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Before the United Nations Security Council, 1948.

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STATEMENT OF MOSHE SHERTOK, HEAD OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, JEWISH AGENCY
FOR PALESTINE, BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

FEBRUARY 27, 1948

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council:

Jews throughout the world, and particularly the Jews of Palestine in their grave ordeal, have for many weeks past eagerly awaited the opportunity of bringing their case regarding the present position in Palestine to the direct attention of this high international body. The Jewish Agency is therefore deeply grateful to the Security Council for the privilege accorded it of being seated at this table and enabled to express its views on the subject now under discussion.

It is nearly three months since the momentous resolution on Palestine was adopted by the General Assembly. The resolution did not accept the full Jewish claim. Far from it. The Jews had asserted their internationally recognized right to immigration and settlement in all parts of Palestine west of the Jordan, so that upon the formation of a Jewish majority the whole of that territory might become a Jewish State. The Arabs had asked for the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration and the immediate proclamation of Palestine as an independent Arab State. The Assembly adopted a compromise solution. It did so after exhaustive deliberation which absorbed two of its sessions and the work of a special eleven-power committee - altogether a process of eight months' continuous discussion.

The compromise, as is well known, was to set up two independent States in Palestine - one Jewish, one Arab; to place Jerusalem under international rule; and to maintain the over-all unity of Palestine by linking together the three units in an Economic Union.

This solution, Mr. President, entailed most far-reaching sacrifices for the Jews. Twenty-five years ago, the closing of Transjordan to Jewish settlement had reduced the area of the Jewish National Home to about one quarter of its original size. The Jews were now expected to part with nearly one-half of the remainder. Moreover, Transjordan having in the meantime become an Arab Kingdom, Jewish consent was now sought for the establishment of a second independent Arab State in the country which the Jewish people had for thousands of years regarded as its national patrimony and historic heritage. The separation of Jerusalem from the Jewish State was a particularly painful wrench.

Yet the Jewish Agency, with the support of the overwhelming majority of Palestinian Jews, decided, however, reluctantly, to accept the compromise. It bowed to the imposed verdict of the international tribunal. It was able to do so because, though only in one-eighth of the area promised in the Balfour Declaration, the new solution satisfied the Jewish claim to statehood and a place in the family of nations; also because even that limited area contained possibilities of development which opened the way for large-scale settlement; and because, though sovereignty was to be curtailed by the Economic Union, the freedom of the Jewish State to admit as many Jewish immigrants as it found necessary and possible remained unimpaired. It was the combination of these three elements - statehood, the given area and freedom of immigration - that constituted the irreducible minimum which the Jews accepted: but beyond which they would not go.

What has happened in the course of the three months and what is happening today is a determined attempt, in open defiance of international authority, to deny to the Jews even that minimum and to reduce them to a state of political subjection, if not actually to confront them with the menace of physical annihilation. The Arab governments, members of the United Nations, are endeavouring to defeat the Assembly's resolution by force of arms. The Mandatory Power is

thwarting the United Nations plan by a policy of non-cooperation and is openly tolerating the active obstruction of its implementation.

Mr. President, the Security Council is faced with an open attempt to alter by force the settlement decreed by the Assembly, which the Assembly requested the Council to determine "as a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace and an act of aggression." The attempt is directly sponsored by the governments of Arab States, members of the United Nations. This assertion hardly stands in need of evidential proof or investigation. It rests on the free admission of the parties concerned. Nor is any research or intelligence work necessary to bring that admission to light. It is shouted from every public platform in the various Arab capitals and blared through all the trumpets of their official propaganda machine. The endeavour of the Arab governments is not limited to the defeat of the United Nations plan; they aim at imposing their own solution, the one which the Assembly has rejected; and they are trying to achieve both ends - the negative and the affirmative - by methods of aggression and violence which are the very negation of the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

The threats of force to resist the Partition Plan, which were voiced by practically every Arab delegate to the Assembly, are still vivid in memory. The governments concerned are now making every effort to live up to the words of their spokesmen. Even before the session of the Assembly in September, 1947, soon after the recommendations of UNSCOP were published, the six Arab governments, members of the United Nations, met in Sofar, Lebanon, and adopted a resolution expressing their determination "to resist the implementation of these recommendations" and undertaking to assist the Arabs of Palestine in "a relentless war" against them, "supplying them with men, funds and ammunition."

