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STATEMENT

OF

DR. ABEA HILLEL SILVER

CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN SECTION

OF THE

EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

BEFORE THE

UNITED MATIONS AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

The text of this statement must under no circumstances be released for publication

until Dr. Silver has begun his statement.

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STATEMENT MADE TO THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE Thursday, October 2, 1947.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

1. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which I have the honor to represent, is appreciative of the privilege which this Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has extended to it to be represented at its deliberations and to express its views on the Report which the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has submitted.

We have read the Report with the deepest interest and the closest attention, and we are prepared to make our observations on it. We are greatly impressed with the earnest and conscientious labors which the eleven members of the Special Committee devoted to their task and which are reflected in the comprehensive and impressive document before us. It was good to have a committee of neutrals examine the Palestine problem afresh in an effort to arrive at a solution which would be norally justifiable and politically sound. We share entirely the view expressed in the Report that the "opinions of members of an international committee who represent various civilizations and schools of thought, and have approached the question from different angles, may be of some value."

2. The Jewish Agency availed itself of the invitation extended to it by the Special Committee to present its case. We were happy to make

available to the Committee whatever information it desired of us, to

answer any question, and frankly to share our thinking with it. We regarded it as an inescapable obligation to cooperate to the fullest extent with the United Nations which had this grave international problem presented to it and which assumed the responsibility for formulating a

decision on the future government of Palestine-

3. In this connection we find it necessary to point to a circumstance to which the Report itself draws special attention, namely, the failure of the Arab Higher Committee to cooperate with the Committee. The Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee, during the hearings in Jerusalem, made an appeal by radio for the full cooperation of all parties. The Special Committee also addressed a letter directly to the Arab Higher Committee regretting the decision of the latter not to cooperate and repeating the Special Committee's invitation for full cooperation. In reply Mr. Jamal Eusseini, vice-chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, wrote that the Committee found no reason to reverse the previous decision to abstain from collaboration.

One is at a loss to understand why the Arab Higher Committee was unwilling to present its case to the Special Committee of the United Nations. The Jewish Agency likewise had been subjected to the strains and disappointments of the numerous Palestine inquiries which preceded it. Having repeatedly refused the invitation to present its case, why does the Arab Higher Committee come now to ask "justice and equity" at the hands of the United Nations whose authority it had flouted and whose competence to define the form of the future government of Palestine the Arab spokesman on Monday categorically denied?

4. The same spokesman treated us to an historic improvisation on the origin of the Jewish people and on the history of Palestine. History may not be an exact science but it certainly is not a story out of the Arabian nights. There are certain facts which do not yield to wishful thinking. Thus the canard that the Jews of western Europe are descendant not from Israel of old, but from a tribe of Khazars in Eussia, is a relatively recent invention and was popularized in the racial mythologies of our day whose political motivations are clearly transparent. One would assume that the Arabs of Palestine would be among the last people on earth to wish to engage in genealogical research.

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When the Allies liberated Palestine in 1917 along with other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, Palestine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no politically or culturally distinct or distinguishable Arab mation in that province. There never had been. The Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century of the common era held sway over

that country which contained a very mixed and heterogeneous population for 437 years between 634 and 1071 A.D. -- 437 years out of more than 3,000 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071 the country was conquered by various non-Arab peoples such as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Crusaders, the Egyptian Mamelukes and finally, by the Ottoman Turks. By the time the Arabs conquered Palestine in 634 A.D. the Jewish people had already completed nearly 2,000 years of national history in that country, during which time they created a civilization which decidedly influenced the course of manking, gave rise both to Judaism and Christianity, produced the Bible and brought forth prophets, saints and spiritual leaders who are venerated not only by Judaism, but by Christianity and Islam as well. "In the 12 centuries or more that have passed since the Arab conquest," reads the Report of the Royal Commission of 1937, "Palestine has virtually dropped out of history . . . In economics and in politics Palestine lay outside the main stream of the world's life. In the realm of thought, in science or in letters it made no contribution to modern civilization."

The very identity of Palestine as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jewish history. The country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion and only resumed a specific role in history when the Falestine Mandate was ratified. The Mandate acknowledged this history by setting Palestine in a distinct and separate context in relation to the Arab world. "I am persuaded," declared President Wilson on March 3, 1919, "that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Speaking in the House of Lords on June 27, 1923 Lord Milner, who called himself "a strong supporter of the pro-Arab policy", stated: "Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the same footing as the other Arab

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countries. You cannot ignore all history and fradition in the matter . . .

and the future of Palestine cannot possibly be left to be determined by

the temporary impressions and feelings of the Arab majority in the country in the present day."

When the Palestine Mandate therefore recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" it was only stating a fact that was universally acknowledged through the ages. And when it gave

international recognition to the grounds for reconstituting the Jewish national home in that country -- an act which Field Marshal Smuts, member of the War Cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration.called "one of the greatest acts of history" -- it was only reaffirming the fact that the Jewish people had never surrendered the hope of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For to the Jews Palestine was not merely a place of sacred shrines as to Christians and Moslems, but the home of their exiled people, the land of their national destiny, and throughout the dark centuries of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

Concerning the Arab economic grievances which were aired here the other day, we wish only to refer to the Report of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them, as well as to the relevant chapters in the Royal Commission Report of 1937, to show how utterly groundless they are. These Reports, as well as the memorandum of the Palestine Government which was submitted to the Special Committee of the United Nations -- a document which can hardly be charged with pro-Jewish bias -- conclusively prove that the Palestine Arabs benefitted considerably and directly from Jewish development in the economic, financial and social spheres.

We must take note, too, of the interesting contrast which the Arab spokesman attempted to draw between the terroristic acts of the Arabs of Palestine im 1936-39 --- acts which were never condemned or repudiated by any responsible Arab spokesman --- and the regrettable acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today which the official bodies of Falestine Jewry have most severely condemned. "It has been officially admitted that in their several uprisings against the British in Falestime," stated the Arab spokesman, "the Arabs ordinarily fought

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face to face as noble men." As illustrative of this nobility, permit me to quote the statement of Sir John Chancellor, the High Commissioner of Palestine, on the Arab riots there in 1929: "I have learned with horror of the atrocieus acts committed by bodies of ruthless and bloodthirsty evildoers, of savage murder perpetrated upon defenseless members of the Jewish population regardless of age or sex. accompanied as at Hebron by acts of unspeakable savagery, of the burning of farms and houses in town and country, and of the looting and destruction of property. These crimes have brought upon their authors the execration of all civilized peoples throughout the world." In commenting upon the riots of 1936, the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission has this to say: "There were similar assaults upon the persons and property of the Jews, conducted with the same reckless ferocity $\sqrt{a}s$ in 19297. Women and children were not spared."

5. Before making our observations on the Report itself, may we be permitted to comment on the statement which was made at the beginning of your deliberations by Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones on behalf of His Majesty's Government?

It was the United Kingdom Government which requested that the question of Palestine be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. It was His Majesty's Government which asked the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter for the future government of Palestine. In making these far-reaching requests, with which the United Nations complied, the United Kingdom surely must have had in mind not the thought of altimately imposing its own solution on the United Nations, but the hope that this great international body, approaching the problem anew and without bias, might find a solution which, while not fully acceptable to everyone, would nevertheless represent the collective wisdom and judgment of the nations of the world and would have behind it such weight of authority that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accept it and to cooperate in its implementation. Surely such loyal cooperation on the part of member nations is presupposed when any international problem is considered by the United Nations. Otherwise His Majesty's Government might just as well have announced six months ago what it declared the other

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day. Why were six critical months lost, during which time the situation in Palestine was permitted to deteriorate most gravely? And why was all the apparatus of the United Nations invoked to investigate and to recommend a settlement of the problem if there was no intention to accept and to participate in the implementation of such a settlement? Sir Alexander Cadogan, at the 52nd meeting of the first committee of the General Assembly, stated: "All we say -- and I made this reservation the other day -- is that we shall not have the <u>sole</u> responsibility for enforcing a solution which is not accepted by both parties and which we cannot reconcile without conscience." But we observe that His Majesty's Government is not being asked to accept a <u>sole</u> responsibility. The Report of the Special Committee clearly recommends that if so desired, ane or more members of the United Nations shall be invited to assist in the administering of the country along with the present Mandatory Power.

The statement of Mr. Creech-Jones seems to go beyond that of Sir Alexanier Gadogan's and implies that His Majesty's Government not only does not wish to assume <u>sole</u> responsibility for implementing the Report, but reserves to itself the right of refusing <u>any</u> cooperation in implementing the final decision of the United Nations if, in its judgment, it does not comply with its own criteria of justice and with its own preferred technique of implementation. One question whether in taking such a position -- if we have understood the position correctly -- the United Kingdom is helping to solve this difficult problem and whether its course will enhance the authority and prestige of the United Nations which has assumed responsibility over the Palestine question. It is clear to everyone that the solution of this problem represents a vital challenge to the United Nations and a crucial test of its future effectiveness.

In view of His Majesty's Government's reluctance to impose a policy by force of arms - a policy which would have behind it the sanction of the community of nations -- one may be pardoned for inquiring why His Majesty's Government has not hesitated to employ im recent years a military force of 100,000 men, along with its navy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Falestine which no international body has approved, which is contrary to the purposes and provisions of the Mandate, and which

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has been thrice disapproved by international bodies.

It would have been more helpful if the statement of His Majesty's Government had been more revealing. Surely it must be clear to everyone that no settlement of the Palestine problem is possible without some enforcement. The Palestine problem is not at all unique in this regard. The Report of the Special Committee correctly states: "Taking into account the fact that devising a solution which will be fully acceptable to both Jews and Arabs seems to be utterly impossible, the prospect of imposing a solution on them would be the basic condition of any recommended proposal." It was the realization that such an Arab-Jewish agreement was impossible that prompted Mr. Bevin to turn the problem over to the United Nations. Mr. Creech-Jones' declaration, therefore, that "the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews" is very singular indeed and does not advance the solution at all.

It may be pertinent to recall that the principle of partition on which the Majority Report of the Committee is based was fir t projected by the all-British Royal Commission in 1937. At that time the British Government accepted that recommendation in principle and declared: "In supporting a solution of the Palestine problem by means of partition, His Majesty's Sovernment are much impressed by the advantages which it offers to the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs would obtain their national independence. and thus be enabled to cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of neighboring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress. They would be finally delivered from all fear of Jewish domination . . . Or the other hand, partition would secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and relieve it from any possibility of its being subjected in the future to Arab rule. It would convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State with fill control over immigration . . . Above all fear and suspicion would be replaced by a sense of confidence and security, and both peoples would octain, in the words of the Commission, 'the inestimable boon of peace. 18

Confronted as we now are by the latest expression of His Majesty's Government, we cannot help but reflect upon the course which has been followed by successive British Governments during the past decade. In 1937 the British Government appointed a Boyal Commission to study the Palestine problem, which, after an exhaustive study, recommended partition as a solution. After an initial approval of the plan, the British Government wound up by rejecting it and provul_sated in its stead the White Paper policy of 1939 which was in complete contradiction to the basic recommendation of the Royal Commission. In 1945 the British Government invited the American Government to join in a two-nation inquiry into the Palestine problem with a view to its solution. This Committee submitted unanimous

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recommendations proposing not partition, but a unitary state. It called for the abrogation of the White Paper policy, including its racial land law, the early admission of 100,000 Jews, continued Jewish immigration thereafter, and the faithful implementation of the provisions of the Mandate. The British Government rejected the recommendations of this Committee also and wound up by putting forward the Morgicion and Devin proposals which were diametrically opposed in substance and in spirit to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee. Finally, in 1947 the British Government proposed another examination of the Palestine problem, this time by the United Nations. As a result, a commission was appointed consisting of the representatives of 11 nations. This Committee has now submitted a Report which recommends a plan of partition coupled with economic union. But this Report seems no more acceptable to His Majesty's Government than the two earlier Reports. It has indicated no support of this latest Report and offers in its stead -- nothing.

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The failure, however, of the United Kingdom Government to give the United Nations a measure of guidance and support, and its announced intention of an early withdrawal from Palestine which we welcome, makes it more impesative than ever that the General Assembly should proceed with the work before it with utmost dispatch. As early as last April it was realized in the special session of the Assembly that there was great urgency to the matter. Certainly that urgency for action and decision has been intensified by all that has transpired since.

6. The Jewish Agency, in making this preliminary comment on the Report itself, wishes to indicate at the outset its full approval of all but one of the eleven unanimous recommendations made by the Committee.
On the sight recommendation, of which it does not alsapprove, it would

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like to make this observation. The sixth recommendation calls upon the General Assembly "to undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem." It will be recalled that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry likewise recommended that efforts be made immediately to find new homes for these displaced persons. In making this recommendation the Anglo-American Committee stated: "We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe." The position in this respect has remained completely unchanged. The recommendation has remained a dead letter. Our unfortunate refugees are still languishing in the displaced persons! camps facing a third winter after the termination of the war. The Report of your Special Committee refers to the "intense urge" of these distressed persons to be allowed to go to Palestine. The "intense urge" of the Jewish displaced persons to proceed to Palestine and the refusal of most of them to go anywhere else springs not only from their realization that the prospects of their admission to other countries are slight in the extreme. and even then only of a very limited scope. It springs pre-eminently from the fact that Palestine offers to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else; the chance of a real home, the prospect of a life in congenial surroundings, the insurance of permanency. All the longing of these uprooted people for a life of peace and aignity, for a normal and secure existence finds expression in this intense urge to go to Palestine. What more overwhelming and tragic evidence of this urge is required than the persistent and desperate attempts of these men. Women and children to reach the shores of the Jewish National Home from where they are forcibly turned back --- in the case of the "Exodus 1947", back to Germany! And if it be countered that mere desire does not create a right, a complete answer is that that desire was the basis for the creation of the right by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate. That desire was recognized as morally so compelling that it lei the victorious Allies in the First World War to establish solenn international commitments guaran-

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teeing the legal right of Jews to go to Palestine.

The Jewish Agency strongly hopes that the nations of the world will welcome those among the displaced persons who wish to emigrate to other lands. The Jewish Agency never contemplated that any displaced person should be forced to go to Palestine. But surely, to compel those Jewish refugees, many of whom have close family ties with Palestine, to go against their will to other lands and to deny them the right to go to the Jewish National Home would be most unjust and unkind and would be bitterly resented. The 12th recommendation of the Committee reads: "It is recommended that in the appraisal of the Palestine question, it be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general." We are at a loss to understand the meaning of this recommendation -- actually not a recommendation but a mere postulate. The "Jewish problem <u>in general</u>" is not a problem of Jewish immigration or of refugees. It is the age-old problem of Jewish national hemelessness. There is but one solution to this problem, a national heme. This was the basic Jewish problem which was faced by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and to which the proper solution was given -- the reconstitution of the national home of the Jewish people in Palestine.

Without attempting at this stage a detailed analysis of the solution 7. recommended by the minority of three members of the Special Committee, we must state at once that we find it wholly unacceptable, even as a basis for discussion. It proposes the establishment of an independent Federal State of Palestine, consisting of what are described as an Arab and a Jewish "State", though they are, in fact, little more than semi-autonomous canton; or provinces. It is obvious that under the constitutional provision; envisaged in this recommendation, Palestine would become in effect an Arab State with two Jewish enclaves, in which the Jews would be frozen in the posttion of a permanent minority of the population of the Federal State. Under the proposed constitution the Jewish province would not have control over immigration even within the narrow confines of its own borders. Nor would it have control over its own fiscal policies. Not only with regard to the crucia, question of immigration, but also with regard to many other matters of fundamental importance, the ultimate power of decision will rest with the Arab majority of the proposed Federal State. The proposal is a variant of the Federal scheme put forward last year by His Majesty's Government, generally known as the Morrison Plan, which was rejected at the time both by Jews and Arabs, as well as by the Government of the United States. The plan entails for the Jews all the disadvantages of partition -- and a very bad partition geographically -- without the compensating advantages of a real partition: statehood, independence and free immigration.

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8. As regards the Majority proposals we wish to make the following observations. These proposals are those of the Committee. Needless to say they are not the proposals of the Jewish Agency which, in fact, were ruled out by the Committee. They do not represent satisfaction of the rights of the Jewish people. They are a serious attenuation of these rights. At the hearings of your Committee we fully defined these rights and their justification. I will not here impose upon you by restating them. Partition clearly was never contemplated by the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate. It was intended that Palestine, the whole of Palestine, shall ultimately become a Jewish State. This is the clear testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, who was the British Prime Minister at the time of the issuance of the Declaration. The land referred to as Palestine in the Declaration included what is now Trans-Jordan. The Royal Commission of 1937 declared that "the field in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine." That area has already been partitioned. The first partitioning of Palestine took place in 1922 when Trans-Jordan, representing 3/4 of the original area of Palestine, was cut off and has since been set up by the British as an Arab kingdom. Thus, one Arab state has already been carved out of the area assigned to the Jewish National Home. It is now proposed to carve a second Arab state out of the remainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish National Home is now to be confined to less than 1/8 of the territory originally set aside for it. This is a sacrifice which the Jewish people should not be asked to make. The legitimate national aspirations of the Arab peoples have been fully satisfied. President Truman, in his letter of October 28, 1946, to the king of Smudi-Arabia, calls attention to this facts "I am happy to note," he writes, "that most of the liberated peoples (of the Near East) are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish National Home, however, has not yet been fully developed." The Arabs possess today independent monarchies in Saudi-Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and independent republics in Syria and Lebanon. A population of 17 millions in Arab Asia occupies an area of 1,290,000 square miles, enormously rich in resources and potentialities. This area, which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and which, together with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied - The love

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Nations, includes all the centers which are primarily associated in history with Arab and Moslem traditions. Palestine, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the nations of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish National Home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only 10,000 square miles in extent, and it is now proposed, in the Majority Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish National Home by almost one-half.

It is not our intention at this time to enter into a detailed discussion of the many territorial provisions in the proposals of the Majority Report. But we feel constrained to point out at least two features which are open to most sericus objections. The Majority Report eliminates western Galilee - that is, most of Galilee - from the Jewish State. The Peel Commission included western Galilee in the Jewish State. For reasons which we shall endeavor to explain more fully at a later stage, we regard the proposed exclusion of western Galilee as an unjustified and a particularly grievous handicap to the development of the Jewish State.

Inder the terms of the Majority proposal, the city of Jerusalem is set up as a separate government unit. We did not question the propriety of placing the old city of Jerusalem, which contains the holy places, as well as the holy shrines which may be outside the walls of the old city, in the custody of an international trustee. But outside the old city a modern new city has grown up which contains a compact Jewish section of approximately 90,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central national religious and educational institutions of the Jewish people of Palestine. Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a particularly severe blow. Jerusalem holds a unique place in Jewish life and religious traditions. It is the ancient capital of the Jewish nation

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resolve of our people to be reconstituted as a nation in the land of Israel was epitomized in the solemn vow of the Psalmist and of the exiked people throughout the ages: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning." We strongly urge that the Jewish section of modern Jerusalem, outside the walls, be included in the Jewish State. "There are other modifications which we will take up at a later stage of these discussions. 9. To return to the basic solution of partition proposed by the Special Conmittee: it entails, as we have said, a very heavy sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. But if such a sacrifice is made the inexorable condition of an immediate and final solution we would be prepared to assume the responsibility for recommending acquiescence to the supreme organs of our movement, subject, of course, to further discussion of the constitution and territorial provisions which we assume will take place in the course of these sessions. We would be prepared to do so tecause the proposal makes possible the immediate re-establishment of the Jaw sh State, an ideal for which our people ceaselessly strove through the centuries, and because it ensures immediate and continuing Jowish immigration which, as events have demonstrated, is possible only under a Jewish State. We would do so also as our contribution to the solution of a grave international problem and as evidence of our willingness to join with the community of nations in an effort to bring peace at last to the troibled land which is precious to the heart of mankind.

10. We are impressed with the recommendation in the Report of an economic union between the two states. We approve of the conclusion reached by the Committee that "in view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, it is essential that, to the extent feasible, and consistent with the creation of two independent states, the economic unity of the country should be preserved." This appears to us to be a progressive and statesmanlike conception of great promise. The Jewish Agency is prepared to accept this proposal of an economic union. It should, however, be understood that this economic union -- while it would bestow some benefits on the Jewish State -- would also impose grave sacrifices. The acceptable limit of these sacrifices is, in principle, clear; the Jewish

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State must have in its own hands those instruments of financing and economic control that are necessary to carry out large-scale Jewish immigration and the related economic development. The Jewish State must have independent access to those world sources of capital and supplies that are indispensable for the accomplishment of these purposes. The Majority Report provides, in effect, for a large subsidy from the Jewish to the Arab State, through equal sharing by the two States of the net revenues from customs and joint services. This subsidy would be a very heavy one in relation to the national income. The Jewish Agency would, however, be prepared to assume this burden as one of its sacrifices designed to find a way out of the present intolerable impasse.

11. We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab state of Palestine, but to the Arab states throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which wouli be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Falestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met with the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances -- defend our rights to the utmost. We have builded a nation in Falestine. That nation now demands its independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make an enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond it we cannot, we will not go.

12. The Report recommends that "during the transitional period the

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authority entrusted with the task of administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations." In view of the statement of His Majesty's Government it is not clear now which will be this authority. We favor an international authority under the United Nations to supervise and insure the implementation of its decisions. Moove all, we unge that the transitional period be as brief as possible. A period of two years is, in our judgment, considerably longer than is necessary or desirable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the powers and functions of administration to the two peoples in their respective states would not take place at the end of the transitional period, but would be inaugurated immediately and consummated as rapidly as possible. The Jewish people in Palestine stands ready to assume immediately all responsibilities which the establishment of the Jewish State will involve.

We agree with the Report that "whatever the solution, enforcement measures on an extensive scale may be necessary for some time." The Jewish Agency hopes that the transition from the present status of the country to the new status of two independent states, will be attended by a minimum of friction and conflict. Once the boundaries are defined and the states established by the United Nations they will be entitled to have their territorial integrity and sovereign rights respected and protected as fully as all other nations which are covenanted to geaceful relations under the Charter. All members of the United Nations, whether in the neighborhood of Palestine or elsewhere, who are bound by the principles of the Charter, will be expected to respect the rights of these new states, under pain of being condemned as aggressors and subjected to international sanctions. Moreover, we assume that in the constitution of whatever military or police force may be required during the transitional period, full use will be made of the trained manpower available in Palestine which will be prepared to offer its services to the United Nations to maintain law and order.

The Jewish State, when it is established, will respect the sovereignty of its neighbor states as fully as it will defend its own. The Jewish people in Falestine is prepared to defeni itself. It is not impressed by idle threats. A people that has survived the accumulated fury of the centuries, faced powerful empires in a bitter battle for survival, and during the last war saw hundreds of thousands of its sons fighting for freedom in all the liberating armies of the Allied nations -- while the head of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee was broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Berlin and congratulating Hitler on his African victories over the Allies -- such a people will not be intimidates. Nor, we are confident, will this great international body which is earnestly wrestling with this tremendously difficult problem and which is seeking a just and equitable

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solution, be terrorized into surrendering its high mandate. We secall with satisfaction that similar threats uttered by the same particle during the first Special Session did not influence the resolution of the Assembly. Nor was the Special Committee impressed by these threats during its hearings. We hope that these same threats will not influence this great deliberative body which must be guided by principles of truth and justice -- the underlying principles of its Charter. 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 its members, pursuant to the decisions of the United Nations.

In this connection we must take note of the announcement made by the representative of the United Kingdom that its forces may not be available to the United Nations during the transitional period. and may be subject to early withdrawal from Palestine. In that event, in order to avoid the creation of a dangerous vacuum which might affect public security, the Jewish people of Palestine will provide without delay the necessary effectives to maintain public security within their country.

Nr. Chairman and members of this Committee. With this United Nations Report we have reached one of the important crossroads of history. The course which will be followed will be fraught with destiny for all, the Jews, the Arabs and the United Nations. We hope that it will be a course of wisdom, justice and courage. The Jewish people hopefully awaits the decision of this body. Twenty-five years ago a similar international organization recognized the historic claims of the Jewish people, sanctioned our program and set us firmly on the road of realization. We were not then regarded as intruders or invaders -- not even by the foremost leaders and spokesmen of the Arab world -- but as a people returning home after a long

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sad exile. The world approved and acclaimed the return of leraci to its ancient hemeland. The statesmen of the world faced the tragic problem of Jewish mational hopelessness and they set about to solve it. The Jewish people was confirmed in its right to rebuild its national life in its historic home. It eagerly seized the long hoped-for opportunity and proceeded to rebuild that ancient land of Israel in a manner which evoked the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness to block as the rose. Surely this great international body, surveying this faithful and fruitful work, will wich to see that work continued, that undertaking advanced, that hope of the centuries consummated. 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.

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STATEMENT MADE TO THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE Thursday, October 2, 1947.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

1. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, which I have the honor to represent, is appreciative of the privilege which this Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has extended to it to be represented at its deliberations and to express its views on the Report which the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has submitted.

We have read the Report with the deepest interest and the closest attention, and we are prepared to make our observations on it. We are greatly impressed with the earnest and conscientious labors which the eleven members of the Special Committee devoted to their task and which are reflected in the comprehensive and impressive document before us. It was good to have a committee of neutrals examine the Palestine problem afresh in an effort to arrive at a solution which would be morally justifiable and politically sound. We share entirely the view expressed in the Report that the "opinions of members of an international committee who represent various civilizations and schools of thought, and have approached the question from different angles, may be of some value."

2. The Jewish Agency availed itself of the invitation extended to it by the Special Committee to present its case. We were happy to make available to the Committee whatever information it desired of us, to answer any question, and frankly to share our thinking with it. We regarded it as an inescapable obligation to cooperate to the fullest extent with the United Nations which had this grave international problem presented to it and which assumed the responsibility for formulating a decision on the future government of Palestine.

3. In this connection we find it necessary to point to a circumstance to which the Report itself draws special attention, namely, the failure of the Arab Higher Committee to cooperate with the Committee. The Chairman of the Wnited Nations Special Committee, during the hearings in Jerusalem, made an appeal by radio for the full cooperation of all parties. The Special Committee also addressed a letter directly to the Arab Higher Committee regretting the decision of the latter not to cooperate and repeating the Special Committee's invitation for full cooperation. In reply Mr. Jamal Husseini, vice-chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, wrote that the Committee found no reason to reverse the previous decision to abstain from collaboration. One is at a loss to understand why the Arab Higher Committee Was unwilling to present its case to the Special Committee of the United Nations. The Jewish Agency likewise had been subjected to the strains and disappointments of the numerous Palestine inquiries which preceded it. Having repeatedly refused the invitation to present its case, why does the Arab Higher Committee come now to ask "justice and equity" at the hands of the United Nations whose amthority it had flouted and whose competence to define the form of the future gevernment of Palestine the Arab spokesman on Monday categorically denied?

4. The same spokesman treated us to an historic improvisation on the origin of the Jewish people and on the history of Palestine. History may not be an exact science but it certainly is not a story out of the Arabian nights. There are certain facts which do not yield to wishful thinking. Thus the canard that the Jews of western Europe are descendant not from Israel of old, but from a tribe of Khasars in Russia, is a relatively recent invention and was popularized in the racial mythologies of our day whose political motivations are clearly transparent. One would assume that the Arabs of Palestine would be among the last people on earth to wish to engage in genealogical research.

When the Allies liberated Palesting in-1917 along with other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, Palestine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no politically or culturally distinct or distinguishable Arab nation in that province. There never had been. The Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century of the common era held sway over that country which contained a very mixed and heterogeneous population for 437 years between 634 and 1071 A.D. --437 years out of more than 3,000 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071 the country was conquered by various non-Arab peoples such as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Crusaders, the Egyptian Namelukes and finally, by the Ottoman Turks. By the time the Arabs conquered Palestine in 634 A.D. the Jewish people had already completed nearly 2,000 years of national history in that country, during which time they created a civilization which decidely influenced the course of mankind, gave rise both to Judaism and Christianity, produced the Bible and brought forth prophets, saints and spiritual leaders who are venerated not only by Judaism, but by Christianity and Islam as well. "In the 12 conturies or more that have passed since the Arab conquest," reads the Report of the Royal Commission of 1937, "Palestine has virtually dropped out of history In economics and in politics Palestine lay outside the main stream of the world's life. In the realm of thought, in science or in letters it made no contribution to modern civilization."

The very identity of Palestine as a unit of autom society is an achievement of Jewish history. The country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion and only resumed a specific role in history when the Palestine Mandate was ratified. The Mandate acknowledged this history by setting Palestine in a distinct and separate context in relation to the Arab world. "I am persuaded," declared President Wilson on March 3, 1919, "that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth,"

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Speaking in the House of Lords on June 27, 1923 Lord Milnor, who called himself "a strong supporter of the pro-Arab policy", stated: "Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the same footing as the other Arab countries. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter . . . and the future of Palestine cannot possibly be left to be determined by the temporary impressions and feelings of the Arab majority in the country in the present day."

When the Palestine Mandate therefore recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" it was only stating a fact that was universally acknowledged through the ages. And when it gave international recognition to the grounds for reconstituting the Jewish national home in that country -- an act which Field Marshal Smuts, member of the War Cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration, called "one of the greatest acts of history" -- it was only reaffirming the fact that the Jewish people had never surrendered the hope of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For to the Jews, Palestine was not morely a place of secred shrines as to Christians and Mosloms, but the home of their exiled people, the land of their national destiny, and throughout the dark conturies of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

Concerning the Arab economic grievances which were aired here the other day, we wish only to refer to the Report of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them, as well as to the relevant chapters in the Regal Commission Report of 1937, to show hew utterly groundless they are. These Reports, as well as the memorandum of the Palestine Government which was submitted to the Special Committee of the United Nations -- a document which can hardly be charged with pro-Jowish bias -- conclusively prove that the Palestine Arabs benefitted considerably and directly from Jowish development in the economic, financial and social spheres.

We must take note, too, of the interesting contrast which the Arab spokesman attempted to draw between the terroristic acts of the Arabs of Palestine in 1936-39 - acts which wore never condemned or repudiated by any responsible Arab spokesman --- and the regrettable acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today which the official bodies of Palestine Jowry have most severely condemned. "It has been officially admitted that in their several uprisings against the British in Pelostine," stated the Arab spokesman, "the Arabs ordinarily fought face to face as noble mon." As illustrative of this nobility, permit me to quote the statement of Sir John Chancellor, the High Commissioner of Palestine, on the Arab riots there in 1929: "I have learned with horror of the atrocious acts committed by bodies of ruthless and bloed-thirsty ovildoors, of savage murder perpetrated upon deferseless members of the Jewish population regardless of age or sox, accompanied as at Hebron by acts of unspeakable savagery, 'of the burning of farms and houses in town and country, and of the looting and destruction of property. These crimes have brought upon their authors the execution of all civilized peoples throughout the world." In commonting upon the rists of 1936, the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission has this to say: "There were similar assaults upon the porsons and property of the Jews, conducted with the same rockloss forecity (as in 1929.) Wemen and children were not spared."

5. Before making our observations on the Roport itself, may we be permitted to comment on the statement which was made at the beginning of your deliberations by Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones on behalf of His Majesty's Government?

It was the United Kingdom Government which requested that the question of Palestine be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. It was His Majesty's Government which asked the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter for the future government of Palestine. In making these far-reaching requests, with which the United Nations complied, the United Kingdom surely must have had in mind not the thought of ultimately imposing its own solution on the United Nations, but the hope that this great international body, approaching the problem anew and without bias, might find a solution which, while not fully acceptable to overyone, would nevertheless represent the collective wisdom and judgment of the nations of the world and would have behind it such weight of authority that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accept it and to cooperate in its implementation. Surely such loyal cooperation on the part of member nations is presupposed whon any International problem is considered by the United Nations. Otherwise His Majesty's Government might just as well have announced six months ago what it declared the other day. Why wore six critical months lest. during which time the situation in Palestine was permitted to deteriorate most gravely? And why was all the apparatus of the United Nations invoked to investigate and to recommend a settlement of the problem If there was no intention to accept and to participate in the implementation of such a settlement?

Sir Alexander Gadogan, at the 52nd meeting of the first committee of the General Assembly, stated: "All we say — and I made this reservation the other day — is that we shall not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which is not accepted by both parties and which we cannot reconcile without conscience." But we observe that His Majesty's Government is not being asked to accept a sole responsibility. The Report of the Special Committee clearly recommends that if so desired, one or more members of the United Nations shall be invited to assist in the administering of the country along with the present Mandatory Power.

The statement of Mr. Creech-Jones seems to go beyond that of Sir Alexander Cadogan's and implies that His Majesty's Government not only does not wish to assume <u>sole</u> responsibility for implementing the Report, but reserves to itself the right of refusing any cooperation in implementing the final decision of the United Nations if, in its judgment, It does not comply with its own criteria of justice and with its own preferred technique of implementation. One questions whether in taking such a position — if we have understood the position correctly the United Kingdom is helping to solve this difficult problem and whether its course will enhance the authority and prestige of the United Nations which has assumed responsibility over the Falestine question. It is clear to everyone that the solution of this problem represents a vital challenge to the United Nations and a crucial test of its future effectiveness.

In view of His Majesty's Government's reluctance to impose a policy by force of arms - a policy which would have behind it the sanction of the community of nations - one may be pardoned for inquiring why His Majesty's Covernment has not hesitated to employ in recent years a military force of 100,000 men, along with its navy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Palestine which no international body has approved, which is contrary to the purposes and provisions of the Mandate, and which has been thrice disapproved by international bodies. It would have been more helpful if the statement of His Hajesty's Government had been more revealing. Surely it must be clear to everyone that no settlement of the Palestine problem is possible without some enforcement. The Palestine problem is not at all unique in this regard. The Report of the Special Committee correctly states: "Taking into account the fact that devising a solution which will be fully acceptable to both Jews and Arabs seems to be utterly impossible, the prospect of imposing a solution on them would be the basic condition of any recommended proposal." It was the realization that such an Arab-Jowish agreement was impossible that prompted Mr. Bovin to turn the problem over to the United Nations. Mr. Creech-Jones' declaration, therefore, that "the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jows" is vory singular indeed and does not advance the solution at all.

It may be pertinent to recall that the principle of partition on which the Majority Report of the Committee is based was first projected by the all-British Royal Commission in 1937. At that time the British Government accepted that recommendation in principle and declared: "In supporting a solution of the Falestine problem by means of partition, His Majesty's Government are much impressed by the advantages which it offers to the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs would obtain their national independence, and thus be enabled to cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of neighboring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress. They would be finally delivered from all fear of Jewish domination . . On the other hand, partition would secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and relieve it from any possibility of its being subjected in the future to Arab rule. It would convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State with full control over immigration . . . Above all, fear and suspicion would be replaced by a sense of confidence and security, and both peoples would obtain, in the words of the Commission, 'the inectimable boon of peace,'"

Confronted as we now are by the latest expression of His Majesty's Government, we cannot help but reflect upon the course which has been followed by successive British Governments during the past decade. In 1937 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the Palestine problem, which, after an exhaustive study, recommended partition as a solution. After an initial approval of the plan, the British Government wound up by rejecting it and promulgated in its stead the White Paper policy of 1939 which was in complete contradiction to the basic recommendation of the Royal Commission. In 1945 the British Government invited the American Government to join in a two-nation inquiry into the Palestine problem with a view to its solution. This Committee submitted unanimous recommendations proposing not partition, but a unitary state. It called for the abrogation of the White Paper policy, including its racial land law, the early admission of 100,000 Jows, continued Jowish immigration thereafter, and the faithful implementation of the provisions of the Mandate. The British Government rejected the recommendations of this Committee also and wound up by putting forward the Morrison and Bovin proposals which were diametrically opposed in substance and in spirit to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee. Finally, in 1947 the British Government proposed another examination of the Palestine problem, this tino by the United Nations. As a result, a commission was appointed consisting of the representatives of 11 nations. This Committee has now submitted a Report which recommends a plan of partition coupled with economic union. But this Report scome no more acceptable to His Majosty's Government than the two earlier Reports. It has indicated no support of this latest Report and offers in its stead --nothing.

The failure, however, of the United Kingdom Government to give the United Nations a measure of guidance and support, and its announced intention of an early withdrawal from Palestine which we welcome, makes it more imperative than ever that the General Assembly should proceed with the work before it with utmost dispatch. As early as last April it was realized in the special session of the Assembly that there was great urgency to the matter. Certainly that urgency for action and decision has been intensified by all that has transpired since.

