, headed by Sir John Dill, has more emphasis on the appointment of a single high commissioner to supervise the frontier area, while the United States draft would have a small commission.

Would War Be Reluctant Powers
If a commission were named, the British draft would include 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 sympathetic if it included the Great Powers. The Americans, on the other hand, believe that it would be impossible to find true neutrals to handle such responsibility, and fear that the fact that the commission would have a single high commissioner 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, because it would run counter to the United Nations ban on interference in internal affairs and because—as reported from New York earlier this week—the Greek Government may make an independent decision 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 asked to investigate disputes in all four countries.

Whether Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria would agree to such a decision is in 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.

Of course, the Security Council might never adopt the British or United States proposals, because the Soviet Union could veto them.

Both drafts recognize that the presence of 200,000 Greek 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-Greek refugees in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.

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. One principle is that the ordinance would not be implemented in the near future.

The second 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 employment for improvement in the pattern of agriculture.

An immediate step, he explained, will be to take certain estates which will be taken from owners and handed to land reform commissioners to be established by each state government. In this way, he said, responsibility will be changed but responsibility for the land reform will remain with the state government.

During the period that elapses between the surrender of titles of land and its resettlement, the property will be managed by the responsibility of the commission.

A ROUSING OVATION FOR MEXICO'S PRESIDENT UPON HIS RETURN HOME



Manuel Ávila Camacho, President of Mexico, is surrounded by admirers who broke through police lines in Mexico City to greet him on his arrival from the United States.

Special to The New York Times
MEXICO CITY, May 8.—The first of Mexico City's welcome to President Manuel Ávila Camacho last night on his return from the United States was a rousing one, as the President's arrival at the airport was greeted by a throng of admirers who broke through police lines to reach him.

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 draft, which was prepared by the British delegation, headed by Sir John Dill, has more emphasis on the appointment of a single high commissioner to supervise the frontier area, while the United States draft would have a small commission.

Would War Be Reluctant Powers
If a commission were named, the British draft would include 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 sympathetic if it included the Great Powers. The Americans, on the other hand, believe that it would be impossible to find true neutrals to handle such responsibility, and fear that the fact that the commission would have a single high commissioner 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, because it would run counter to the United Nations ban on interference in internal affairs and because—as reported from New York earlier this week—the Greek Government may make an independent decision 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.

Whether a commission or a high commissioner is named, either agency of the Security Council would be asked to investigate disputes in all four countries.

Whether Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria would agree to such a decision is in 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.

Of course, the Security Council might never adopt the British or United States proposals, because the Soviet Union could veto them.

Both drafts recognize that the presence of 200,000 Greek 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-Greek refugees 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 arrangement of repatriation of such refugees, and suggest studies looking toward voluntary transfers of minorities.

Overseas Budget Zone
Asked to examine the countries now in the overseas budget zone, he replied that the zone was not a new one, but a continuation of the old one.

He attributed the sudden serious complaints from Britain as those of a country "just entering the zone of a new economic system." He said there was no danger to the British zone as far as he could see economically.

The IECF secretary general said that the executive committee of the Council of Europe is in a state of emergency in efforts to make grain allocations to countries where the food shortage is serious.

To a report from overseas that grain shipments from the United States are coming too slowly, particularly in the occupied zone of Germany, he replied that the United States is doing its best to speed up shipments.

The 1946-47 grain exports from the United States not only will exceed shipments from any other country in any year, but will also exceed the total of all other countries combined in any one year before 1946, according to department officials.

May and June Abolitions
WASHINGTON, May 8 (U.P.)—The Agriculture Department today announced supplemental grain export allocations totaling \$7,000 long tons for shipments to shortage areas during May and June.

The allocations include: The United States-Canada Kingdom zone in Germany, 24,000 long tons of barley and 9,000 long tons of wheat. This will replace previously shipped amounts made from the United States recently to relieve the food shortage in Germany.

Switzerland, 1,000 long tons of oats and 5,000 long tons of wheat for feed.