Soon after the Assembly's session, the Prime Ministers of the Arab States held a consultation in Cairo, as a result of which an official announcement was published on December 17, 1947, which declared that "the Arab governments will take decisive measures which will guarantee the defeat of partition" and threatened that they would throw the full force of their armies into the battle until victory is achieved. On the same occasion the Lebanese Prime Minister issued a statement in which he said: "We will never sleep until we save Palestine as an independent Arab unitary state... we will supply Palestine... with weapons, equipment and men." The Syrian Prime Minister likewise stated: "The time for speeches is past and the stage of action is at hand; we should all be determined to liberate Palestine by our might and money." On January 15, 1948, the Press Offices of the Arab League - a League comprising seven Arab governments of which six are members of the United Nations - disclosed that the League "had recommended that the Arab nations occupy all Palestine with their regular armies when British troops leave Palestine."

The stage of action had, indeed, arrived. Time will not permit a full enumeration of all the activities which received publicity. Members of the Security Council might refer to the Jewish Agency's Memorandum on Arab Aggression, of which they will receive copies. Here only some of the most salient facts will be mentioned. The Arab governments have jointly proceeded to the formation of what is called an Arab Army of liberation. They have appointed its High command. In most Arab countries recruiting offices for volunteers have been opened with official sanction of the governments. In Syria recruitment and training are under the direct charge of the Ministry of Defence, which issues official notices to regulate it. The Ministry has announced, *inter alia*, its acceptance of the resignation of army officers volunteering for service in Palestine to fight against partition. Similar "resignations" are reported from Egypt and Iraq where the officers were placed in charge of training volunteers. When the first incursion of an armed force from Syria via Lebanon into Palestine occurred on January 9, the press reported that the Ministers of Defence of both countries personally led the convoy, and that the Syrian Defence Minister's car headed the column, the car flying the Syrian flag. Subsequently, on January 14, the Lebanese Defence Minister gave to the Chamber of Deputies in Beirut an eye witness account of the attack which the force had made on Jewish villages, and in which, incidentally, Mr. President, it suffered a crushing defeat. He added that "all activities, such as the collection of funds, registration and training of volunteers, assembly of arms, etc., are being supervised by himself and the Syrian Defence Minister in accordance with the resolutions of the Prime Ministers' Conference in Cairo."

Since that date several such columns have crossed the frontiers into Palestine as reported by the Mandatory Power to the Commission, all provided with motor transport and all properly equipped and provisioned. The invaders from outside form the backbone of the forces now attacking the Jews in Palestine, attacks in which Palestine Arabs play only a secondary part. All these activities are conducted in conjunction with the Palestine Arab Higher Committee of which the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem is still the president. It is noteworthy that prominent in the high command and among the district commanders are men who, like the Mufti, spent the war years in Germany helping Hitler. The backbone of the Iraqi contingents are those who fought under Rashid Ali in the pro-Nazi rebellion of 1941. When the leader of an Egyptian contingent arrived in Damascus, he proposed that the contingent be named after a notorious Egyptian Nazi who had died in Germany.