The Jewish Agency, in making this preliminary comment on the Heport itself, 6. wishes to indicate at the outset its full approval of all but one of the eleven unonimous recommendations made by the Committee. On the sixth recommendation. of which it does not disapprove, it would like to make this observation. The sixth recommendation calls upon the General Assembly "to undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem." It will be recalled that the Angio-American Committee of Inquiry likewise recommended that efforts be made immediately to find ney homes for these displaced persons. In making this recommendation the Anglo-American Committee stated; "We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe." The position in this respect has remained completely unchanged. The recommendation has remained a dead letter. Our unfortunate refugees are still languishing in the displaced persons' camps facing a third winter after the termination of the war. The Report of your Special Collittee refers to the "intense urgs" of these distressed persons to be allowed to go to Belestine. The "intense urge" of the Jerish displaced persons to proceed to Pelestine and the refusel of most of them to go anywhere else springs not only : rom their realization that the prospects of their admission to other countries are slight in the extreme, and even then only of a very limited scope. It springs preeminently from the fact that Pelestine offers to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else; the chance of a real home, the prospect of a life in congenial surroundings, the insurance of personency. All the longing of these uprooted people for a life of peace and dignity, for a normal and secure existence finds expression in this "intense urge" to no to Palestine. What more overwhelming and tragic evidence of this unge is required than the persistent and desperate attempts of these men, women and children to reach the shores of the Jewish Mational Home from where they are firsibly turned back -- in the case of the "Exodas 1947," back to Germany! And if it be countered that mere desire does not create a right, a complete answer is that that desire was the basis for the creation of the right by the Belfour Declaration and the League of Mations Mandate. That desire was recognized as morally so coupelling that it led the victorious Allies in the First dorld der to establish solemn international commitments guaranteeing the legal right of Jews to go to Palestine.

The Jewish Agency strongly hopes that the mations of the world will welcome those among the displaced persons who wish to emigrate to other lands. The Jewish Agency never contemplated that any displaced person should be forced to go to Palestine. But surely, to compel those Jewish refugees, many of whom have close family ties with Palestine, to go against their will to other lands and to deny them the right to go to the Jewish National Home would be most unjust and unkind and would be bitterly resented. The 12th recommendation of the Committee reads: "It is recommended that in the appraisal of the Palestine question, it be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general." We are at a loss to understand the meaning of this recommendation -- actually not a recommendation but a more postulate. The "Jewish problem <u>in general</u>" is not a problem of Jewish immigration or of refugees. It is the age-old problem of Jewish national homelessness. There is but one solution to this problem, a national home. This was the basic Jewish problem which was faced by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and to which the proper solution was given -- the reconstitution of the national home of the Jewish people in Palestine.

7. Without attempting at this stage a detailed analysis of the solution recommended by the minority of three members of the Special Committee, we must state at once that we find it wholly unsceeptable, oven as a basis for discussion. It proposes the establishment of an independent Federal State of Palestine, consisting of what are described as an Arab and a Jewish "State", though they are, in fact, little more than semi-autonomous cantons or provinces. It is obvious that under the constitutional provisions envisaged in this recommendation, Palestine would become in effect an Arab State with two Jewish enclaves, in which the Jews would be frozen in the position of a permanent minority of the population ge of the Federal State. Under the proposed constitution the Jowish province would not have control over immigration even within the narrow confines of its own borders. Nor would it have control over its own fiscal policies. Not only with regard to the crucial question of immigration, but also with regard to many other matters of fundamental importance, the ultimate power of decision will rest with the Arab majority of the proposed Vederal State. The proposal is a variant of the Federal scheme put forward last year by His Majesty's Covernment, generally known as the Morrison Plan, which was rejected at the time both by Jews and Arabs, as well as by the Government of the United States. The plan entails for the Jews all the disadvantages of partition -- and a very bad partition geographically -- without the compensating advantages of a real partition: statchood, independence and free immigration.

> 8. As regards the Majority proposals we wish to make the following observations. These proposals are those of the Committee. Neecless to say they are not the proposals of the Jewish Agency which, in fact, were raled out by the Committee. They do not represent satisfaction of the rights of the Jewish people. They are a serious attenuation of these rights. At the hearings of your Committee we fully defined these rights and their justification. I will not here impose upon you by restating them. Partition clearly was nover contemplated by the Balfour Declaration or the Mandato. It was interded that Palestine, the whole of Palestino, shall ultimatley become a Jewish State. This is the clear testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, the was the British Prime Minister at the time of the issuance of the Declaration. The land referred to as Palestine in the Declaration included what is now Trans-Jordan. The Royal Commission of 1937 declared that "the field in which the Jowish National Home was to be established was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine." That area has already been partitioned. The first partitioning of Palestine took place in 1922 when Trans-Jordan, representing 3/4 of the original area of Palostine, was cut off and has since been set up by the British as an Arab kingdom. Thus, one Arab state has already been carved out of the area assigned to the Jewish National Home. It is now proposed to carve a second Arab state out of the romainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish National Home is now to be confined to less than 1/8 of the territory originally set aside for it.

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This is a secrifice which the Jewish people should not be asked to make. The legitimate rational aspirations of the Arab peoples have been fully satisfied. President Truman, in his letter of October 28, 1946, to the king of Saudi-Arabia, calls attention to this fact: "I am happy to note," he writes, "that most of the liberated peoples (of the Mear East) are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish Hational Home, however, has not yet been fully developed." The Arabs possess today independent monarchies in Saudi-Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and independent republics in Syria and Lebanon. A population of 17 millions in Arab Asia occupies an area of 1,290,000 square miles, cnormously rich in resources and potontialities. This area, which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and which, togethor with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied Mations, includes all the centers which are primarily associated in history with Arab and Moslem traditions. Palestine, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the nations of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish National Home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only 10,000 square miles in oxtont, and it is now proposed, in the Majority Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish National Home by almost one-half.

It is not our intention at this time to enter into a detailed discussion of the many territorial provisions in the proposals of the Majority Report. But we feel constrained to point out at least two features which are open to most serious objections. The Majority Report eliminates western Galileo - that is, most of Galileo - from the Jowish State. The Peel Commission included western Galileo in the Jowish State. For reasons which we shall endeaver to explain more fully at a later stage, we regard the proposed exclusion of western Galileo as an unjustified and a particularly grievous handicup to the development of the Jowish State.

Under the terms of the Majority proposal, the city of Jerusalom is set up as a separate government unit. We would not question the propriety of placing the old city of Jorusalom, which contains the holy places. as well as the holy shrinos, which may be outside the walls of the old city, in the custody of an international trustec. But outside the old city a medern new city has grown up which contains a compact Jowish soction of approximately 90,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central national, religious and educational institutions of the Jewish people of Palestine. Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a particularly severe blow. Jerusalem holds a unique place in Jewish life and religious traditions. It is the ancient capital of the Jewish nation and the symbol throughout the ages of Jewish mationhood. The undefeated resolve of our people to be reconstituted as a nation in the land of Israel was epitomized in the solemn vow of the Psalmist and the exiled people throughout the ages: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." He strongly urge that the Jewish section of modern Jerusalem, outside the walls, bo included in the Jewish State.

There are other modifications which we will take up at a later stage of these discussions.

9. To return to the basic solution of partition proposed by the Special Committee; it entails, as we have said, a very heavy sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. But if such a sacrifice is made the inexorable condition of an immediate and final solution we would be prepared to assume the responsibility for recommending acquiescence to the supreme organs of our movement, subject, of course, to further discussion of the constitution and territorial provisions which we assume will take place in the course of these sessions. We would be prepared to do so because the proposal makes possible for immediate re-establishment of the Jewish State, an ideal for which our people conselessly strove through the conturies, and because it ensures immediate and continuing Jewish immigration which, as events have demonstrated, it possible only under a Jewish State. We would do so also as our contribution to the solution of a grave international problem and as evidence of our willingness to join with the community of nations in an effort to bring peace at last to the troubled land which is precious to the heart of mankind.

10. We are impressed with the recommendation in the Report of an economic union between the two states. We approve of the conclusion reached by the Committee that "in view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, it is essential that, to the extent feasible, and consistent with the creation of two independent states, the economic unity of the country should be preserved." This appears to us to be a progressive and statesmanlike conception of great promise. The Jewish Agency is prepared to accept this proposal of an economic union. It should, however, be understood that this economic union -- while it would be stow some benefits on the Jewish State -- would also impose grave sacrifices. The acceptable limit of these sacrifices is, in principle, clear: the Jewish State must have in its own hands those instruments of financing and economic control that are necessary to carry out large-scale Jewish immigration and the related economic development. The Jewish State must have independent access to those world sources of capital and supplies that are indispensable for the accomplishment of these purposes.

The Majority Report provides, in effect, for a large subsidy from the Jewish to the Arab State, through equal sharing by the two States of the net revenues from customs and joint services. This subsidy would be a very heavy one in relation to the national income. The Jewish Agency would, however, be prepared to assume this burden as one of its sacrifices designed to find a way out of the present intolerable impasse.

11. We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab state of Palestine, but to the Arab states throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the from of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hope; to do in the future along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors. Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met with the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances -defend our rights to the utmost. We have builded a nation in Palestine. That nation now domands its independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make an enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are propared to make this sacrifice. BeyCnd it we cannot, we will not go.

12. The Report recommends that "during the transitional period the authority entrusted with the task of administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations." In view of the statement of His Majesty's Government it is not clear now which will be this authority. We favor an international authority under the United Nations to supervise and insure the implementation of its decisions.

Above all, we urgo that the transitional period be as brief as possible. A period of two years is, in our judgment, considerably longer than is necessary or desirable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the powers and functions of administration to the two peoples in their respective states would not take place at the end of the transitional period, but would be inaugurated immediately and consummated as rapidly as possible. The Jewish people in Palestine stands ready to assume immediately all responsibilities which the establishment of the Jewish State will involve.

We agree with the Report that "whatever the solution, enforcement measures on an extensive scale may be necessary for some time." The Jewish Agency hopes that the transition from the present status of the country to the new status of two independent states, will be attended by a minimum of friction and conflict. Once the boundaries are defined and the states established by the United Nations they will be entitled to have their territorial integrity and sovereign rights respected and protected as fully as all other nations which are covenanted to peaceful relations under the Charter. All members of the United Nations, whether in the neighborhood of Palestine or elsewhere, who are bound by the principles of the Charter, will be expected to respect the rights of these new states, under pain of being condemned as aggressors and subjected to international sanctions. Moreover, we assume that in the constitution of whatever military or police force may be required during the transitional period, full use will be made of the trained manpower available in Palestine which will be prepared to effer its services to the United Nations to maintain law and order.

The Jewish State, when it is established, will respect the sovereignty of its neighbor states as fully as it will defend its own. The Jewish people in Palesting is prepared to defend itself. It is not impressed by idle threats. A people that has survived the accumulated fury of the centuries, faced powerful empires in a bitter battle for survival, and during the last war saw hundreds of thousands of its sons fighting for freedom in all the liberating armies of the Allied nations -- while the head of the Palestino Arab Higher Committee was broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Berlin and congratulating Hitler on his African victories over the Allies -- such a people will not be intimidated.

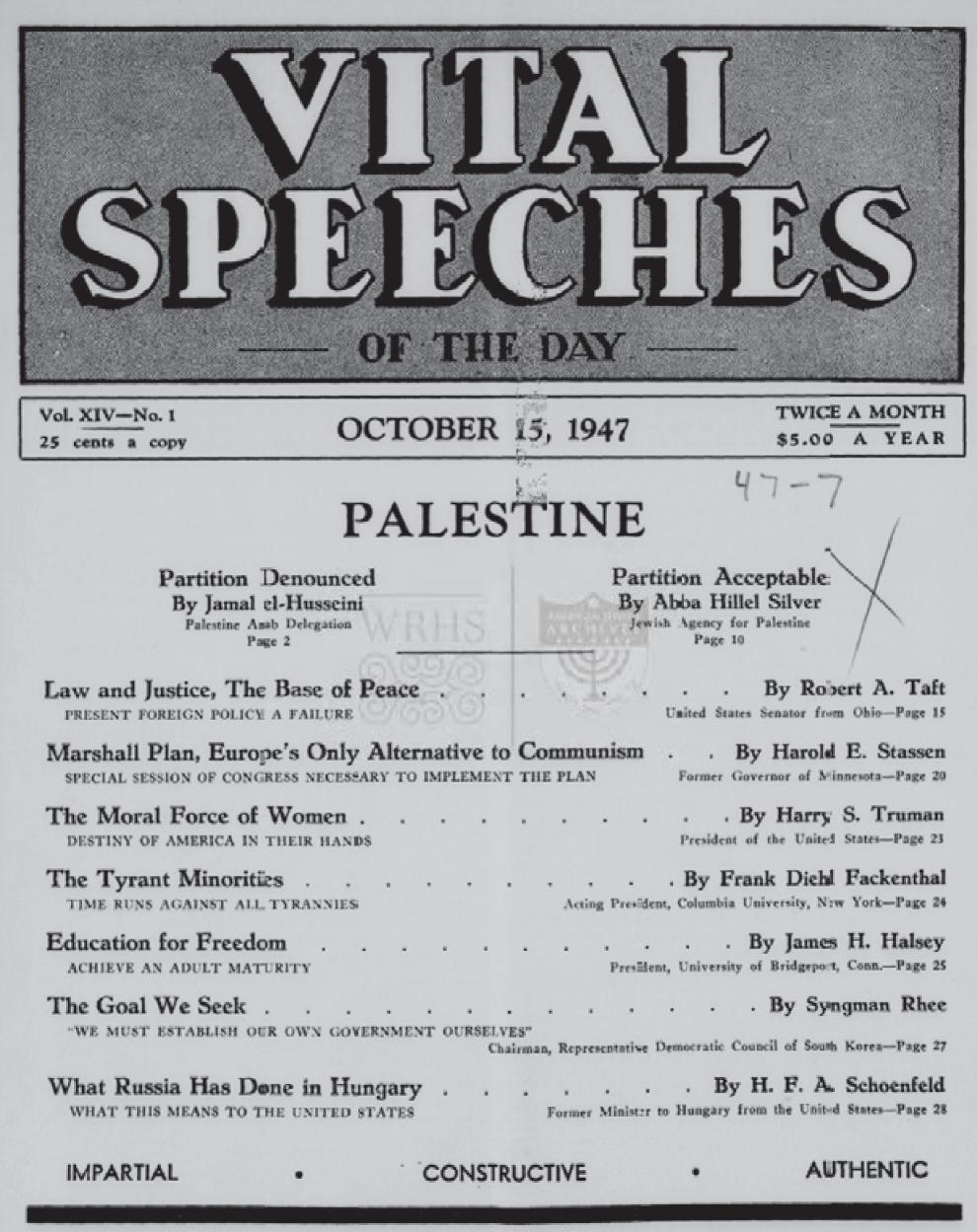
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Nor, we are confident, will this great international body which is earnestly wrestling with this tremendously difficult problem and which is seeking a just and equitable solution, be terrorized into surrendering its high mandate. We recall with satisfaction that similar threats uttered by the same parties during the first Special Session did not influence the resolution of the Assembly. Nor was the Special Committee impressed by these threats during its hearings. We hope that these same threats will not influence this great deliberative body which must be guided by principles of truth and justice — the underlying principles of its Charter. 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 its members, pursuant to the decisions of the United Nations.

In this connection we must take note of the announcement made by the representative of the United Kingdom that its forces may not be available to the United Nations during the transitional period, and may be subject to early withdrawal from Palestine. In that event, in order to avoid the creation of a dangerous vacuum which might affect public security, the Jewish people of Palestine will provide without delay the necessary effectives to maintain public security within their country.

Mr. Chairman and members of this Committee. With this United Nations Report we have reached one of the important crossroads of history. The course which will be followed will be fraught with destiny for all, the Jews, the Arabs and the United Nations. We hope that it will be a course of wisdom, justice and courage. The Jewish people hopefully awaits the decision of this body. Twenty-five years ago a similar international organization recognized the historic claims of the Jewish people, sanctioned our program and set us firmly on the road of realization. We were not then regarded as intruders or invaders --- not even by the foremast leaders and spokesmen of the Arab world -- tut as a people returning home after a long sai exile. The world approved and acclaimed the return of Israel to its ancient homeland. The statesmen of the world faced the tragic problem of Jewish national houslossness and they sot about to solve it. The Jewish people was confirmed in its right to rebuild its national life in its historic home. It eagerly seized the long hoped-for opportunity and proceeded to rebuild that ancient lend of Israel in a manner which evoked the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness blossom as the rose. Surely this great international body, surveying this faithful and fruitful work, will wish to see that work continued, that undertaking advanced, that hope of the centuries consummated. It will be a noble achievoment which will redound to the everlesting glory of this world organization. It will be a supreme act of international justice.

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THE BEST THOUGHT OF THE BEST MINDS ON CURRENT NATIONAL QUESTIONS

Vital Speeches of the Day

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No. 1

Palestine Partition Denounced

ARAB POSITION

By JAMAL el-HUSSEINI, Chairman, Palestine Arab Delegation Delivered to the United Nation's General Assembly's Committee on Palestine, September 29, 1947

N behalf of the Palestine Arab delegation, I desire to express to you our gratefulness for the opportunity you have kindly offered us to lay our case before you with the sincere hope that a just and lasting solution will be the outcome of your deliberations.

The Palestine Arab case is simple and self-evident. Indeed, it hardly needs elaboration. It is based on the high principles of international justice which are upheld by the civilized world. It is that of a people who desire to live in undisturbed possession of their country, in which they have continually existed and with which they have become inextricably interwoven.

The Arabs of Palestine are there where Providence and history have placed them. As all other nations, they are entitled to live in freedom and peace and to develop their country in accordance with their traditions and in harmony with universal conceptions of justice and equity. If this universal right of all nations, in our world of today, cannot be questioned, the Arabs of Palestine are unable to understand why theirs should be questioned and submitted constantly to investigation and fact-finding.

We have one glaring, all-embracing fact: That we are there and have always been there in actual possession of our own country, and we have one binding, lawful and sacred duty: To defend it against all aggression. We ask for no favors and we desire nothing that is not ours by birthright.

The Zionists are conducting an aggressive campaign, in fact, an invasion. For no matter with what apparel it is clothed, religious, humaritarian, or political, the Zionist movement for the possession of Palestine is nothing but an invasion that aims, by fo ce, at securing and dominating a country that is not theirs by birthright.

"THE CASE IN A NUTSHELL"

On one side, therefore, there is self-defense; on the other side, an aggression. The aison d'etre of the United Nations is to assist self-defense against aggression.

This is the case before you in a nutshell.

Investigation and fact-finding should have, by all means, been set afoot a long time ago, with the Zionist invaders who carry out this act of aggression and with Great Britain who enforces it at the points of their bayonets. When inquiries are conducted for the removal of such wicked injustices, they are understandable and commendable. But when they take the course of finding ways and means to cover and justify aggressive acts and to recommend unjust and absurd projects, they become hazardous and futile.

Nevertheless, our rights and patrimony have been the subject of close scrutiny and investigation for not less than eighteen times in twenty-five years. During the last eighteen months alone, our case has been examined in its minutest detail four times before commissions of inquiry and at official conferences. All to no purpose. No, to worse than no purpose.

For on most of these occasions, we were subjected to the humiliation of attending sessions in which the most preposterous and impudent claims were made on our country and against our birthright, and the most revolting accusations leveled against our nation. These commissions of inquiry have submitted recommendations that either reduced our national and legal rights, or have complacently glided over them. In most cases, such few recommendations as were made in our favor were ignored by the mandatory, those in favor of the Zionists were carefully enforced.

Is it, therefore, strange or improper that we should abstain from being led into this course of investigation and factfinding for the mineteenth time?

FAITH IN U. N.

It is for this and other reasons that were duly communicated to the United Nations that we refused to appear before the special fact-finding committee on Palestine. Otherwise, I desire to assure you in the name of the committee that represents the Arabs of Palestine of our great veneration for your

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august body, and to impress upon you the fact that we look to the United Nations for justice and equity, and we pin our faith and find our satisfaction in its Charter.

I desire, further, to make it clear to you, that in our life or death struggle against and Zionist invasion, we have nothing in common with anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism has been the product of intolerance the West, when the Arab world was one of the Jews' rare havens of refuge.

Pogroms never occurred, and ghettos never existed in Arab territories. In their history, excluding those years of Zionist invasion, the Jews have never had a more humane benefactor and understanding neighbor than the Arab. In Palestine, we have no record of a single clash with the small Jewish community, before the British occupation, because there existed no political designs over our country.

That atmosphere of neighborliness was poisoned by the Balfour Declaration and by the aggressive spirit it created in the Jewish community which became, since then, the pampered child of the British Government. The Balfour Declaration was the germ that Great Britain injected in the body of the Holy Land, and made it the victim of an everheightening fever.

The Zionist claims over Palestine to which the Jewish position in the Diaspora and their political influence in the capitals of the world gave andue support, have no legal or moral basis.

The Zionist case is based on the association of the Jews with Palestine 2,000 years ago. History relates that before that remote period, the Jews had a little kingdom in a part of Palestine which did not survive for more than 250 years.

If that claim can have any legal or moral value, then we Arabs could have better and stronger claims over Spain, parts of France, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and even parts of India, Russia and China. In all these territories our banner flew for years and centuries, and in most of them we left monuments that still stand to tell the world of today the story of our civilization.

Furthermore, world Jewry cannot rightly claim to be one race composed of descendants of Israel. History, as affirmed in the Jewish encyclopedia, establishes that western Jews, known as Ashkenazines, are the descendants of the Khazars, who were converted to Judaism.

The main descendants of Israel are the Sepharadim who are the eastern Jews, most of whom have lived and still live in the Arab world, enjoying the same rights and privileges as other inhabitants. Most of these have denounced Zionism.

It is, therefore, important to observe that the claim to Palestine based on "historical association" is being pressed by western Jews, the descendants of the Khazars, whose forefathers never had any connection with Palestine. The Zionist historical association with Palestine may be a reminiscent dream, but can have no practical value.

In the second place, the Zionists say that they have a special religious connection with Palestine. True, and so do the Moslems and Christians. But this does not give any of them a claim for the possession and domination of the country.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Free religious practice has never been questioned by the Arabs of Palestine, free access to holy places in accordance with accepted ordinary rules of decoram are universally allowed. But these religious rights can give no secular claim to any nation in any count y.

In the third place, the Zonists claim the establishment of a Jewish national home by wirtue of the Ealfour Declaration. Great Britain, however, has never owned Palestine to dis-

pose of it. It occupied Palestine in the name of the Allies with whom the Arabs were associated. Arab troops have played their assigned part in that occupation. When the British Army entered Palestine, the United Kingdom declared to the world that they entered it as liberators and not as conquerors.

The Balfour Declaration that contradicts the Covenant of the League of Nations, and is now standing between democracy and the Holy Land, is an immoral, unjust and illegal promise. It is immoral because it was made behind the back of the inhabitants of the country, and was diametrically opposed to previous pledges given to them by the same government. It is unjust, because it aims at the national destruction of a friendly people. It is llegal because it was a gift that was not the property of the giver.

Great Britain maintained that the said promise contains two ebligations, the one to establish a Jewish national home, and the other to safeguard the rights of the inaigenous population. No one could seriously suppose that the establishment of another people could be achieved without undermining their-rights and interests.

Great Britain, therefore, has given a pledge that was null and void ab initio. Old Shylock's bond has been reproduced by Great Britain on the political stage, with the differences that the victim was not the debtor. As Shylock could not carve out his pound of flesh from the body of his debtor without spilling his blood, so Great Britain cannot fulfill her promise to the Jews without destroying Arab rights.

END TO DECLARATION

The Balfour Declaration, therefore, and its incorporation in the mandate, must be doomed as the most wicked and inapplicable policy that ever existed. If justice is to be done, it must go.

The story of the Arabs of Palestine is the story of the political destruction of a nation. During the last thirty years, the hardships they underwent, and the injustices inflicted upon them, must one day pierce the smoke screen of false Zionist propaganda and British pretentions and hold the attention and sympathy of the world.

Great Britain, is one of the greatest powers, and the Zionist organization, the most influential association in the capitals of the world, have joined hands, thirty years ago, to execute a policy in Palestine that aims at the destruction of the national existence of its Arab owners.

In 1918, when this policy of wholesale destruction was set afoot, Palestine was 93 per cent Arab in population, language, traditions and aspirations. This over-whelming, allprevailing Arab atmosphere was to be overturned for the establishment of the Jewish forthcoming national home. The process would embrace the political, economic and administrative life off the whole country. Stringent measures of coercion would se used whenever the Arab-victims of the policy put up resistance.

The two powerful allies had one point of difference in the execution of their destructive policy, and that was one of method and duration. This difference continued to grow since 1920, until it has waxed in the present campaign of Jewish terrorism. But there was no difference in substance.

The Zionists would destroy the Arab structure in Palestine precipitately by suscessive quick blows. The British would only dissolve and liquidate the Arab national existence in Palestine by leisurely and smoother means, and would carry out the policy in their own way by degrees an-l installments. They would, when possible, serve the poisonwus pill sugarcoated. I shall not tax your patience at the present juncture by going over the details that may be required to clarify and substantiate my statement, but I shall limit myself to the main lines of this policy, and submit typical examples and results. The Palestine Arab delegation will be pleased to supply information in mcre detail on any point that may need more clarification.

Since the middle of the last century, a wave of national awakening overtook Syria. of which Palestine was only the southern part. Secret organizations were formed in the principal towns and cities, to realize the idea of an independent Arab state to be formed of all the Arab territories of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Government, in which the Arabs enjoyed the same rights as the Turks, in the same manner as the Scots, for instance, enjoy the same rights as the English in the United Kingdom, put up a lengthy and severe fight against the movement in one direction, and tried to appease the Arabs in the other.

Elected administrative councils and representative law courts were established all over the empire. Modern popular municipal councils and educational committees were formed. Later, local provincial councils were elected with powers of legislation, to initiate a new policy of decentralization leading to self-government in all Arab territories, including Palestine.

The Ottoman Parliament received Arab representatives in the same proportion as the Turks. Yet, the Arabs would have no substitute for their complete independence, and their separation movement spread in length and breadth.

The first World War offered a favorable opportunity for the realization of this Arab aim. At the cost of severe hardships, in which many of their best leaders were sent to the gallows or thrown in prisons, the Arabs managed to open negotiations with Great Britain, through their accepted representative, the Sherif Hussein of Mecca.

Assistance Pact of 1916

In 1916, they came to an agreement with Great Britain, in which the latter took upon herself the obligation to assist the Arabs in regaining their independence and to recognize it officially for an Arab uprising in the face of the Turks and Arab cooperation with the Allies. In the agreement there was no mention, direct or indirect, of the exclusion of Palestine.

When the Arab revolt started, British airplanes dropped leaflets to the Arabs of Palestine, asking them to join the new Arab Army, and to fight on the side of the Allies for their independence and freedom. British agents carried the news to every Arab home in Phlestine.

The response was immediate. Arab soldiers in the Ottoman forces left the battlesield in great numbers and joined the new liberating army that fought on the side of the Allies. Arab intelligentsia organized a movement of groups of professionals to cross the Ottoman lines, and enlist in that army.

It is to be noted here that most of the regular troops in the Arab Army that formed the right wing of Allenby's great campaign over Palestine and Syria, was composed of Palestinian Arabs. To quote from the report of the British Military Enquiry Commission set up in Jerusalem in 1920:

"In fact in June, 1918, recruitment for the Allied Sherif Army was in full swing in Palestine. Those recruited were under the impression that they were fighting for the national cause, and the liberation of their fatherland, while the evidence now before us shows that the real impression left in the minds of the Arabs as a whole was that the British Government would undertake the formation of an independent Arab state comprising Palestine."

On the occasion of the occupation of southern Palestine, an Anglo-French proclamation was published, in which the two Allied Governments promised "the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations " " ". Far from wishing to impose on the populations of these regions any particular institutions, they are only concerned to insure by their support and by adequate assistance the regular working governments and administrations freely chosen by the populations themselves."

REASSURANCE ON FREEDOM

When the Balfour Declaration was proclaimed, vehement protests surged out from the Arabs of Palestine. Representative Arabs of other territories, then in Cairo, lodged a strong protest with the British Government. They were given a clear reassurance of the good intentions of the Allies with regard to the freedom of the Arab-occupied countries. The Sherif Hussein, who was responsible, on the Arab side, for the British pledges, sent an unequivocal and sharp objection.

A special envoy was sent out from the British Government to reassure him that the Balfour Declaration meant only a spiritual Jewish home, and not a political one, and that it would have no effect on Arab rights of freedom. These reassuring statements were made by the same Cabinet that issued the Balfour Declaration, and they should be taken as its real and true interpretation.

Still another lucid interpretation of the Ealfour Declaration vis-à-vis the Arabs of Palestine was made by the first High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, who is himself a Jew, when he declared: "The measures to foster the wellbeing of the Arabs should be precisely those which we should adopt in Palestine if there were no Zionist question and if there had been no Balfour Declaration."

Yet in spite of all these assurances, the process of converting Arab Palestine into a Jewish country has begun.

In 1920 a draft mandate, for Palestine, again behind the the back of the indigenous population, was laid down by both the Zionist executive and the British Government, and instantly put inte effect. In 1922, under the influence of both, this mandate was ratified by the League of Nations without any alterations, again in the absence of the Arab owners of the country and in the face of their never-failing protests.

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations defined the objects of the mandatory system. The first paragraph of that Article states that the rights and interests of the indigenous population under the mandate become a sacred trust of civilization in the hands of the mandatory, and Paragraph 4 gives those territories that were detached from Ottoman rule, Palestine obviously included, the distinctive position in which they will enjoy independence, subject, temporarily, to administrative advice and assistance by mandatory.

The Palestine mandate, as ratified, corresponds neither to the first paragraph nor to the last. For its object is to create a home for a people who were not in Palestine, and who have no direct relation with the indigenous population.

Furthermore, the idea of a mandate denotes a guardianship, a tutelage, and that requires the existence of two juristic persons, the tutor and the pupil under his case. In Palestine under this mandate, the tutor is the British Government, and the pupil is again the British Government or their British nominees.

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What is known as the Palestine Administration has no relation to the people, in the sense that it represents London and not Palestine. The inhabitants of Palestine, and the Government which they were supposed to constitute and for whose assistance the British Government got the mandate, have no place or existence in this British combination.

The present administration of Palestine consequently has no legal basis under the Government of the League of Nations.

With a view to crushing Arab opposition to the policy intended to be pursued, full powers of legislation and administration were granted to the mandate.

This unique political retrogression in the rights and status which the Arabs enjoyed under Ottoman rule was to be effected for the purpose of ezecuting provisions of Article 2 of the mandate, which planned the placing of the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Still this did not satisfy the Zionists. The mandatory, under their pressure, appointed a Governor General or High Commissioner, as the totalitarian head of the Palestine administration is called, a well-known Jew and an ardent Zionist to enforce the mandate and lay the foundations of the Jewish national home.

As was expected, he gathered around him a strong team of ardent Zionists with whom he filled most of the key positions of the Administration. The Chief Secretary or Prime Minister was also an ardent Zionist, and the most important directorates were held by Jews. With this Zionist team and such a sharp apparatus as Articles 1 and 2 of the mandate, one can easily imagine what an able and experienced Zionist administrator can do.

THEIR OWN FUNERAL

On the other side, what was the the Arabs' position in the picture? Deprived of their rights, they were rendered helpless spectators to behold the funeral of their national existence passing slowly before their eyes. This policy and that atmosphere in general continue to the present day. Generally speaking, personalities changed, but the same policy persists.

I hope that I have made it clear that, as far as political freedom is concerned, the Arabs, contrary to the letter and spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, have no existence in Palestine.

We have no say whatsoever in the administration. We have no say in legislation. We have no responsible positions. We have no control over or knowledge of the external or internal policy of the Government. Our political existence as indigenous population whose rights are held in sacred trust of civilization by Great Britain has thus been liquidated.

On the Zionist side, the situation was quite the reverse. The Jewish community enj-yed the priv-lege of having an Agency the original functions of which were to advise and assist the administration in establishing the Jewish national home.

This Agency, which was the queer creation of a queer mandate, overstepped its limits and, through Jewish influence abroad, wielded such powers that made of it, as the British administration admitted, a state within a state.

In the absence of any democratic representation in Palestine, the Jewish Agency expressed the opinion and the will of the Jewish community in the administration in the manner that was much more effective than any other form of representation. The Jewish community was thus placed in a privileged position where their minority is represented in the Government to the exclusion of the majority.

ZIONIST PENETRATION ...

This Agency received the powerful support of a large number of Jewish members of the British Farliament, of Jewish members of the Cabinet and leading Jewish members of the different British political parties. It was, thereby, able to influence the mandatory, and even to ntimidate the Palestine Administration into a course of action best serving Zionist aims. Meanwhile, the Arab majority remained the helpless victim of this Zionist influence over the mandatory and the Palestine Administration.

Few High Commissioners and British highe: officials who refused to curry to its will stayed long enough to complete their term of service. Every department was permeated by Zionists who were more loyal to the Agency than to the Administration. In the administration of vital matters such as immigration and the possession of land, the Government through these permeations lost a great deal of its control to the Agency. The Agency was able, under the eyes of the Administration, to form semi-secret military forces by means of which it bullied the Government.

Whenever the Government showed any signs of shaking the Agency's power of intimidation, the whole Jewish world rose up, and through its influence in the press, out up a huge chorus of baseless complaints and shed tears that aroused human sympathies and enlisted the support of the uninformed masses.

In this manner, the Jewish Agency pushed the British Government to limits beyond those contemplated for the execution of this policy. It caused the United States Government to foresake its principles of democracy in Zionist support.

The United States Government has permitted activities and fund-raising in here designed to flout the laws of Palestine and to subvert peace and order in it, contrary to the attitude which the same Government is adopting with regard to the allegations of subversion of peace and order in another country.

Let us now probe into the inner circle of the Palestinian Administration and see how do the Arabs fare in the actual enforcement of this Zionist policy. I said before that I will not go into details : I will, however, submit some instances that will give you an idea of how this destructive policy works.

Any disinterested resident of Palestine must have observed that there are two scales of justice, one for the Arabs, and one for the Jews. The discrimination in the application of the same laws can better be demonstrated by examples; of which I desire to cite only two.

In Palestine, as i suppose in any other country, the law requires that an illegal immigrant should be at once arrested, convicted and deposted to the port of his embarkation, or to any other country which is willing to take him in.

Arabs of the surrounding territories, who used to enter Palestine before the British occupation without the least hindrance, were refused admittance after the segregation of Palestine. All unauthorized entries by Arabs were and are still being strictly dealt with in accordance with law.

On the other hand, Jews who have had no connection with Palestine have been, and are still, entering illicitly in much greater numbers. Unlike Arabs, they were not chased or deported. On the contrary, the Government closes its eyes for a time until their illegal existence becomes too odious for them, when, upon the Jewish Agency's intervention, their position is legalized.

Of late, when this illegal Jewish immigration challenged the Government of London by its manner and magnitude, a still worse policy was followed. Jewish illegal immigrants are being taken over to Cyprus, for a time, until their entry to Palestine is legalized.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian taxpayer foots the bill of their hospitality. This cost the taxpayer, last year, the amount of \$12,000,000. To this disgraceful discrimination between Arab and Jew, there was only one exception, viz: the case of the SS. Warfield, out of which the Jewish Agency made great capital to enlist the sympathy of the world in support of its political and illegal immigration to Palestine. Supposing any of your governments is defied with such an organized invasion of illegal immigrants, what would be its reaction?

VIOLENCE IN UPRISING

Here is another instance. When in 1936-40, the Arabs of Palestine rose in rebellion to achieve their independence, emergency regulations were imposed. Under these regulations, tens of thousands of Arabs were imprisoned or exiled. Hundreds of Arab houses were dynamited and demolished by the police and military for petty and unverified accusations. Huge amounts of noney were extracted in collective fines. Hundreds of Arabs were hanged or shot.

In this official terroristic campaign, persecutive measures culminating in torture were used to such an extent that called for the bitter criticism of British residents.

It has been officially admitted that, in their several uprisings against the British in Palestine, the Arabs ordinarily fought face to face as noble men. They never molested Britsh civilian residents. They never tortured or maltreated any prisoners, or hanged Hritish soldiers, and used their dead bodies as booby traps. They dynamited no residences or public buildings. Still they were met with such drastic and barbarous measures.

In their present campaign, the Jews never come out in an open, free fight against the British. The r terroristic activities mainly consist of placing bombs in Government offices or military and police billets for explosion when innocent members of the public are doing their business, and the military are off duty. They blow up trains carrying people. They kidnap and torture civiliam residents.

And yet such stringent measures as have been taken against the Arabs were never used against the Jews, and no collective fines imposed upon them. In one case, where a huge destruction was caused by their performance activities, a fine was imposed, not on the Jewish community alone, but on all inhabitants, including the Arabs

Immigration affords another example of the mandatory's laxity in favor of the Ziomists. The mandatory has not only ignored the vigorous and continuous Arab protests against all or any Jewish immigration, but has even overstepped the provisions of the mandate in this respect. The mandatory has dumped more than half a million Jews in such a tiny country as Palestine—which is the size of the State of Vermont, or of Wales.

PROTECTIONS IGNORID

Article 6 of the mandate reads in part as follows: "The administration of Palestine, while insuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions." This article obviously imposed two clear and separate conditions for the regulation of Jewish immigration: (1) The preservation of the rights and position of the indigenous population, and (2) The existence of suitable conditions. Both of these protective conditions were ignored by the mandatory.