France, 30,000 long tons of corn, of which 5,000 may be rice.

Romania, 5,000 long tons of corn, 1,000 long tons of flour, and wheat equivalent.

President Ávila Camacho 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 an unusual occasion in the nation's history. President Truman's plane, the

barred crew, which Señor Ávila Camacho spent throughout his tour, will return to the United States tomorrow with the President's family. The passengers will include Ambassador Walter Thompson and his wife, Mrs. John K. Thompson, whom the

United States envoy is taking north for her health.

Mr. Thompson, who accompanied President Ávila Camacho 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 EUROPE
Appeal Asks for Million Tons of Grain a Month for 3 Months to Tide Over Emergency

By BESS FURMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 8.—The International Emergency Food Council has asked the Argentine Government to "lend 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 spring, when wheat 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 their 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 have not joined the IECF. The other, Russia, makes no reports to the council, but is now generally regarded as having suffered considerable crop losses.

In an interview today, Dr. Fitzgerald declined to add to his statement as far as the Argentine situation is concerned. However, he emphasized that the Argentine situation is a serious one.

Whether Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria would agree to such a decision is in 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.

Of course, the Security Council might never adopt the British or United States proposals, because the Soviet Union could veto them.

Both drafts recognize that the presence of 200,000 Greek 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-Greek refugees 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 arrangement of repatriation of such refugees, and suggest studies looking toward voluntary transfers of minorities.

Overseas Budget Zone
Asked to examine the countries now in the overseas budget zone, he replied that the zone was not a new one, but a continuation of the old one.

He attributed the sudden serious complaints from Britain as those of a country "just entering the zone of a new economic system." He said there was no danger to the British zone as far as he could see economically.

The IECF secretary general said that the executive committee of the Council of Europe is in a state of emergency in efforts to make grain allocations to countries where the food shortage is serious.

To a report from overseas that grain shipments from the United States are coming too slowly, particularly in the occupied zone of Germany, he replied that the United States is doing its best to speed up shipments.

The 1946-47 grain exports from the United States not only will exceed shipments from any other country in any year, but will also exceed the total of all other countries combined in any one year before 1946, according to department officials.

May and June Abolitions
WASHINGTON, May 8 (U.P.)—The Agriculture Department today announced supplemental grain export allocations totaling \$7,000 long tons for shipments to shortage areas during May and June.

The allocations include: The United States-Canada Kingdom zone in Germany, 24,000 long tons of barley and 9,000 long tons of wheat. This will replace previously shipped amounts made from the United States recently to relieve the food shortage in Germany.

Switzerland, 1,000 long tons of oats and 5,000 long tons of wheat for feed.

France, 30,000 long tons of corn, of which 5,000 may be rice.

Romania, 5,000 long tons of corn, 1,000 long tons of flour, and wheat equivalent.

Administration Now Shifts Its Emphasis on Foreign Aid
Economic Reconstruction of Western Europe Now Held Best Bar to Soviet Expansion

By JAMES HESTON
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 convinced me that the only way to achieve political stability is by having economic stability."

"When 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 convinced me that the only way to achieve political stability is by having economic stability."

Not the failure to reach an agreement on Germany and Austria at Moscow and the fear that Congress might approve the Marshall plan and reject the Government's plan for Western Europe in the last few months. Acheson said that the United States had been "in a position to help Europe in the last few months."

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. Acheson said that the United States had been "in a position to help Europe in the last few months."

Even intense Republican partisanship is not saying that this shift in emphasis lends support to the statements made by some persons that the Administration has been engaged in a device to bring about a political power and offer of help.

It seems simply that to attain its objective—namely, the preservation of peace and the institution of a new world order—the Administration has come to realize that it was playing 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
Unquestionably, it is not as 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 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, and the President is committed to it before the world. But those who want to move have come back convinced that the decisive battle ground for peace and a democratic Europe is in the West, and that the West must be sustained by anything but sound economic reconstruction.