The distinguished delegate of Egypt must be complimented on the extreme moderation and restraint of his expressions when he attempts to describe these aggressive acts, in which his government is a party, as being merely a matter of "non-compliance" with a recommendation of the Assembly. Open and active defiance are the words indicated. Moderation is, indeed, a relative notion. To the Egyptian delegate, the Arab solution for the Palestine problem, which expects the Jews of Palestine to put up with the fate of a crystallized or dwindling minority and console themselves with a paper guarantee of religious toleration, is the very essence of moderation. Such inappreciation to arguments from the other side and refusal to understand the essence of the national movement of another people make the continuation of political discussion futile. It is high time for the representatives of the Arab governments to realize that the Jewish people in Palestine will never submit to the status of a minority on sufferance which is the lot of the oriental Jewish communities; that the urge for independence will never be eradicated from Jewish hearts; that the very logic by which one Arab country after another in the Middle East has achieved its national sovereignty makes the Jewish claim to statehood in Palestine indisputable and its realization irresistible; that as long as the Jewish people refuse to resist by force the attainment of the Jewish national goal there will be no peace or stability in the Middle East; and that the long and just interests of the Moslems can only be served by mutual adjustment based on equality of status rather than by attempts at suppression and obliteration.

The Jews repudiate, Mr. President, as fantastic and grotesque, the allegation which the Syrian delegate saw fit to repeat here that for the Jews, Palestine is a mere springboard for imperialistic expansion into the whole area of the Middle East. The assertion is fantastic under any circumstances, for it is the very essence of Zionism to concentrate on Palestine and not to create a new dispersal. The assertion is grotesque at a time when all the countries around Palestine are poised to swoop down on it to crush the budding Jewish State out of existence.

It may be idle to try to refute many other outworn shibboleths in the Syrian delegate's speech, for this has been done many a time, apparently to no avail. Only one charge cannot be ignored, for it carries in it poisonous seed which may strike fruitful ground in the Middle East and bear pernicious fruit. It is that the creation of the Jewish State would place Christian and Moslem holy places under Jewish domination, with results too horrible to contemplate. The Syrian delegate's speech was undoubtedly animated by the highest ideals of inter-religious peace. The speech will probably be widely read in the Arab countries but there will be an footnote to inform the uninitiated that Jerusalem and Bethlehem are in the international zone, that Hebron (incidentally holy primarily to the Jews!) and Nazareth are in the Arab State, and that throughout the area of the Jewish State there is hardly a single Moslem or Christian Shrine, in the true sense of the term. As to ordinary churches and mosques, the delegate of Syria gave the impression that there were many cases of their desecration by Jews. Actually not a single such case is on record anywhere in the world. This is to compare with the riots in Aleppo in December, 1947, when all the twelve Jewish synagogues of the city were sacked and burned practically to the ground, invaluable ancient scrolls being consumed in the fire, or with the riots in Cairo in November, 1946, where synagogues and churches alike were the target of mob violence. While the Syrian delegate was making his speech, the newspapers of the day carried a picture

showing Arab riflemen at the Wailing Wall, the greatest sanctuary of the Jewish people, to which the access of Jewish worshippers is now barred. Such incidents serve as a measure of degeneration of the proverbial Arab chivalry. Other manifestations of it are, on one plane, the forcible extortion of contributions from the Jews of Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq in support of the anti-partition campaign, i.e., of the killing of their kith and kin in Palestine and of the liquidation of the national hope of their people which they so fervently share; and, on another plane, the horrible mutilation of the bodies of Jewish fallen in Palestine and the parading through Arab towns of the cut-off heads of Jewish victims stuck on spikes.

The Arab spokesmen have invested much effort in the contention that the Resolution of the Assembly is a mere recommendation. I hope, Mr. President, that though not privileged to represent a member state I may be permitted to make a few comments on this aspect of the problem which specifically concerns the United Kingdom. When the United Kingdom proposed and other powers agreed that the problem of Palestine should be referred to the Assembly, they were fully aware of the powers of this body. They were also fully aware of the fact that Palestine had for 25 years been an international trust. In the face of the announced decision of the Mandatory Power to terminate the Mandate, the General Assembly was fully aware of its responsibilities in regard to this trust and of its power to fill the vacuum created by the liquidation of the Mandatory regime. One government goes, another government -- the United Nations Commission as agent of the General Assembly -- replaces it.

This recommendation of the General Assembly, which was addressed in the first place to the Mandatory Power, was accepted by the Mandatory Power as a decision of that body. I underline the word decision. Speaking in the House of Commons on December 11, 1947, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech-Jones, said:

"The decision of the Assembly is regarded by H. M. Government as the decision of a court of international opinion. This is not a grudging acceptance...we wish our authority transferred to our successors in an orderly manner. We can only express our hope...that the greatest respect will be shown this decision of the international authority."