With regard to the first, no person could say with reason that the rights and position of the Arabs of Palestine have not been prejudiced by Jewish immigration when he considers the plain fact that Arab majority, in relation to the Jewish minority, has dropped from twelve to one in 1917 to two to one in 1947.

On the other hand, "suitable conditions" obviously cover political, social and economic conditions. Here again, the mandatory discarded the political and the social conditions and clung to economic considerations. In 1921, they interpreted the whole article as to mean the economic capacity of the country to absorb newcomers.

In 1927, the Zionist executive sent out an economic committee of inquiry under Sir John Campbell to report on the economic possibilities of Palestine. In its report, the committee stated that the outstanding cause of Jewish difficulties was that Jewish immigration in the previous years has exceeded the economic capacity of the country.

Since that date until 1940, several commissions of inquiry, political and economic, visited Palestine. They generally came to the same conclusion that Jewish immigration always exceeded the economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals.

If we follow up the history of Jewish immigration into Palestine, we find that through the Jewsil Agency's influence, immigration had always increased after recommendations were made by commissions of inquiry to decrease it to the point of economic capacity to absorb new arrivals.

We submit that, even if there exists any noom in Palestine for an increase in the population, which is not the case, that must be left for the natural increase that has attained the figure of 80,000 per year. With this average, the population of Palestine without immigration will be doubled in less than twenty years, and will make of Palestine one of the most densely populated countries of the world.

In that case Palestine will have a density of 400 persons per square mile, although more than half of the land is uncultivable, and i: has no prospects for industrial development because of lack of raw materials. When we consider that the United States, with its immense natural wealth and great industries, has a density of only forty-nine persons per square mile, and Canada less than three, the present Palestine density of 200 will seem the more overwhelming and hazardous to the future of the country as a whole.

While discussing the laxity of the mandatory power in the question of Jewish immigration, I desire to make it quite plain that the Arabs have always vigorously opposed, and will continue to oppose with increasing determination, all immigration.

Public education in Palestine affords another example which reveals the mandatory's basic policy of undermining the Arab national existence in Palestine. Probably in no other country in the world [do] mothers march in yearly demonstrations with their children at their sides demanding seats in the schools. In the surrounding Arab states, the peoples' zeal for education is being met with greater zeal by the independent governments, who are combating illiteracy with growing vigor and increasing success. In the Holy Land, under British mandate, illiteracy persists, and stagnates.

6

Under the Turkish regime, when the budget of the Palestine districts was less than 5 per cent of the present budget, 70 per cent of the Arabs were illiterate in Palestine. This disgraceful situation has hardly changed during the last thirty years, although the budget has, considering Palestine's limited means, risen to fabulous dimensions. Had it not been for Arab private efforts in this direction, illiteracy would have even spread to cover more than that percentage of the population.

The Palestine Administration has never allotted more than 5 per cent of its budget for education; in some years this has dwindled to less than 4 per cent. In the neighboring independent Arab states, the position is quite the reverse. The educational percentage in the Iraqi budget, for instance, has been 12 per cent, and has never gone below 8 per cent. In other states, the position is similar, if not better.

Since the British occupation, the Jews were given control of their educational system, and the Arabs were deprived of this right. The independent Jewish Board of Education found means to augment their proportionate share of the Government budget by communal taxation and other sources. The Arab-controlled system was stultified by a small budget, administered by a squandercus British directorate.

"Excuse" EY MANDATORY

The mandatory usually covers its failure in this vital question with the excuse that public security leaves only a small margin in the budget for this and other vital services. In reality, this is no excuse for a Government which spends \$12,000,000, or about 12 per cent of the budget, to give hospitality to illegal Jewish immigrants who challenge her authority and ignore its laws.

In the economic field discrimination against the Arabs is still more apparent. The A ab economic structure in Palestine is mainly agricultural, that of the Jews is predominantly commercial and industrial. It has been the calculated policy of the mandatory and the Jewish Agency to frustrate and raise obstacles in the face of Arab agricultural development, and assist Jewish industry. Here are some typical instances:

During the Ottoman regime, the Arabs had one agricultural bank whose capital was raised by an increment added to the tithes and collected by common consent. This bank was of great service to the poorer Arab farmers. The Zionist High Commissionen in 1920 decided to liquidate this bank, but continued to get the increment that was imposed over the tithes.

In the liquidation of this agricultural bank, the Government fell on the Arab debtors, and started to collect their debts, and foreclose the mortgages. Having been greatly impoverished by the war, and having no credit facilities, most of them were compelled to sell their lands. In nearly every case, the purchasers were Jews. In 1930, it has transpired, the agricultural bank under liquidation was costing the Government more than the amounts realized in the liquidation. The only result achieved was driving the poorer Arab debtors to sell their lands to Jews.

Another example may not be out of place in revealing the destructive policy of the Government vis-z-vis the Arabs.

Upon the British occupation, the country was greatly impoverished by the war. The military regime started to make agricultural loans in kind. Although the prices were fabulous and the interest comparatively high, the loans were a great relief to the Arab cultivator. In 1920, the Zionist High Commissioner took the following destructive steps:

He stopped the exportation of local products besides oranges, and thus caused prices to fall suddenly to one-quarter of their value. He stopped loans from being given to farmers, excepting in drought years, and he insisted on the repayment of the previous military loans, together with their interest. Under these blows, the Arab cultivator was completely routed. There remained no outlet left for him other than to sell his land to the Jews.

Through these and other less conspicuous means, many Arab villages were wiped out of existence, and their names were erased from the map of Palestine. Congestion in other Arab villages caused by land shortage and diplacement by Jewish immigrants created a new class of pro-etariat whose members roamed about between cities and towns in a deplorable condition.

The average Arab holding dwindled to twelve acres per family of five members, although the lotviable was estimated officially at twenty-eight acres. When the mandatory came with a belated and ineffective protective measure, the land transfers regulations, the Jewish Agency started world-wide complaints to the effect that the mandatory was introducing discriminatory measures against the Jews.

This accusation is surprising in view of the fact, that during the last thirty years, only Jewish immigration into Palestine was allowed and facilitated, while all non-Jewish immigration practically barred and also in view of the fact that the Jewish Agency itself is the outcome of discrimination.

To increase Arab economic difficulties, the Jewish Agency and its satellite organizations adopted an economic policy of complete Jewish exclusiveness. Jews were not to employ Arabs except in extreme urgencies. Jewish pickets drove out Arab labor from Jewish commercial firms, industrial workshops and farms. Lands bought by Jews were not to be resold or leased to Arabs.

Thus, an acre of land that fell to Jewish possession in Palestine was an acre that has been extra-ter itorialized as far as the Arabs are concerned. This discrimination of the Jews against the Arabs has been encouraged on the part of the Government, who legalized picketing and allowed land mortmain possession, which deprived it of considerable income.

On the other hand, the Government policy with regard to Jewish industry was the reverse. Raw materials imported exclusively for Jewish industry was exempted from customs, while tariff barriers were raised against foreign competing goods. These two measures of assistance are adopted by many other countries.

The loss sustained in these measures is offset by the employment that is created for the people. But in this case, the Arabs sustained losses on both sides. They had to buy dearer Jewish-made goods, without benefiting from the increased employment thereby created, or from the industry itself

FINANCIAL DISCRIMINATION CLAIMED

The Government's discrimination policy in the financial field is again common knowledge. The Administration of Palestine has published the following illuminating information on this subject:

(1) The Jewish minority of one-third of the public gets nearly one-half of the benefits of the budget, and the Arab two-thirds of the population gets the other half.

(2) During the last seven years, Jewish local authorities representing one-third of the population got 77 per cent of the loans given by the Government.

(3) Jewish local authorities have beneficed of 89 per cent by the special loan funds of \$10,000,000 granted for housing and other purposes. (4) Over the period of the last ten years, Jewish local authorities have received 62 per cent of the grants-in-aid from public funds. This discriminating generosity in favor of Jewish local authorities is all the more striking when one thinks of the hundreds of millions of gratuitous contributions that the Jewish community receives from abroad.

In the field of economic development, the Zionists carried away all concessions for the development of the natural resources of the country under suspicious hush-hush circumstances, such as the granting of the Jordan concession and the Dead Sea concessions.

I have given you an outline of the policy of the mandatory power and Zionist efforts which have seriously undermined the national existence of the Arabs of Palestine. This policy has cost all concerned, including the mandatory, worries and losses in life and property.

Several and successive disturbances took place, the last of which continued from 1936-39. This led the British Government, in 1939 and after twenty years of experience, to come to the conclusion that Jewish immigration must stop, and Palestine should, in a fixed period of time, become an independent unitary state under a constitution to be formulated by the people of Palestine. Again under Zionist pressure, the British Government did not implement that policy, but gradually backed out.

Admission by Britain

This state of affairs has created an atmosphere which augurs of calamitous developments for Palestine and the Middle East. Under the stress of these circumstances and gloomy forebodings, the British Government at last came out with the truth that the mandate was incompatible and so it was unworkable.

Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, was fair enough to declare that "There is nothing in the mandate which would warrant me or the British Government taking a step to deprive the Arabs of their rights, liberties or land."

The British Government which made the Balfour Declaration in 1917, and those who laid down the draft mandate in 1920, cannot but have realized the obvious fact that both contained inconsistent and opposed terms and as such they could not be fairly and squarely applied. They must have depended, therefore, upon either bluffing the Arabs, or crushing them.

They could do neither. Yet they were able to tie the knot. They created the problem which has led to the present crisis. They ask us now to be objective and realistic, they would have us accept the position as it stands. In other words, they ask us to compromise our country and future. What could not be done by force, they now seek to do with ambiguous and attractive words.

Before the enunciation of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the Zionist organization propagated the slogan "Give the country without a people to the people without a country."

The proposal sounded only too well. When formulating the draft mandate, the British Government made a basic contribution to this great deception by abstaining from mentioning the word Arab cr indigenous population.

The Arab indigenous population were referred to in the mandate as "the other sections of the population," so as to lead the world into the belief that the Palestine indigenous population was composed of a Jewish majority and several other small and insignificant communities that might be described as "other sections of the population."

Now that the world is quite aware of the fact that Palestine is inhabited by an Arab indigenous population which is wide awake to its rights and duties toward their country, the Zionist organization and their supporters are propagating a new deceptive theory—that the Zionist question relates to humanitarian conceptions that are above national, democratic or legal rights.

The Zionists are thus exploiting humanitarian considerations to realize their political designs. In the deception of 1917, they led the League of Nations to the point of forsaking its principles and Covenant. In the present one, they are attempting to make the United Nations ignore their Charter.

If the Jews suffer from distressful conditions in many countries, and are entitled, under human considerations, to demand permanent relief, no other people would be more pleased than the Arabs to see that human demand satisfied.

The Jews in distress have no right to achieve that relief at the expense of those who had no hand in their difficulties. They cannot adjust their position in the community of nations by disrupting the position of others in that community. The distressed Jews cannot impose their will on other nations in choosing the place and manner of their relief, particularly if that choice is inconsistent with the principles of international law and justice, and prejudicial to the interests of the nation directly concerned.

I think it may not be out of place to remind this committee of the resolutions of the General Assembly of the 12 February, 1946, and 15 December, 1946s

Efforts were made in the past to solve the Jewish problem. Great Britain had, over forty years ago, generously offered them Uganda for a national home. The facher of practical Zionism, Dr. Herzl, who strove to relieve distressed Jews in any territory, accepted the offer, but it was turned down by the Zionist organization.

Now, Soviet Russia has an open offer in Biro-Bidjan, in which thousands of Jews are leading a hapoy and safe and independent life—but the Zionists will not hear of it. Both these territories are large and fertile enough to relieve millions of Jews from their distressful conditions, in a manner which Palestine could not do.

Palestine is a tiny country of only 10,000 square miles, more than half of which is uncultivable. It has no raw materials or industries, and so it cannot afford relief for millions of Jews in distress.

The Zionist organization does not want Palestine for the permanent solution of the Jewish problem or the relief of the Jews in distress. They are after power, they are after the central and strategic position of Palestine that neither Uganda nor Biro-Bidjan, possesses.

The Zionists' organization and press have exploited and utilized the existence of anti-Semitism in very few countries to reap harvests of political and financial support for the Zionist cause. On the other hand, Zionism has flourished, not only in those countries where Jews were persecuted, but also in countries like England and America, where they are free, happy and influential.

Their movement is thus not one caused by distressful conditions, but it is one of the political ambi-ions and designs on Palestine and the Near East.

This brings us to another consideration which is of fundamental importance to us, not only as Palestinian Arabs, but as Arabs of the very core of the Arab world. The Arab world is a racial homogeneity that extends over the southern and parts of the eastern border of the Mediterranean Sea from the North of Africa throughout Egypt to the Persian Gulf and from the Turkish borders to the Indian Ocean. The people of that vast territory speak one language and have the same history, traditions and aspirations. Their unity in all these matters is bound to be a basis for mutual understanding and a solid foundation for peace in one of the most central and sensitive areas of the world.

With these characteristics, the Arab world affords a conspicuous contrast to the nations that occupy the northern border of the Mediterranean. From the Iberian Peninsula to Turkey, the different nationalities and nonhomogeneous communities have clashed in a diversity of interests, mentalities and national aims. This condition created always an atmosphere of antagonism that culminated in many a calamitous war.

Moreover, one of the greatest political achievements in the world that served as a bulwark of peace and stability was the fusion of several nations into one homogeneous entity. The United States of America, the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. are all created homogeneities that proved of great service in the maintenance of regional and world peace.

It is illogical, therefore, that the United Nations, the peace-making machinery of the world, should associate itself or lend a helping hand to weaken or to break up an existing natural old homogeneity as that of the Arab world by the introduction in its midst of an alien body as is now being contemplated by sponsors of a Jewish state in Palestine.

If such a political monstrosity is carried out, no sane person could expect to see peace prevail in that part of the world. Its existence, no matter how and by whom it is being supported and protected, is bound to become a running sore, a new Balkans in that part of the world.

It may be asked, what then is your proposal for the solution of the problem that was created by the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. The solution is simple if the Zionists do not insist on being treated in a special and preferential manner, and if the great powers of Great Britain and the United States stop treating them in the same manner as silly mothers treat their pampered children.

U. N. CHARTER HELD SOLUTION

The solution is in your Charter. It is the code of all peace-loving nations. In accordance with this Charter, the Arabs of Palestine, who constitute the great majority, are entitled to a free and independent state.

Last Friday the honorable delegate of the United Kingdom declared that his Government has come to the conclusion that the mandate for Palestine should now be terminated, and that such a termination should be followed by independence.

The Arab delegation heartily welcomes this belated declaration and trusts the British Government, this time, will not reverse its decision under Zionist or any other pressure, as, we regret to say, it had done on other occasions.

With regard to the manner and form in which the independence of Palestine should be shaped, the view of the Palestine Arab delegation is that this is a matter for the rightful owners of this country to decide. The future government of Palestine cannot be imposed from without.

Once Palestine is found to be entitled to its independence, the United Nations is not competent and cannot legally dictate to it the form of its government. This would amount to interference in the internal affairs of that country. The future government of Palestine must be a government by the people and for the people.

The only just, practical and democratic way to achieve the independence of Palestime is to recognize the following principles as the basis for its future constitutional organization: That an Arab state in the whole of Palestine be established on democratic lines.

(2) That the said Arab state of Palestine will respect human rights, fundamental freedoms and equality of all persons before the law.

(3) That the said Arab state of Palestine will protect the legitimate rights and interests of all minorities.

(4) That freedom of worship and access to holy places will be guaranteed to all.

The following steps will have to be taken to give effect to the aforesaid principles:

(A) A Constituent Assembly should be elected at the earliest possible time. All genuine and law-abiding nationals of Palestine will be entitled to participate in the elections for the Constituent Assembly.

(3) The said Constituent Assembly shall, within a fixed time, formulate and enact a Constitution for the Arab state of Palestine, which should be of a democratic nature and should embody the above-mentioned four principles.

(C) A government should be formed within a fixed time, in accordance with the terms of the Constitution, to take over the administration of Palestine from the mandatory power.

You will observe that this course is the only one compatible with the principles of modern civilization. It aims at the creation of a government based on the consent of the people, or at least the overwhelming majority. It respects and safeguards the rights and interests of all. Anyone wishing to live in peace will have the full projection of the law.

THE "ONE AND ONLY COURSE"

In this manner, you would have helped in giving peace to the Holy Land and restoring harmony and a friendly atmosphere between all sections of the population.

This is the one and only course that the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to take, and this is the only item on your agenda that our delegation is prepared to associate itself with.

You have also before you on the agenda the report of the Special Committee on Palestine. We have purposely refrained from making any comments on this report. Not because we agree with any part of it, but because we believe for many reasons that it cannot be a basis for discussion.

That report contains two schemes, both of which are based on considerations that are, in our opinion, inconsistent with and repugnant to our rights, the United Nations Charter and the Covenant of the League of Nations. There is no power and nothing in these instruments to enable or warrant the United Nations or any other organization to alienate, under any circumstances and in whatever form or manner, any part of our patrimony to any people.

The Arabs of Palestine are, therefore, solidly determined to oppose, with all the means at their disposal, any scheme that provides for the dissection, segregation on partition of their tiny country on that gives to a minority, on the ground of creed, special and preferential rights or status.

They will oppose such schemes, in the same zeal and with the same sacrifice that any other people would do under the same circumstances.

We are alive to the fact that, if they so desire, big powers could crush, by brute force, such opposition. Eut this realization will not deter us from drenching the soil of our beloved country with the last drop of our blood in the lawful defense of all and every inch of it.

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Palestine Partition Acceptable

ZIONIST POSITION

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Spokesman, Jewish Agency for Palestine Delivered to the United Nations General Assembly's Committee on Palestine, October 2, 1947

THE Jewish Agency for Palestine, which I have the honor to represent, is appreciative of the privilege which this Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has extended to it to be represented at its deliberations and to express its views on the report which the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has submitted.

We have read the report with the deepest interest and the closest attention, and we are prepared to make our observations on it. We are greatly impressed with the earnest and conscientious labors which the eleven members of the Special Committee devoted to their task and which are reflected in the comprehensive and impressive document before us.

It was good to have a committee of neutrals examine the Palestine problem aftesh in an effort to arrive at a solution which would be morally justifiable and politically sound. We share entirely the view expressed in the report that the "opinions of members of an international committee who represent various civilizations and schools of thought, and have approached the question from different angles, may be of some value."

The Jewish Agency availed itself of the invitation extended to it by the Special Committee to present its case. We were happy to make available to the committee whatever information it desired of us, to answer any question, and frankly to share our thinking with it. We regarded it as an inescapable obligation to cooperate to the fullest extent with the United Nations, which had this grave international problem presented to it and which assumed the responsibility for formulating a decision on the future government of Palestine.

ARAB LACK OF COOPERATION

In this connection we find it necessary to point to a circumstance to which the report itself draws special attention -namely, the failure of the Arab Higher Committee to cooperate with the committee. The chairman of the United Nations Special Committee, during the hearings in Jerusalem, made an appeal by radio for the full cooperation of all parties. The Special Committee also addressed a letter directly to the Arab Higher Committee regretting the decision of the latter not to cooperate and repeating the Special Committee's invitation for full cooperation. In reply Mr. Jamal Husseini, vice chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, wrote that the committee found no reason to reverse the previous decision to abstain from collaboration.

One is at a loss to anderstand why the Arab Higher Committee was unwilling to present its case to the Special Committee of the United Nations. The Jewish Agency likewise had been subjected to the strains and disappointments of the numerous Falestine inquiries which preceded it. Having repeatedly refused the invitation to present its case, why does the Arab Higher Committee come now to ask, "justice and equity" at the hands of the United Nations, whose authority it had flouted and whose competence to define the form of the future government of Palestine the Arab spokesman on Monday categorically denied? The same spokesman treated us to an historic improvisation on the origin of the Jewish people and on the history of Palestine. History may not be an exact science bu: it certainly is not a story out of the Arabian Nights. There are certain facts which do not yield to wishful thinking. Thus the canard that the Jews of Western Europe are descendant not from Israel of old but from a tribe of Khazars in Russia is a relatively recent invention and was popularized in the racial mythologies of our day whose political motivations are clearly transparent. One could say with some amusement that the Arabs of Palestine would be among the last people on earth to wish to engage in genealogical research.

When the Allies liberated Palestine in 1917 along with other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, Palestine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no politically or culturally distinct or distinguishable Arab nation in that province. There never had been. The Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century of the common era held sway over that country, which contained a very mixed and heterogeneous population for 437 years between 634 and 1071 A. D.—437 years out of more than 3,000 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071 the country was conquered by various non-Arab peoples, such as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Crusaders, the Egyptian Mamelukes, and, finally by the Ottoman Turks.

2,000 YEARS OF JEWISH HISTORY

By the time the Arabs conquered Palestine in 684 A. D., the Jewish people had already completed nearly 2,000 years of national history in that country, during which time they created a civilization which decidedly influenced the course of mankind, gave rise both to Judaism and Christianity, produced the B ble and brought forth prophets, saints and spiritual leaders who are venerated not only by Judaism, but by Christianity and Islam as well.

"In the twelwe centuries or more that have passed since the Arab conquest," reads the report of the Royal Commission of 1937, "Palestine has virtually dropped out of history. * * * In economics and in politics Palestine lay outside the main stream of the world's life. In the realm of thought, in science or in letters it made no contribution to modern civil zation."

The very identity of Palestine as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jewish history. The country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion and only assumed a specific role in history when the Palestine mandate was ratified. The mandate acknowledge-I this history by setting Palestine in a distinct and separate context in relation to the Arab world. "I am persuaded" declared President Wilson or March 3, 1919, "that the Allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Speaking in the House of Lords on June 27, 1923, Lord Milner, who called himself "a strong supporter of the pro-Arab policy," stated:

"Palestine can never be regarded as a country on the

same footing as the other Arab countries. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter * * * and the future of Palestine cannot possibly be left to be determined by the temporary impressions and feelings of the Arab majority in the country in the present day."

When the Palestine mandate therefore recognized "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" it was only stating a fact that was universally acknowledged through the ages. And when it gave international recognition to the grounds for reconstituting the Jewish national home in that country—an act which Field Marshal Smuts, member of the War Cabinet which issued the Balfour Declaration, called "one of the greatest acts of history"—it was only reaffirming the fact that the Jewish people had never surrendered the hope of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For to the Jews Palestine was not merely a place of sacred shrines as to Christians and Moslems, but the home of their exiled people, the land of their national destiny, and throughout the dark centuries of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

ARAB ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES

Concerning the Arab economic grievances which were aired here the other day, we wish only to refer to the report of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them, as well as to the relevant chapters in the Royal Commission report of 1937, to show how utterly groundless they are. These reports, as well as the memorandum of the Palestine Government which was submitted to the Special Committee of the United Nations—a document which can hardly be charged with pro-Jewish bias—conclusively prove that the Palestine Arabs benefited considerably and directly from Jewish development n the economic, financial and social spheres.

We must take note, too, of the interesting contrast which the Arab spokesman attempted to draw between the terroristic acts of the Arabs of Pilestine in 1936-39—acts which were never condemned or repudiated by any responsible Arab spokesman—and the regrettable acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today which the official bodies of Palestine Jewry have most severely condemned.

"It has been officially admitted that in their several uprisings against the British in Palestine," stated the Arab spokesman, "the Arabs ordinarily fought face to face as noble men." As illustrative of this nobility, permit me to quote the statement of Sir John Chancellar, the High Commissioner of Palestine, on the Arab riots there in 1929:

"I have learned with horror of the atrocious acts committed by bodies of ruthless and bloodthirsty evildoers, of savage murder perpetrated upon defenseless members of the Jewish population regardless of age or sex, accompanied as at Hebron by acts of unspeakable savagery, of the burning of farms and houses in town and country, and of the looting and destruction of property. These emimes have brought upon their authors the exercation of all civilized peoples throughout the world."

In commenting upon the riots of 1936, the report of the Palestine Royal Commission has this to say:

"There were similar assaults upon the persons and property of the Jews, conducted with the same reckless ferocity [as in 1929]. Women and children were not spared."

ROLE OF GREAT BRITAIN

Before making our observations on the report itself, may we be permitted to comment on the statement which was made at the beginning of your deliberations by Mr. Arthur Creech Jones on behalf of His Majesty's Government? It was the United Kingdom Government which requested that the question of Palestine be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly. It was His Majesty's Government which asked the Assembly to make recommendations under Article 10 of the Charter for the future government of Palestine.

In making these far-reaching requests, with which the United Nations complied, the United Kingdom surely must have had in mind not the thought of ultimately imposing its own solution on the United Nations, but the hope that this great international body, approaching the problem anew and without bias, might find a solution which, while not fully acceptable to everyone, would nevertheless represent the collective wisdom and judgment of the mations of the world and would have behind it such weight of authority that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accept it and to cooperate in its implementation.

Surely such loyal cooperation on the part of member nations is presupposed when any international problem is considered by the United Nations. Otherwise His Majesty's Government might just as well have announced six months ago what it declared the other day. Why were six critical months lost, during which time the situation in Palestine was permitted to deteriorate most gravely? And why was all the apparatus of the United Nations invoked to investigate and to recommend a settlement of the problem if there was no intention to accept and to participate in the implementation of such a settlement?

Sir Alexander Cadogan, at the fifty-second meeting of the first committee of the General Assembly, stated: "All we say—and I made this reservation the other day—is that we shall not have the sole responsibility for enforcing a solution which is not accepted by both parties and which we cannot reconcile with our conscience." But w: observe that His Majesty's Government is not being askel to accept a sole responsibility. The report of the Speci-I Committee clearly recommends that if so desired, one or more members of the United Nations shall be invited to assist in the administering of the country along with the present mandatory power.

The statement of Mr. Creech Jones seems to go beyond that of Sir Alexander Cadogan's and implies that His Majesty's Government not only does not wish to assume sole responsibility for implementing the report, but reserves to itself the right of refusing any cooperation in implementing the final decision of the United Nations if, in its judgment, it does not comply with its own criteria of justice and with its own preferred mechnique of implementation.

CHALLENGE TO UNITED NATIONS

One questions whether in taking such a position-if we have understood the position correctly-the United Kingdom is helping to solve this difficult problem and whether its course will enhance the authority and paestige of the United Nations which has assumed responsibility over the Palestine question. It is clear to everyone that the solution of this problem represents a vital challenge to the United Nations and a crucial test of its future effectiveness.

In view of His Majesty's Government's reluctance to impose a policy by force of arms, a policy which would have behind it the sanction of the community of nations, one may be pardoned for inquiring why His Majesty's Government has not hesitated to employ in recent years a military force of 100,000 men, along with its navy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Palestine which no international body has approved, which is contrary to the purposes and provisions of the mandate, and which has been thrice disapproved by international bodies. It would have been more helpful if the statement of His Majesty's Government had been more revealing. Surely it must be clear to everywne that no settlement of the Palestine problem is possible without some enforcement.

The Palestine problem is not at all unique in this regard. The report to your Special Committee correctly states: "Taking into account the fact that devising a solution which will be fully acceptable to both Jews and Arabs seems to be utterly impossible, the prospect of imposing a solution on them would be the basic condition of any recommended proposal."

It was the realization that such an Arab-Jewish agreement was impossible that prompted Mr. Bevin to turn the problem over to the United Nations. Mr. Creech Jones' declaration, therefore, that "the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews" is very singular indeed and does not advance the solution at all.

PRINCIPLE OF PARTITION

It may be pertinent to recall that the principle of partition on which the majority report of the Committee is based was first projected by the all-British Royal Commission in 1937. At that time the British Government accepted that recommendation in principle and declared:

"In supporting a solution of the Palestine problem by means of partition, His Majesty's Government are much impressed by the advantages which it offers to the Arabs and the Jews. The Arabs would obtain their national independence and thus be enabled to cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of neighboring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress. They would be finally delivered from all fear of Jewish Iomination. *** On the other hand, partition would secare the establishment of the Jewish National Home and relieve it from any possibility of its being subjected in the future to Arab rule. It would convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State with full control over immigration. *** Above all, fear and suspicion would be replaced by a sense of confidence and security, and both peoples would obtain, in the words of the Commission, 'the estimable boon of peace.'"

Confronted as we now are by the lacest expression of His Majesty's Government, we cannot help but reflect upon the course which has been followed by successive British Governments during the past decade. In 1937 the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the Palestine problem, which, after an exhaustive study, recommended partition as a solution. After an initial approval of the plan, the British Government wound up by rejecting it and promulgated in its stead the White Paper policy of 1939 which was in complete contradiction to the basic recommendation of the Royal Commission.

In 1945 the British Government invited the American Government to join in a two-nation inquiry into the Palestine problem with a view to its solution. This committee submitted unanimous recommendations proposing this time not partition, but a unitary state. It called for the abrogation of the White Paper policy, including its racial land law, the early admission of 100,000 Jews, continued Jewish immigration thereafter, and the faithful implementation of the provisions of the mandate. The British Government rejected the recommendations of this committee likewise and wound up by putting forward the Morrison and Bevin proposals which were diametrically opposed in substance and in spirit to the report of the Anglo-American Committee.

Finally, in 1947 the British Government proposed an-

other examination of the Palestine problem, this time by the United Nations. As a result, a commission was appointed consisting of the representatives of eleven neutral nations. This committee has now submitted a report which recommends a plan of partition coupled with economic union. But this report seems no more acceptable to His Majesty's Government than the two earlier reports. It has indicated no support of this latest report and offers in its stead nothing.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The failure, however, of the United Kingdom Government to give the United Nations a measure of guidance and support, and its announced intention cf an early withdrawal from Palestine, which we welcome, makes it more imperative than ever that the General Assembly should proceed with the work before it with utmost dispatch. As early as last April it was realized in the special session of the Assembly that there was great urgency in the matter. Centainly that urgency for action and decision has been intensified by all that has transpired since.

The Jewish Agency, in making this preliminary comment on the report itself, wishes to indicate at the outset its full approval of all but one of the eleven unanimous recommendations made by the committee. On the sixth recommendation, of which it does not disapprove, it would like to make this observation. The sixth recommendation calls upon the General Assembly "to undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem."

It will be recalled that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry likewise recommended that efforts be made immediately to find new homes for these cisplaged persons. In making this recommendation the Anglo-American Committee stated: "We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe."

The position in this respect has remained completely unchanged. The recommendation of the Anglo-American committee has remained a dead letter. Our unfortunate refugees are still languishing in the displaced persons' camps facing a third winter after the termination of the war. The report of your Special Committee refers to the "intense urge" of these listressed persons to be allowed to go to Palestine.

The "intense urge" of the Jewish displaced persons to proceed to Palestine and the refusal of most of them to go anywhere else springs not only from their realization that the prospects of their admission to other countries are slight in the extreme, and even then only of a very limited scope. It springs preeminently from the fact that Palestine offers to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else: the chance of a real home, the prospect of a life in congenial surroundings, the insurance of permanency.

All the longing of these uprooted people for a life of peace and dignity, for a normal and secure existence finds expression in this "intense urge" to go to Palestine. What more overwhelming and tragic evidence of this urge is required than the persistent and desperate attempts of these men, women and children to reach the shores of the Jewish national home from where they are forcibly turned back in the case of the Exodus 1947, back to Germany. And if it be countered that mere desire does not create a right, a complete answer is that that desire was the basis for the creation of the right by the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations mandate.

That desire was recognized as morally so compelling that it led the victorious Allies in the first World War to establish solemn international commitments guaranteeing the legal right of Jews to go to Palestine.

The Jewish Agency strongly hopes that the nations of the world will welcome these among the displaced persons who wish to emigrate to other lands. The Jewish Agency never contemplated that any displaced person should be forced to go to Palestine. But surely, to compel those Jewish refugees, many of whom have close family ties with Palestine, to go against their will to other lands and to deny them the right to go to the Jewish national home would be most unjust and unkind and would be bitterly resented.

"JEWISH PROBLEM IN GENERAL"

The twelfth recommendation of the committee, which was not unanimously opposed by the Committee, reads: "It is recommended that in the appraisal of the Palestine question, it be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general." We are at a loss to understand the meaning of this recommendation—actually not a recommendation but a mere postulate. The "Jewish problem in general" is not a problem of Jewish immigration or of refugees. It is the age-old problem of Jewish national homelessness.

There is but one solution to this problem, a national home. This was the basic Jewish problem which was faced by the Balfour declaration and the mandate, and to which the proper solution was given—the reconstitution of the national home of the Jewish people in Palestine.

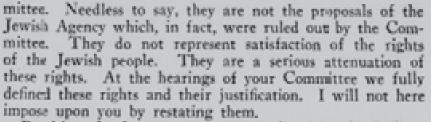
Without attempting at this stage a detailed analysis of the solution recommended by the minority of three members of the Special Committee, we must state at once that we find it wholly unacceptable, even as a basis for discussion. This minority report proposes the establishment of an independent Federal State of Palestine, consisting of what are described as an Arab and a Jewish "State," though they are, in fact, little more than semi-autonomous cantons or provinces.

It is obvious that under the constitutional provisions envisaged in this recommendation, Palestine would become in effect an Arab State with two Jewish enclaves, in which the Jews would be frozen in the position of a permanent minority of the population of the Federal State. Under the proposed constitution the Jewish province would not have control over immigration even within the narrow confines of its own borders. Nor would it have control over its own fiscal policies. Not only with regard to the crucial question of immigration, but also with regard to many other matters of fundamental importance, the ultimate power of decision will rest with the Arab majority of the proposed Federal State.

The proposal is a variant of the federal scheme put forward last year by His Majesty's Government, generally known as the Morrison Plan, which was rejected at the time both by Jews and Amabs, as work as by the Government of the United Statts. The plan entails for the Jews all the disadvantages of partitions—and a very bad partition geographically—without the compensating advantages of a real partition; statedood, and pendence and free immigration.

THE MAJCRITY PROPOSALS

As regards the majority report we wish to make the following observations. These proposals are those of the Com-



Partition clearly was never contemplated by the Balfour Declaration of the mandate. It was intended that Palestine, the whole of Palestine, shall ultimately become a Jewish State. This is the clear testimony of Mr. Lloyd George, who was the British Prime Minister at the time of the issuance of the Declaration. The land referred to as Palestine in the Declaration included what is now Trans-Jordan. The Royal Commission of 1937 declared that "the field in which the Jewish national home was to be established was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine." That area has already been partitioned.

The first partitioning of Palestine took place in 1922 when Trans-Jordan, representing three-quarters of the original area of Palestine, was cut off and has since been set up by the British as an Arab kingdom. Thus, one Arab state has already been carved out of the area assigned to the Jewish national home. It is now proposed to carve a second Arab state out of the remainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish national home is now to be confined to less than one-eighth of the territory originally set aside for it.

This is a sacrifice which the Jewish people should not be asked to make. The legitimate national aspirations of the Arab peoples have been fully satisfied. President Truman, in his letter of October 28, 1946, to the King of Saudi Arabia, calls attention to this fact: "I am happy to note," he writes, "that most of the liberated peoples [of the Near East] are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish national home, however, has not yet been fully developed."

The Arabs possess today independent monarchies in Saudi-Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and independent republics in Syria and Lebanon. A population of 17,000,000 in Arab-Asia occupies an area of 1,290,000 square miles, enormously nich in resources and potentialities. This area, which formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and which, together with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied nations, includes all the centers which are primarily associated in history with Arab and Moslem traditions. Palestine, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the nations of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish national home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only 10,000 square miles in extent, and it is now proposed, in the Majority Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish national home by almost one-half.

OBJECTIONS TO MAJORITY REPORT

It is not our intention at this time to enter into a detailed discussion of the many territorial provisions in the proposals of the Majority Report. But we feel constrained to point out at least two features which are open to most serious objections. The Majority Report eliminates western Galilee —that is, most of Galilee—from the Jewish State. The Peel Commission included western Galilee in the Jewish State. For reasons which we shall endeavor to explain more fully at a later stage, we regard the proposed exclusion of western Galilee as an unjustified and a particularly grievous handicap to the development of the Jewish Smate.

Under the terms of the majority proposal, the city of Jerusalem is set up as a separate government unit. We would not question the propriety of placing the old city of Jerusalem, which contains the holy places, as well as the holy shrines, which may be outside the walls of the old city, in the custody of an international trustee. But outside the old city a modern new city has grown up which contains a compact Jewish section of approximately 90,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central national, religious and educational institutions of the Jewish people of Palestine.

educational institutions of the Jewish people of Palestine. Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a particularly severe blow. Jerusalem holds a unique place in Jewish life and religious traditions. It is the ancient capital of the Jewish nation and the symbol throughout the ages of Jewish nationhood. The undefeated resolve of our people to be reconstituted as a nation in the land of Israel was epitomized in the solemn vow of the Psalmist and of the exiled people throughout the ages: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." We strongly urge that the Jewish section of modern Jersualem, outside the walls, be included in the Jewish State.

There are other modifications which we will take up at a later stage of these discussions.

EVENT OF PARTITION

To return to the basic solution of partition proposed by the Special Committee: I: entails, as we have said, a very heavy sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people. But if such a sacrifice is made the inecorable condition of an immediate and final solution, we would be prepared to assume the responsibility for recommending acquiescence to the supreme organs of our movement, subject, of course, to further discussion of the constitution and territorial provisions which we assume will take place in the course of these sessions.