GI Aid Rise Is Opposed
But School Group Backs \$7.30 More for Those With Children

WASHINGTON, May 8 (U.P.)—The American Council on Education today advised Congress against making large increases in subsistence allowances for "veterans' children" under the G. I. Bill of Rights.

The veterans' council has a definite responsibility for its own education, and the majority are accepting their own share of responsibility. The council's action today is a direct result of the fact that the majority are accepting their own share of responsibility.

Truman Approves Changes in Charter for Reorganization
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 1918. The amendments were recommended in character, and were designed to bring the national headquarters into closer relations 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 chapters in the field. The President will also name the principal officers.

Barth J. C. Jones, chairman, said that the changes meant that the Red Cross "will reflect the needs of all the people as an efficient and democratic organization in its wide field of service."

Van Kliefden Is on Envoys Here
Special to The New York Times

ROTTERDAM, May 8.—Official Dutch quarters expect that Dr. R. N. van Kliefden, former delegate to the United Nations, will be named Dr. Alexander London as Ambassador to the United States.

SOVIET CALLS TEXT
OF STALIN'S WRONGMoscow Radio Objects to Way
in Which 'Translator' Employed
'Cooperates' and 'Regulate'

LONDON, May 8 (U.P.)—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 R. 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 difference appeared to be in the translation of the words "Tass" for instance, preferred the word "voluntary" as used in the English text, and the word "control" for "regulation."

Tass said the version of the conversation, as 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 side-by-side comparison of the two versions.

Instances Cited by Moscow
Here are some instances cited by Moscow:

(1) According to the American text, 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 don't wage war against each other and the U. S. S. R. does not wage war against the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. are 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 statement that the two systems could co-exist after the war, said: "I might have said that one system was reluctant to cooperate, but that concerned only one side. But as to the possibility of cooperation, both the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(4) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(5) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(6) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(7) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(8) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(9) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(10) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(11) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(12) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(13) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(14) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(15) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(16) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(17) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(18) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(19) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

(20) Mr. Stassen reported that the Soviet Union "regarded" the U. S. S. R. as a "superpower" and the U. S. A. as a "superpower." The U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are different, but they did not fight each other but collaborated during the war." Tass reported nothing concerning any pledge of Russia's future intentions.

Soviet Radio Is Truthful,
Ours Not, Says Soviet Radio

By The Associated Press

LONDON, May 8.—The Soviet radio said today that it was truthful and objective, whereas the British and American radio was dishonest and biased.

"When Alexander Popov, the great Russian scientist, invented the radio he dreamed of carrying the word of communication and of broadcasting the word of the people," Moscow Radio explained. (Russia does not admit Popov's discovery.)

But the world has witnessed time and again that any great achievement of the human mind can be distorted.

Soviet information, the Moscow radio said, "is objective because we have nothing to hide. We have an honest press which pays generously for the broadcasting companies and the methods of the reactionary press which believe in slandering."

3 AZERBAIJANIS
EXECUTED AS REBELS

TEHRAN, Iran, May 8 (U.P.)—Dispatches from Tehran, Azerbaijan capital, announced today the execution of three former members of the Azerbaijan Republic movement during the Russian occupation.

They were identified as Maj. Abdol-Aziz and Dada Teymouri, members of the Azerbaijan Parliament when Jafar Paskervani headed the so-called "democratic government," and a man named Haraghi, called by the semi-official Tehran newspaper "Effekt" "the Butcher of Baku."

At the same time the Tehran radio said the Tehran population had marched to the office of the Azerbaijan Governor, "demanding the arrest of the traitors." The report did not identify the "traitors," but the newspaper Tehran Movement reported a few weeks ago that "thousands of immigrants from Russia were being rushed into this country by ships, trucks and even planes."

The Russian was exporting goods to Iran without paying customs duties.