On December 12, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bevin, declared:

"I am not going and H. M. Government are not going to oppose the United Nations decision....There is the United Nations decision....If my colleagues or I can render any assistancewe shall do it."

It may be recalled that when the British Government first referred the question of Palestine to the United Nations, it made no stipulation as to whether and under what terms it would comply with the recommendation. It seemed reasonable to assume, at the time, that whatever the verdict, the United Kingdom would accept it and, as a loyal member of the United Nations, cooperate in its execution. Later, when conditions were put forward, every effort was made by those responsible for the drafting of the Plan in the session of the Assembly to meet them. Yet the attitude of the British Government has developed and hardened into one of non-cooperation bordering on obstruction.

The British Government declared that it would take no part in the implementation of the Plan. Actually, the Plan was not based on its enforcement by the Mandatory Power. On the other hand, it insisted that, as long as the Mandate lasts, it can suffer no rival authority in Palestine but must alone be responsible for the maintenance of law and order. It has not discharged that responsibility.

One can understand the quandary in which the United Kingdom Government found itself placed as a result of its own attitude. The Arab attack was not directed purely and simply against Jewish lives and Jewish property. Its main

target was the policy of the United Nations. To defend Jews against Arab attack meant by implication to defend the policy of the United Nations against those trying to subvert it. From this implication the mandatory administration found itself inhibited. It therefore could not fully maintain law and order. To say the least, its will was paralysed, its springs of action were braked. At the very inception of the trouble, a senior government official informed the Jewish Agency that police escort could not be provided for inter-urban transport since "this might be interpreted as British implementation of partition."

In trying to escape the dilemma, the Administration evolved a theory of its own neutrality in a conflict between the Jews and the Arabs, and in justification of the theory it proceeded to conjure up a spurious equality of guilt as between the attackers and the attacked - between those upholding and those defying the authority of the United Nations. "The Jewish story that the Arabs are the attackers and the Jews the attacked is not tenable," said Sir Alexander Cadogan in his statement to the Commission. "Elements on each side," he went on, "are engaged in attacking or in making reprisals undistinguishable from attacks." But this artificial equality, in the further endeavour of rationalising British behaviour, becomes again an inequality, this time somewhat in favour of the Arab and to the discredit of the Jew. For, so runs the official British account, "the Arabs are determined to show that they will not submit to the United Nations Plan of Partition; while the Jews are trying to consolidate the advantages gained at the General Assembly."

The fallacy of this analysis was, Mr. President, we believe, fully exposed in the Jewish Agency's "Memorandum on the Policy of the Mandatory Power in Palestine Since the Adoption of the General Assembly's Resolution, with Particular Reference to Security," submitted to the U. N. Palestine Commission on February 21, 1948, copies of which were sent to members of the Security Council. It was the Arabs who launched the attack. The Jews acted in self-defence. They expected a strong reaction from the Government, in accordance with its undertaking. This was not forthcoming. On the contrary, Jewish defence activities were hampered and disrupted. Searches of arms among the Jews, arrests of Jewish defenders almost under the fire of Arab attack, prohibition of the use by Jews of more effective defence equipment were the order of the day. It was only then that isolated acts of indiscriminate bloodshed on the part of dissident Jewish groups occurred. Although even these came by way of reaction to Arab violence, they were unreservedly condemned by the organised community, but were seized upon by the authorities in justification of their neutrality. On the other hand, the organised Jewish defence organisation, the Haganah, found itself constrained by official inaction or by lack of official action to assume the counter-offensive by trying to attack and eliminate enemy strongholds. Its counter-attacks have been limited in number and aimed at selected targets. No action of the Haganah was ever motivated by the desire "to consolidate the advantages gained" from the Partition Plan, though if there were such action, its purpose would have been to uphold the United Nations decision and not to resist it. The only act which could by a long stretch of interpretation come under that definition was the refusal of the Jews to follow official advice to evacuate certain parts of Palestine - but this was no consolidation, it was mere maintenance of previously acquired positions, which the Government wanted them to surrender. Throughout, the Jewish plan of campaign was one of defence, that of the Arabs one of aggression. It was only complete political disorientation that could so distort the picture in the eyes of the Mandatory Government.