We would be prepared to do so because the proposal makes possible the immediate re-establishment of the Jewish State, an ideal for which our people ceaselessly strove through the centuries, and because it ensures immediate and continuing Jewish immigration which, as events have demonstrated, is possible only under a Jewish State. We would do so also as our contribution to the solution of a grave international problem and as evidence of our willingness to join with the community of nations in an effort to tring peace at last to the troubled land which is precious to the heart of mankind.

We are impressed with the recommendation in the report of an economic union between the two states. We approve of the conclusion reached by the committee that "in view of the limited area and resources of Palestine, it is essential that, to the extent feasible, and consistent with the creation of two independent states, the economic unity of the country should be preserved."

This appears to us to be a progressive and statesmanlike conception of great promsie. The Jewish Agency is prepared to accept this proposal of an economic union. It should, however, be understood that this economic union, while it would bestow some benefits on the Jewish State, would also impose grave sacrifices. The acceptable limit of these sacrifices is, in prinsiple, clear: the Jewish State must have in its own hands those instruments of financing and economic control that are mecessary to carry out large-scale Jewish immigration and the related economic development. The Jewish State must have independent access to those world sources of capital and supplies that are indispensable for the accomplishment of these purposes.

The Majority Report provides, in effect, for a large subsidy from the Jewish to the Arab State, through equal sharing by the two states of the net revenues from customs and joint services. This subsidy would be a very heavy one in relation to the national income. The Jewish Agency would, however, be prepared to assume this burden as one of its

sacrifices designed to find a way out of the present intolerable impusee.

MEAN TO BE GOOD NEIGHBORS

We mean to be good neighbors, not only to the Arab State of Palestine, but to the Arab States throughout the Middle East. And certainly we mean scrupulously to respect the equal rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Jewish State. With the removal of political friction and bitterness which we hope will eventually result from the setting up of these two independent states, each people master in its own home, it should be possible to usher in an era of progress and regeneration which would be a boon to all the peoples in that important part of the world. What the Jewish people has already achieved in Palestine in a short time and in the face of enormous obstacles is indicative of what it hopes to do in the future along with, and in fallest cooperation with, all of its neighbors.

Neighborliness, however, is a two-sided affair. Sincerely and without reservations we bring the offer of peace and friendship. If it is met in the same spirit, rich and abundant blessings will redound to all. If not, we shall be compelled to do what any people must do under such circumstances, defend our rights to the utmost. We have builded a nation in Palestine. That nation now demands ts independence. It will not be dislodged. Its national status will not be denied. We are asked to make an enormous sacrifice to attain that which, if uninterfered with, we would have attained long ago. In sadness, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this sacrifice. Beyond i: we cannot, we will not go.

The report recommends that "during the transitional period the authority entrusted with the task of administering Palestine and preparing it for independence shall be responsible to the United Nations." In view of the statement of His Majesty's Government it is not clear now which will be this authority. We favor an international authority under the United Nations to supervise and insure the implementation of its decisions.

Above all, we urge that the transitional period be as brief as possible. A period of two years is, in our judgment, considerably longer than is necessary or desirable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the powers and functions of administration to the two peoples in their respective states would not take place at the end of the transitional period, but would be inaugurated immediately and consummated as rapidly as possible. The Jewish people of Palestine stands ready to assume immediately all responsibilities which the establishment of the Jewish State will involve.

As TO ENFORCEMENT MEASURES

We agree with the report that "whatever the solution, enforcement measures on an extensive scale may be necessary for some time." The Jewish people hope that the transition from the present status of the country to the new status of two independent states, will be attended by a minimum of friction and conflict. Once the boundaries are defined and the states established by the United Nations they will be entitled to have their territorial integrity and sovereign rights respected and pretected as fully as all other nations which are covenanted to peaceful relations under the Charter.

All members of the United Nations, whether in the neighborhood of Palestine or elsewhere, who are bound by the principles of the Charter, will be expected to respect the rights of these new states, under pain of being condemned as aggressors and subjected to international sanctions. Moreover, we assume that in the constitution of whatever military or police force may be required during the transitional period, full use will be made of the trained manpower available in Palestine which will be prepared to offer its services to the United Nations to maintain law and order.

The Jewish State, when it is established, will respect the sovereignty of its neighbor states as fully as it will defend its own. The Jewish people in Palestine is prepared to defend itself. It is not impressed by idle threats. A people that has survived the accumulated fury of the centuries, faced powerful empires in a bitter battle for survival and during the last war saw hundreds of thousands of its sons fighting for freedom in all the liberating armies of the Allied nations -while the head of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee was broadcasting Nazi propaganda from Berlin and congratulating Hitler on his African victories over the Alliessuch a people will not be intimidated. Nor, we are confident, will this great international body which is earnestly wrestling with this tremendously difficult problem and which is seeking a just and equitable solution, be terrorized into surrendering its high mandate.

We recall with satsifaction that similar threats uttered by the same parties during the first special session did not influence the resolution of the Assembly. Nor was the Special Committee impressed by these threats during its hearings. We hope that these same threats will not influence this great deliberative body which must be guided by principles of truth and justice—the underlying principles of its Charter.

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 its members, pursuant to the decisions of the United Nations.

IF THE BRITISH WITHDRAW

In this connection we mus: take note of the announcement made by the representative of the United Kingdom that its forces may not be available to the United Nations during the transitional period, and may be subject to early withdrawal from Palestine. In that event, in order to avoid the creation of a dangerous vacuum which might affect public security, the Jewish people of Palestine will provide without delay the necessary effectives to maintain public security within their country.

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee: With this United Nations report we have reached one of the most importart crossroads of history. The course which will be followed will be fraught with destiny for all, the Jews, the Arabs and the United Nations. We hope that it will be a course of wisdom, justice and courage. The Jewish people hopefully awaits the decision of this body.

Twenty-five years ago a similar international organiaztion recognized the historic claims of the Jewish people, sanctioned our program and set us firmly on the read of realization. We were not then regarded as intrudem or invaders, not even by the foremost leaders and spokesmen of the Arab world, but as a people returning home after a long sad exile. The world approved and acclaimed the return of Israel to its ansient homeland. The statesmen of the world faced the tragic problem of Jewish national homelessness and they set about to solve it.

The Jewish people was confirmed in its right to rebuild its national life in its historic home. It eagerly seized the long hoped-for opportunity and proceeded to rebuild that ancient land of Israel in a manner which evoked the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness blossom as the rose. Surely this great international body, surveying this faithful and fruitful work, will wish to see that work continued, that undertaking advanced, that hope of the centuries consummated. 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.

Law and Justice, The Base of Peace

PRESENT FOREIGN POLICY A FAIL JRE

By ROBERT A. TAFT, United States Senator from Ohio

Delivered before the World Affairs Council of Tacoma, Tacoma, Washington, September 25, 1947

APPRECIATE the invitation which you have extended to me to talk to the Warld Affairs Council of Tacoma. The Council has proviled one of the greatest forums for discussion of foreign poicy in the Northwest. During this trip to the West, I have been interested primarily in discussing the record of the first Republican Congress in sixteen years. The Republican party has shown its ability to formulate a program in accordance with its principles, and to carry that program through over the strenuous opposition of many special interest groups, and in spite of the New Deal propaganda which has been huilt up so strongly for so many years.

In the domestic field, the people elected a Congress for the purpose of eliminating wartime controls, reducing Government regimentation, expense and taxation, and eliminating injustices which had developed in labor relations. I have shown that the Republican party has kept its promises and done its job.

PRESIDENT'S POWERS

In the field of foreign policy, the Republicans have not had the same responsibility, because the Democrats still control the Presidency. The people do not realize to what a large extent the field of 'oreign policy is controlled by the President, and how little Congress has to say about it. Under the Constitution, the P esident is given the power to initiate all negotiations with foreign nations and carry them on in every field up to the point where a treaty is entered into. He has power to make executive agreements with foreign nations without the approvil of Congress, and more and more this power has been developed, often, I think, in derogation of the right of Congress to insist upon treaty ratification.

The President's power was also tremendously enlarged by the state of war and by war legislation. Much of the war legislation has been repealed, but the state of war exists until the peace is signed or declared.

In the field of the United Nations, we have delegated complete power to the President to direct the actions of our representatives in the Security Council and the Assembly, so that the President may actually involve us in war without a declaration of war by Congress. In the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, we have temporarily delegated to the President the power to reduce tariffs by 75 per cent from the statutory rate without the approval of Congress.

The truth is that unless the President needs money to

carry out the agreements or arrangements he may make with foreign nations, he practically does not have to ask Congress for approval of any important item of his foreign policy. Just at the present time, however, it is true that much of our dealings with foreign nations seem to require cash from the United States Treasury, and so we have had to pass on the British loan, the appropriations for relief, and the Greek and Turkish loans; and the Marshall Plan, if developed, must be submitted to Congress. Even in this field, however, it is difficult for Congress to repudiate agreements made by the President without at least bringing charges of bad faith

on the part of this nation. In general, I believe Congress should hesitate to interfere with the President's foreign policy, unless it involves us in the danger of an unnecessary war, or proposes to drain to an unreasonable degree the resources of our taxpayers and the product of our labor. I believe it is a field where Congress should not, except with great provocation, give foreign countries a picture of a divided America.

The Republican Congress has done its best to cooperate with the President. Much has been made of the so-called bipartisan foreign policy but most people do not realize that it has covered a very limited field. It has really extended only to Senator Vandenberg's participation in the formulation of the United Nations Charter, in negotiations with European nations regarding peace in Europe, and in the regional agreement with South American nations. In these fields Senator Vandenberg has taken the lead and accomplished results which could never have been reached without his sound judgment and force. But in most other fields of foreign policy even he was not consulted until the policy itself had been formulated and was ready to be announced.

SUPPORT TO U. N.

Thus in the matter of the Greek loan and the Marshall Plan, the Republicans were called in only to be asked to go along with a policy already adopted. The Republicans were not invited to have any part in the policy in China, the policy in Germany, or the policy in the Argentine. Nor, of course, was any Republican in any way responsible for the fatal mistakes made earlier at Teheran Yalta and Potsdam.

In spite of the lack of cooperation on the part of the President and the State Department, the Republicans, since they have controlled Congress, have tried not to rock the boat or upset any reasonable effort to correct past errors. They have supported the United Nations. Since the Russians indicated their unwillingness to accost the spirit of the United Nations, and their intention to veto all important actions, the Republicans have opposed any concessions to Soviet Russia.

In my opinion, current foreign policy as far as possible should not be a subject of partisan debate, and the Republicans have not made it sc. But it certainly is the function of the opposition to point to the serious errors of the past and the philosophy of government which brought them about. Foreign policy must be judged by its results, and the results of the foreign policy of the Administration during the past three years have created a situation as bad or worse than that which existed before the war, and have brought the world to a state of economic collapse.

Certainly the Administration whose policies have produced these results has no basis for appealing to the people for further confidence on the ground that they are peculiarly fitted or fitted at all to administer foreign policy.

GERMAN THREAT CAUSED WAR

We could have had only one justification for entering the war, a war we really entered long before Pearl Harbor. That was not because we desired to reform the world, but because we believed that German success would ultimately threaten our own freedom. After the magnificent work of our armed forces, backed by our industrial and agricultural production, we had only one real interest. That was to insure through an organization of nations that no nation whatever should again undertake to conquer the world, and in particular, that such restraints be imposed upon German and Japanese production as would prevent their rearming.

Of course, having become involved in the war, we had the responsibility of seeing that the new would started on a basis of freedom, justice and equality. This was the essence of the Atlantic Charter, a joint declaration by Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, formally transmitted to Congress by the President as the policy of his Administratiom.

The second clause of the Atlantic Charter stated that we desired to see no territorial changes that did not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

The third clause stated that we respected the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they would live, and wished to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who had been forcibly deprived of them.

The fourth and fifth clauses expressed our intention to further the enjoyment of all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity, for the purpose of securing economic advancement for all.

WE LOST THE PEACE

The sixth and seventh clauses looked towards a new league of nations.

Beginning, however, at Teheran, we gradually abandoned most of the ideals stated in the Atlantic Charter until today the attainment of many of them is impossible. We have won the war, but we have lost the peace.

Until Senator Vandenberg entered the picture, our attitude toward Russia was one of complete surmender. We gave them billions of goods under Lend-Lease, without a condition looking to the post-war world. We seemed to feel that we had to beg Stalin to continue the battle against Germany, and accepted his view of military strategy in attack, which gave him the Balkans with Tito as the recognized leader in Yugoslavia. Later we seem to have insisted on Russia entering the Japanese war, when the entrance proved to be unnecessary, and has only resulted in turning over Manchuria to Russia. President Roosevelt apparently felt that if Mr. Stalin received military aid and kind treatment from England and the Urited States, he would be transformed into an angel of light bringing freedom to the world. This was the attitude cleary shown in the President's interviews with Forrest Davis, published in The Saturday Evening Post, referred to as the "Great Design."

This attitude at Tcheran, at Yalta and at Potsdam was promoted apparently by the basic New Deal philosophy which influenced the whole Administration. The general attitude, as exemplified in the influence of the late Mr. Harry Hopkins, was a very friendly one toward communism. Many New Dealers would not go along with Mr. Henry Wallace, who fel: that communism was mer-ly another form of democracy, perhaps a little better form than our democracy; but there were a lot who did have that attitude.

MOVE TO PURGE REDS

Others doubted, but yielded to the party philosophy. Remember how very soft they were toward the admission of

Robert A. Taft

Communists into Government departments? Certainly Communists were there, or President Truman would not finally, two years after V-E Day, have requested \$50,000,-000 to get rid of them. We can see now what a complete misconception of the whole Russian character and the character of communism was involved, in the concessions made, and in the failure to exact guarantees regarding the postwar world. Those concessions, to anyone who understood the Russians at all, were certain to make Stalin the dominant figure in Europe and give powerful support to the cause of communism and to totalitarianism throughout the world.

The Administration apparently did not even suggest that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, under the Atlantic Charter, were entitled to have their soverign rights and self-government restored.

We recognized the right of the Russian Army to occupy the Balkans, and also Berlin and Vienna, which gives them today their powerful hold in Europe. With feeble protests, we turned over a large part of Germany to Poland in order that Poland might be compensated for territory desired by Russia, thus agreeing, in effect, to territorial changes contrary to the wishes of the peoples concerned, in violation of the second clause of the Atlantic Charter. We actually withdrew our troops from territory we occupied in battle in Germany, occupied by us partly because the Russians were so busy seizing all of southeastern Europe except Greece.

VENGEANCE PREVAILED

The results of the New Deal policy are seen today in the occupation by Russia of large sections of Baltic, German and Polish territory, and their :ffective domination by force of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and large sections of Manchuria. Of course, it has made it infinitely more difficult to build a world state on a foundation of free nations when so large a section of the world is governed by a foreign oppressor. Any world state must be based to a considerable extent on a maintenance of the status quo if war is to be avoided. If that status quo contains fundamental injustices and oppressions the task of the new organization is almost impossible. It is contradictory to talk about the Security Council preventing aggression when aggression on a major scale has already cecurred.

Our dealings with Germiny have been equally a repudiation of our ideals and of the Atlantic Charter. I think it is fair to say that our policy has been dominated primarily by vengeance and a desire to punish for the policies which caused the war. That is a very natural feeling which has tended to dominate every nation successful in a major war, but it has never produced any good result. We had in this country after the Civil War the most striking example of its futility and its tragedy.

In effect, we adopted the Morgenthau plan. It was suggested in the Yalta conference, but it was for all practical purposes approved at Potsdum by President Truman in the text released on Aug. 2, 1945.

The policy of the occupation was designed expressly to convince the German people of their criminal responsibility and to reduce them to a level of subsistence only. Production of all important man afactured goeds was to be prohibited or limited, with the exception of coal. Payment of reparations in kind was to leave enough to enable the Germans simply to exist withcut external assistance. Millions of Germans were to be deported from eastern Germany and thrown into the rest of Germany to feed and support. Germans were to be educated in democracy and taught to abhor Hitler—a good idea if it could be done. The policy at Potsdam was carried out by a directive issued to the Commander in Chief of Occupation in April, 1945, known as JCS 1067. Thereafter, in spite of constant disavowal that we were enforcing the Morgen:hau plan, this directive, which was in effect the same thing, remained in force until this year. It finally came to an end on July 15, 1947.

This policy was a repudiation of the Atlantic Charter promise that all nations, including vanquished nations, should have equal treatment from an economic standpoint. It was also atterly futile unless we were going to govern Germany forever. That always was impossible. Ten years from now the Germans are bound to be governing themselves even though foreign troops remain to prevent rearmament.

If the destruction suffered by Germany in the war was not enough to discredit nazism, certainly it would not be more discredited by harsh treatment for a few years by armies of occupation. In fact, attempted education by foreign invaders is more likely to produce the very opposite result from that which is sought. The policy of extreme denazification down to the smallest units can have no possible effect once we have left Germany, and in the meantime deprives the nation of the services of nearly all Germans trained in government in those routine activities of local organization, so necessary to economic recovery.

The result has been to keep the German people so short of food that many of them believe that starvation is our deliberate intention. It has been to deter all economic recovery so that it costs us \$600,000,000 a year simply to bring the German diet up to a subsistence level.

I remember several years ago in a committee hearing, I asked Mr. Morgenthau how he thought Europe could be prosperous if a nation of eighty million in the midst of Europe was reduced to an agricultural subsistence. His answer was that other countries around about Germany would quickly develop the necessary industries. I expressed doubt, but he was convinced,

LACK OF REALISM

Of course he was utterly unrealistic. Not only has the policy deprived the rest of Europe of many products which could be manufactured in Germany, but it has deprived them of a market for their own exports. It has, thus, completely upset the economy of Europe and now we are called upon for taxes from our taxpayers to remedy the breakdown.

There is only one way in which Germany can be effectively controlled. That is to control the production of a limited number of essential products. The Vandenberg plan purposes that we memain in Germany indefinitely, but only to prevent rearmament. If that is the ultimate practical plan —and I believe it is—there is no reason why it should not have been adopted from the beginning of the occupation and German recovery promoted, so that its people might move toward the equal economic conditions promised by the Atlantic Charter.

The result of our whole policy, furthermore, has been to destroy the reputation which we had acquired in the world for justice and fair dealing. Until this war, the United States had been looked upon in Europe as a disinterested party. But today we are regarded as another imperialistic nation acting in our own selfish interest. A recent poll shows that one-third of the British and a larger percentage of the French believe tha: America desires to dominate the world.

We have failed to keep our promises to many people yearning to be free. We have failed to keep our promises to the world regarding Germany.

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BASE OF PEACE

I do not see how we can hope to secure permanent peace in the world except by establishing law between nations and equal justice under law. It may be a long, hard course but I believe that the public opinion of the world can be led along that course, so that the time will come when that public opinion will support the decision of any reasonable impartial tribunal based on justice. Our general attitude has been one of policy and expediency instead of law and fair dealing. Again I believe this attitude derives from the domestic policy of recent years which has proposed to turn over all discretion to deal with any serious problem to administrative boards unrestrained by definite statutes and unrestrained by court review. That domestic policy derided a government of law, and glorified a government of men unrestrained by law or justice to individuals.

I believe our most creditable efforts have been that of establishing the United Nations, and the new Inter-American treaty. There we have made a serious attempt to keep our promises. There we have created a forum in which the problems of the world likely to lead to war can be discussed and brought out into the open, and at least partially solved. The Inter-American treaty, credit for which must go to Secretary Marshall and Senator Vandenberg, offers even more hope of future peace. It sets an example which may ultimately be extended to the entire world.

Even in the United Nations Charter, however, and particularly in its first draft, we forgot about justice and turned to force as the basis of peace. All of the emphasis is on the powers of the Security Council to police the world. The Charter is not based primarily on a system of law or the administration of justice. Its plan is like one of setting up vigilantes to punish crime without a criminal code. The Security Council is required to make such decisions in its final use of force as will maintain peace and security, without any express reference to justice. Of course, the two are not synonymous.

CASE OF POLAND

In theory, the Security Council acting in full compliance with the Charter could take territory from one nation to which it justly belonged and give it to another because it felt that such action would produce peace. Thus Mr. Chamberlain agreed to the transfer of Sudetenland to Germany. In theory the Security Council might find that the destruction of an entire nation would tend to a more peaceful world. Poland for instance has always been a bone of contention between other nations. By substituting the maintenance of peace and security by force for law and j astice, we authorized the basing of decisions on expediency, and for expediency there are no rules which cannot be changed to fit the facts of the particular case.

It is astonishing that the original draft of the Charter at Dumbarton Oaks contained practically no reference to justice whatsoever. Through Senator Vandenberg's strenuous efforts, numerous references to justice were inserted in the final draft, but I do not believe that they extend to the Security Council in its use of force. The new emphasis on justice will certainly justify us in using our veto power whenever we think it necessary to prevent unjust decisions. By that course I believe we can develop a practice in accord with ideas of law and justice.

In the long run, however, peace in this world can only be effected by a law agreed to by all nations, a court to interpret that law, and a police force to enforce the law. Until that occurs it is hard to see how we can surrender our yeto except in limited fields covered by very specific definitions. Yet, as long as the great nations retain their veto power the Security Council cannot prevent a major war.

ECONOMIC STEPS CRITICIZED

The dealings of the Administration in the foreign economic field have certainly not tended to produce world stability. We hastened into a theoretical plan for an international fund and an international bank costing us \$6,000,-000,000. We were assured it would bring economic stability to the world. Even assuming its principles were sound, which I have always questioned, it was a complete waste of funds to set it up before we had created a world in which it could effectively operate.

Subsequently we found that the Brettom Woods agreements did nothing whatever to meet the real crisis in Europe, and contrary to the assurances of the Treasary at the time we were considering Bretton Woods, we had to make a direct loan to Great Britain. Now we see that that loan has failed largely of its purpose. In the Brettom Woods agreement, we forced the British Empire to agree to give up various established trade relations which they considered essential for their own economic life. No doubt our planners thought we were benefiting the world, but the British feel we were forcing them to buy American products they did not desire.

In the British loan agreement, we insisted upon sterling being made convertible into dollars. It proved to be the last blow to the British economy. We have created the impression that we are desirous of forcing American economic control over the entire world and particularly imposing on all nations the Hull-Clayton theory of free trade. I don't think the charges are remotely justified, but they come about from an itching desire on the part of the Asiministration to tell the rest of the world how it shall run its affairs.

"Mr. Fixit" Philosophy

As I see it, the Administration was dominated by the "Mr. Fixit" philosophy of the New Deal. Just as the New Dealers wanted to run the lives of all citizens and improve them whether they wished to be improved or not, so have they tried to use our financial resources to force on the rest of the world the manner in which they shall conduct their foreign exchange, their foreign trade, and even their currency and other domestic affairs. No doubt we have acted in good faith in supporting an international control of international trade, but to Europe it looks like an American control trying to boss their affairs.

I maintain, therefore, that outside the actual conduct of the war, we could not have made a worse mess of our foreign policy than we did. The only bright spots are General Mc-Arthur's conduct of the occupation of Japar and the establishment of the United Nations, and the recent agreement signed at Rio. True, Senator Vandenberg and the bipartisan policy finally reversed our whole attitude toward Russia to one of firmness, and was responsible for reversing our policy in Germany. But even in these restricted fields the bipartisan foreign policy was up against handicaps previously imposed, which have, up to now, prevented any solution of those problems.

It may be asked, what is the Republican foreign policy? I have said that under a Democratic President its keystone is cooperation. I have tried to point out that foreign policy should not be partisan. Of course, when we reach the time of the Presidential election, it will be incumbent on the Republican party to state the manner in which it will conduct the country's foreign policy, but in the meantime k see, and reason why it should do more than declare certain general principles and oppose measures which it considers completely dangerous to the welfare of the country. Even when a Republican President is elected, we must recognize that there is no panacea to solve the present confusion from past error.

PEACE "A GUIDING PRINCIPLE"

But certain general principles can be stated which have succeeded in the past. My own belief is that the guiding principle of any foreign policy should be the maintenance of peace so long as conditions co not threaten the freedom of the people of the United States. In my opinion, that has not been the guiding principle of our foreign policy in the last fifteen years. Short of the loss of freedom, war is the greatest destroyer of all ideals. This war has cost us three hundred thousand lives, hundreds of thousands of permanently disabled, and the happiness of many families. It has cost us \$250,000,000,000 of debt. It has imposed upon us a current financial budget for interest, veterans, armed forces and foreign aid so heavy as to threaten the successful continuation of a system of free enterprise. It has brought destruction to many parts of the world.

In the end that destruction must injure us also. Successful though we were in all the military phases of the war, we face a condition in the world today not much less threatening than existed in 1940. Even the nation that wins a war, loses the war. That nation must abandon at least temporarily the very freedoms for which the war is fought; and once abandoned we have found that those freedoms are not easy to recover.

I believe our foreign policy should be built around the United Nations, changing the whole emphasis of the organization to the establishment of law and equal justice under law. Only then could we consider the abandonment of the veto power. I do not see how we can abandon our own veto power, and thereby give a majority of the Security Council the right over our objection to carry through an unjust attack on the United States or any other nation. There must first be a law written and agreed to by all dealing with the subject on which the veto is waived. That is not impossible. A beginning has been made to writing a definition of aggression at Fio de Janeirs. The American Legion has proposed a number of amendments to the Charter moving in the direction I have indicated.

RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

Of course, we face a situation in the present Russian attitude which makes progress along this line difficult. If it becomes impossible, if Russia in effect withdraws from any real participation in effective action by the United Nations. I believe we should proceed without Russia to perfect a United Nations which will perate in a imited field. We have perfected such an organization with the Latin-American nations, which may serve as an example to the rest of the world. But I am hopeful that in time there may be enough agreement with Russia to permit effective operation of the present United Nations in many fields.

I have not believed that Russia intends, or desires, a conquest by force of arms of additional territory to that occupied during the war. I have not felt-for the present at least-that Russia desires a fighting war, or would give serious consideration to it. I do feel that Russia desires to make communism the accepted form of government, both in occupied territories and throughout the world. I do not believe we should yield to Russia in any way in its plan for spreading the Communist philosophy. In communism we face a curious form of aggression. But outside the power of the Russian Army limited to Europe and Asia, it is the battle of ideologies. We cannot fight the ideology of communism with soldiers. War in itself creates a condition favorable to totalitarian government, and, therefore, to communism.

"BATTLE IN EACH COUNTRY"

In general, the battle must be fought out in each country by the people of that country. Undoubtedly the conditions are more favorable for communism in countries having severe economic hardship, and so in that field we can be helpful with loans and other assistance. But let us not overestimate the power of our money. Certainly, our money cannot rule the peoples of the world. I was willing to try a large-scale use of money in Greece to maintain the status quo during the peace negotiations, but we might as well mecognize that the Greek type of experiment is impossible in Italy and France because of the tremendous scale on which money would have to be poured in. It might well produce more hostility to the United States, and more arguments for the Communists.

But one thing is certainly clear. We should meet communism first here in the United States, bring it out into the open and eliminate its influence. If we can't meet it successfully at home, how can we hope to meet it in Europe? Our leaders should speak out in behalf of the American system and get away from the inferiority complex about it we have seen in recent years. The New Dealers really attacted the basic philosophy of American government, its belief in individual and local freedom, in competition and in reward for incentive. They echoed the arguments of Moscow against it, and wanted to move our system well over toward that of Russia. The time has come for leaders of all our parties to point out the merits of the American system, and the principles behind it.

PROGRAM FOR GERMANY

In Germany, we should speed up the present tendency to reverse the Potsdam plan. We should help the Germans develop an economic system which will support them without assistance from this country. We should work out at once, and announce, the limitation and nature of the controls required to prevent the development of another war machine. We should also work out the amount of coal and other current production which can properly be required in the nature of reparations. Within those controls and requirements, the Germans should be allowed to develop their own economy regardless of competition with other nations, and with the same freedom of access to raw materials which the other nations have.

In Japan we should proceed to make peace as rapidly as possible and with controls to insure against the development of armament, a much more simple matter in the case of Japan than Germany. We should permit Japan to support itself like any other nation.

We might as well face the fact also if we are going to keep any nation at a lower standard of living than the rest of the world, it will soon learn to produce more cheaply than other nations and compete with us throughout the world. We might well return to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and recognize that our policies should be directed as far as practicable toward raising the standard of living of every nation, including the conquered countries,

CUSTOMS UNION

In the economic field, we have had proposed to us the so-called Marshal plan, which is not really a plan at all, but only a combination of suggestions. The first suggestion is that European nations try to help each other before asking the United States for help. That certainly is a reasonable proposal, but we have hea:d little of any effective proposals to that end from the conference in Paris. If such self-help can be worked out by a customs union, it should redound to the development in each country of that production to which it is best suited. I still hope that we can reach an agreement with Russia regarding a unified Germany. If that is not done, then the rest of Germany outside the Russian zone should certainly be integrated into the economy of western Europe.

When it comes to our part in the Marshall plan, however, there are certain principles which must govern its application. We cannot afford to go on lending money on a global scale. These loans in all human probability will never be repaid. They are gifts to other countries of our labor, and our natural resources, of which we have none too great a supply. They are paid for by heavy taxes on American production and American workers.

I have always felt that we should help the nations whose economy was destroyed by war to get on their feet. We should give them the machinery and the raw materials necessary to set the wheels going. We have to continue to ship food to prevent starvation, and some additional food to tide them over a reasonable standard of living, until the machinery does move. But I believe our loans should be made to specific countries for specific purposes and only to pay for goods shipped from the United States.

"WORLD WPA" WOULD FAIL

This year we have in our budget some \$4,000,000,000 to finance foreign shipments. I would hope that our annual contribution might be gradually less until it is entirely eliminated in a period of about four years. In the meantime, the International Bank is in operation with resources of \$8,000,-000,000 or more and can be of further assistance, such assistance incidentally coming almost entirely from the United States.

In the long run, no nation can live on the bounty of another nation. It can only permanently enjoy a standard of living produced by its o'vn earnings or reasonable hope of future development. I think we overestimate the accomplishments to be secured by a few dollars from outside compared to the international organization and management of any nation by its own leaders. Certainly we wish to help, but an international WPA would fail to solve the problem of world work just as it failed to solve unemployment in the United Statzs. I do not believe that America can save the world with money. We can only help the world to save itself if it wishes to be saved and makes its own utmost effort.

Of course, in this intermediate period, we must maintain a strong Army and Navy, and while the Russian attitude remains what it is, we had better retain the atomic bomb. I do not sympathize with those who say that our Army and Navy have fallen to pieces. They are still the most powerful in the world, unless we want to fight the Russian millions in their own back yard.

If we can't maintain adequate armed forces with an expenciture of \$10,500,000,000 a year, then we must have a very inefficient management of the Army and Navy. We know that is not so. We want the most expert Army the world has ever seen to meet the contingercies of modern warrare. We want the best research for military purposes, and we want the best organized intelligence service. This Congress has already unified the armed services and has provided a system of promotion in the Army and an intelligence service which should tremendously improve the efficiency of our defense.

Oppose Aggression

In conclusion, our foreign policy should be the expression of the interests and ideals of the American people. It should express first our determination to maintain peace if at all possible. It should express a determination to join with others in opposing aggression by other nations in order to preserve peace. It should express our interest in an international organization to prevent aggression. It should not interfere with the kind of government other nations wish to have, nor with the economic policy they wish to pursue if it is reasonably fair to us. The United States does not want to be a busybody. We don't want to develop an era of American imperialism. Somehow our people don't like to boss other people, just as they don't like to be bossed—and so they are not good at the job. We can never make a success of imperialism because we are not imperialism.

We must stand up for our system of individual and economic freedom, and point out the dangers of a totalitarian world. If we can show that this country can maintain freedom and the highest standard of living in the world under the American system, it will not be many rears before the example set will be followed by every other nation.

Marshall Plan, Europe's Only Alternative To Communism

SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT THE PLAN

By HAROLD E. STASSEN, former Governor of Minnesota

Delivered to the New York Ghamber of Commerce, New York, N. Y., September 17, 1941

MR. Chairman, Members and Guests of the New York Chamber of Commerce: I respond with pleasure to your invitation to meet with you this noon in the Empire State of New York, ably presided over by your outstanding Gov:rnor, the honorable Thomas E. Dewey.

We meet on Constitution Day. This day, 160 years after the adoption of our Constitution, and more particularly, two years after the victorious end of World War II appears to me to be a good day on which to take stock of the basic situation in which our America is involved.

Our country is now engaged in a basic worldwide competition of ways of life. It is participating in a clash of ideologies as to the manner in which man should live in his social, economic, political and religious systems. This struggle involves the fundamental difference between the



view that man is an individual, of human dignity, that he has a spiritual value, and is endowed by his creator with certain inalienable rights; and the opposing view that man shall be measured on solely a material basis, evaluated for what he can produce, and be controlled and directed in his economic, social and political life by those in command of a state.

The strongest exponent of the opposing ideology is the Soviet Union of Russia. Its doctrine and philosophy is set forth most completely by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Nicolai Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

The United States of America is the strongest exponent of the free way of life. Its philosophy has been set forth most explicity in the Constitution of our country adopted on this day, September 17th, in the year 1787. This ideology has also been expressed and implemented in the writings and speeches and actions of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln.

But these are not the only exponents or advocates of either one of these philosophies. All over the world men and nations, in varying degrees, believe in and advocate the one or the other, or grope in confusion to find their own beliefs and to check and study the two opposing results.

As I see it, it is inevitable that this competition and clash will continue. But it is not inevitable that it will lead to war. In fact, if we remain strong in a military sense so that we do not tempt others to seek a decision by force, there is an excellent likelihood that this basic struggle will be resolved on the economic social and ideological fronts and will never be an issue in the grim and tragic holocaust of a third world war.

In reality this basic issue cannot be decided by war. A series of tragic mistakes and miscalculations, or a mad decision might lead to war, but even then the question of how man should live would not be thus concluded. That decision must be made of the minds and hearts of men. It cannot be resolved by force.

It is of tremendous importance therefore that we identify the nature of the competition that is going on and develop a clear-cut, well-understood anited program for our country to follow. It is vital that we cut through the confusion that exists; that we meet narrow arguments of prejudice or of political opportunism = that we openly analyze the situation in which we find ourselves and the most desirable course to follow.

I present to you today, in concise form, within the limits of a single address, a series of basic views upon the elements involved in this great problem with a plea that I do not wish my terseness to be taken as an indication of a dogmatic approach. Far from it. I do not claim to have all the answers to this fundamental problem, but I do believe that by the exposure of tentative conclusions, of the premises upon which they are based, we can search through together and find better answers for our country, than we can by being coy and evasive.

It is my first premise that the individual freedom of man is inseparable, that his economic, social, political and religious freedom are all intertwined, that they all spring from a basic concept of the nature of man, and that you cannot take away economic freedoms. This spotlights the basic error and confusion of the liberal socialists, who in an effort to correct deficiencies in a free economic system, would move toward centralized control of the economy under Socialism and thereby take away the true economic freedom of individual men but who protest that they wish to maintain or to advance the social, political and religious freedoms of men.

It is not possible to long maintain true freecom to speak and to assemble and to vote and to worship, if freedom to work and to buy and to sell and to own and to earn are taken away and citizens made subject to the whim of men in government for their food, their sheller and their clothing.

England is now giving one of the most significant demonstrations of this basic fact. When the socialization and nationalization program was proposed at the end of the war, it was loudly protested that it meant advanced liberties for their people and did not mean taking away traditional English rights of individual freedom. Certainly no country is more thoroughly grounded in the precious nature of individual liberty than England. Yet as their socialization proceeded, production declined, and with its decline, the economic emergency heightened until a few weeks ago the most sweeping peacetime powers ever delegated to its governmert over individual workmen were enacted.

Country after country since the war, either by its success in turning toward economic freedom, or by its failure in its moves in economic centralization, has furnished additional proof of this basic premise. The best recovery since the war and the best production records have been made by Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Denmark. These are the countries that did not move in the direction of socialization or in peacetime control of the economies, but instead gradually released wartime regimentation and increased the individual economic freedom of their people. The result is that individual social and civil and religious rights are also stronger in these countries today than in the other nations of Europe.

Centralization of an economy decreases production. Decreased production means increased dissatisfaction and want on the part of the people. Soon the point is reached where either the economic policy of government must be reversed or the people must be controlled and their rights and liberties taken away to prevent revolt.

One of America's messages to the people of the World should be this, "Beware of leaders who say, 'Give to us your economic freedom, and we will insure to you your material needs and your civil, social and religious freedom'. They are either confused, mismaken, or deceptive in their approach."