LONDON, Friday, May 8 (U.P.)—The Daily Worker said today that the United States "shortly" will supply Iran "shortly" with \$50,000,000 worth of military goods, including tanks, fighter planes and small arms.

In Washington, State Department sources said that negotiations had been under way for about a month for the sale of surplus military supplies to Iran. A formal announcement some time ago said the supplies would be made available to "maintain internal order" and to "repel aggression."

FRENCH FEAR RISINGS
IN ALGERIA AND TUNIS

PARIS, May 8.—Intelligence sources here, according to the National Assembly, were warned today during the debate on the Madagascar rebellion, that the Algerian situation was serious.

Majority deputies continued to urge prompt steps to suppress the Madagascar uprising, while Communists and some moderate deputies contended that France should adopt coercive measures and turn toward preparing native independence.

The debate is expected to conclude tomorrow, when Overseas Minister Maurice Berteaux will deliver the government's policy and Premier Paul Faure will reply. Mr. Faure's firm decision to maintain his former empire in the framework of a new French union.

Maurice Violette, a member of the Gaullist group, said he had received word from Tunis today that bands of natives whose activities were increasing daily were by methods that resembled those of the Viet Minh demanding independence for Tunisia, the election of a sovereign Constituent Assembly and the adoption of Tunisian language as the official tongue.

An Algerian report, added M. Berteaux, cited a report that the Algerian leader, Messali Hadj, had predicted that a revolt in Algeria would break out by May 20. M. Berteaux charged the French Army was suppressing the revolt in Tunisia, with a view to the use of Senegalese troops against native populations there and in Chad.

NEW SLAIN IN AMBUSH;
TEL AVIV SHOPS FIRED

TEL AVIV, May 8.—A Jewish soldier named Joel Drubin, 21 years old, was shot dead today when he was ambushed with two other soldiers by night commandos of the Irgun, occurred between Kfar Yehoshua and Hadera, two Jewish settlements southeast of Tel Aviv.

One of the men, Amos Wachsman, was wounded, but the third escaped and brought assistance. The assailants got away.

Two British Army dispatch riders have been missing since noon yesterday. They were last seen on the road between Ramat, south of Jaffa, and Beer Sheva. In other incidents, two Jewish soldiers were killed on today by Arabs on the road west of Jerusalem, and shot fired at a car on the outskirts of the city wounded two Arabs.

In Tel Aviv, three textile shops were set on fire, apparently because the owners had refused to contribute to underground funds.

It was declared that an Arab truck driver had been killed last Sunday while trying to break the siege of the Jewish terrorists who blew open Acre prison.

WHERE DO **YOU**
WANT TO GO
 ★ On Your Vacation?
 ★ SEE the world's biggest "Where-and-how-to-go" HOW
 ★ "Worth anybody's while"—N. Y. News

 INTERNATIONAL
TRAVEL SHOW
 GRAND CENTRAL PALACE

LAST 2 DAYS
STAR ENTERTAINMENT!
 American and Foreign Travel Exhibits
 Calypso Singers—Native Dancers—U. S. and
 Foreign Folk Singers—Native Orchestras
 Reels and Reels of Travel Movies
 See **HOLLYWOOD IN MINIATURE** 
 Admission \$1, Children 40c
 NOON to 10:30 P. M.

ATION FOR MEXICO'S PRESIDENT UPON HIS RETURN HOME



Supporters who break 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 Aleman's plane, the

Barred Cow, which later Aleman used throughout his term, will return to the United States tomorrow with Lt. Col. Henry Myers at the controls. Its passengers will include Ambassador Walter Thompson and his wife, Mrs. John Robert Thompson, whom the

United States army is taking north for her health.

Mr. Thompson, who accompanied President Aleman and returned with him, will be on leave for three weeks. Dr. Raymond Geist, commander of the embassy, will serve as chargé d'affaires.

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 restoring political harmony rests heavily upon economic stability."

"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, Ohio, "he did not talk in terms of ideology or errors. 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 problems of blocking Russian expansion and Soviet communism."