Were the facts to conform with Sir Alexander Cadogan's theory there would have had to be cases of large crowds of armed Jews converging from all sides to wipe out an isolated Arab village, or crossing into Syria, there to disrupt traffic or attack peaceful settlements. Then, and then only, would the acts on both sides indeed become "indistinguishable."

There are questions arising from certain aspects of the Mandatory's policy and practice to which it is indeed difficult to find an answer. Why are arms distributed to units of the Arab municipal police and withheld from the Jewish? Is it not clear that those arms will be used against the Jews and the United Nations Plan? Why are units of the Arab Legion so stubbornly maintained in or near Jewish areas after their murderous attacks on Jewish traffic and passers-by? Must the Jews be continually subjected to this extreme provocation? Why does the British Government

continue to supply arms to the Arab States? Representatives of the British Government have denied that these arms are being used for fighting in Palestine. How can they be sure? And even if this were true, is it not clear that the supply of arms to Arab States at this juncture releases other arms for Palestine? And I should like to add: Why is it that the domination of the entire area of the Old City of Jerusalem by Arab bands is tolerated?

The gravest problem of all arises in connection with the continued incursion of Arab armed forces from outside. The Government which has shown such a remarkable excess of zeal, vigilance, and efficiency in tracking down and intercepting sea transports of Jewish refugees from Europe, maintains, to all appearances, an attitude of almost complete resignation and helplessness -- or indifference -- in the face of this steady piecemeal invasion of a territory which is still in its charge. According to the information of the Jewish Agency, so far seven contingents have crossed into Palestine through the northern and eastern frontiers, numbering between them some 4000 to 4500 men. They did not infiltrate in small groups; they came each time hundreds of men together, mostly in well organized convoys of motor-trucks. They crossed bridges and travelled along highways. With one or two exceptions their entry was entirely unhindered. Is it conceivable that no advance information could be obtained regarding the movements of these columns and no effective guard could be maintained at the main entrances or crossings? On one occasion the Jewish Agency succeeded in warning the authorities 48 hours in advance of an impending crossing. Yet nothing was done to prevent it and the contingent crossed safely and pitched its tents near a large Arab village where it remained unmolested until the men were presumably posted to various centres. The Administration now admits that certain parts of Palestine are under the virtual control of the commanders of these foreign forces. They are increasingly active in offensive operations. How can the general public then resist the impression that preparations are openly tolerated for the proclamation of Arab rule, local or foreign, over large parts of Palestine, in complete disregard of the United Nations decision and under conditions of mortal peril to the Jewish population concerned?

The situation, Mr. President, is further aggravated by a process of rapid disintegration of authority which is destructive of discipline. Latent hatreds are given free rein. There have been clear cases of individual Jews being shot in cold blood by British troops and police, and worse excesses are believed to be possible. The very fact that such is the state of feeling creates an untenable situation and contributes an additional reason why the British Mandate must be terminated as soon as possible and should certainly not be prolonged beyond the fixed date of May 15.

Despite all the bitter disappointments born of the White Paper of 1939, the Jews had hoped that the winding-up of the British Mandate would produce a détente in their relations with the Mandatory and make possible a friendly separation. These hopes have been tragically falsified by experience. As long as the Mandatory Government inexorably pursues its present political course, even the slightest revival of mutual confidence seems unthinkable. On the crucial issue of immigration, policy has remained unchanged, and even a clear recommendation of the Assembly for the freeing of a port to allow a substantial immigration has proved of no avail. Only 750 permits per month are available for immigration from Europe, the balance of the quota being devoted to the evacuation of Cyprus. In these circumstances, is it surprising that groups of survivors of the European massacres continue to cross the Mediterranean on their own? What is surprising is that the arrival of these transports, all intercepted, should be set by the honourable spokesman of the United Kingdom as a disturbing factor in the security situation, equal in its damaging effect to that of the incursion of armed Arab forces across the land frontiers -- and this at a time when all recent refugee transports let themselves be diverted or transhipped to Cyprus without the slightest disturbance or the least resistance.