My second premise is that Rule A for America in this world competition must be to keep her own domestic economy strong and free. Unless this is done, none of the alternatives before us can effectively be carried out. The economic strength of America is home base for freedom in this world contest. To keep it strong requires first of all to keep it highly productive, and that in turn means that we should not move toward the nationalization or socialization of any industry or enterprise in America. It also means that we must taper off from our excessively high wartime tax levels. But it does not mean that we refuse to move toward correction of deficiencies, weaknesses, and maladjustments in our system. The American system is not one of ancient laissez faire capitalism. It is a modern capitalism evolved with trial and error through a century and a half of vigorous representative government. It involves basically an approach of establishing the broad rules of the road under which capital and labor and individual citizens can conduct their affairs. Fundamentally it requires that the rights and oppor unities of the people shall not be subjected to administrative whim and caprice. It includes the hammering out, by the slow and sometimes confused but definitely superior, legislative methods, of the basic outlines of limits of indivilual freedom so that the actions of one do not unnecessarily infringe upon the liberties of another. Thus has been leveloped the anti-trust acts, the non-restraint of trade laws, the limitations on speculation, minority rights, punishment for fraud, labor relations legislation, unemployment compensation and the whole range of basic codes for production and trade. This process of analyzing and correcting weaknesses must continue to keep our dynamic modern capitalism strong and to yield the greatest good to the greatest number. But the process must not be diverted toward the pattern of centralized detailed control which springs rather from the opposing socialist and Communist theories.

With these two basic premises ever in mind, we should give all-out support to the Marshall Plan for the rebuilding of Europe.

We should seek to constructively implement and fill in its broad outline. It is not a perfect plan, and some have well said that it is not really a plan at all. But we need to realistically face alternatives. As Europe moves into this next bleak Winter, there are only two plans for Europe one is the Marshall Plan, and the other is the Communist Plan. The Marshall Plan envisages assistance of this country on the basis of a proposal developed by Europe for its own self-help and for its reeds from America. It envisages the rebuilding of Europe, the gradual raising of the standards of living of its war-torn people, and the maintenance there of political and economic freedom, and of independence from ourselves and from cthers.

The Communist Plan as I judge it, seeks a Europe, moving step by step along a socialist route. It calls for a limitation and disruption of the production of European countries until Communist minorities can attain control, the chaining of the people through economic control, efforts then and not until then toward rebuilding production, the wiping out of civil and social liberties of its people under Communist dictatorships, and the orientation of both the economy and the foreign policy in the direction of Russia.

With this alternative, i: is extremely clear that the best interests for the future of the people of Europe and of America lies in choosing the alternative of the Marshall Plan.

My urgent message today is that speed is necessary in its implementation. The President should promptly advise the country of the clear fact that Europe cannot move into this next Winter without a definite program from this country. A special session of Congress should be called by the President to meet the problem.

As these weeks and months slip by, knowing that the cold blasts of winter will soon sweep out of the North Sea, that hunger and cold and death wait for no man, it is time we ask the President of the United States, "What are you wait-If the answer is, that our government is not ing for?" ready with a program for action we should ask, "Why not?" It is over two years since the end of the war. The basic facts of this year's economic situation in Europe were known months ago. This is not a surprise situation. It is a challenge that has been known for many months but not adequately met to this day. The American people are overwhelmingly in support of meeting the problem. They seem to be more keenly aware than our leaders of the requirements of the world-wide competition in which we are engaged. America's future and the future of freedom in Europe and around the world demand definite action and prompt action and sound action.

The shortage of food around the world for this next winter requires immediate action. We should begin at once a nationwide, coordinated, voluntary food conservation program in America. Every week that goes by without the initiation of such a program means food wasted that could otherwise be saved. This is important both for Europe and for us. Unless we do this the pressure of demand on a dwindling food supply rext winter will drive our high

prices even higher and increase the danger of boom and bust in the American economy. Instead of drifting along as we now are without leadership in this food problem, a definite, nationwide voluntary program of personal and industrial conservation of food should be initiated promptly. It must be under leadership of the President and the government as this is the only place from which effective national leadership of this type can come.

The urgent needs of Europe beyond food, as has been known ever since the end of the war, and as recently specified in definite figures, include mining mach nery, electrical equipment, steel making equipment, inland transport facilities and agricultural machinery. Is it not slear that these cannot be suddenly obtained from our American production now operating at almost full tilt? Early and definite ordering on a sensible schedule of delivery so as to permit expansion and adjustment of specific manufacture is essential not only to obtain the results for Europe but to decrease the adverse impact on the American economy at home. This leads me to directly suggest a number of factors which I believe should be included in the implementation of the Marshall Plan.

The Marshall Plan thus far does not have any detailed principles set forth. I think this should be our approach to the nations of Europe. First of all, regardless of their individual economic, social or political decisions, we will endeavor to the best of our ability to assist them with food and to seek to prevent starvation and suffering. Second, that we are willing to go beyond that to make major contributions toward the rebuilding of their production, and of their entire economy if and only if, they are moving in a direction of economic freedom of their own people and are not sliding down the road of socialism or communism.

I realize there are those who criticize his conditional approach. They say it involves dictation to the European nations and interference in their internal affairs. On the contrary it appears elementary that if we do believe that individual freedom is the most productive form of an economy, and if our objective is to assist the European nations in improving their conditions and rebuilding, then we should definitely advocat: and place conditions in relationship to our aid program.

If a nation insisted on tying one arm of each of its workers behind hs back, and then asked for help in building up production and rehabilitating their war-torn areas, would we not clearly insist that they untie their workers as a condition of our aid? The regimentation of an economy and the socialization of industries restricts the capability of the worters of a country, deprives them of tools and of effective management and holds them down just as effectively as if their hands were tied behind their backs. Every major scrap of evidence, not only since the war but in the earlier economic history of the world, confirms this conclusion. Why then should we not place economic conditions on the program of our aid toward rebuilding? Can it be sustained that the leaders of European governments should say, "Give us your machinery, your electrical equipment, your steel making facilities, your railroad cars and your locomotives but do not give us any economic ideas!"

I do not mear that we can expect or should ask for a sudden change toward a free economy. I db mean that we should seek an understanding of the economic direction in which they will move and as a minimum require during the time they are receiving American aid they should not take steps of increased nationalization or socialization, and should not increase ther control over the economic liberties of their people, and should move toward more individual freedom for their warkers, their managers and their capital.

I am convinced that is the direction in which their own

future better living standards can be found, and it is also the direction in which a world economic system will give increased prospects for peace.

I believe further that the amount of aid that we extend should be substantial, and not miserly, and that we should contemplate its continuance over a period of years, at least five in number, rather than a hit or miss Winter by Winter approach.

Third, that the appropriations of Congress for carrying out this program should not be made to foreign nations directly as loans but that an American agency, a Peace Production Board, if you will, should be established, and the appropriations made to this agency for the purpose of purchasing and ordering the manufacture in this country of definite materials and food for other countries. The specifications of needs of the other countries should be received and the purchasing and manufacturing should be scheduled. The reasons are manifold. With the strain we place on our domestic economy, our proper scheduling of manufacturing and of purchasing is of great importance, if we are not to subject it to sudden impacts upon specific segments.

Furthermore, by having it be an American agency that conducts the program here, i: will be subject to continuous supervision and inquiry by Congress and by the American people. This is not true of a foreign purchasing agency.

Finally, there should be a condition in our aid program that those who receive it, agree that raw materials under their control would be available to us in future years on the same basis as they are available to others. This is of great importance because at the high rate of production of our economic machine, many of our basic raw materials, are becoming depleted in supply. Unless we are foresighted, we may well reach a point five, ten and fifteen years from now of critical shortages in specific raw materials, and then be faced with restrictive economic policies by others. A reasonable amount of stockpilling should be currently carried out and arrangements for assisting in the opening up and developing of raw material sources by American capital and engineering should be completed.

By establishing our own Production for Peace agency,

the priorities of assistance can be developed so that those specific needs of high priority, such as production of coal in the Ruhr and in England, and Customs Unions such as those between Belgium and the Netherlands car be advanced.

Above all, we must recognize that we will not successfully carry through this basic competition of systems in the world by a negative attitude of opposition, nor will we carry it through in a short time. We must be positive and affirmative and constructive in our approach to this worldwide problem. We must advocate the dynamic qualities of our basic system of freedom and emphasize that it does not involve subordination to us, but it does involve cutting loose the bonds upon men that they might be free to produce, to invest, to manufacture, to sell, to buy, to live. We must clearly recognize that a negative approach of opposition could well result in our support of a reactionary and royalist element in various parts of the world which do not represent the dynamics of American freedom and cannot advance our way of life.

I am confident in our ultimate success, as I believe basically in the fundamental concepts of our way of life. But I realize full well that the essential fundamental change in policy of Russia will not come quickly if it comes at all. We need to understand the difficulties of the Russian situation, the background of their development after becoming free of the Czarist regime, and of the extreme danger that they suffered in the war. They cannot easily change their basic approach.

Our task is difficult, but the stakes are high. If we are to advance the freedom of men without war, we must succeed in this economic and ideological competition. We must economically and ideologically win over the Russiansand then win them over.

No one can now prove that the latter can or cannot be done. But is it not the best hope of peace and progress and freedom for ourselves and for all mankind. I have a sober optimism and a deep confidence in the future if we in America stop our worldwide economic drifting and begin to act and to advocate in accord with the dynamic principles of freedom set forth in the Constitution adopted on this day 160 years ago.

The Moral Force of Women

DESTINY OF AMERICA IN THEIR HANDS By HARRY S. TRUMAN, President of the United States Delivered over the Radio, Washington, D. C., Octower 8, 1947

The women of this country, by recognizing their responsibility to take an active part in the determination of the grave issues of the day, can furnish this type of citizenship.

Women can provide immediate leadership in dealing with one of these great issues. Women can make an invaluable contribution to the welfare of our nation—and of the world —by lending their wholeheanted support to our food-saving program. Indeed, the responsibility for the success of that program rests very largely with the American housewife. She is an indispensable fighter in our war against hunger. The American housewife has never failed her country when she has been called upon to sacrifice in its interest. I know that she will not fail in the great task now before us.

I know, too, that if the women of our nation exert the tremendous moral force for good which they possess, we shall make greater and more lasting progress in overcoming the other difficulties that concern us and the world.

As a nation we stand now on the threshold of a wonderful opportunity, unique in history. We are a thriving country. The facts of our high employment and our great farm and industrial production speak for themselves. We are a strong and peace-loving nation.

The United States, more than any other mation, is in a position to give reality to the four freedoms. The United States should and can be the first nation in which the people —all the people—are free from want and free from fear,

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free to speak and to write as their hearts dictate, and free to worship as they will.

This is no idle dream. It is a goal well within the power of this mighty nation of ours to achieve.

The actions of our government to improve social security, public health and education, and to develop and conserve our national resources, must not be allowed to lag behinds the needs of the people. Nor can we falter in our unceasings quest for a just, permanent peace in the world. The need is for us, the people, to summon the will to achieve these goals, and to translate that will into positive action.

In this undertaking, the women of the United States have a great opportunity and a great responsibility to play the decisive part. Women in this country won the right to vote only after a long, hard struggle. Now, over one million more women than men are eligible to vote in the United States. Thus, the power lies in the hands of American women—in your hands—to share the destiny of America. And yet when the time comes to register and the opportunity comes to vote, many of our women neglect this responsibility of citizenship.

Foreign nations are deeply interested in the size of our vote. The reason is clear. The United States is the foremost example of democratic government in the world. Men and women in other lands are comparing the operation of our democratic system with other forms of government. We do not want them to conclude that we are not interested in the vigor of our government, or that we are indifferent to the issues before us! We must prove to them that we take our democracy seriously. They must understand that we accept the responsibilities of our form of democracy as well as its privileges.

When you, the women of American, make your will felt at the polls you make an invaluable contribution to this democratic system. The moral force of women has always had a wholesome influence upon the character of civilization. They are deeply responsive to the fundamental human values. Women care more for people than for dollars, more for healthy children than fat dividends. Women want a society in which we build schools instead of prisons. Women want a world in which we sow and harvest the seeds of a good life instead of the seeds of war.

You now have a great opportunity to make this wholesome influence increasingly effective by the full use of your power at the ballot box.

Your vote is your insurance that the American people will always be free members of a democratic society; your insurance that we shall continue to live in a democracy where men can worship God in their own fashion, can speak and write as they please, and have equal justice under law.

Your vote is your investment in the future of the United States, your investment to insure a country where your children will have opportunities for decent homes, good health, good jobs and adequate education.

Your vote is a down payment on the kind of world in which nations respect one another, a world in which nations are good neighbors because they know that good neighborliness offers the only hope of lasting peace.

The Tyrant Minorities

TIME RUNS AGAINST ALL TYRANNIES

By FRANK DIEHL FACKENTHAL, Acting President, Columbia University, New York

Delivered at the Opening of the 194th Academic Year of Columbia University, New York, N.Y., September 24, 1947

THE 194th year of this University opens in anxious and uncertain times. Individuals, groups, and nations are under great tension; in their search for the wise and responsible course they must grope through the fogs of selfishness, cupidity, lust for political and economic power, that shroud our present world.

It may be pertinent to observe that at the conclusion of almost twenty centuries of the Christian era, and after a million years of development and progress, man finds himself trapped—trapped in his own progress; trapped in that he is face to face with himself at last, and can no longer escape. He must examine himself as a social being; he must learn what happens to him and to his fellow atoms in the cyclotron of life's buffetings, and how to control for constructive use the human energies thereby released. He must solve the problem of his own nature.

No longer are there rast areas on the earth's surface to which groups of dissenters, non-conformists, and the rebellious, can go to set up life anew. Even the polar regions are bespoken in no unce tain terms. On the other hand, no longer do mountains on oceans or distances constitute barriers between peoples. The barriers that remain are those of misunderstanding and misapprehension, and far from being a defense, they are until removed a constant danger. The economic, social and political interests of the world are so closely intertwined, communication so rapid, that nations are sensitive to and are affected almost instantly by happenings anywhere. And no individual, no minority, can escape responsibility for the course of human affairs, any more than can the majority. If, as has been said, the minorities together now constitute a majority, they might better recognize their strength as increased responsibility for the public welfare, than use it in a show of power that threatens peace and order. Liberties and freedoms are for those who can use and respect them. That minorities often have their just grievances, is not to be denied, and most of them have the statesmanship to work peacefully for their adjustment. But those groups who depend upon the primitive idea of force for a solution—who advocate the use of aggression either in the active form of mrorism and war, or in a passive form that paralyzes a nation's transport and industry—need selfexamination.

The unenlightened supposition that the rights of minorities, or even of majorities, can ever properly be achieved by disregarding the rights of other groups, finds no basis in history or right reason. Self-centered minorities can and have destroyed nations. A minority which uses its balance of power to compel special legislation that endangers the welfare of all; a minority which hesitates not to starve a city; a minority, even of 200 million, which prevents the making of peace in the world, must accept accountability not only to itself but to society in general, for the power which it wields.

And accountable they will be, for time runs against all tyrannies. The human spirit is essentially a force for

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James H. Halsey

progress—an irresistible force—and herein lies the hope of the world and the role of education. Education with its broad sweep of accumulating thought and accomplishment, must and will raise men's standards of conduct, brush aside the hallucinations of aggressive war, increase regard for the rights of others, and so clear the way for the ever higher life of generations to come.

It is for continuing participation in such a venture that we welcome a new academic year. All fields of constructive thought and creative effort contribute to the advancement of mankind; whatever the field of interest, let education develop individual abilities to their greatest and broadest capacity, that Time and the human spirit may touch the heights in the near, rather than the distant, future.

Education for Freedom

ACHIEVE AN ADULT MATURITY

By JAMES H. HALSEY, President, University of Bridgeport, Conn. Delivered at the opening Student Convocation, University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Conn., September 29, 1947

I CANNOT conceive that there are any persons in this audience who would disagree with the statement that the ultimate goal of education in America is freedom. There are, unfortunately, some people in our country, and there are many in other ccuntries, who certainly act as though they do not believe in freedom. However, we Americans have dedicated our government, our institutions, and yes, our very lives to freedom. We have just gone through a horrible war for the purpose of preserving freedom. Thus, it is natural that we should set freedom as our essential purpose of education.

We, in colleges both faculty and students, must keep this goal of freedom clearly in view, because it is principally from the students in college that our leaders come. You who represent the student body of the University of Bridgeport, and your fellow students in other colleges throughout the land, are a highly selected group—you are one in five of all people your age. Therefore, upon you rests a greater responsibility in this matter of freedom because you are being given greater opportunities. As the potential leaders of people in a free country, you must help us to help you toward an education for freedom.

And so, I would say to you today as we open this twentyfirst year of our college, that each and everyone of us must keep this goal forever before him. And to the members of the faculty I say specifically that regardless of what we teach, how we teach, or whom we teach, education for freedom must be the ultimate objective.

Now, even though we may have a unanimity of opinion on this goal of education, there seems to exist some disagreement and some confusion about how we can best educate for freedom. We are sometimes so much concurned with grades, curricula, prerequisites, degrees, and all the other mechanics of education that we not only overlook the obvious means to achieve freedom, but we sometimes even lose sight of the goal altogether.

At the risk of being changed with an attempt at oversimplification of a very complicated matter, I am going to try to point out for you the most obvious method which should be used in education to achieve freedom. And in order to make this point crystal-clear, and to strip it of any ambiguities and confusions, I am going to give it to you in one simple word. This would describes the fully educated person, and this word also is the one which is the requisite for freedom. Without the qualities which this word implies, there can never be any freedom; with the full development of the qualities implied by this word we can always have freedom.

This one word is MATURITY!

Yes, in my opinion, education in general, and college education in particular in aiming to prepare people for freedom, must help young people achieve an adult maturity; an adult maturity of human living which will make them informed and articulate, self-disciplined and reasonable, responsible and purposeful. In other words a full and complete adult maturity is what makes them capable of being free.

There are three kinds of maturity which a college education should help develop. I would be the first to admit that it is not necessary to go to college to develop these three kinds of maturity, but I believe it is possible to acquire them more readily and more quickly in college than in the world at large. Furthermore, I believe that a person who does not possess all three of these kinds of maturity is not educated, regardless of the number of years he has spent in college or the number of degrees he may have earned.

The first kind of maturity a college education should give you is *An Intellectual Maturity*. This is the primary objective of a college education and the one for which a college is ideally arranged.

An intellectual maturity is characterized by the reading of good literature, interest in dramatics, music, and art, by acquaintance with the material in text books, by one's curiosity about the world in which he lives, and by one's ability to understand and explain. A person who is intellectually mature is a thinker and one who can cope with ideas, thoughts, and abstractions.

The men who gave us our original concept of freedom and who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, Adams, Jefferson and Franklin, and the men such as Lincoln and Wilson, who interpreted and enunciated these great documents, write men of intellectual maturity. They could understand ideas, and they could explain ideas.

Perhaps you have heard the little epigram which goes like this: "Great minds discuss ideas, average minds discuss events, and little minds discuss people." Those who spend most of their discussion time in talk about people and events are not intellectually mature.

In spite of the persistent efforts of our schools and colleges to help their studen's achieve an intellectual maturity, we in this country are very immature in many ways. This is what a current writer says: "We are a nation of children who refuse to grow up. The pleasures of the lower school grades are the main leisume preoccupations of the average grown American: games, sports, parties, fairy tales on the screen, the soap opera, magazine fiction and comics. We use our automobiles as big haby carriages."

An intellectual maturity is a basic necessity of citizens in

a free country such as ours because free citizens must make decisions for themselves. If your college education, which deals primarily with ideas, words, and thoughts, does not help you in attaining this intellectual maturity, then your college educations will have failed you.

The second kind of a maturity that a college education should give you is *Emotional Maturity*. This kind of maturity makes you a reasonable and a self-disciplined human being. It makes you easy to get along with, and live happily with your fellow-men. It helps you to be "big about little things," and to overcome childish actions; it teaches you to solve your problems by the conference method instead of by the combat method. It teaches you to win without humbling your opponent and to lose without an alibi. This kind of maturity is absolutely necessary for freedom!

Certainly the world today desperately needs human beings of emotional maturity. We need statesmen who will talk out their diplomatic problems without breaking up a conference and walking out of meetings. We need business executives and labor leaders who can sit across the conference table and not hurl insults and false accusations at one another. We need husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, who are sufficiently grown up so that they are willing to solve their domestic problems without breaking up the home.

We don't want adults who pick up their marbles and dolls and go home, who throw cantrums, or who resort to alcohol and other escape devices when they can't have their own way. We want people who can control their emotions, and who make decisions with their heads instead of their hearts; only self-disciplined and self-controlled people can be trusted with freedom.

Those of you who follow the news of baseball know about Jackie Robinson, first-baseman on the Brooklyn Dodgers, who is the first avowed Negro on a big league team. In his initial season in the major leagues he has been voted "Rookie of the Year," he holds several records for batting, fielding, and base running, and he is credited with being one of the main reasons for the Dodgers' winning the pennant this season.

As one who is mildly interested in baseball, I am impressed by Robinson's playing ability, but I am much more impressed by his quality of emotional maturity. Because he is a Negro, Robinson has been subjected to a regime of self-discipline which would drive the average person toward a nervous breakdown. He could not object to an umpire's decision (a baseball player's most cherished privilege); when another player insulted him he had to grin and bear it; he had to leave the ball park after games by a secret exit; he could not accept any social invitations; he could not endorse any commercial products or write articles. He was jeered at, and frequently spiked by basemanners.

In spite of all these difficulties, Jackie Robinson has become one of the best basellall players of the year-but what is much more important is that he has proved he is a man who has reached emotional maturity.

The treatment which lackie Robinson has received is an indication of the lack of emotional maturity on the part of a country which would impose these kinds of rules and restrictions on a man because he is a Negro.

Yes, this quality of emotional maturity is important. The lack of emotional maturity is manifested by greed, envy, jealousy, hate, and the desire for revenge. The lack of it is the factor which causes 80% of the persons in business and industry to lose their jobs.

And so, the second kind of a maturity which you must acquire if you would live a full and a meaningful life and if you want to learn freedbm, is emotional maturity. If you do not learn this in college, you will sooner or later have to learn it out in life where the stakes are higher, the costs are greater, and the losses are much more severe.

The third kind of maturity which you should get from your college experience is *Ethical Maturity*. This is the kind of maturity which makes you responsible and purposeful, reliable and honest—this is the kind of maturity which urges you to try to make the world a better place to live in by trying to be of service to your fellow men. This is the kind of maturity which free citizens need if they are to accept the civic responsibilities of a democra ic government.

Those who have a high degree of ethical maturity are the ones who can "Carry a Message to Garcia" When they have a job to do, they do it—willingly, promptly, and efficiently. An Ethical Maturity means that a person's word is good. It means that a person can be allowed 1 high degree of individual initiative and freedom; such persons do not have to be forced and compelled, or supervised and constantly checked upon.

Another characteristic of this kind of maturity is perseverance—the will to finish a job once undertaken no matter how difficult or how monotonous or how unpleasant it might be. Young people in college and those just out of college usually have a high degree of initiative—they are eager, enthusiastic, and generally interested in many things. However, initiative alone is not enough—there is another quality which is even more important and that is "finitiative." When people tell me about their initiative, I always wonder about their "finitiative." Can they see a job through to satisfactory completion? The world pays a high price to those who can start and finish a project!

Another implication of Ethical Maturity is its expression in individuals of the desire to be of real service in life. Ministers, teachers, doctors, research engineers, missionaries, and people in these kinds of work have a high degree of ethical maturity.

Business men who devote much of their time to worthy causes and give generously of their wealth are also examples of persons with a high degree of ethical maturity.

If your college education is effective, you will acquire this third type of maturity, ethical maturity. Your associations with the ladies and gentlemen who constitute a college faculty and who possess this characteristic in a very high degree, and your introduction to the lives of the great men and women of the ages who were selfless and motivated by the desire of service, will inspire you. I would not want to say which of these three kinds of maturity is the most important for freedcm, but I would say to you that an ethical maturity is the one which gives the greatest amount of personal satisfaction.

Well, members of the student body of the University of Bridgeport, here are the requisites for education for freedom. Maturity must be our goal in education if we are to achieve freedom. Furthermore, we must remember that there are three parts to maturity and that an equal kalance must be retained among all of them. The development of anyone of these qualities of maturity at the expense of the other two will not make us fully educated persons who are ready for, and capable of, living as free citizens in 1 free society.

Our schools, and especially our colleges must continue their good work in their endeavors at education for freedom. They must never forget, however, that the most effective means of education for freedom is the development in their students of a high degree of adult maturity, and that an adult maturity implies a maturity of the ntellect, of the emotions, and of ethics.

The Goal We Seek

"WE MUST ESTABLISH OUR OWN GOVERNMENT OURSELVES"

By SYNGMAN RHEE, Chairman, Representative Democratic Council of South Korea Delivered to the Korean Representative Assembly, Scoul, Korea, August 27, 1947

THE policy of the United States toward Korea during the period since the defeat of Japan has been to select the best available choice among three possible alternatives:

1. To establish a coalition government for Korea in agreement with Soviet Russia.

2. To establish a government in south Korea which for a number of years would be controlled politically and economically by the United States, during which time the Korean people would gain experience in the administration of their own affairs and thus be prepared for eventual complete independence.

To hold a general election and establish a national congress and a national government in accordance with the sovereign will of the people.

Among these three alternatives, the first has finally been eliminated because of the deadlock that developed between the delegates of the United States and Soviet Russia in the Joint Commission. Therefore, the choice now rests between the remaining two possibilities.

The plan for a partial government, limited and controlled by the United States, seems at present to be receiving the most attention by American policy makers. Advocates of this policy declare that since the Korean people were under Japanese rule during the past forty years, they necessarily lack political experience. They incline naturally to party factionalism and indulge needlessly in individual struggles for power. Such being the case, they contend, independence would not only confuse the Koreans in their domestic affairs, but would also cloud international relations. Therefore, they conclude, the United States will have to continue its control over south Korea for some time.

We, however, irrevocably demand the acceptance of alternative number three. These are several reasons why we take this stand.

The basic reason is that with do as a people unquestionably possess the ability for selfi-control and self-government. When we recover our political government we shall be able to solve our many pressing problems, both internal and international, better than any foreigners could solve them for us. This we absolutely understand and believe.

Equally as important, if limitations and controls are placed upon us, under the theory that we are unable to govern ourselves, such controls may well last for several decades before a condition is achieved that would appear satisfactory in the eyes of those who now arge such external controls. We are deeply concerned by such reasoning. Our people are resolved for immediate independence and demand it. A long period of foreign control would not be tolerated. The result would be the sacrifice of many Korean lives, the useless expenditure by the United States of great sums of money, and a tragic weakening of the traditional friendship between Korea and America. Consequently the adoption of the second alternative would be a great disaster for both Korea and the United States.

We who live in the midst of these conditions and who see these dangers must do cur best to emplain the reasons for the inapplicability of continued external control to the great statesmen and leaders of public opinion n the United States. Our job is to make them understan-l what is involved. The results of bad publicity carried on by the Japanese against Korea for forty years have implanted the idea in the world that Koreans are unable to govern themselves. Many people who influence world opinion and actions have that hazy idea in their heads, ind we must help them get rid of it. In doing so, the best approach we can use is to show the world that our country is one—united and homogeneous.

National unity does not mean that we should dissolve all our political and social organizations, and in name and principle become one party. But if we have the same purpose and have spiritual unity, we shall be able to agree upon common procedures for the accomplishment of our common goal. Since our entire people, including those of the north (in the Russian-occupied zone) do have the same objective, our spiritual unity has already been demonstrated.

On the other hand, among those who advocate the second alternative, there are certain ones who emphasize the idea of disunity among the Korean people and point toward the divided rule of our country. We who see and know what is the purpose of this propaganda must work to make it useless. We must prove to the world that this propaganda is false. Let us forget about political and factional differences and rise to a higher level of common friendship. That is the only way by which such propaganda may be destroyed.

Still others among us say that if we want neal independence we must not cooperate with any other countries. This is empty talk, in view of the realities of our situation. At the present time, even the largest and richest countries, especially when they face a threat of war, must have the cooperation of other nations to strengthen them for such a venture. With emoty hands, if we stand allone, with no one to give us sympathy and hope, how could we possibly clear avowed enemies of our independence from our land. To talk of not wanting help from other nations is misleading.

The main stream of public opinion among our people is that in order to restore our independence we must hold an election and establish a government. But there are certain politicians among the Americans who differ with us, saying that it is their purpose to help the Korean people to work toward independence but at the present time independence is impossible. Under such circumstances, we must do everything to consolidate our unity in order to break up that idea and to achieve complete independence as soon as possible. We must get the sympathy and understanding of the American public in combatting this charge of incaracity to rule ourselves. If we should take the position of net cooperating with the Americans who want to help us, we shall lose a powerful supporting force. At the same time, we must keep in mind that there are some who have ulterior motives. By ourselves, how could we combat those ambitious men and achieve ou: goal of freedom!

What we mean by cooperating with Americans is to cooperate with those who support our demand for independence. This is the best way to strengthen our stand against the minority group that is trying to stamp out the determination for self-government. A corollary purpose is to build our strength in opposing nations that are seeking to destroy the whole concept of Korean independence.

We want to cooperate with the United States. What must be clearly understood is that we shall not sacrifice our basic principles in an attempt to buy friendship. Therefore, our cooperation is directed along every line that brings us closer to our objective.

There is a faction of public opinion in the United States that asserts Koreans do not want American troops stationed in our country. They declare, then, that American troops may be withdrawn, regardless of what Russia may do in the North. They urge that an American withdrawal will save occupation expenses, and will remove one possibility of war. Any representation of that as a Korean desire is simply not true and is the result of either misunderstanding or the instigation of those who hope to gain by it. We must realize that there are certain groups among Americans who would gladly see Korea lose her independence. They are the ones who advocate withdrawal of American troops, while the Russians remain.

We have never demanded that Americans alone withdraw, and we do not do so now. What the United States may decide to do about it is its own business. However, the division of Korea into two zones was brought about by a Russian-American agreement. The simple act of withdrawing could not relieve the Americans of their responsibilities. If certain Americans wished to withdraw their troops, the American people, who take seriously the principles of justice and responsibility, would not permit them to do so. There is, therefore, a real need for basic and mutual cooperation between Korea and the United States to solve the problem of the 38th parallel division.

Now there are certain people who contend that as long as American troops remain in Korea, our country cannot possibly be independent. This may be true theoretically, but it is not true actually. After the war ended, American troops remained in China for several months, but that did not interfere with Chinese independence. Many other countries in which troops were stationed retained their independence. This is a special arrangement necessitated by the war. At the present time, we are still in the midst of conditions born out of the war. We are enduring a division of our country that was a war measure. There will simply be a retention of a small number of soldiers here to help us maintain peace and order, due to those war-born conditions. They will not interfere with our national rights nor with our sovereignty. Therefore, to

say that it is impossible to have independence with occuration troops is not reasonable.

In America the view is being expressed that sooner or later a conflict between the United States and Russia will come. Therefore, many believe they should settle their differences now, before the atomic bomb ceases to be an American monopoly. This view is not expressed by responsible officials, so that it cannot be said to be an official policy. It would be difficult for anyone to say when or whether the storm might break. But if the situation darkens, the whole world would be dragged into it, and we alone could not avoid it. Since we are necessarily involved in the world struggle, we must have our own plans to govern our own actions on the international stage, not only for the sake of self-preservation, but also to fulfill our responsibilities as a member of the world family of nations. We cannot have a place in the world except through fulfillment cf our duties and responsibilities.

Regardless of how or when the next war might come, we could not draw aside from it, for if we did, when it concluded we should again be in the sad, miserable situation we are in today. After Pearl Harbor, we tried to get belligerent status by every means in our power, but certain officials in the State Department blocked our every attempt. Because of this opposition, we were never able to exert our full force toward the defeat of our enemy.

If, at that time, the American State Department had heeded our plans, we should have avoided this disaster of the North and South division of our ccuntry. The United States would not have this headache today, caused by the troublesome Korean problem. At that time, in the Far Eastern Division of the Department of State there were some officials who believed in the past _apanese propaganda, and did not pay any attention to Korea. As a result, we are now treated much worse than a defeated enemy nation. Such a lesson teaches that we must de everything possible to recover our sovereignty. We must rush every preparation for national defense. And we must solve the international and domestic problems confronting us in order that we may hold our rightful place among nations.

As the essential element in solving all these international and domestic problems, we must establish our own government ourselves.

In order to do our duty towards our own people, we must help them in their economic difficulties, restore our national sovereignty and bear our par: in the construction of world peace. We must hold our general election as soon as possible. We must recognize this as the first step in the reconstruction of our national life.

What Russia Has Done in Hungary

WHAT THIS MEANS TO THE UNITED STATES

By H. F. A. SCHOENFELD, Former Minister to Hungary from the United Stetes Delivered before the Economic Club of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan, September 22, 1947

WHEN your distinguished president invited me to come to Detroit to meet you, I can only say I was deeply flattered especially as he took the precaution of sending me, at the same time as his invitation, the literature of the Club, which shows the calibre of its membership and the distinction of the speakers whom you have honored by your invitations, and who have addressed you.

I understand from the invitation announcements that I

am to speak to you about what Russia has done in Hungary, and what it means to the United States. I am glad to do so, not only secause Russia has undermaken in Hungary to operate exclusively by its own agenms, but also because Hungary represents an instance of methods which are applicable, and which would be or have been used, anywhere that similar "portunities present themselves.

I went to Hungary in May, 1945. At that time, the

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city of Budapest was a shambles. It had been the scene of a long and bloody fight during the winter, and had been seized by the Red Army in February of that year, with the taking of some 70,000 Nazis as prisoners of war. They had holed up on the buttressec western bank of the Danube, which rises, as you may remember—those of you who have seen Budapest—very sharply from the river's edge, toward a hill called Castle Hill.

All that area was destroyed, and much of the rest of the city likewise. The debris and devastation of war were evident everywhere. The stench of death was very noticeable. To us who were arriving there after an interval of some twenty-three years, when I had been there before, at the time I was serving as Secretary of our Legation at Vienna, the contrast which the city's appearance presented from the gay and charming city I had seen before was very impressive.

I found, when I got there, that the Allied Control Commission-the ACC, as we called it for short-was already established in Budapest. That Allied Control Commission was set up under the provisions of the Armistice. The Armistice agreement was concluded in January, '45, and provided for representation by the British and ourselves, under the chairmanship of the Soviet representative.

The Soviet representative was the famous Marshal Voroshilov. Voroshilov, you may remember, had been Minister of War at the time of the war between the Soviet Union and Finland. To me, who had also served as Minister in Finland during those tragic days of 1939 and 1940, the Winter War, so-called, on until the end of 1942, it was a matter of particular interest to see how Marshal Voroshilov, who had conducted, controlled, the campaign against the Finns, was going to carry on his control of a country which was now occupied by his troops.

I called on the Marshal a few days after arriving, and told him why I was there. My instructions from the President were to observe conditions there. I was not a member of the Control Commission. We had a military representative who represented us on that Commission in the person of Major General W. S. Key, a well-known officer of the Army, National Guard, who was one of the few National Guard generals, and a division commander in the war.

I told the Marshal I was there to observe conditions, to report to my government; and I was also expected to maintain relations with the Hungarians themselves. Of course, it was an anomalous state of affairs in international usage to have a diplomatic representative in that status in a country which was under a military occupation, and ostensibly under the control of a military commission on which we were represented. The Marshal had some difficulty in understanding that, and imagined that I was going to be attached to General Ksy's staff in some capacity, but I disabused him on that.

I explained to him why I was there, as an independent representative of the President. He didn't like it very much but he accepted it.

In the meantime, however, he had given very strict orders to the Hungarians that they were not to be too forthcoming with information to the American Legation, the American Mission. In fact, they were told that all communications between the American Mission and themsolves must be channeled through him, the Marshal.

As a matter of fact, the Hungarian officials of the Provisional Government were arxious to establish contact with us. They looked upon us in a friendly way.

That Provisional Government had been set up, hand-

picked, to be sure, by the Soviets in December, '44, but it was composed of a pretty broad representation of the main elements in Hungary who were not associated with the Nazi regime, which had been driven out. They were not, in other words, Communist-minded, they were not Sovietminded.

They were hopeful and aspired to the status of an autonomous, self-regulating regime, which would eventually take over the country under the peace treaties, and they hoped, of course, at that time the peace treaties would be negotiated rapidly and normal conditions would be restored.

All through the summer of 1945, there was talk of an election which was to be held to set up the framework for the establishment of a permanent government, and indeed in November, 1945, those elections were held.

By some strange inadvertence, as it turned, on the part of the Communist Party, those elections were free. I think they were probably the first free elections that had ever been held in Hungary, and they resulted in a Communist representation of some 17 per cent of the popular vote, which nearly ran to five millions.

The Small Landholders Party got a decided majority of some 57 per cent of the popular vote. The Social Democratic Party, which, as you know, is a very old party in European countries, came in with some 18 per cent of the popular vote, and the rest was scattered.

In November, 1945, therefore, and under this election which resulted in this non-Communist majority, it was decided to harmonize all party differences, and they set up a so-called coalition government. The Prime Minister of that government was the leader of the Small Holders Party, but significantly enough, as we saw at the time and as has been demonstrated by subsequent events, the Ministry of the Interior, which in a country like Hungarg is a critical one, was given to the Communists.