The Best Barrier

The Administration will have the same objective. It has not wavered in its sincere belief that Soviet expansion and infiltration must be stopped, if necessary by using 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-Thurne 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 as 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 States 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 general character of the activity of Western Europe than has been generally realized in the last few months. Although the public debate has centered on Greece and Turkey since the President announced 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 achieve to maintain political power and office at home.

It means simply that to maintain 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 its much emphasis on a broad ideological crusade and not enough in the practical, economic task of reconstructing a strong Europe.

All Forms of Appeal Cried

Unfortunately, it is not a easy to switch the mood of Congress and the country. The Administration has ordered its primary appeal in the last eight weeks to bill in Greece and Turkey, and that were the most important aspect of the reconstruction problem. To do this, it has used all the capital appeals of the State, seeking approval 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 speed the Administration's plan for Western Europe is being emphasized in a new way, since the President is committed to it before the world.

But those who want to see the United States back to its old role as a democratic Europe, a unit in the West, and that the West cannot be sustained by anything but sound economic reconstruction.

received 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 United States recently to relieve an acute food shortage in Germany.

Switzerland, 1,000 long tons of wheat and 3,000 long tons of wheat or feed.

France, 24,000 long tons of wheat, which 9,000 may be rye.

Romania, 6,000 long tons of corn.

Jamaica, 1,000 long tons of flour, wheat equivalent.

Salvador Official Flying Here

Special to The New York Times.

RAN SALVADOR, El Salvador, May 8.—Foreign Minister Dr. Juan Antonio Quirós left here for the United States today by American military plane to receive treatment for injuries suffered in an airplane accident at Managua, Nicaragua on Sunday. A release forced him to land in Guatemala tonight, as he will proceed tomorrow in condition permits.

JEWS SLAIN IN AMBUSH; TEL AVIV SHOPS FIRED

Special to The New York Times.

JERUSALEM, May 8.—A Jewish settler named Joel Dardas (21 years old) was shot dead today when he was ambushed with two other Jews by eight Arab gunmen. The incident occurred between Kiryat Chaim and Ma'ale, two Jewish settlements southeast of Tel Aviv.

One of the men, Avram Ben-Zion, was wounded but the third escaped and brought news.

Two British Army dispatch riders have been missing since Sunday. They were last seen on the road between Ramat, south of Jaffa, and Ramat, south of Jaffa, and Ramat, south of Jaffa.

Incidents, two Jewish riders were fired on today by Arabs on the road at a bar on the outskirts of the city. The riders were killed.

In Tel Aviv, three Jewish boys were set after, apparently because the owners had refused to supply them to underground police.

It was disclosed that an Arab truck driver had been shot dead last Sunday while trying to break the escape of the Jewish settlers who fled from the Arab zone.

SOVIET CALLS TEXT OF STASSEN WRONG

Moscow Radio Objects to Way in Which Translator Employed 'Cooperate' and 'Regulate'

LONDON, May 8 (U.P.)—The Moscow radio said today that "a number of deliberate alterations and suppressions" appeared in the text of the recent conversation of Prime Minister Stalin with Republican leader Harold E. Stassen, as quoted by Mr. Stassen and published by the American press.

The broadcast quoted some of the text as published by the Russian news agency Tass and its 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 translator 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 Dr. 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) said that one system was reluctant to cooperate, but that pertained to Germany and not to possibilities of collaboration."

(4) Mr. Stassen reported that he, himself, said: "Superstition, 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 monopoly and imperialism tendencies by capitalism and that the workers in the U. S. A. enjoyed a much greater degree of freedom 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.

Moscow Praises Press

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., May 8 (U.P.)—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 suppressions" 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 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" Nazi 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-E Day statement, the ordered a 30-minute artillery salute in the chief cities in celebration of the anniversary.

He did not mention any other country's participation in the war in his V-E Day statement, the ordered a 30-minute artillery salute in the chief cities in celebration of the anniversary.