The Mandatory Government has also so far opposed steps being taken in preparation of the Jewish State militia. The British Secretary of State for the Colonies in his statement to the Security Council said that his Government could not agree "to the formation of a militia under the control of the Provisional Government of the future Jewish State." But nothing of the sort was requested

at this stage by the Jewish Agency. The proposal which we put forward to the U. N. Commission on Palestine and which we understand was transmitted to the Mandatory Government was not for the immediate establishment of a militia to operate independently of British control during the period of the Mandate. It was something quite different, namely that preparations should start now for the setting up of the militia after the termination of the Mandate. We suggested that permission should be given for the proper training of a nucleus of the militia, which would take no part in day to day defence duties, and that facilities should be given for the acquisition and storing of the necessary equipment. It is these requests that, according to our information, have been refused by representatives of the Mandatory Government.

This question of the militia and of the forces required for the implementation of the Plan in general calls for a clear definition of the Jewish Agency's attitude. We have throughout maintained first, that the Jews of Palestine are ready to shoulder far-reaching responsibilities in their defence and in the defence of their territory under the Plan; second, that in view of the fact that the United Nations authority may be threatened by aggression from outside, an international force is vitally necessary. This attitude remains unchanged. Our experience as a result of the operation of the Haganah in the last three months has been definitely encouraging. We have held our ground throughout. Every single attack has been beaten off. We have been assisted by British forces only on special occasions, more often than not after the battle had already been decided in our favour by our own action. In general, we have been hampered and impeded in our defence activities by the limitations imposed by the Government. Granted adequate equipment and full freedom of action, we feel hopeful of being able to build up an effective defence force for the Jewish State. To achieve that we require assistance -- certainly in arms, possibly in funds during the initial period, but not in men.

On the other hand there is the problem of the enforcement of the Charter and of the prevention of aggression which is essentially a United Nations responsibility. We have never set the formation of an international force as an indispensable condition for the implementation of the Plan. In view of the fact of outside aggression, an international force is clearly indicated. Yet if the international force is not established, we shall still be ready to discharge our responsibility but in that eventuality our need for assistance will be correspondingly greater.

Whatever happens, and even if the worst comes to the worst, the Jews of Palestine will fight for the defence of their lives and their political rights. Their spirit and their capacity have been revealed in the last three months.

Time is of the most vital essence. Since we must be ready to assume responsibility upon the termination of the Mandate, naturally under the direction of the United Nations Commission, our preparations must begin at once. We have asked the Commission for the immediate provision of supplementary arms for our present needs. But apart from the forces engaged at present in day to day defence, additional contingents of our people must be organised and commence their training, and arms must be provided for setting up the militia. This would call for the revision of indiscriminate embargoes and for the initiation of an arms policy which would be in harmony with the United Nations Plan, namely, the supply of arms to those who are ready to assume defence responsibilities in the implementation of the Plan and the denial of arms to those engaged in resisting it. We very respectfully suggest, Mr. President, that the Security Council might consider issuing a call to all member States to adopt such a policy in regard to the sale or supply of arms to Palestine and the neighboring countries, including all countries of the Arab League.

The United Nations Commission, which has been at work since January 9, has already made progress with many aspects of the program of implementation. We are gratified to note their decision, communicated to the Security Council, to proceed with their work, in which the Jewish Agency will be happy to continue its fullest cooperation. One of the most important and urgent tasks of the Commission is the formation of a Provisional Council of Government, in regard to which negotiations are in progress.

The possibility that on April 1 the Security Council may have to consider what steps should be taken in regard to the Arab State area if no Provisional Council has been formed there was anticipated in the Resolution and is no reason why a Provisional Council for the Jewish State should not be established in time.