The Ministry of the Interior is critical in that area because it controls the internal administrative s=tups, including, of course, the police and political police. That enables the Ministry of the Interior pretty well to control the development of social and political life.

However, the government was set up on that basis, and took office and drafted the legislation, which established the republic. In January, 1946, the republic was established with a Smallholder as president, a man named Tildy, who is still president, elected for a four-year term, and another leader of the Smallholders Party, in the person of Mr. Nagy, as Prime Minister.

On February 1, 1946, the republic actually went into effect and started operations. That, of course, was nearly a year after the beginning of the occupation, and during that period of occupation, the year preceding the setting up of the republic, the Communist party had begun and carried forward its process of infiltration of the administration.

When the Red Army went into Hungary, they brought with them a group of well-trained Communists under the leadership of a mar named Rakosi, whose name you have doubtless seen in the press, a man of great capacity, great ability. He was a Hungarian. He had been some fourteen or sixteen years in prison under the Horthy regime, the reactionary regime which was in power before the war.

Rakosi and a number of associates came back with the Red Army, and with its assistance began to infiltrate the administration. As you can imagine, the government, all the administrative apparatus of government, had been thoroughly destroyed and knocked to pieces. It was a relatively easy matter for those men to get their hands on the

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strategic positions in the government, at the lower levels as well as in some of the higher levels.

Inasmuch as the Communists had a parliamentary minority, it became necessary for them to acquire power in despite of the majority will. They proceeded definitely to go about that by disintegrating the majority in power. I won't go into details of how they did that, but they did it very effectively. Eventually, as you recall, last spring they drove out the Prime Minister of the Smallholders Party, who came to this country and recently wrote some rather interesting and, I think, accurate articles describing his experience, which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post.

That was the development up until the time I left on the first of June, 1947, and during the summer, as you recall from the press, preparations were made for a new election to ratify this Communist control on the strength of the disruption of the non-Communist majority. The result of the election at the end of last month was a slight increase in the numerical proportion of the Communist vote which had been some 15 per cent, to 21, by the complete disintegration of the majority and its splitting up into all kinds of parties.

The effect is, of course, to give the Communists, through their control of the strategic posts in the government, actual effective domination of the administration.

In giving you that brisf survey of the political development, I don't want to neglect certain other features. The economic, for instance. On the economic side, as soon as I got there in May, 1945, Marshal Voroshilov and the Russians began to press hard for the conclusion secretly of a reparations agreement.

Now, the agreement which established the Allied Control Commission, which was known as the Armistice Agreement of January, 1945, provided for the payment of reparations to the Soviet Union in the amount of \$200,000,000, at 1938 values, and of \$100,000,000 divided equally between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In May, 1945, just after I got there, Marshal Voroshilov began to press the Hungarians for the implementation of that undertaking.

We, of course, deprecated these secret negotiations, of which we were aware, but we couldn't do anything about it. It was certainly not legitimate without consultation with the other Allies to force upon the Husgarians a reparation agreement which was going to control the whole economy of that country.

Our activities in that respect failed. We were unable to make any headway. The Russian Army was there, and an agreement was concluded, and it laid the groundwork for the subsequent infiltration of Communist control into the whole economy of H ingary.

By that deal, under-valuation of deliveries, of equipment and supplies which the Russians took from Hungary, the balancing of accounts led to a tremendous increase in the actual burden upon the Hungarians.

Apart from the reparitions, there was, of course, the little matter of the removals of industrial equipment. The Russians were not very clear in their own minds, probably, but certainly not in any explanations they saw fit to give anybody else, about the distinction between removals for reparation purposes and removals as war booty. They claimed they could take almost everything, and they did, including property that belonged to American interests.

There were some impartant properties in Hungary, including Standard Oil Company, International Telephone and Telegraph Company, and others. The General Electric Company had interests indirectly there. For instance, the Osram electric light bulb factory was removed almost bodily from Hungary, but on the ground of war booty. Our representations about these matters were, I shall say, relatively unsuccessful. We saved some of these things, but we didn't save them all.

These removals were superseded in the summer of 1945 by a so-called economic agreement supplementing the reparations agreement. The economic agreemen: was concluded at Moscow by the representatives of the Hungarian Government and the Soviet Union. It laid the groundwork for the creation of certain joint enterprises, so-called, on the strength of the acquisition of German asset: by the Soviets under the Potsdam Agreement of July, 1945.

Mr. Truman, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin met, and it was agreed that the Soviets were to receive, besides a share of general German reparations, all the German assets in Eastern Europe. Now, what wers German assets was never very clearly defined; in fact, was never defined at all. The gentleman on my right (Mr. Dodge) can test fy to the fact that in his negotiations in Austria, he was unable to get a satisfactory definition.

On the strength of the Potsdam assignment to the Soviets of the German assets in Hungary, further economic agreements were negotiated for the setting up of joint enterprises in which the German assets acquired by the Soviets were to be put into the pot as the Soviet contribution for the operation of these joint enterprises.

The joint enterprise had to do with Darube River navigation and aviation, they had to do with sil, they had to do with bauxite—bauxite being, as you industrialists remember, practically the principal asset of Hungary. These companies were set up on a 50-50 basis. The theory was that, while they would be under Russian management, the Hungarians would benefit also by virtue of their contribution to them in the form of the resources that they had available.

We protested in Moscow against the negotiation of these deals. We hadn't been consulted. O ir protests, both against the general basic economic agreement and against these company agreements, went by the board and received no attention in Moscow.

Those aspects of the economic picture, I think, should be supplemented by giving you some insight into the relations between the Communists as a political party and through their representation in some of the trade unions, and the other labor elements represented by the Social Democratic Party.

The trade un ons in Hungary had always been Social Democratic and under Social Democratic control until the invasion of the Russians and the resurrection of the Communist Party. Some of the trade unions in Hungary are still ostensibly under Social Democratic control. There is very little love lost between those unions which are Social Democratic and those which are Communist-controlled.

However, the Communist-controlled trade unions are the unions in strategic positions. They include transportation workers and mine workers, among others. Of course, the Communist Party was always able to use the threat of a stoppage of work in the transportation industry and the mining industry as a club over the head of the administration in case it should do anything which was unacceptable from a Communist point of view.

With reference to the control of public epinion, the pattern in Hungary of course, is a familiar one in all Sovietdominated countries and all Communist-Cominated countries.

There isn't any ostensible, open control in the sense of previous censorship in Hungary. It isn't in that respect as it is in the Soviet Union. For a time, until relatively recently, there was a rather unusual degree of press freedom and freedom of discussion in Hungary-unusual, I mean, in a Soviet-dominated area.

But it soon became apparent to the Russian as well as to the Communist Party, that this was an extremely undesirable state of affairs. I: became necessary from their point of view to fasten the control of their Party, of their interest, on the expression of opinion.

That was done by direct and by indirect methods. The indirect methods included the control of newsprint. A newspaper, for instance, which wasn't acceptable from their point of view, very promptly learned that newsprint was not available to it. That was, of course, an effective means of control in itself, and made people in the newspaper world hesitant to incur the displeasure of the Communist authorities.

Their radio was controlled by the installation of Soviet representatives actually in the broadcasting stations. Nothing was allowed to go out which did not meet with their approval.

The right of assembly was controlled. Police licenses for the holding of public meetings were not granted unless it was acceptable from the Communist point of view.

I have outlined for you some of the aspects of the Communist system of infiltration and domination in a typical area. I say a typical area rather reluctantly, because Hungary was perhaps less typical in some respects than most of the other countries in Eastern Europe.

The reason it wasn't so typical is that the Hungarians have been traditionally connected with the western world. Whatever their ethnic origin may be, and it is believed, or known historically, that they came from the east, they had been for centuries in direct contact with the western world, and in general the culture of Hungary is more closely related to that of its neighbors to the west than it is to the countries of the east.

The aspirations of the Hungarian people, therefore, must be analogous to the aspirations of people in the western countries neighbor to Hungary, rather than related to the more easterly neighbors of Hungary.

I asked myself very often when I was there how it was that, under this pressure of the Communist Party backed by the power of the forces of the occupation, the general attitude of Hungarians could be reconciled with the realities of the situation, because they were certainly friendly to the United States, they aspire to have something of the kind of life which they think we have, they wanted to develop their country along hose lines if they could.

How was it, therefore, that they were able to maintain some semblance of balance between the actual reality under the Communist domination, and the desire to get help and assistance and sympathy from the United States?

The answer to that question, of course, is that they have been balancing in that same way for a very long time, between the great powers. Their geographical position, lying as they do in the very path of the main lines of force in Europe, has given them a scill and a special aptitude for adaptation to the pressures of the great powers, and they did it pretty successfully for a very long time.

To be sure, they got into trouble this last time by cooperating with the German. They did that largely because of their internal situation. You remember from your reading that the dominant force and dominant social elements in Hungary were large land owners. Their interests, as they thought, lay with the maintenance of the status quo. They thought the Germans would enable them to keep their power, though they were soon undeceived by the development of the Nazi infiltration. By the time the Russians came in there in the spring of 1945, the old oligarchical elements, the feudal elements, apart from those who fied with the Nazis, were pretty well disillusioned, and they were quite prepared to cooperate with anybody who would save their bacon.

The land reform which was instituted in the spring of 1945 was not done really by the Russians, although they claim credit for it. It has been an aspiration of the Hungarian peasantry for a long time to divide up the land.

It wasn't effective, of course, in any real esonomic sense, because there were too many peasants without land and too little land to divide up, but it was a move in the right direction, and the aspirations that I speak of among the peasantry to have something approximating American life as they understand it, some freedom, some opportunity for self-expression, were very strong.

Now what, I asked myself, does this kind of a picture in a country situated as Hungary is, mean from the point of view of the United States?

I answered the question in my own mind in this way. Undoubtedly, in the tension which has been increasingly developing between the Soviet point of view and our own about world questions and world affairs, we can count upon the basic sympathy of people in some of those areas, and certainly in Hungary.

That doesn't mean necessarily that we are going to have allies in a war. It means merely that, if we continue to cultivate them as best we can notwithstanding the difficulties, the natural inclination of these people is to cooperate with us and we should not overlook the opportunity to reciprocate.

I don't believe it is going to be possible for us, as a practical matter, to get cooperation from them in the near future in an open direct way. I don't think, for instance, that they can participate fully in any scheme which may be worked out to implement Mr. Marshall's suggestion last June, the so-called Marshall Plan. I do think that it is going to be possible to integrate some of the Hun-

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garian economic facilities and equipment into the general rehabilitation of Europe.

I don't think they should be excluded merely because they are dominated by the Communists. In other words, I believe we must do what we can to keep alive that rather tenuous connection which is always in danger of being broken, but which has not yet been completely broken, so that if, as and when there is a change in the world situation, we will not have let them go completely. That is one aspect of what seem to be a wise policy and a wise attitude for us to take in those areas, and particularly in a country like Hungary.

There is another aspect, and that is the political one. After all, we are not opposed to Communism as an ideology because it is different from ours; we are opposed to it because it represents something which threatens us. Their point of view, the Soviet point of view, the Communist point of view, is very similar. They are opposed to us because we threaten them, in the sense that freedom is always a threat to tyranny.

The history of the United States has been from its beginning a history of resistance to tyranny and to the doctrine of tyranny, resistance to the idea of centralized authority. We believe in the dispersion of authority. We believe in the interplay of individual initiative, individual enterprise, individual thought.

The Communist does not. In that respect, he simply represents a tradition of tyranny, which is known in American history and in the history of other freedom-loving peoples under many names, but necessarily meaning the same thing.

Therefore, if there is to be reconciliation of these conflicting views, it can only be upon the basis of the domination of the idea of freedom over the idea of tyranny, and that is the reason why, in my opinion, the conflict of ideology is so serious.

If we accept the existence of tyranny and of the authoritarian system, the totalitarian system, without awareness of its impact on our safety and security, we will be betray-

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ing, it seems to me, the tradition of our history. We can't do it. The Soviets feel the same way. The tyranny of authority which is represented by the present hierarchs in Muscow is exactly the same tyranny as Russians and other Asiatics have been accustomed to for a very long time, The Soviets realize that it is a danger to them if we continue to flourish.

Now, how to reconcile these two conflicting principles? Obviously they can't be reconciled directly, they can only be reconciled by modification of one or the other, and that modification can come about only in one way. It can come abcut only by the acceptance of the people who are subject to these totalitarian regimes, these tyrannies, of the idea for which we stand for, of freedom.

We must cultivate them, we must do all we can to keep alive the aspirations which lie in the heart of all these pecple. How to do it, when to do it, by what methods, it certainly isn't possible to go into here in any detail, but we must be conscious of the fact that it isn't a struggle be-tween Communism or Nazism or any other kind of ism only, and ourselves; it is a struggle of the old type which we have been through so often in our history, between good old-fashioned tyranny, as understood in early American history, and freedom.

I think, gentlemen, that is about all I can give you in the way of a brief survey. I will be very glad if any of you have any questions to ask about concrete, specific issues, to answer them if I can.

I thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULA-TION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONSRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of Viral Spreaches or the Day, published twice a month, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1947.

STATE OF NEW YORK,] UL.: COUNTY OF NEW YORK,] UL.:

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Thomas F. Daly, Jr., who, having been duly sworn accord-ing to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the VITAL STREETES or run Day, and that me following is, to the best of him knowledge and belief, a true statement of he ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publi-cation for the date sliown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

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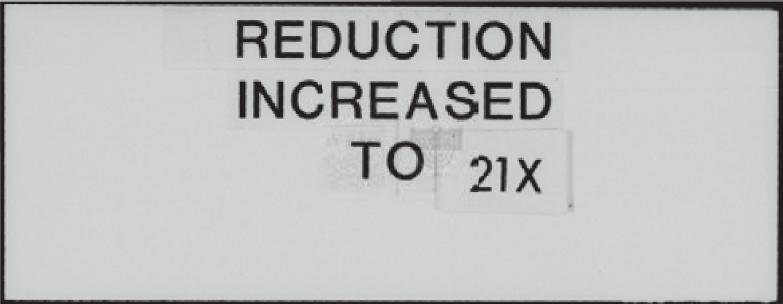
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or other securities and—None. 4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stock-holders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person set corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given: also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and emditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a homa fide cwner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, or other securities than as so stated by him. THOMAS F. DALY, JR.

THOMAS F. DALY, JR.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September, 1947. (Seal) Ella Reiser, Notary Public, In the State of N. Y., Residing in Queens County, Qns. Co. Clk's No. 1199, Reg. No. 225-R.9. Cert. filed in N. Y. Co. No. 113, Reg. No. 589-R.9. Commission Expires March 30, 1949.

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Text of Statement Before U. N. by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on Zionists' Position on Palestine

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Arab Lack of Cooperation

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reprintent's relations to impu-t policy by force of arms, a p-icy which would have behind the martine of the pomaran of antions, one may be pardon for inquiring why His Mapor

Government has not healtaned to supply in recent years a mil-tary force of 100,000 mee, along with its newy and its air press, to impose by forces a policy of Palestine which no international vote.

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Principle of Partition

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ADDRESSES UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE

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Dr. Abba Hilled Silver The New York Trees.

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Objections to Majority Report

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Mean to Be Good Neighbors

version have attained long age. In subtance, and most reluctantly, we are prepared to make this search-tree. Beyond it we cannot, we will not go. The response recommended that "during the transitional period the authority estimated with the task of administry of the independ-tion authority in fer independ-tion and her comparing the the Version interests." In view 2 the Version interests, "In view 2 the Version interests, "In view 2 the Version interests," In view 2 the Version interests, "In view 2 the Version interests, "In view 2 the Version interests," In view 2 the Version interests, "In view 2 the Version interests, "In view 2 the Version interests," In view 2 the Version interests, and the view 2 the Version interests, and the view 2 the vi

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-d & MINHET



מיט׳ן עקספארט פון אמעריקאנעו סחורות איז גארניט פו

Indexession have been inched. רי סעג וו עקספארט אר עקספארט (FILL) Ιø. כעווארען ערקס רי דער אמעריקאנער אין איין פאלען, ביז פיס א פינאי זעין איין פאלען, ביז פיס א פינאי זעיןס חרקיס צווייק האס רעל אסעליי קאנער עוספארס כאסראפען פיוו u hen 18791 10722 Brithern and 12 в. 198 - 1997-M ם מער פון א ביליאן, אין אייב עם וויישער ביין אווי זוי על ביים ביו ע וועם דער עדספארט אין די 10 (p?ways) 100 0910 200 עם, וועם דער עומפורט אין ויי פענרינע הרשים ויין נאך ללענער. רער מארשאל פלאן אויז וויפול ער 100.00 1011200

nêga 100 039391930118 D013 T-W טיט, ציינט אין א גרויספר כאס דערי צי. או דער אסעריימצבר האנדעל סיט אייראפע זאל גיעט איטנאנצען בלייי בען שטענען, אנצר ווי עס ודערס רערפלערט אין דעם לעצטען גיכעד אין רעס לעוסע טוסעי רעוארטי איז אייראות 121300 נאים דער אייכציכער פוניזם האד 1973 נייםם דער איינצינעי פרטם האי לאי לא האברעל איז גניטלאנען. גרויפע שורע רינפייטען יסטייען אויך פאר אין פאי פיפוע פען יסטן זען דעם ווייטען סורת. ראס ענדי הרטים יוני און ילי איז דער אפונייאפנעי עוספארט אין די פאסיי 247 10 white laterate part 1271218.20 Auge sussells haves all burness Same a

שה מיכן השק אין ווייינוען פורה דערי רונוען נשך ערגערע השנרעל באי wa tyrugh proving 1727-040 age Supp TING OWN COSTON 13 (pro-1 170780 37

221712218 07073 22.2 78 לאוגע ערוער פיים יערען שאר, דער בירגער הריה, וואס ברצעועם אין יענער דייינער סלובה, האם רערועירם 3 12 P3 0943 byrages. 12 2.57 the building the set 101710 TRUTTURE SUBTINE IN SUBTIN נען ווערען פיים יערען פאל אליו"סעי ויעריואַרגען, און אווי ווי עס ויינע נייעסא טיין אריפוילנעע, או רער ליל 3044 צפר הריב אין ביכע נאל אזוי ביך אויבן הערען, פייכם ראם, או די האנרעל לאנע פוז הערפען ווטרען אליו ערנעל 10010

Cutton's 197 0.67 ישושה השם כיו דער לעמשר מלחמה נעשורלם לשר ש גרויסע רשל 112 שין הינלם הפנרעל, היינס צו ספו העם יעפאן דנהר הינצים שבניבאסט 102 ייוופטען הענוילער, אין אסערי 18 0377 screre errire provide he have

משנער און שנוערע פוורים ה דשרעת נשר ניינט וושס צו כשן. ש גרויכנוי כשרק איז שכשל נ 17197 אינדים, אינדם אז אינדים איז צע שיילם אין צוויי באוגניציע סלוכול---חינדיסטאן אין פאסיסטאן --- און סיין

נה מאימים שנת נתחקונת נים בנויז אין אייראַפּק...קקטפאָרים ליין אוים איז נעפאלען אין 1071

es in allala an delle sei be לשמיין שבים ייכאנקר רעשובריפן.

1217 .7 (10)

אינע פון זייאיז נאך ניעט איינגע שטעלט ווי עו דארא צו זיין. און עם ליסען נאך פאי אומליחען ביי וועלבע עעולינער או הערערטעל פריונטטער בענרלינער אי איפנענראנא. מעניענן ויערין איפנענראנא. עיינער נייטס באראיימופנען ויען ויי נמענען לאר דעם איפוארט פון פרעט JU109.7

וארק ויינען אויך גערע ענ, אכער אויך רארען 1001113 רי סורתיאינריעם, שכער אויך רשלים: תכיעון איגעושווינע צויסטאַכרען כיי וועלכע רער שייסלענריעער האכרעל .prever intrafa CUT1 BU 113 נישם איינגעינטעלם ווערען קיין שלום עודיעון רער נייער אינדאנעוייער 1977 נייער אינראַנעוייעער האלאנר קאן קייכער 01011100 01021000 103115 198 drawing with perio DURANT. Digital. .797748 227

a tropy cars as any restricted סתורות דיינעומאך שלא די פיליפינען. שכער תי גרסוער תעש אויך היישעו שכער ודי גוש אריק אויק אוייקער זיין, רשם וועל שמריינגען אין א גרויי סער כשם אן רום ווי עם וועם זיין פיט nee greet of the sector rise and sector and the rise and sector and the rise of the sector and t the strategy 11.10 שורטידען פון אינאינען, וועלען ריי פריידען פון אי אליפינען, וועלען ריי פריידען פון איפרא בליינען גיין וועלען רי פרייפונען אויך זיין גועע ינינים פון אבוריקונען פרולול.

אין די פאראיינישע א גיזע גענע אינע געע גענע אינע גענע אינע 78 10.0 10.1 ٦ ילוחסת ישרים אויך בעודם אויסטרש יע ארן ביו ועלאנה, אבער רי ביירע -שלוכות השכען שנישען די אינ 71620 DIFFERE? ALORKALL BUILDING 221 STATES THE

אניערעי ענגליעע לעגרעי אין אאר פיטיה וויי למעל, טילאן אין סאלאיע וועלען אויך אַפעעענען זייערע גא יפשעלונגען אין די פאראיינינטע שפא aurights preferr in ca -200 178 1000-00 EP101047 - 2101202 עריים עו לוסען עו הילא וייער מועער יום.ר ענויאנר אין איר ערפנאוייען פרטים, ראָס וועם פטילא פירען רערי אין או זיי ואַלען פון אישי ופלען פון איצע פן איפי שייניעור פון פפעריקע - NIT WAY SHARE PARTY IN -

נייעס פיין פך בעפער איז די לאדם אין יינם פערב העמיספור. ביז לצד סען סאי האס רער עזספארס פון די סאראייניונוע שטאסון אנו רי אנרערע אספריזאנער לארער נענלים, אבער זינס רענאלס איז רער ענפארם פון 115 D748877 רשנע נונפשלע אויז ניינעט פרא עננט, און זוי פען פאן וע פון רי סערענגען האָס הערעע אין רי פלו לענרעה לאן מען רעריוארטען גארן א שסארקטרען פאל.

מאנארע האלם ביים איינשי של הראלסיענן ענים אין איכאארם פול אסעריסאנער להורות, זי סאן דין אסעריסאנער להורות it in Startig pressor 282 22. -טיפט ביז פונני, ספנפרע מי פ בריטיעע רפטיניע, טרפכט, פנג, ווע נען פערנרעטערען איד איפזפיט פון פרינויע האמינייעל. en him naufbaap

שלע לאטייראמעריינאנער לעגרער א זוין לובא און ווענטועלא, האבעב שוין רעגולאציעה, וואס באלרעגיצטא רעס איספארא מון אנדערע לעגרעיי רעם איספארם פון אנרעדע לענרעיי אין די ראוינע רענולאניעם העלעם זיכער ויך פארפערע איירער פארפיר נפרע, אין הען סעו קעם איי הינען או דער פערב העמיספער איז אפעריי מערם גרעמסער סעורעי, אין איז אין החדם עלי למשל, האם ער אוענויפע נארפארע, און פען זיך פאריסעלען, להפארע, און פען זיך פארטעלען, אין די שננייצע לענרעי זאל נאף פער אין די שננייצע לענרעי זאל נאף פער כנקטרופטען הערען. זין די לאַנע איז אין אייראַטע, ראַע

225 WT SHEESED IN FREE 200 437 איז שריששרט אז ועיצייינען, רעין כשרשעל פלפן איז, היו שרין בעושבע, היישטועלרך אויסבעארפייט בעושרען סיטון עיל צו פרואונען צוזייססעלען אייראפן עקטאטיט אייז אולי פוס ברי די ואל ווייעטר פאנען זיין ויע ברי זי זשל וזיישעי פענען זיין דעין ברי זי זשל וזיישעי פענען זיין שנייק בתורוע זוי כין שרער, דערוזייל שבעי בתורוע מיט נאר גאר ניישה, אי דער לארעאל שלאן וועס האכען די נוסר הייסונג פון אמעריסאנטר לשנגרעט, אול אוים שמילי יא. עי וועס על סארע לויס דעם מארעאל פלאן וועלען די לויס דעם מארעאל פלאן וועלען די ³¹⁷ראפעיינע לעגרער מווען 100 18 מון איזי עבנה ברואוינן שאן מאו' זיך אליין, איידער זיי וועלען נאנגן פרינגן זילא בין אינעריינג, די פראונג איז אלא פון אמעריות, די פראנע אין אבער וויפיל די איירעפעאיינע לעברער 10.00 1.000 (adam) "FORM (ROOP אין דער גאר ניבער צר איינטאן מאר ניך אליק. COMP CARPER

> 3133 775 L'NCE 110

די גערזיימניסע פון רו

אור האם שרין סטתמא נעליייענס איר האם שרין סטתמא נעליייענס שריעניסן האסאנו פול רי עננויאיטניס שריעניסען בעסייס אורים ערישס פארי עננליישנר בערייסינפאליצייי (אינטעל עננליישנר בערייסינפאליצייי (אינטעל מען אין די הענט פון רע ספראוייסנו סון רער ראסאנן איד א באריכט סן רע רער ראסאנן איד א באריכט סן רע ווא אורי רי ענטליטע בערייספו סון רער אורי גענט סאים פאראוייסנו מער זיענג פון רער פאיטיעניוניוראס נואס איסלינער האס בעואנטענייניוראס אור בעריינינג פון רער פאיטיעניוניוראס נואס איסלינער האס בעראפניענייניוניו

12.787 Acres 10 12.27

היינקר א ריש הקומע דער אי דישי היינקר אי היא האר הארים שליין אי דישי דיף שני אים אויים אינע סורות. רשם בערכם בערכן ארים אינע סורות. רש בערכו רוינעע ארסיי דשם בעסאסע, ודי שלי היינעע ארסיי דשם בעסאסע, ודי שלי שלהמת איך הסיפצר 1 שלי עלינל

לקנדינף, אפורו וי איינטנן שטעריש און עודיט פורות. און אודיטענט איז ראר ער עדע פינו שו און אודיטענט איז ראר עדע עדע פינו עם וזיל. לאן אייל אין שריינטיינט עם וזיל. לאן אייל אין שריינטיענט ענגלייער סינן אין סירטלין, זיך אריינטארן ענגליער איז ליינט און איי שער אש ליינטיל, זיך אריינטארן שער אין ליינענט אין אין אפער אנגעריישעט אין און ענגליענאן דראס כיו דעי נוישיענט אין אין געראיינטעט אין אין אין גערט אין איינטעליי אין איינטער אין געראיינט איין אין געראין איינענט אין זין אין געראיינט איין אין אין געראיינט אייז אין אין געראיינט איין אין אין געראיינטענט איין אין אין געראיינטענט איין אין אין געראיינטענט איין אין אין געראין געראין איינטארי איינטר אין אין געראינט איין אין אינטר אין אין געראינטענעריענט אין איינטאר איינטארי אינטר אין אינטער איין אין גענטר אין אין גענאאן איינטאר איין איינטר אין אין גענאאן גענאון אין גענטר אין געראינטענעריענע

DOWNING TOWNED IN THE DE

N GROAFFE

שלום פוז דר. סילווער'ם רערע

אין פארבאייטען זי פאר אינשיא אין אין איז אין איז אין איז אין אי איזייעער גיייעאנג. גערעבען אור רעריפינערונג, אין גיין פארעבען אור רעריפינערונג, אין גיין פאנן גער אין גייע אין גיין

ישכעה זה השניריה. האת איריעה משלה אין שאלעסטינע איר ג'ייש אינעראונגיען היהה שור אי עליינע סטרא שיר ג'ייש אינעראונגיען היהה שור איי משראנגיארשיטילטיישעה, השט אין איר שראלע סטואינא משראנגיאראי אינשארינא מייע הייש אינעריטיטיאר אינש מייע הווידערטיטיטיען איידער אינש מערילען טאטיינטאס היקרען איין אייע געראעט ג'יילען טאטיינטאס היקרען איין גייער

שאיינס, שי הופס די לייוונג ופי גיש דייל, דורמוייונגסיטיטינון אויזי פ מוייסון משמשמע וחידע איין גייטיי פפר א געייסנר צייטי איינדייקע אנגנפיר הפסג אי רעי איינדייקע מענפיר אפסג אי רעי שיני געייספון עי רעס גיינס אייעסי פון צויי אמאפרענגיע מסאס, רועס סינט אייטסאו עי רעס גיינס פון עפריי מיוינגיין שט א פינימים פון עפרייט.

the system implies

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ז שרגאנידירם, ודכס רעס פרארקרענע רעכש פין ד פרארקרענע רעכש פין ד וזי ער איז שרנאניזיירע, וזעט רעסאע שירען די פאאותעיענע רעסע פון ויי שניכיסיטעאנען, פולסט ווי ער וזי סארטיידינען זיין איינענעס שאליסאי ראס איזיער פאליסאין איז גריים זיך צו לשרטיידינען, און איז גריים זיך צו לשרטיידינען, און įΫ, 0710

איז הייש די מו שביידינע, אין די הישנע מסרעינועט משכע אין די יין קימא איינדיע. ראן, ווען רעד פירער פון פאלעטי סינני (די ראדא פון בעריק פאי ישריים נאני פראפאנאנרע און ראם ישריים נאני פאפאנאנרע און ראם ישריים נאני פאראנענען סולשנע פאר ווינט נעזיים אין אפיינע און און

סיל נערענסען סיש אופרירענסייש או ענייכע סטראינוניטעם, מישטריע בען די ועיכע סטראינוניטעם, מישטריע בען דער עריטעל סטנאייניט סטיפע ראש נים באאיינפלופט די רעושלועיע and an experimental

זון דער שדעומלי. שם די סטרשטומיט האכון אייך סיט נעקשט קיין איינטלים אויף דער ספעדינטר אינטרט אינטלים אייף דער מיר השניט אינטלים דיינעלי מיר השניט דעריפאר אייר איין דער לערפעדינאנט וואל מיז הליעומיים לערפעדינאנט וואל מיז הליעומיים יעיטר – די היינטרפרערט איין יעיטר שו בי איינטרערערט איין יעיטר שו בי איינטרערערערערערערער יעיטר שו איינט איינט איין יישר — די הויפטרפרינגלים זיערכע עם איז באוירש רער 1000

ועינע עם אין שאין שיישיי שישיי טעי איך הזר איבער, או דאס אירייעע מאלי אין מאינסטינע וועט זיין גרייים יועי או מארטיידינע, יעי גע מארטיידינע, אין היעג מעייליך, באגריפען יעיד עסיבער גיין מאינסלאנג סים די באוסלר לוייער, אין אינסלאנג סים די באוסלר און מארטירינע מים אינעונע אינענע אינייעע מיש און מארטירינענע מים אינענענער

ישנן מון די יוניישעד ניייעענס. אין פאריבירונג שים דעם מדעם סי לעניען אין פאריבירונג שים דעם מדעם סי ישנים אין אנכשטרשנס בי עדידארען מין רעם בארסריבעדר מי דעם לא מינים אים. אים באר ליישנען פאניענן סים דעם מילים אים אים שון ז-ן רעבירונג און או אם ראם סיי ייעני דעם פאניענסטינג ייעני דעם אינענסטינג אין ניכען ניב אי ייעני דעם פאניענסטינג אין אוא פאר, יברי אי פארטיידע אין אוא פאר, יברי אי פארטיידען

יישני וועס אסיר אן גיבע דך א ריינגייגנן פון פאלטסיינג אין אוא פאי, וכרי עד סארסיידע א עייטפונה, וואס הפן יוטעלען אי נעפאר וי עסענטלינע ויכערייט, אי נישאי זי בשנטליכן ויכויליש א ראס איריבע פאלע אין פאלעסי באריים ערמישטלום ליכו ומיל בייטיכן נאל סאלראטים אנגויאלם מירבינג אין די גרעראטים אם איל לעול סיר מאטיבען אין פיסלילעי א לעול רער לאסיבען סיס אס רעס יוט

שר, שוערשע אין פיפולריער אין רער פאסיטעו סיס אס רעס יער סיר איינעס פאריכט רערנייינע סיר איינעס פאריכט רערנייינע אייר איינעס פאריכט איירי סיר איינעס אייר סיר איינעס איינעס אייר

שלי אייקבס פון דער אייקבס פון רעד מורס האם וידם אניבשלאנים ווערים, היום ארסטנסטן דעם שיקואל מון די איידם, די אראנסטי און די יד כיישקר נייישאנם, מיר האנסן, או עם וועדם זיין א סורס מון פלונטישם, גל וועדם זיין א סורס מון פלונטישם, גל וונט זיין א סורס פון פלוגיטאסט, ונדי רקטטינטייט אין סוט, ראס אירף ויי שאלק ערוארט סיט האסטונג אייף וי בשילוסעם פרן אט דער קערפערשאטן ערייק סיט 25 יאר האט אין ערגליי בעריקט מין 25 יאר האט און אינליי בעריקט מין איידיען פארא, האט סאנקעישי אין דעם אירייען פארא, האט סאנקעישי נידם אינזעי פאראבים אין האט אינק ערט אירייען פארא, האט סאנקעישי מון דעם אירייען פארא, האט סאנקעישי נידם אינזעי פראלי אייז מון זיינן געראלי אייז אוסגענענע ער איינדיינער, ניט אוסגענענענע איידיריינעטע פירא איינער פין ייפיעניעינע אייירדינוני, ניט שילו פון די פראסינענעע פירער פו ער פראסייער וועלט, נאר הי פ איל האס מערט אין מידיעריטן ג'ור אין א הפגנע אין מידיעריטן ג'ור יי וועלט האס באריטנינט אין אפלא יים ראס אוריסוערען ויך פון יעראל ר ויין אלעען הייטלפטן. 118 119 8 113 8 113 1948.H 8, 1975 8, 1985 10101-110

רי שמפסליים אן רצי גען אנעייענט ראס טרא ישו ועלים אים מישר אים אים אים אים אישר געריכנעים איריט לארשיטאלפר הייטי לעריכנעיים אין אייר אנכנן ויך אשרינע מינינע אין ליינדן אים ראס אישנלעים. ראס אידיעע לאלה האין אים אישר אישר אישר ראס אידיעע לאלה האין אישר איין אישר אישר גם איריען סאלק האם נעקראנון ו נערפטנען אין ויין רעכט איבעיע יען ויין נאגיאנאלעם לעבען אין וי סעפייעער ייים. ראס איריען פאלק האם ויך אננן אנשריקענינג בוייען זיין נא 12

ראס איריעז פארג האס זיך אנגעי סאפש אן אם רטי לאגרערוארסוסער נערטנענזיים און האס פארטנעינעט שישערערים אין די שלמע היים מי זירער אייפעיבייען די שלמע היים מי רעם איריסנערמע באוואיגרערונג איי בער דער בפגעתי ועלם, א מרכר איז שארתאנרעלם נעזיארען אין א מרכר איז

בער רע שארוזאטריעים נעושיים יעם פלום. עם פלום עם כיים דיין סיין ספט או אם יעד גרויסק אינסערינא ייאנאלק הנרפערי שאלם וזאל האם אינסעריולם איני שימים וילכר וועלען ועיק או אם רי אר סיים ואל פארפערער אין דורות, אל אי ערטערינסרנג פארפערעי ועירק, אלו אי אינסערינסנג ארבערעינים איניק, אלו אי ביים ואל פארמבידשים וינדים, אם וי אינטירינטונג פארבעסערם דערים, אין שט די הפשעניג מין היות פאר חירקלילם ודערים. עם ודעם זיין א נאי בעלע דערגיייםינג מאס דעם זיין א נאי רעל אייבינע מאסט עו אס רעי דעלמער ארבעראערים. עם ועם זיין אין מעלער בערעכטינטיים.