With the great difference in press systems, the Russian press always has difficulty in understanding that the individual nations in America handle a story does not represent the American press as a whole.

Historian Is Consulted

LONDON, May 8 (U.P.)—Social historian I. Lenin, 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. Lenin 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 unwise 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

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 1925. 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 twenty will be elected from chapter members at the national convention in Cleveland from June 9 to 12. The Board of Governors, at the enlarged organization will be called, will elect twelve members-at-large, and seven members will be named by the President.

Paul 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 the wide fields of service."

GI AID RISE IS OPPOSED

But School Group Backs \$7.50 More for Those With Children

WASHINGTON, May 8 (U.P.)—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 could remain unchanged.

NICKEL 'COLLECTOR' HELD

Parkman Man Found With 2,140 From Parking Meters

PATRICK, N. J., May 8 (U.P.)—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, Parkman Peter Veltimiglia said, Nash had 1,160 five-cent pieces. The 1108, filling the self-appointed collector's national pockets to overflowing weighed 35 pounds. The police charged. It was also half of the city's daily "take" from the meters.

Police Recorder Wendell W. Fugmy, who paroled the public work employee for a hearing next week, reported Nash told him he had been drinking and had turned 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 (U.P.)—Scottish distillers said 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 taxpayers who complained that Scotch was being exported to America at prices lower than those charged at home. Instead, the association insisted that the wholesale price to American importers, before duties, freight and other charges, is a shilling and a better (81) compared with a shilling 2½ pence (34 cents) in Britain.

Scotch is one of the most important of Britain's exports to the United States.

Van Klaffens Seen as Envoy Here

Special to The New York Times.

ROTTERDAM, May 8.—Official Dutch quarters report that Dr. H. N. van Klaffens, former delegate to the United Nations, will succeed Dr. Alexander Lomax 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 mark outside radio facilities for overseas broadcasting if it is approved at a meeting 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 amendment 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 America and the Far East are an 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 Actualities Review transmitted by the division. The program, consisting of recorded extracts from speeches made during the day's debate, will be carried by WHCA from 10:45 to 11 P. M. Monday through Saturday and by WQXR every morning from 11:30 to 12:30 A. M.

Robber-Slayer Sentenced

Joseph Castellano, 33 years old, of 601 First Street, Brooklyn, a longshoreman with a police record showing twenty-two arrests since 1932, but only one thirty-day sentence, was ordered yesterday to serve from forty years to life in Sing Sing by Judge Louis Ladd, sitting in Kings County Court. Castellano was convicted last April 4 of second-degree murder in connection with the slaying of Louis Brandeis, 74, on April 1, 1945, following an argument over the division of robbery loot.

Flowers by alfredo & irene for Mother's Day a great box of FRESH FLOWERS! \$5 Join the Flower Club . . . one box delivered each week! 12 deliveries for . . . \$50 25 deliveries for . . . \$100 52 deliveries for . . . \$200 alfredo & irene 2323 Broadway at 86th IN. 2-7645

Russeks FUR STORAGE Repairing Cleaning Remodeling Modern reliable results no pretense New York WI 7-1900 Brooklyn MA 4-3600

TOURNEAU A TIMELY GIFT FOR MOTHER'S DAY—Elegant 14 Kt. Gold bracelet with 14 Kt. Gold beads. \$175 Daily 14 Kt. Gold set watch. 125 14 Kt. Gold watch ring. 125 Price includes Federal Tax

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 ghouliah, 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, "Four is 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 Texana, 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. Alfred 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.

PLEASANT 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-visions of 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 SHARON, 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 co-operate 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 23 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 Basel 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, 163,000 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 that 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 on 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 alive 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 7 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 deep 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 Faisal'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 Faisal-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 13, 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, Terechicha. You will not find a single Jewish refugee in any of them. The Jews who have returned to their country are settled in Petah Tikva, Rishon le Zion, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Degania, 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 beset 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 Patuxent 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 fairly 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