אין אמלים נוימינ מאר רצי אין אמלים, שלאנם רצי מארי רצי שנים באייכם מאר, או רצי אוייעעי שמאם היות כיירע שמאמים וועלים יעמאם היות ביירע שמאמים וועלים איד פאריעריונגינע המנמת. איד פארייוידעג המנמת. אין רמכסייע אי זיך באנועדן אין אנלייכן וועלינן איר באנועדן אין אנלייכער סאס פרט איר בארטילירנע הטנסות. אים די סיבטיריע איז אין הירסליכי פיים א דמרי סיבטיריע איז אין הירסליכי פיים א דמרי סיבטירע איז אין רישליבו אי סים בער נאראנאלער הכבסת. רישלייער איז

רי אידיעע אנסנטר אבער איז באי רייש אידיעע אנסנטר אבער איז באי רייש עד נעטען אייז זיך אם רי לאסע דואס הענט פיע איז קאס אייטעד לען איינע פון אירע הרבנות, האס יי לאז בארייט אי ברענגען ברי או נעפי לאנט לאנט רער געשאסענען נוו

לאכם 11) פיר חילם זיק גיסב שכנים נים נאר פים דעם אראבייען שטאר אין אאכנסטינע נאר ארך פים רי שילה אין פיר יייענן ויכעי אנשילים פילה. אין פיר יייענן ויכעי אנשילים פירעי אראביער באבעיקערינע אין בייען פיייער דעסאראסייענן אין דייעס שיאר

10407 (PP) 9 191 819 ידיוק ששט. פים דער עליפינירוג מון דעם פוי ליפייענן שאסי אין גיעניקיים. וואס סיר האפע, יועם עניליך דערניינט ווערען גאלינט, ווען רי צוויי אוטאפי

לישיענן קאסר און ביענרידים, וואס סיר האמנע, זיגע עברירי דערגייים ווערנן לאלובט, ווע ויי עדיי ארטאנד מאלה היס שסיענן ויינינט ארחיינט מאלה היס שסיענן ייינינט דעם, וואס יערינט מאלה היס שסיענו ייע מערינין עדיינט אין אריינענער אין דעם היכטין ער בען סיר קין דער הענער אין דעם היכטי בען סיר קין דער הענער אין דעם היכטי גען סיר קין דער הענער אין ארינענער אין פרט היכטי עון אין אינענעני אין גער אין דער עוונענע, אין ביח אין דער גערנענען אין אין אין סיר אין דער גערנענען אין אין פרט אין דער גערנענען אין אין פרט אין דער גערנענען אין אין פרט אין דער גערנענען אין אין אין פרט אין דער גערנענען אין אין אין פרטי אין דער גערנענען גערענענען אין אין פרטי אין דער גערנענען גערענען אין אין פרענענע גערענען אין אין פרענענען אין דער גערוענען אין אין אין פרענענענענע אייב עס אירענען גערענען אין איינענען אין גערענען איינענען אין איינענען אין גערענען איינענען אין איינענען גערענען איינענען אין אינענען גערענען איינענען אין איינענען אין גערענען איינענען אין אינענען אין גערענען איינענען אין אינענען איינענען אין גערענען איינענען אין גענען איינענען איין גערענען איינענען איינענען איינענען אין גערענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען אין גערענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען גערי גענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען גענענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען גענענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען איינענען אינענען איינענען אינענען אינענען אינענען איינענען אינענען איינען אינענען אינענען איינענען אינענען אינען אינענען אינענענען אינענען אינענען אינענען איענענען איענעען אינעען אינענען אינענען אינענען אינענען איענענען אינענע

ייינג איניים שטרים אינו ניין אינג איניים. אינג אינגן סיר פריינגיי עס איז פאר אינג זיינגן סיר פאריים צו כרצועי אינג זיינגן סיר פאריים צו כרצועי גען סיר פיש אין שרוייצריג ווי עם איז פאר לנסטינג, וואם וויט ויין ייצען שיר באריים צו ברענגען שרשיאנע איז רינסט צו י חרכן, אבער מער זו ראש לא שריישאנע פרי אנצווואלאי ניש ארן פיר וויערען ניום שטריב שרוינטנג.

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רי גאנצע רעדע פון דר. סילווער, וואם ער האט נעכטעו געהאלטעז פאר דער ארץ ישראל קאמיטע פון דער יו-עז

37975 175163 274 /1011712 220 HOM .71 DW1 שניאינען נעראינען נענודט אינאנער רעס נאיי אינאניזיין איז יעואי THEY WE DER OF STORES IN THE THE CASE OF CASE ------182 1000

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ו הי אירוען שוק גע שאוריות, וזי השם מארביענע צוויי מויוענס יאר שעריס און הייזער, מים הערשאר עוויי מויוענס יאר שעניונג און מארסננען, ודי א געיים האנען היא היע מארביענס האכען נעניאכע עריים האנען היא היי דע האמ רצו באונאסען א ערטירינוערים דים אין אין אייניינייעט אונטעייניין א אייני ראישעט או אנטטיירינגיינו אייני רעי ויעי אוניט לאסטטיינגיינ אין געראי דים גאוג אין דער מעניד גען ג' ראישיען ען 1966 האיי MULTI SALESSIEL LANK CREWE ER 12.15 .23.572.51.54 מארפלסינע איפרט היפער ברובאליי מארפלסינע איפרט היפער בין לנאונ THE REPORT OF A PARTY כים לעישוענים עיין פרויען ארן עיני ".... 101 DE DEVERSION DE PO הרפש היונע עי לאמענטילע רעש פעוד מענט פין מי, איעור לייטעי ישראן אויז ישנער דייט אויז דייט אייני דער דער דער דער דייט אין דיין דער דעריער אין דייע 20 007 The property and the local fits NO STOTA TO ST 1313070 רדם פאריריידענע שים נאנאריים שון דער סעניטלינער אי יענידם וושל לאם נכואדעלים שי אש אינטינע איים איין אוינטאיי רידם סון דכורם נסוגליטאסט איז א דברגיייסוט פין אי ארץ יעניעם וושל לאם נכואדעלים שי אשם השם אינערינע ו רער סלאסן פר דער איריעני אעטינטע. ראם לאטי עטערם אערען אייט'ן פרי דידם פון אייע יעראל פו לאן דיל פו געי לאט פאריניירט זיין באוינידערט לאי דער גענערארישלטסלין זיין פאיפטי בין אייע יעראל פו

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שים דעי היושיות היושיום בשור, הצי יום, דעי שליסטנסט סטנצריוטנין א בעו מישראי שורכים משעים רבו סיער ב שיטציו, העי מדעושורער שו דעי בעריטני שן האראל, בענריעשרט כישול היו מינטנע מענייטער שי ישפיע, ביי א היעצר אין בערי משליע, ביי א היעצר אין בערי לעפטע הישם היום בשימים בא היר דועשינס בשורא אין רעד שפורע לעפטע הישם שורכי בעודים באראר העינער אין מ לעפטער האם היום שיר בעירים באראריניע ישני לעפער השני היום בארעינין שיר הערער השניע שורינער ישון בערים ארעיניין אינו בעירים אין דער הערער השניען אווי ישון בער הערערייען אורינער אינטער אינו אין אין אין אין דער הערער הערער בארערינער אינער אינעריינן אין אין אין היר לאימערער אין אין דער אין אין הינו אורער אינערייען אין דער ייענען מיינער אינעריען אין אין דער זיינען מין מערער אינעריען אין אין דער זיינען מינער אינעריער אינעריער אין אין אין דער זיינער פווערער אינערער אינערער אין אייער

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האנער סבענע **ו**

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ביי רפי לטייטיתנארט איט 2 (אנ פרענג פרן א וענינט, איט'טרמטולירינע אין לעייטייטיגנארטטנט ראס פרענינטטילי, ואוט רפי ערייניד. -- רפי לטייטיתנארטטנט ראס פרענינטטילי, ואוט רפי עריינידער היינט נארודען אין אינידעריפער גליינעייטיג ערייז' היינט ענארק געניי פטנאנארע רעט אינדאיט פון א נייי עייטינג ערייז' היינט ענארק געניין.

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"קריםמשעו פאלעסמיין קאמימע,

פאדערט טרוטאן, טארשאל זאלען

העלפעו שאפעו אידישע טלוכה

שיין האבר היינע אייבעדיים עין האם גיונאנט אייבע אייב אייבע אייבע

יאן דעי שיאנאיני האסטיניעות אל טעריסיענו דעם טערויים פארשיאה אייסטענו אין אידען, לאם היינס דעי אין דעי דעראל אייבנאליעינעי שיקט א טעסעריט עי איידעות האסיטיענאן דעי יידען צי גריערען א

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MAY &

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

Aperia in Tax for First Town. LANE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 5 The text of the statement made the Jewish Apency to Pales a by Dr. Abba Hilled Silver be the General Assembly Poll and Security Compilies to

the line to may all the out-of more Mr. David Ben-chairman of the Jewish for Palastine, here this g, he would be making palasment. Unfortunately, rival of Mr. Hes-Gurties on delayord. He will be morrow, and I hope that overces of the deliberations have an explorituative to also any any approximative to also been.

regard here. will use to thank the Assem-of the Unsteel Nucleons for ting the Jewish Agency for white a hearing on the que-which is before this commit-We are grateful for the op-mity to bake coursel with is the mainer of constituting metroving a special commit-of this body, which is to the production of the test the production of the test the second second second second of the body.

ting, oth a successful solution will be a blowning not only to Fab-se and to all the inhabitants, is Jawigh peeple, to the cause world peaks, but it will also green the mored solution the address for world particle and peaks for world particle and peaks o which so insary high sopre-manifold four furthed

Pleased Over Outlook

are pleased that the Palas-problem will now be re-red by an international body that the thought and one-tre of manifuld will now be give to bear on a submitten h hereinfore, and for some a new, has been made so-ary attraction by unitation it.

a perposan. The administration of Palastina a, since the authousk of the state and the by the manufacture they powers as if it were vest-ing whereas it is assumed to ad-initiate that country, of which was not the severity, as a intege for carrying out the par-set of the manufact, which vary defined its rights and its inguines.

The problems of Palastine is, of time, of paramount impuriants the Jewitch people and that 7, I take it, metivated the serial Assembly of the United tions to extend an invitation to Jewitch Agency of Palastitu present its views. We that these who as warmly urged absolution for their good with their palasta action. The extended on the mandate for Pal-tic the the mandate for Palof Palastine is, of closed in the mandate for Phi-e ag a possible body such actual ask and act on behalf of the sk pargie in and wat of Phi-ba in matters affecting the interact of the Jawith in-

is the only recognized public y in the mandate. It is recog-

heady in the manufacts. It is recor-nized as such, to quests Article 5, bar the perspect of al-vising and conpersating with the administration of Polerting in resting and the intervents of the mathematic of the Jowish national heads opposition in Pulsation and subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the actionery."

Its accountry." Under Article 6, the Jewish prory is scatting. Further, to operate with the administration permitting " " close settle-ant by Jews on the head"; and, r Article 15, It is given a pre-ered status in respect to the entrustice and operations of doine works and the develop-ent of the activation encourses of

nervity for Bergenting templated in the foundation of the Javaich maximum binners in speaks also for the Javaich provided to this historic ideal. for it was a feet to be a set of the matches. If the second is the second i

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ated at special table between the Coard ikins and Cohan representatives, Dr. Abba Millel Silver, The Rest Local Traves at Lake Success pesterday.

ot turn back the hands of the elock of history. Certainly, the United Nations, guided by its great principle, pro-clamned in its Charter, "to estabish conditions under which jus

lish conditions under which jus-tions articing from trentles and other sources of international law easy to maintained," can never manction the violation of trentles and of international law. Having the aid similar struc-tions in mind, a specific provi-sion, you will recall, vius written into the display of the Charter of the United Nations which deals which is therefore experially ap-plicable is territories mow which which is therefore separially ap-

which is therefore expensive space-plotting to territories mow under-mandais. This is Article 30 of the Charter, which reads: "Except as may be agread upon in individual trusteening light-ments, made worker Article 37, 59 and 45, placing each territory th-der the trusteening system, and until such agreements fave been concluded, suching in -his chap-ter shall be construined its or all it-rights whatmourie of any states or any peoples or the format of athering intertalistic matter-ments, is which institutes of the therma of the states of the format of the territories of the format of the territories of the Dated Stations may respectively be parties."

United Business may be parties." It is the perspective of your committee of inquiry on the en-tire problem which, is our balg-mann, will prove declaring. It will give direction and will greatly expedite its work, and the months scient will prove of neuralexcitive equilibrance, if it will keep the proper parapeters always in view.

proper prospective sloways in the set of the second community of the works of which the political distinct and the second provide the distinct of the second second the second second the second secon

toma be an accompliant fact 1 The starver to that quantion may well be given by the max who was Prime Minister of Great Britain with the simulation of Great Declaration was issued. I am gooting the testimany of Mr. Lioyd Georges, given induce the Painetine Hoyal Commission in 1917.

what the fastr minds, that a Jewi top investi n had <text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

states which are now members of the United Nations." "The United States." wrone President Truman, "which con-tributed its blood and resources to the weating of that with, nould not droug their of a certain re-pleaseding for the state with, nould had droug their the states of the prophetic the fraget territories were disposed of or for the fate of the prophet inserted at that time. It which the partice, to which it will adhered, that these people should the present for self-pro-presenties, and also fast self-pro-presenties, and also fast self-proadheres, that these i the prepared for sel-ment, and also that a ne s for the Jewish i the getablished in

"I am happy is note," detiant, the President, "that mean of the Marrial peoples are now citizent of andependent evaluation, To-jewish induined beens, however, has soil as yet been fully devel qued."

has not as yet been fully devel-oped." It should, of course, he clear-and I regret that statements made by certain representatives in research days have tended to contuse what dhould be clear-that whan we speak of a Jewish faits, we do not have in mind any revisi state or any theoremits state, but one which will be have upon full equality and rights for all inhadronate without dualisation of religion or race and without demination or subjugation. Whet is reactions adoption that the Mark is a seaffician adoption by the Jewish at a seaffician adoption by the Jewish is a seaffician adoption by the Beth-ish Labor party in 1965 one rep-ment of the United Kathen, I am eventue.

quoting: "Hare, repulsivly we halted ballway. covers confidence Bees.

print provide a substantial of a print with the second second provide the the future government of Palastanta, this incompacible and rendposible faster - the internet thread obligation to insure the continuous development of the Jewish nucleon development of the Jewish nucleon development containty in mind. I believe it would be in mind. I belowert, constantly extremely helpful to the communi-tee of inquiry if the mandatory coverument would present the account of its stawardship of the pulsetine mandate to it rather than wait for the next Assembly of the United Nations. It would assist the commutes in this would intrough the problem. through the proble ing at helpful re for the future

It is illegical. I fear, to ask the ommittee of inquiry to conside a future government of Pales as without first making a the orb study of the present Govern

you and you will help. motivally internated may once spain take their shore in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

the world." Your committee of inquiry will conclude, we are confident, that if ellowed to develop uninterrupi-ofly the standards of life which have been deriviped in Palatine, the concepts of sevel justice and the model of sevel justice and where a grant some of the second party of the second secon will the great minutes to the d progress of the an-East, with which Pal-

trainties of the second risk, addina-property developed risk, addina-ing to the separat factionary of these most qualified to speak as the subject, sustain a population much greater that the present one. Many more project, which will result in great economic and social improvement not along in Polosization but in all the neighbor-ing countries, are swaining devel-opment pending a stillateristy po-

Would Investigate Violence

The committee of imprire should, while in balenting, also look into the real, the funda-tion into the real of the funda-ment and votiences which looks may the life of the Holy Land to which use descidthe UR of the Holy Land to a very dewish inserts calles, with weapless and with tanks, will breakers, ann sure, why an foring collinearity, whose internet was in building a fill hosts and future for selves and their children, in a driven is the pitch of re-unst and tension and he-shir driven of his pitch of re-unst and tension of his form for articles which we all re.

ill sub thomastess, I am y shiptowin of helpiness retingues mon, without dress with have here all the holls of Nant we house the hole of Nant we house the hole of Nant house by a Sinthestory effects of the Jewish house by a Sinthestory obligation, to Sauthale immigration into that continue, 7 mars 100

recentions, in the mandatory grow-minum is carrying out another f Ba -biggstone, which was to intrusting also actilement of the virs to the inadi when, in act-il provine, it is today severally obtaining free Jewish actilement tan men inse that it pay acest of at they eventry, and is exact of a tag. will also favortigate, low the mandatoly g is enforcin the lowish nation

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lay. An immediate releasation of the predictive the White Paper policy of 1600 with the test of the status which presented inform the White Paper policy of 1600 with the test of the status which present policy of the status in present with the status which present the status of the

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moral principles. In these last trapic years, who the whole household of formed b the whole toreschild of trend her-came one great housibly of pain, we could not have built what we did hould had we not preserved our unstalable trutt in the win-tory of truth. It is in that alreng faith and hops that we wish is cooperate with you in this task which you have stidertaken. The deviate people belongs is this society of nations, formely the descript people is no less descring than other people is no less descring

resentatives are now sented in The Jowish people wave point line in the wave and joined in exercitors to yours to achier common visiony. The represent strong of the Jowish people Pulseting should sit in madet. The representatives of people and of the land which to manifed spiritual and ef-values inspiring human pe-alities and exceed texts which your toward extend texts which hope that ng again its natio ting d ball usied before long by you to the Number of Street, Stre

At the close of Dr. Bib. ment the following questions w put to him by delegates and use asked to prepare a reply p

M. Asuf All,

India -

total was the number of Jews from outside Palasithe in 1900, again in 1955, and Fanily in 1930 when the White Paper of 1939 was issued by the British Govern-ment?

was issued by the British Coverses may issued by the British Coverses many and the second second second second whather Dr. Silver recognizes the fact that there is a very clear dis-traction between a Jewish state and a Jewish saturation for the date. Down he also recognize the which is maniformed in the mew-date. Down he also recognize the stat that even the also recognize the which he make a reference, which was made by the excitation of the libered government-of the Laker party-indered net to a Jewish state but to a Jewish ma-tional house? - My third gomether is concerned with Dr. Silver's reference to European Jewry. Will he he so kind as to provide us with satura-idan of the age of the various communities of matienal Jewry the to go basit to the national hous; how long have they lived in Europei, and are they satura-bone; how long have they lived in Europei, and are they satura-bone for the section of the section of the offset theatents." My fourth quanties is as ful-hows the heat made a classmant is the effect that at Paris in 300 an entremely constitution wither-ment was made by a great Arab

an extremely contliancy state-ment was made by a great death lader who well-and the Jews is priorities. In these any reason why the Araba are reading in-migration dow?

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Ballouy Declaration Cited

Ballow Declaration Cited The Ballow Declaration, which strained by Mn Malerit's Gyr-werment as a "declaration of groupsily with Jewish Blonid, "The Ballow's declaration of the setabilitation of the plant of a national house for the Arrive the setabilitation of the plant of a setabilitation of the plant of a setabilitation of the plant of the set setabilitation of the plant of the setabilitation of the set plant of the setability and plant of the setability of the set plant of the setability of the setability of the setability of the setability of the plant of the setability of the setability of the plant of the setability of t

The more easily assimilation? May shorth and fault quantition would be about the conditions which are correctly preventing in Palastina. It is very gratitying in hare that the diver, on behalf of the Jew-ish Agency, has recognized the units visual which the people of the United Kingdom have played in Jewish problem. May I know why public servants of the Govern-insen or the United Kingdom, who are doing their duty under extrementy difficult eleventhicness, are being picked off today by vis-inter.

Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, Poland:

Point of all, who represents the Jawish Agency, how many sepat-institute how is the encoding committee established and organ-lind and how does it work? The accord question: Have there been any advantige all collecten-tion between the Jews and Araba in Polonike?

Dr. A. Gonzales Fernandez,

nandez, Colombia: I should like to ask Ev. Sliver, not as an element of final jufg-ment for us, but simply as an element of illustration, what the risers of the Jewish Againsy for Palaging are regarding the com-position of the investigating com-mutes.

H. T. Andrews,

South Africa:

South Africa: I would only ask one question and that has relation to the terms of reference which we may be giving the committee of inquiry. by, River has referred to the boundance Jews in Europe. If he would be as kind as to holp me clarity my own mind, he sold that the committee of inquiry should beek into the condition of the homoloss Jews in Europe. I would be him the administre that the committee of inquiry should beek into the condition of the homoloss Jews in Europe. I would be him the the administre that the committee of inquiry should be the the disation as a whole the the the administre or would act only in relation to the question of continuing instigre-tion into Pulseting T

One of the Greatest Moments in History

We publish herewith in part statements innered by Robbi Abba Hiltof Sites and Br. Ensemble Neuroness inmodiately following the suits at U.N. General Antembly at Nev. 28, 1817, martiming the establishment of the State of Inner. Dr. Sites an chainemen of the Jonish Agency presented the time to the Jonish graphs in the U.N. and Br. Neuronex was a leading mean for at the Jonish Agency Bologation.

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

We are douply gratified with the action of the General Assembly of the United Nutions. It marks a trensing point in Jourish history. It is an impressive matthemation of the just claim of the Jourish people to rebuild its notional life in its ascentral home.

This middle disclosing to re-contributed the Lowish state and restore the Jewish provide to its rightful plane in the family of matians will reduced to the eventuating evolut of the United Nations and will be preseded as one of jet most significant achievements. The devices prophe will forever be grateful to the matians which contributed to the decision . . . The Jowich people is knowly aware of the great responsibilities which the deviation of the United Nations has placed upon it and it will do its utmant to merit their confidence as it moves forward into the new day to fulfil the mandates of its destiny. The Jowich people will obly to hull the Jowich state in Palersian in the spirit of its hereits spiritual landers of the past where to obligge makind.

May the cetablishment of the Jow-

while and may its dours be opened without delay to admit all those where hope of return to their prople's homeland has been so long deferred.

by Dr. Emanuel Neumann

In this colorus moments I send the eccentrage of American Zonatca to the Visions whose manufluctuat courses, visual actuates and moral according have locat user inspirition in marked days. Our find thought in of the millions of our botheys and status whose



Counts on both tiers of Inis Secondary attentively to address by Hos, Ouvalde Aranha.

aches are shown over the confused of Europe and, above all, of the survivous who have been suffering and warring to long for the beginning of the redemption. This is one of the groutest moments in Jewich history ... It is a triemphaset vindication of the Eucoid ideal at the hands of the highext international tribunal and halds the promise of national foredom and each independence.

The builds has been long and hard. It was won only through the united will and determination of the Jewish people throughout the world, led and propied by the Tishuv. 47-1

The Zionists of America are profoundly grateful that they were invited to contribute their share toward the extreme.

They have long realized the parties of reconstructed by parties and leading role of the United States in the intercentional arona. Today American Zionists are happy that their protonged and structures that their protonged and structures been crowned with sucress, for without that support, victory at the U.N. would have been impossible.

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Tariri Tari

עות שניותית. ז היה שהרכידית שייק מיי ש אין לשטרשלט רעי שיילורינג ימן היה נכטישלט רעי שאיטיני זין היה ענוידיער רענג אויטירי עם מעוליך נים לאנע ככלע שילימעריען מעלם אי הי נאיי 19 and 19 200 ידים העודר בי מאות האות היו אין סיגוליד בים מאות אי די באור ריים מעודר אין הער ציי די אין ביינים אין אין דער ציים ביות האורים אין אין היו ביות ביינים אין אין אין ביות ביינים אין אין אין ביות ביינים אין אין אין אין אין ביינים אין אין אין אין 61 For State 10 100 NUCLES NO. 10.07 1222 10.00 No. Contra

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A Sovereign Jewish State Will Redound to the

The Jewish Agency for Paleetine, which I have the bosor to represent, is appreciative of the privilege which this Committee of the Unified Sations General Assembly has extended to it to be represented at its estimations and to express its views on the Report which the Unified Sations Spesial Committee on Paleetine has submitted.

We have read the Report with the deepwei intervent and the closest attention, and we are prepared to make out observations on it. We are greatly impressed with the excessed and conscientions labors which the eleven members of the Special Committes devoted to their task and which are reflected in the comprehensive and imprasvice document heters us. It was good to have a committee of neutrals examine the Falestine problem attent is an effort to aritive at a solution which would be morally jointfahle and politically sound. We share entirely the view expressed in the Especi that the "opinions of members of an international committee who represent various dividinations and schools of themsity facult angles, may be of mome vature."

Cooperate With UN

The Jewish Agency availed itself of the invitation extended to it by the Spacial Committee to present its case. We were imply to make available to the Committee whatever information it desired of nr, to answer any questions, and trankly to share our thinking with it. We regarded it as an incorpable obligation to cooperate to the fullest extent with the Coited Nations which had this grave international problem presented to it and which assumed the responsibility for formulating a docision on the future government of Fullestine.

In this connection we find it necessars to point to a circumstance to which the Report itself draws special attention, nameis, the failure of the Arab Higher Comsolute to cooperate with the Committee. The Chairman of the United Nations Ppe--lal Committee, during the learnings in Arreadeth, made an appeal by rodo for the ful cooperation of all parties. The Special Committee also adapteed a lower disorties to develop of the Presid Committee to provide the Arab Higher Committee regretition the device of the herer net to cooperate whe device of the herer net to cooperate the device of the herer net to cooperate the device of the herer net to cooperate the device of the herer net to cooperate whe device of the herer net to cooperate the device of the here network here that here found to reason to reverse the previous devices to indevice the there where the found to ideal the the the fortion devices to the fiberial Committee for the Nation to about the the strates and disappointments of the namerous Pubcities has been antiported to the strates and disappointments of the namerous Pubcities include which preceded is. Having reporting released the here this and every released the form of the Arab Higher Committee nome new to as 'partice and every of at the hands of the United Nations where antherity is has floeted and whose empleteics to define the form of the theory every state of the fiberial of the theory overmittee to define the form of the theory every state of the fiberial of the theory every state of the fiberial of the theory overmittee to define the form of the theory every state of the fiberial of the theory of the every state of the fiberial of the theory over the fiberial of the fiberial of the theory over the define the fiberial of the the fiberial of every the fiberial of the fiberial of the theory over the fiberial of the fiberia

Fact and Fiction

The same spokesman treated us to an historic improvinition on the origin of the levelsh people and on the history of Palestine. History may not be an exact science bit it cuttaling is ind a story out of the Arabias nights. There are certain facts which do not yield to wishful thinking. Thus the canard that the Jews of western Europe are descendant not from Iorael of edd, but from a tribe of Khanars in Ransia, is a relatively recent invention and was popularized in the racial methologies of our day whose political motivations are elearly transporent. One would assume that the Araba of Palestine would be smoog the last people on earth to wish to regage in genenlogical research.

When the Allies liberated Palactine in 1917 along with other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, Palectine was a segment of a Turkish province. There was no poticically or culturally distinct or distinguishable Arab nation in that province. There never had been. The Araba who conquered Palectine in the seventh contains of the

Statement Mode to the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine of the United Nations General Assembly

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SL.VER

era held sway goer that country contained a very mixed and which. which contained a very maxed and heterogeneous population for 417 years be-tween 604 and 1071 A.D.-417 years out of more than 5,000 years of recorded history in Palestine. After 1071, the country was compared by various non-Arab peoples roch as the Seljuks, the Kurds, the Cru-reders, the Egyptian Namelukes and Imal-ic he the Oranean Taulo. To the time ly, by the Ottoman Turks. By the time the Arnhe conquered Palestine in 614 A.D. the Jewish people had already completed nearly 2,000 years of national history in that country, during which time they ere ated a civilization which decidedly in florneed the course of mankind, gave rise both to Judaism and Christianity, proboth to Judaism and Christianity, pre-stored the Bible and brought forth prophets, estimic and opiritual leaders who are venerated not only by Judaism, but by Christianity and Julam as well. "In the 12 centuries or more that have passed since the Arab compared," reads the Report of the Royal Commission of 1927, "Palentine has adventive the second out of bible. has wirtually dropped out of history. . In recommics and in politics Palestine lay outside the stain stream of the world's life. In the realm of thought, in science in letters it made no contribution to 1017

Jewish Achievement

The very identity of Palestina as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jowich Mattery. The country but its sepscate character with the Jowich dispersion and selly recurred a specific role in history when the Palestine Notatists was catified. The Mandate achieverbidged this history by acting Falestine in a distinct and represencement in collation to the Arabi would. "I see personaled," distance Provident Wilson in March 5, 1959, "Out of an Allied Mathematic with the fallest concentration of our and Georgement and people are specific in the relative shall be high the tomination at a lawshift Commencesche".

Jewish Commenceventch." Speaking in the Bouwer of Social on Jone 17, 1923 Lord Million, who would be and policy," stated "Pain/Silo for the pris Arab policy," stated "Pain/Silo for the same factor imported as a constry in the same factor in the other Arab constraint. You cannot ignore all history and tradition in the matter . . . and the future of Palecting cannot possibly be left to be determined by the temperary imprecision and feedback by the temperary imprecision and feedback of the Arab majority in the country in the present day,"

When the Palestine Mandate therefore recognized "the histories' connection of the lewish people with Palestine," it was only stating a fast that was universally acinsortedged through the ages. And when it gave intermitional recognition to the grounds for reconstituting the Jawish national home in that country—an act which Field Masshal Smats, member of the War Calinat which issued the Balfour Declaration, called "one of the greatest acts of history"—it was only readificuing the fact that the lewish people had never surresduced that how of national restoration in its ancestral homeland. For to the Jawa, Palestine was not merely a place of sacred thrines at the Christians and Madeaus, but the home of their stilled people, the land of their extients destiny, and throughout the dark contories of persecution and wandering there were continuous efforts to return to it.

Araba Benefit

Concernings the Arab economic grievances which were aired here the other day, we wish only to refer to the Export of the United Nations Special Committee which examined all of them, as well as to the relevant chapters in the Reyal Commission Report of 2017, to show how utterly groundless they are. These Reports, an well as the memorandum of the Palestine Government which was submitted to the Special Committee of the United Nationa document which can hardly be charged with pro-Jewish blas-conclusively prove that the Palestine Arabe benefitted considentify and elsewity from Jewish development in the economic, financial and receil spheres.

We must take note, too, of the interest-ing contrast willch the Arab spokeuman attempted to draw between the terroristic acts of the Arabs of Palestine in 1806-29-which were never condemned or repodiated by any responsible Arab spakes-man-and the reprettable acts of some dissident Jewish groups in Palestine today which the official bodies of Palestine Jewry have must severally condemned. "It has been officially admitted that in their several uprisings against the British in Pal-entine," stated the Arab spokenupa, "the Araba ardinarily fought face to face an mide men," An illustration of this as billity, permit me to quote the statement of Sir John Chainellor, the High Commis-sioner of Palestone, on the Arab clots there in 1920; "I have Jornial with horror of the structure arts committed by hodes of condens and the dilighty welldoors, of sayoge much apportated upon astronomerhere of age on these, accompanied as all the theorem by and of surpensiable carragery, of the hornby of forms and houses in town and emirity, and if the loting and destruction of property. These crimes have brought upon their authors the eccentrics of all civiliand proplet through cut the world." In commuting upon the class of 1956, the Report of the Palesting Royal Commission has this to say: "There were similar aroundts upon he persons and property of the Jews, consisted with the never reckless fermity (as in 1929), Weam and children were not sparse),"

Comments on British Stand

Erfore misking our absorbations on the Report itself, may use be permitted to comment on the statement which was made at the beginning of your rediscritions by Mr. Arthur Creech Jones on behalf of His Majesty's Government?

It was the United Kingdom Government which requested that the question of Palestine be placed on the agenta of the General Assembly. It was His Majesty's Goveronment which asked the Assembly to make recommendations under Asticle 10 of the Charter for the future government of Palestine. In making these tat-reaching requests, with which the Jaited Maslace

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Trygue Lie (laft), UN Secretary General, with the officers of the UN Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine. Left to right: Lie, Prince Subha Scanti, of Simul, vice chairmon of the Committee; Harbert V. Evatt, Anatralia, Committee chairmon; Thur Thurs, Ireland, rapporteur, and Garcia Robies, Mexico, ascratary.

couplied, the United Kingdom surely must mately imporing its own relation on the United Nations, but the hope that this great international body, approaching the roblem anew and without blas, might find a solution, which while not fully correctable everyone, would neverthelens represent the collective windows and judgment of the nations of the world and would have hind it such weight of authority that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accept it and to cooperate in As imple-mentation. Surely such loyal cooperation the part of member nations is persupposed when any international problem is considered by the United Nations. Otherwice His Majesty's Government might just well have announced six months. what it declared the other day. Thy were six critical months lost, during which time

the situation in Palestine was permitted to deteriorate most gravely? And -by was all the apparatus of the Unite- Nationa invoked to investigate and to recommend a actionet of the problem it these was no intention to accept and to participate in the implementation of such a softement? Sir Alexander Cadegan, at the B2nd

nesting of the first committee of the General Assembly, stitled: "All we say-and I made this reservation the other dayis that we shall not have the soir responsibility for inforcing a solution, which is not accepted by both parties and which we cannot reconcile without conscients." But we observe that His Majesty's Government is too being asked to accept a noir responsibility. The Report of the Special Committee cientry recommends that if an desired, one or more members of the United Nations shall be invited to assist in the administering of the country along with the powers Mandalory Fower.

Crucial UN Test

The statement of Mr. Creech Jones areas to go beyond that of Sir Alexander Cadoyan's and implies that His Majority's Government net only does not wish in account and responsibility for implementing the Report, but reserves to itself the right of refusing any ecoperation in implementing the final decision of the Uniter Nations if, in its judgment, it does not couply with its own preferred technique of implementation, One questions whether in taking such a position —if we have understood the position correctly—the United Kingdom is flipping to relve this difficult problem and whether its course will enhance the authority and proveries of the United Nations —thich has assumed responsibility over the Palestina question. It is clear to averyone that the robation of this problem represents a vital challenge to the United Nations and a rescal test of its future effectiveness.

In view of His Majesty's Government's relactance to impose a policy by force of trans...a policy which would have behind it the resettion of the community of mations...one may be pardoned for inpulring why His Majesty's Government has not benitated to employ in recent years a military force of 100,000 men, along with its movy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Polestine which no international body has approved, which is contrary to the purposes and provisions of the Mandate, and which has here thrice disapproved by international hodies.

It would have been more helpful if the statement of His Majesty's Government had been more revealing. Survey it must be clear to everyone that an satilement of the Palestine problem is possible without rome enforcement. The Palestine problem is not at all unique in this repard. The Report of the Special Committee correctly states: "Tabling into account the fast that deviaing a solution which will be fully acreptable to both Jews and Arabe seems to be utterly impossible, the prospect of imparing a solution on them would be the basic condition of any recommended preposal." It was the realization that such as Arab-Jewish agreement was impossible that prompted Mr. Beels to turn the problem over to the United Nations, Mr, Creech "the W ready # ing effi is year Jews" i advance

IS mu principal berlin. ras fir to basiless German in prin a asim ment a tages w James, tionid. to energy Araba cause a would of Jam hand, p ment a relieve. subject. Linua inter a l imaigr a completion even finder would a size, 'th

Conf express: while h British decade... appeilers the Pal haustin a select the pla-up by stand (I wan in la 1943 America nation with a tee sub state. Witness hand he Jenu, a after, the pro-Gevern of this post Chag propessi prend i port o Finally tine pr Long pointed of 11 submits. plan as and an accepta than th Sectodi

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he Everlasting Glory of the United Nations

Crewk Jones' declaration, therefore, that "the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agree reached between the Arabs and the Jews" is very singular indeed and does not ofvance the solution at all.

Back Partition Principle

It may be pertinent to recall that the principle of partition on which the Ma-Joseffer. Report of the Committee is based was first projected by the all-British Com--index in 1907. At that time the British Government accepted that recommendation in principle and declared: "In supporting and at loss of the Palestine problem by means of partition, His Majority's Genera-ment are much impressed by the advantages which it offers to the Arabs and the The Arabs would abtain their national independence, and thus he enabled to cooperate on an equal footing with the Arabs of neighboring countries in the cause of Arab unity and progress. They would be finally delivered from all fear of Jewish domination. . . . On the other hand, partition would secure the establishof the Jewish National Home and inerest. relieve it from any possibility of its being subjected in the future to Arab rule. In would convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State with full control over immigration, . . . Above all, fear and immigration. . . . Above all, fear and empirican would be replaced by a sense of confidence and security, and both peoples would obtain, in the words of the Co sion, 'the inertimable boon of peace'."

Confronted as we new are by the latera expression of His Majesty's Government, we cannot help but reflect upon the course which has been followed by successive British Governments during the past docade. In 1907 the British Government appointed a Boyal Commission to study the Palectine problem, which, after an exhaustive study, recommended partition as a solution. After an initial approximation the plan, the British Government Websit up by rejecting it and promulgated in its stand the White Paper policy of 1920 which was in complete contradiction to the basis recommendation of the Royal Commission. In 1945 the British Government lovited the American Covernment to join in a two on inquiry into the Palestine problem with a view to its solution. This Committre submitted unanimous recommendations preparing not partition, but a unitary state. It called for the abrogation of the White Paper policy, including its racial land law, the early admission of 100 non Jews, continued Jewish immigration there. after, and the faithful implementation of the provisions of the Mandate. The British Government rejected the recommendations of this Committee also and wound up by putting forward the Morrison and Bevin proposals which were diametrically op-posed in substance and in spirit to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee. Finally, in 1947, the British Government ad another examination of the Pales ting problem, this time by the United Nations. As a result, a commission was ap-pointed consisting of the representatives of 31 nations. This Committee has now itted a Report which roce menda. plan of partition coupled with economic union. But this Report seems no neces acceptable to His Majesty's Government than the two earlier Esports. It has indicated no support of this latest Report and offers in its stead -nothing.

Speedy Decision Vital

The failure, however, of the United Kingdom Government to give the United Nations a measure of guidance and support, and its announced intention of an early withdrawal from Palestine which welcome, makes it more importive ever that the General Assembly diam. should proceed with the work before it with utmost disputch. As early as last April it was realized in the special section of the Assembly that there was great urgency to the matter. Certainly that urgency for and decision has been intensified by all that has transpired since. The Jewish Agency, in making this pre-



Dr. Abha Hillel Silver presenting the Jewish Agency views to the Ad Hoc Committee on Pulcation of the UN General Assembly. Dr. Silver is flashed by Jewish Agency memisers Dr. Emanuel Neumana, Moshe Shevtok and Rabbi Wolf Guid.

liminary comment on the Report itself, wishes to indicate at the outset its full approval of all but one of the 11 unnaimous cendations made by the Committee On the sixth recommendation, of which it does not disapprove, it would like to make this observation. The sixth recommendation calls upon the General Assembly 10.0 dertake immediately the initiation and execution of un international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem." It will be recalled that the Ample-American Committee of Inquiry likewing recommended that effe to made immediately to find new homes for these displaced persons. In making this recommendation the Anglo-American Com-mittee stated: "We have to report that such information as we received about on tries other tion. Palestine gave no hope of unbetantial assistance in finding byses for Jrus withing so impelled to inve-Europe." The position in this respect has remained completely unchanged. The yer-convendation has restained a dead letter. Our unfortunate refugues are still languishing in the displaced persons' energy facing a third winter after the termination of the war. The Expert of your Special Com-mittee refers in the "inistane urger" of these distensed persons to be allowed to go to Palestine. The "intense wege" of the Jewish displaced persons to proceed to Palestine and the refusal of most of them to their realization that the prospects of their realization that the prospects of their adminion to other countries are slight in the extreme, and even then only a very limited acopa. It springs preall. minently from the fact that Palestine fors to them that which they need most and cannot find anywhere else; the chan of a real home, the prospect of a life in congenial susregurdings, the invariance of permanency. All the longing of these up-rooted peoplector a life of peace and digaity, for a normal and secure existence tinds expression in this "intense urgs" to pe to Palestine. What more overwhele and tragle midence of this urgs to required than sersistant and desperate attempts of these man, women and children to reach the observes of the Jawish National where hey are foreibly turned back

--in the enserof the "Ruodus 1947," back to Germany! And if in he countered that more desire dhas not cruste a right, a complete answer is that that desire was the hasis for the creation of the right by the fuffour Declivation and the League of Nations Manuale. That desire was recog nized as movily as compelling that it led the victorious Allies in the First World Was to establish solamn international cos vitroents generanteeing the logal right of Jews to go to Palestine.

Close Ties to Palestine

The Jewish Agency arough hopes that the nations of the world will welcome those among the diplaced persons who wish to conjurate to other lands. The Jewish

Agency never contemplated that any displaced person should be forces to go to Palestine. But surely, to compel these Jawish referees, many of whom have close family ties with Palestine, to ps against their will to other lands and to-deny them the right to go to the Jewish National Home would be most unjust and unkind and would be bitterly resented.

The 12th recommendation of the Committee rends; "It is recommended that in the apprairal of the Palestine -position, it is accepted as incentrovertible that any solution, for Palettine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general.¹⁰ We are at a loss to understand the meaning of this procession actually not a recommendation but a new postchate. The "Josefch problem is pro-coal" is not a problem of Brutch immigration on at retagons, ht is the age-old p has of Jenish articleal bouilmoness. They ten of Journal anticipal population of the ten-in but one solution in This problem, a mo-tword house. This was the basic Journal problem which was family by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and to which the proper solution was given—the reconstitution of the national home of the Jowish people in Falestine.

Views on Minority Report

Without attempting at this stage a do tailed analysis of the solution were ed by the minority of three members of the Special Committee, we must slide at once that we find it wholly unacceptable, even as a basis for discussion. It proposes the establishment of an independent Federal State of Palestine, consisting of what are described as an Arab and a Jewish "State," though they are, in fact, little more than seni autonomous cantons or pr-winces. .It is obvious that under the constitutional provisions enviraged in this recommendation, Palestine would become in effect an Arab State with two Jewish suchaves, in which the Jews would be fromen in the p sition of a permanent minority of the population of the Federal State. Under the proposed constitution the Jewish province would not have control over immigration even within the narrow confines of its own horders. Nor would it have control over its ewn fiscal policies. Not only with regard to the crucial question of im migration, but also with regard to many other matters of fundamental importance the ultimate power of docision will rest with the Arab majority of the proposed Federal State. The proposal is a variant of the Federal scheme put ferward last year by His Majesty's Government, gen-erally known as the Morrison Bian, which as rejected at the time both he Jawa and Arabs, as well as by the Gov-rement of the United States. The plan satails for the Jaws all the disadvantages of partition and a very bad partition prographically without the compensating advantages of a real partitions statehood, independence and andgrath

As regards the Majority proposals we make the following elocrystic

mitter. Needless to say they are not the propends of the Jawish Agency which, is fact, were ruled out by the Committee. They do not represent satisfaction of the rights of the Jewish people. They are a serious attenuation of these rights. At the hearing of your Committee we fully de-fined these rights and their justification. I will not here impose upon you by restating them. Partition dearly was never con-traplated by the Balfour Declaration of the Mandate. It was intended that Pal-estite, the whole of Palestine, shall ultimastly become a Jewish State. This the clear testimony of Mr. Lloyd Goorge, wi 14 was the British Prime Minister at the time of the incuance of the Declaration. The land referred to as Palestine in the Declaration included what is now Trans-Jordan. The Reyal Commission of 1957 declared that "the field in which the Jew The Reyal Commission of 1917 National Home way to be established was understood at the time of the Balfour Declaration to be the whole of historic Palestine," That area has already been particioned. The first participing of Palstine took place in 1922 when Trans-Jor dam, representing 3/4 of the original area Palewine, was cut off and has since been set up by the British as an Arab kingdom. Thus, one Arab state has already been carved out of the area assigned to the Jawish National Home. It is now proposed to carve a second Arab state out of the remainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish National Home is now up be configed to less than 1/8 of the territory originally set aside for it. This is a secrifive which the Jewish people should not be asked to make

The legitimate national aspirations of the brah propies have been fully satisfied. President Truman, in his letter of October 28, 1946, to the king of Saudi Arabia, calls attention to this fact: "I am happy to note." he writes, "that must of the liberated posples (of the Near East) are now citizens of independent countries. The Jowish Na-tional Bone, however, has not yet been fully developed." The Arabs possess to-day independent menarchies in Baudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Iraq and Trans-Accdus, and independent republics in Systa and Labamon. A population of 17 millions in Arab Asia occupies an area of 1,290,000 square miles, enormously rich in resources and potentialities. This area, which fornearly belonged to the Octoman Empire, and which, together with Egypt, was liberated by the Allied Nations, includes all the erntory with Arab and Mostern traditions. estime, the historic home of the Jewish people, which the autions of the world after the last war declared to be the Jewish National Home, is, after the loss of Trans-Jordan, only \$6,000 square miles in extent, and B is now proposed, in the Maporky Report, further to reduce the area of the Jewish National Home by almost on half

Grievous Handicap

It is not our intention at this time to enter into a detailed discussion of the many territorial previations in the proposals of the Majority Report. But we feel constrained to point out at least two features which are open to most serious objections. The Majority Report eliminates western Outline-that is, most of Gallies-from the Jowish State. The Peel Commission in-Jewish State. The Poel Commission In-cluded western Galilee in the Jewish State. For reasons which we shall endeavor to explain more fully at a later stage, we reand the proposed exclusion of western Gattlee as an unjustified and a porticularly prinners handlesp to the development of for dentals State

Under the terms of the Majority praposed, the city of Jerunalam is set up as a reparate government unit. We would not question the propriety of placing the old city of Jerusalem, which contains the hely places, as well as the holy shrines, which may be cutside the walls of the old city, in the custody of an in-trenational trustee. But out-

LAKE SUCCESS. - After disturbing reports shout the st. delegation's varillations in matter of Palestine, the addeese at the UN is a satisfactory one, it is an elaboration of Sec-retary Marshall's periminary statement is which he stated that the U. S. delegation placed "growt a the UNSCOP majority and given opart. After carefully analyzing Ambaandy: Johnson's states havever, we find that there is room for additional elaboration by the U. S. delegation.

The statement "supports the basic principles of the unanimous nendations and the majority plan which provides for portition and immigration," but exprographical modifications must be made" in the majority neon mendations. The true extent of assayed before the U.S. delegation discloses the nature of the "coveraphical modifications" 10. proposes.

The statement stresses that

(CONTINUED)

Silver

new city has grown up which contains a compact Jewish section of approximately \$1,000 inhabitants. This new city includes the central autional, religious and educational institutions of the Jawish people of Paintine. Excluding all of Jerusalem from the Jewish State would be a purticularity a margar Distant. Investigate balls place in Jewish life and religious traditions. It is the ancient capital of the Jewish sution and the symbol throughout the ages prices of Jewish nationhood. The undetented conotion in the land of Israel was epitomized in the solemn vow of the Paulislet and or entired people throughout the agent: I freque three. O Jorunalam, let my right hand locyet her quanting." We advocatly argo that the Jorugh pertion of moders decounter, costable the walls, he included the Jawish State

These are other modifications which we up at a later stage of taxas dis-

Heavy Jewish Sarrifice.

To cettern to the basic solution of parfrion proposed by the Special Completerit entuits, as we have add, a very heavy sacrifics on the part of the Jawish propie. But if such a sheriffice is made the inenorable condition of an immediate and hast autotico we would be prepared to anmasse the responsibility of recommending white to when in an erg of progress and acquirecome to the sugreme organs of our concentration which would be a boos to movement, subject, of course, to further all the proples in that important part of discussion of the constitution and pervice-int nos which we assume will take place in the course of these sessions. We would prepared to do no because the process) makes possible the immediate re-establich-ment of the Jawish Biate, an ideal for which our people ceasederaly strong through the centuries, and because it ensures immadists and continuing Jawish humigration as events have demonstrated, in only under a Jewish State. would do so also as our contribution to the and of long of a grave international problem and an evidence of our willingness to join

that "in view of the limited area and reof Palestine, it is eccential that, to the extent feasible, and consistent with uncritice. the creation of two independent status, the unity of the country about its personal read." prepared to accept this proposal of an oca-It should, however, he a and that this responde auton-white it the

"the General Assembly did not by admitting this item to 100 grads, undertake to assume reapossibility for the administration of Palestine during the pracets of transition to independence . . . obdity for the Government of Palestine new rests with the mandatory power . . . the Gen-eral Assembly, however, would fully discharge its obligations if it did not take carefully into account the problem of imple and set that if

The shore quoted phoness fro the American statement circum accilie the entent of UN respot of circum sibility for the Palestine **Interior** and retier back to Britain basic responsibility for Palestine's administration, Britsin, however, has clearly stated that she would accept to responsibility for the implementation of a decision that she would repard as not imple-

The particular of the U. R. statement that refer to U. S. assistance "'n meeting economic and financial problems and the proband the state of the

> a Jamiula could bench State would also hupone grave sacrifices. The acceptable limit of these sacrifices is. in principle, clear: the Jewish State must have in its own hands these instruments of financing and economic control that are necessary to carry out large-scale Jewish consignation and the related economic deredependent access to these world access of evoltal and acquites that are indispriswhile dow the accomplishment of these

the Report pro-The Made and result individual. The underlanded co-iner a farget substity from the Derstein in-norms in the hold of forced was substituted as a tree Arab state, through equal sharing by the two scatter, through equilibrium of the two scatters, through the periods from contains and solar anothers. This schedule would be a very line by the line schedule to the destinged income. The forces Agent would be even be proported to assess the boottom av uses of its sampling designed to the two out of the periods, full-be-play-

ten to be good astighters, not or up the Atala state of Palestilas, but to the Arab starts throughout the Middle Enst. And certailly we mean acrepalously to respeet the equil rights of the Arab population in the free and democratic Saste. With the removal of political fricthen and bitterbens which we hope with eventuality result from the setting mp of three two independent states, each people master of its own bonne, it should be p the world What the Jewish people has should minimum a blowed in Palestine in a should the month. time and in the face of enormous of to indicative of what it hopes to do in the fature along with, and in fullest cooperation with, all of its neighbors,

Two-Sided Affair

Neighbortiness, however, is a two-aided softair. Sincerely and without renevations we bring he offer of peace and friendship. We if it is not with the same spirit, rich and the strenduct biranings will redund to all. If

not, we shall be compelled to do what surwith the constrainty of nations its an event tarre builded a matter in Palestene. It is bring process at last to the bears of mashind movies new demands its independence. It which is previous to the hears of mashind with not be dealedged. Its national states people most do under such circumstances herware the yes states. We approve of an environment secrifice to attain that which, the conclusion reached by the Committee of unincodered with, we would have attained long ago. In andness, and me inclusity, we are prepared to make this Derond it we cannot and the

The Report recommends that "during This appears to us to be a the transitional period the authority ex. progressive and statesmanlike conception trasted with the task of administering Paiof grant promine. The Jewish Agency is antine and preparing it for independence a don- shall be responsible to the United Nations" hady

heat of internal law and during the transition peeled," and to the possible "establishment of special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer hasis by the United Nations," not necessarily a blocprint for the interior regime, and may only he an assurance to Britain that if she were to remain in Pales time, as is desired by the United States, Washington would shave with her the financial burden of administration, and of maintaining a supplementary police force (recruited by the UN, but under orders from a British transition presentation in Palasting's should Britain he forced to relea of her troops in order to relieve the domestic manpewer shortage.

There are significant omissioon in the U. S. statement. The state ment does not indicate when the transition period should terminute, does not state to what extent, if at all, the faterim Ad ministration would be responsible to the UN. It does provide for the termination of the soundate which would release Britain from her very definite obligations under the mandate, but it does not state what her new obligations would be

of its decision

Above all, we usue that the transitional period he as heiri as possible. A period of the years is, in our indement, consideraddres. Suppor links in becausions or desirable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the presents and functions of administration to the two propies in their respective statute working both take place at the and of an transitional period, but would be incontracted interestingerly and concentrated explaint as possible. The Jewish people in Pelestine stands today to manine immestatuty all composed hitting which the establich mitel at the dowink state will involve.

Prophered for Self-Defense burnel with the Report that "what-101110-011 on entrusive scale may be necessary for The Josith Agency hopes count titles. that the imagin tion from the present status of the country in the new status of two is dependent states, will be attended by a minimum of friction and conflict. Once. boundaries are defined and the states established by the Baired Nations they will he entitled to have their telvitorial integrity and asternion rights respected and producted as futty amplituther nations which termined. to generated relations under the Charter. All members of the United Nations, whether in the neighborhood of Palastine or elsewhere, who are bound by scipies of the Charter, will be expected to respect the rights of these states, under pain of heing condemned as appressive and activities to international autorlinks. Morepret, we assume that is the constitution of whiteter military or police force may be required during the ranalization period. full use will be made of the trained manufactor available in Paiestime which will be prepared to offer its services to the United Nations to maintain have used mediate.

The Jowish State; when it is established, 10100 214 art the sovereignty of its neighbor states as fully as 1 will defend its own The Jewish people in Pulsatine is prepured to defend itself. It is not impressed throuts. . . people that has survirad the accumultical fory of the conturies, fared powerful empires in a bitter buttle for survivall and during the last war as w headreds of thousands of its sone fighting for freedom in all the liberating armine of the Allind nationa---while the head of the Palastine Arab Higher County ttee was broadcasting Nasi perpaganda from Berlin and congriculating Hilder on his African victories over the Alliespropts will not her intimidated. Nur, wa are confident, will this great internation body which is eacusedly wreating with this downly derivals problem and which It is not clear now which will is seeking a just and equitable solution.

cipation and cooperation of achieve This is a clear warming attation." to King Abduillah spalitat lateral action. On the other hand pairing conversal with Arthwould never permit other Amb states to send forces across **His** horders. It is surprising that in silin U. S. normaness failed to set significant qualification in the Arab war reachedies, qualification that exposes the war of average character of Arab Munterings.

October 17, 1947

correndering its S-10% tional authority under the United Nations mandate. We recell with subsciencing that to supervise and basirs the implementation admitsr threats artered by the same perties during the tirst Special Section .34 not inflormer the constation of analy . Nor was the Special Committee impressed by these thraces during its have-We hope that these stone threads Inc. will not indicates this grout deliberative dy which must be golded by principles of truth and justice-the underlying pencipies of its Charter. The Jewish p ender 1 In Palestine, 1 repeat, will be prepared to defend itself. It will welcome, of co whatever support can property be given to it by the Caired Nations or its manifesta, pursuant to the decisions of the United Nations.

> the state announcement made by the reput and it sentative of the United Kingdom that forces may not be available to the United Nations during the transitional period, and may be autiont to early withdrawed from In that event, in order to the creation of a damperous vacuum which might affect public associty, the Jawish ponple of Patentine will provide without delay the necessary effectives to maintain pulling accurity within their country.

Important Crossroad

With the United Nations Report we have reached one of the Important crossrough of bistory. The course which will be miinwed will be fraught with deutiny for 100 Jows, the Acabs and the United Dations. We hope that it will be a course of windows, justice and courage. The Jaw-Distant. ish people hopefully awaits the decisi this body. Twenty-five years ago a similar international organization recognized be historic ciains of the Jewish persanctioned our program and set us firmly on the rand of reulisation. We write to even by the foremost leaders and spokes men of the Arab world-but as a termin returning home after a long and etalla. The world approved and accisized the mturn of Israel to its ancient homeland. statesmen of the world faced the trapic problem of Jewish national homelenames and they set shout to solve it. The Junich people was confirmed in its right in mbuild its national life in its historic he It engerir seized the long hoped-for portunity and proceeded to rebuild that ancient land of farmet in a manner which evoked the admiration of the whole world. It has made the wilderness the rose. Energy this great international body, surveying this faithful and fraiidul work, will wish to see that work continued. that undertaking advanced, that hope of the centuries concentrated. It will be a **Berlin** achievement which will redound to he everinating glory of this world organiza-tion. It will be a supreme act of intermational jours



on K. Entraphin, Connector of the Soviet Endnary in Washing-the expressed the Russian views supporting the majority recon-stices of UNECOP to the Ad Roc Committee on Palentine of the alking with Dr. Enumer Neumann (left) at Lake Success before his speech. In the center in Beris Sanster, JTA editor. 1.24 talkis

That the other Arab states, wary of King Abdullah's Evitiah appeared ambitions fear has motives can be seen from arjoker contained into the "way on descripts. Polestine" resplations published by the Council of the Daugue of Arab States. The reasintion processmends that "millits precautions he taken on the montaries of Palestine by adjacost states, provided three states make arrangement for the parti-

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עום באריכם שאר או דער אודער אודער יעשם גדול מכסדרים דעם ארפרים שנים, היות ביידע שטשעו וועדע עריך בעריענן אין איריכני סאס סיין ארע שלייייניג ארן אין ווידיליכי אר אידער שויערג זינן אין אין ווידיליכי ארים א דערי שויערג זינן אין אין ווידיליכי לבייכם זי פים רעי כאניאטערעי רביניג.

המכות. ריים איריינע אונגנטיר אבער איר כאר ריים אי נדטיע אונגנטיר אבער איר כאר ריים או נדטיע שיים איך מארייטער ריגנאאיינע פין אירע קרבטת, וואס וי איר באריינע פין אירע קרבטת, וואס וי בען א קיימינג פאר דער בעשאמננער .118°

לאנה. 11) סיר ווילט זיין גיסע עלגיא גיס טאר סיס רעס איאריענו ייסאיט איז מייענסטינה. נאר אייך סיס דיי איאריענסטינה. נאר אייך דעס סיסעינין סירה. אין סיר איינען אירעס סיסעינין גיסע דייגרינדינו ויגט אין דער אייצטיעני באפרידנרינו אין אין דער אייצטיעני באפרידנרינו אין דייגע טענים.

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Text of Statement Before U. N. by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on Zionists' Position on Palestine

Instal is Ton You Tam. Tom. LAKE SUCCESS, Oct. 2-Fol-loarnay in the text of the sharrown made todays to the Ad Hoe Com-mittee on Palentine of the United Vationa General Assembly by Dr. Abba Hilled Schere on behalf of the Period Aprimy for Palentine: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee

The Jewish Agency for Pales-ine, which i have the honce to represent, is approximate the honce to represent is approximited the damminity has extended to it to a represented at its delibera-tions and to express its view an-he report which the United Xa-tions finated the report with ha despired Committee on Pal-sition has extended to report which the report which the domain interact and the losses attention, and we are pre-aried to make our observations in the semial field of the report which the report with ha despired interact and the losses attention, and we are pre-dicted to the previous data the losses attention, and we are pre-dicted to the previous data the losses attention and we are pre-dicted to their task and the the semial and commit-ent the semial and commit-ter data which the deriver an derivative which the deriver an derivative and impressive dore-and the semial and commit-entime at a solution which could be morally partitioned and the task represent which or data the "ophister and annihres of an international annihres of an international annihres of an international annihres at a solution which or the task represent various attended to the second of hought, and have approached to the second patholog of hought, and have approached to by the dynerial Committee to report that the "ophister to the dene which and attention attend of us, to answer my make available to the repor-antion of an international and the dynerial Committee to any the dynerial to the rem-mittee which the United Mations, which assumed the tempora-ing the formulation of the func-near the second to the the any the dynerial contact to the any th

Arab Lack of Cooperation.

In this consection we find in eccessry to peint to a circum-nate to which the report facily raws special attention-anglety, to failure of the Arah Higher consulties to ecoperate with the constituent The charmon of the withel Nations Special Commit-e, during the Marings in Jeru-lem, much an seasoil by rate

minimized. The chainman of the tried Nations Special Commit-en, during the Beisrings in Jeru-am, much as appeal by radio of the full cooperation of all stars. The Special Committee in addressed a better directly the Arab Higher Committee pretring the decision of the lat-r not to exceptencia and repart-g the Special Committee's in-sition for full cooperation. In ply Mr. Jamod Hamsonia, vice anisms for full cooperation, In ply Mr. Jamod Hamson to fe-ties the previous decision to al-tern the transmittee of the solution of the Arab Higher anisms for the Arab Styler inter form collectoration. Use is at layer to understand by the Arab Higher Committee in the previous decision to al-tern the previous decision to altern the Xinton. The Jerwish rates Nation to prevale and dimp-ming the start of the anis, a sectoring to previous and dimp-ing the start of the sector the start of the Arab Higher Com-tent of the Arab Higher Com-tent of the Arab Higher Com-tent of the Arab Higher Com-mittee the Andr Higher Com-ponents the Andr Higher Com-tent for the Arab Higher Com-tent of the Arab Higher Com-tent for the Arab Higher Com-tent of the Arab Higher Com-tent for the Arabit for the analysis of the Arabit for the arabit of the Arabit for the arabit form a tribe consard that the trip the Arab Higher Com tent do not pield to within the trip to the Arabit for the arabit form a tribe of Khame in the trip the Arab the arabit for the arabit form a tribe of the Arabits of a story out of the Arabits for the trip the Arab the Arabit for the arabits in the Arab the arabits of t Try transparent. One could with none ancasement that Acabs of Palentine would be tog the limit people on earth to in engage in generalogical 175.

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fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that is Palestine shall be light the fourdations of a Jewish Commonwealth." Hence of Looks

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Challenge in United Nations.

Challenge to United Nations One questions whether in tak-ing such a position-if we have understood the position is helping to solve this different presiden and whether for course will en-batic the authority and presign of the United Nations which has been presented to a solution of the presence that the solution of the presence that the solution of the presence to the United Nations and encoded responsibility over the Patentine question. It is then the encoded test of its future effec-tivetness.

The view of His Majasty's Geo-transat's relations to impose a policy by force of arms, a pol-icy which woold have behind it. the searches of the community of fattlotts, one may be parliaged for impulsing why His Majasty's Government has not heatatted to employ in recent years a mili-tary force of 501.000 mass, along with its newy and its air force, to impose by force a policy on Polastine which no informational body has approved, which is contribute of the purposes and provising of the purposes and provising of the purposes and provising of the searchards, and which has been there disap-pertured by international bodies. The vesseling Karoly it must be clear to everyone that are are turned to the Polostine providers is possible without notice enforce-ment. In view of His Majesty's Gov-

The Palestine problem is not at all unsport in Mus regard. The report to your Special Committee moreority attains. "Taking into account the fact that devising a solution which will be fully ne-ceptable to both Jows and Araba mema to be utterly impossible, the present of imposing a adda-tion on them would be the basic doubtion of any recommended proposal."

The second of any recommended proposal." It was the realization that was impossible that prompted Mr. Revia to turn the problem inver to the United Nations. Mr. Creath Jonce' derivation, there-tics, that "the United Klaughon Government are rough to as-rume the responsibility for gov-ing effort by any plan on which agreement is conclud between the Araba and the Jewel' is very singular tobart of the art ad-units the solution at ad-

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ADDRESSES UNITED NATIONS ON PALESTINE

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Dr. Min Hillel Silver The New York Trible

The Majority Proposals

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mainder of the country. In other words, the Jewish national house is now to be confined to less than one-sighth of the territory origi-nally are sider for it.

 a noire to be described to leave that interlighth if the territory originally are made for it.
 This is a partifice which the formation of the matter the beginning and appreciations of the Arabi prophes have been fully estimate prophes have been fully estimated. Provident "A ranks, The beginning of the solid and the fully estimated to the second territory of the solid and the solid state of the Arabi prophes have been fully estimated to the solid state of the Objections in Majority Report.

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These aiv other modifies which we will take up at a stapp of these discussions.

greative and statesmantlike con-ception of great premine. The Joycith Agency is prepared to ac-rept this prepared of a constraint index the second of a constraint index that this economic index while it would have a state would also impose grave and that this economic interactions. The acceptable limit of these ascriftees is, in printing, cher the Joycith first mouth have in the second that there investigated the second and the second have in the second and the second of the acceptable limit, cher the Joycith Hart are in-ported in the second state in the second in the second states in the second states perpose. The Majorithy Report provides that the Joycith to the Arabit from the second states to be second to be set and a state pro-temes the second states are in-ported and supplies that are in-tered these perposed. The Majorithy Report provides that the Joycith to the Arabit from the Joycith to the Arabit from the second states provide the second states of the second point second states of the second point second states of the second point second second states of the second point second states of the second states of second states of second states of the second states of second states of second states of the second states of second states of second states of second states of the second states of second states of second states of second states of the second states of second sta greative and statesmanlike

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Mean to Be Good Neighbors.

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which matrixities in attain that which, if uninterferred with, we would have attained into ago. In an another and a second releases and the are prepared to make this matri-tice. Byyond it we cannot, we will not go. The respect recommends that "during the transitional period the authority estimated with the task of administeries with the and performing in for independ-odes shall be respectible to the United Nations." In view of the united Nations. In Majanya Give-erational of the Majanya Give-erational of the material second with the united Nations. In Majanya Give-erational of the material second second which with this schlarger. We fixed

will be that subharmy. We favor on featurational subharmy subhar, the United Nations to supervise and insure the implementation of its decisions. Above all, we use that the franctional period of two years is, in our judgment, considerably longer than is necessary or do-sinable. It is to be assumed that the transfer of the present and functions of administration to the two pougles, in their respective tro peoplex in their respective cases would not take place st bar and of the transitional partial, and would be insugarable in-unitially and consummable as unitidy as possible. The Jawish works of Palastina stands randy andy

The Jamish people in Pales is prepared to defend itself. It not imputated by lidiz th people tild has survived the cumulated percent of the senturi faced percented empires in a fell the married, thousands of its sons tighting.

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cost essential and and monitories the readalization of the Assemulty. Nor-vanature of the Assemulty. Nor-vanature the Special Committee in-presented by these threats during its heatings. We hope that these same threats will not influence this great deliberative hey which must be guided by prin-riples of truth and purioe-the underlying principles of its Chartes. The forwards proposed in the trute of the second second from rule the second second second property be given to it by the United Nations.

of the British Withdraw

In this contertion we must take note on the antiouncentient marks by the organization of the United Kingdom that Bg forces may not be available to the United Nations during the transitional period, and may be relight to output withdrawed from Polestine. In this second to order to parel

seem which might arread public merurity, the Joseph public of Pulletine will provide without delay be noteenary attractives to maintigs public accurity within their meantry. Mr. Insieman and members of this commutater. With this United Nations report we have reached at history. The course which will be followed will be fraught with densing for all, the draw, the descine for all, the draw, it Araba and the United Nation We hape that it will be a courof windom, partice and a The lewish propie h awaits the decision of the Twanty-fire processing a

interd the historic claims of the Journal pacifie, annutiation recon-program and act the Europe of the program and act the Europe of the read of realization. We write hit then signified as introduces or in-vaders, and even by the foremost backweith, but as a people re-turning trense after a long and active relation of the set of the set of the world hold appreciated and accelerate benefits and introduces of the set of the set of the set of a set of the world field the fraging below of Jewist to schedule as a size and the set of the long hoped are set of the set of the long hoped are set of the set of the long hoped are set of the set of the long hoped are set of the set of the long hoped are set of the set of the long hoped are set of the set of the long hoped are set of the set of the long hoped are set of the long hoped are set of the set of

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set of international position.

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General Amenably should pro-with the more before 1 will most dispatch. As early a April it was realled in the cal sensitier of the Assembly there was great surgery in matter. Containly that say intensitied by all that he true The Jewish Agency, § The Jewish Agricult, in this periminary commi-report inact, white I is at the estant its full age and but one of the older mous recommendation for the committee. On its recommendation, of whit-net disappervs. It was make this charge white the recommendation radius to

When the Allow likerated Pul-ertine in BiT along with other parts of the former Ottoman En-pire, Pulertine was a segment of a Tarkini province. There was its policiently or enterally dis-tion in that prevince. There are policiently of the arabs who compared Pulertine in the new compared Pulertine in the sev-compared by reason era high very area that a very mixed and historogeneous population for 427 years between did more than 3,000 years of recorded hastery in Policities. After 1911 the country was removed by variant mak-drich propies, such as the fiel-plet, the Kords, the Grandser, the Equiption Manuclukes, and Enally by the Ottoman Turks. 3,000 Years of Jewish History

2,000 Years of Jowish History

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WORST CRISIS SEEN **Trustees Pick New Dean OfBerkeley** Divinity School FOR EUROPE'S JEWS

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Official of Joint Distribution **Committee Says Starvation** Looms for Many

The impossibility of overstating the economic plight of Europe was dressed yesterday by Moses W. Beckelman, vice chairman of the opean executive council of the Joint Distribution Committee. He said the 1,500,000 survivi

European Jews will face their worst crisis since the end of the war, this wisters

Mr. Beckelman, who recently re-

remeating and Hongary, JDC and provide for all the needs of 1000 of 10a 600,0000 Jews, Mr finitumes and. He also expressed hope that reductions would not to be made in countries where committee has made consider-

have to be made in countries where the committee has made consider-able progress toward the recon-elevation of Jewish communities, intrag Belgium, Swotes, Switzer-land and Holland among these. In Preserve, he declared, the atta-ation is complicated by the pre-ence of Bio00 "transit" Jewa, and by those who are continuing to enter at the rule of 3,500 a month. They are admitted to Prance as the guarantee of the JEC, which amounts all responsibility for their food, clothing and abalter.

Life Term for Paychiatrist's Son PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 2 UP-The forter ann of a child payrata-trist and a college professor today. trist and a college professor today was convicted of murdering a pe-breman. Life imprisonment was imposed upon William Kars Ballo



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BRITON ACQUITTED Mr. Structure P IN ZIONIST KILLING to wink no vridence of your ovila's death, as his holy has been isoand; no identification prain-forward as the man who setted him, and no testimate the flat found at the state

Palestine Court-Martial Rules Quickly After Prosecutor Says He Has No Case

that the fact found at the of the boy's disappearate being worn by Captain Farm through it hole betters in the band rearmbling his name By CLIFTON DANIEL. SINGLE AGENCY URGED

Army general court-martial today FOR TRAFFIC CONTROL quickly acquitted Capt. Roy Alex-What the city needs ader Farran, wartime resistance motor travel scarts that are after the civilian prosecutor had agreed with the defense attorney that no case had been made out rector of he Automatic Cub of fore. Captain Former, former, former, for a Automatic Cub of New York, said yesterday. ighter, of a charge of murder

The Hearst Newspapers on

The Rights of Minorities



FROM A LETTER WRITTEN TO THE JEWISH ADVOCATE BY William Randolph Hearst AND PUBLISHED IN THE HEARST NEWSPAPERS, MARCH 4, 1940

"Democracy is government by the majority. The majority nust be careful not to conduct itself too selfishly in its own interests-not to abuse its opportunities.

"It must be careful always to consider and care for the nights of minorities.

"A just government is a government just not to one class or clique-not to one sect or section-but to ALL the people.

"If democracy is to legislate for the majority alone, and to the disadvantage or injury of minorities, it proves thereby that it is no freer from faults than aristocracies or other forms of class government.

Increased upon William Keen Hallo-well, 23 years old, who was tried for the daying of Patenbwan James J. Quigley. He also is ac-rusted of killing Sorgested Samuel Mervitt. The officers were about after apprehending Hallowell is a folion automobile April 26. Dr. Dorothy Keen Hallowell, Bentessar or automobile paychiatrist, and Dr. Adred Hallowell, professor or suffrequently at the University of Pennsylvania, adopted the youth then he was four years old.

ΤÔ (Picer Mark) **BILBAO-LISBON** CADIZ-BARCELONA (Becond Mani) VIA S. S. HABANA ---- OCT. 15 Completely converted and moderneed throughout all first class accommodations. Consult your travel agent or SPANISH LINE Garcia & Dias, Agante Barcia & Dias, Agante 10 Bunu: Br., New Yolk, N. T (Will 5-2000) ADVERTISEMENT Now Many Wear FALSE TEETH With Little Worry tell, logit or process without four of er filter tools discover observed in fragments for the process pro-toor and the process of the pro-tool of the process of the process of the observed observed observed back-theory of our origination back-theory of our origination back-theory of our origination back-theory of our origination

"An Old Ioshioned, please." "A Four Boses Old Fashlaned, please," The mon who always specifies Four Roses gets a herner drinn, because the distinctive flavor of this great whisky simply can't be matched? EEKAS MOST FAMOUS BOUGLES Mended whishey. 90.3 proof, 60% grain neutral spirits. Frinkfort Distillers Corporation, New York Cop.

"It must be wise. It must be just.

"It must be considerate of every worthy class.

"It must be appreciative of every valuable element.

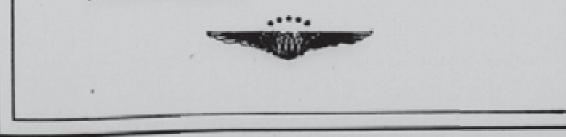
"It must be truly tolerant in its views-liberal in acts.

"It must be true and fair to the people as a whore, and to every individual who constitutes an integral and essential part of that whole people."

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The Hearst Newspapers have always believed that respect for the minority is as important as rule by the majority in our American system of government.

They will fight in the future-as they have always fought in the past-to guard the racial, religious and national minorities within our gates against persecution and discrimination.



THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1947.

V. Events of Australia, an-t that the general or open-ats would begin when the tee convents at 3 P. M. to-DR. SILVER ACCEPTS PALESTINE DIVISION

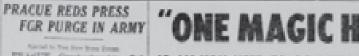
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One Vessel Arrives in Haifa. and Passengers Are Placed on Vessel for Cyprus

solution The New York Trees HAIFA, Pulsatine, Oct. 2 -About 1,500 Jewish immigrants who arrived here from the Black Sea in a decrepit former American atcamer were told tonight that they would be sent to Cyprus and not back to Europe as had been intered.

not back to Europe as had been threatened. The refugers, who offered to re-sistance to their captare by the British Navy, hegal to dehark quirtly and immediately were transferred to two deportations ships standing at decknede. Another vessel carrying more than 2,000 more immigrants was expected to arrive here is not sufficient accommodation for them on the two deportations vessels, it is not yet known what will be done with them. The ship that arrived tonight

The ship that arrived tonight and the one following are the first refugee vessels in many mogths to come from Black des ports in the Roylet Union's eastern Europe

Navy Seizes Tuo Ships

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Nembers of a British naval bearding party guarding some of the transition could be rad out with "a minimum of the source, after being abaged in Palestine waters by the British Navy. The ten source out the transition could be rad out with "a minimum of the source."

AFTER REFUGEE SHIP WAS INTERCEPTED

ed Nations control. Addressing he Assertst Habi-vharin (Da Catril elected As-sembly of the Jewish Commi-nity of Falestine), Mr. Ren-Guron and Hwas to be hoped that the British would not infor-fore with the Building up of 8. Jewish hometind by the Jewis themselves. He appealed to Palestine Jewis and to Elected: shroad to mobi-ize at reasources to ensure the security of the prepared Jewish ficate, and solid the Araba of Palestine to compute to develop



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sertificat: statistical, independen-ind free immigration." Dr. River did not mention : funded States during his is datament, although he reco-hat the special Committee : negovided that one or more m-ore of the United Nationa mi-properties, as the mander-power, administer Palestone o-ig the transition period before dependence was granted. Append to U. S. Seen

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HAIFA, Palestine, Oct. 2 (C)-The arrival of the refuger vesses in Maifa was expected to add to

Many families of average in among them, long have waited for a special kind of vacation home a practical, Inu-cost place of their even within easy commuting distance ... a place of beauty and character to enjoy not only during the summer, but throughout the entire year.

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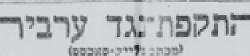
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