These are, Mr. President, our observations on the subject of implementation. The distinguished delegate of the United States has introduced a resolution proposing that the Council "accept, subject to the authority of the Security Council under the Charter, the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in paragraphs (a), (b), and (c) of the General Assembly Resolution"; and that it establish a committee comprising the five permanent members of the Council whose functions will be, inter alia, "to consider whether the situation with respect to Palestine constitutes a threat to international peace and security, and to report its conclusions as a matter of urgency to the Council." The Jewish Agency submits, Mr. President, that both steps are patently urgent.

The Delegate of the United States also proposed that the same Committee should "consult with the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendation." In the passage of his address which bears on this particular proposal he explained that the purpose of the Security Council in undertaking this consultation should be to "make every effort to get an agreement on the basis of the General Assembly recommendation for the underlying political difficulty."

The purpose of the consultation, we must confess, is not clear and the proposal leaves us greatly bewildered. We fear that it may lead to new delays and complications which may jeopardize the implementation of the whole plan and further exacerbate the situation in Palestine. In the past, innumerable attempts were made by the Jewish Agency and some also by the Mandatory Government -- each side, naturally acting according to its own lights -- to explore the possibility of an agreed settlement of the Palestine problem. All these efforts remained fruitless. It was at the end of this long, laborious and futile quest for an agreed solution that the question was eventually brought before the United Nations for final adjudication and the partition compromise was adopted by the Assembly as a way out of the difficulty. In recommending to the British Parliament the submission of the question to the United Nations, representatives of the British Government themselves expressed their conviction, based on long experience, that a solution acceptable to both parties was outside the realm of practical politics.

Thus, Mr. Bevin, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared in the House of Commons on February 18, 1947, that there was no prospect of reaching any settlement in Palestine "which would be even broadly acceptable to the two communities in Palestine." This view was also expressed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech-Jones in the House of Commons on August 12, 1947, and Sir Alexander Cadogan in the General Assembly on November 26, 1947.

A similar view was very cogently expressed -- with remarkable cogency -- by the delegate of the United States at the last session of the Assembly, and I would beg leave to quote the relevant passage. Speaking at one of the concluding meetings of the Assembly on November 26, Ambassador Johnson said: "Much has been said during the course of these debates on the desirability and necessity of presenting to the General Assembly a plan which would command the agreement of both the principal protagonists in this situation. I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented, either to this Assembly or to the Mandatory Government during its long years of tenure, or in any other place, which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented, and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented. If we are to effect through the United Nations a solution of this problem, it cannot be done without the use of the knife. Neither the Jews nor the Arabs will ever be completely satisfied with anything we do, and it is just as well to bear that in mind."

It is doubtful whether a change of even one word in this memorable statement is warranted today. Be that as it may, the Jewish Agency feels bound at this stage of the proceedings to make its attitude clear beyond any possible doubt. The Partition Plan adopted by the Assembly is, to us, the last and final compromise and the irreducible minimum of acceptability. No reduction of Jewish rights under the Assembly's Plan, either in territory or in sovereignty, can be accepted by the Jewish people.

Mr. President, the United Nations through its various organs has worked hard in grappling with the Palestine problem. The Resolution of the Assembly represents the collective wisdom of the international community on this burning issue. Ours is a historic problem and its constructive solution will be a distinct contribution to the success and vitality of the new great international organization. We appeal to the Security Council and to all its members to take such action as falls within their province to translate the Assembly's plan into a reality.



March 5, 1948

UTION: CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

CAUTION: CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

STATEMENT OF DR. ABRA HILIEL SILVER, CHAIRMAN
THE AMERICAN SECTION, JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council:

The Jewish Agency is grateful for the opportunity to make some additional observations on the subject which is now before the Security Council. We should like to give our reactions to the Resolutions which are before this Council bearing upon the reports which were submitted to it by the United Nations Palestine Commission, as well as to comment on certain statements which were made here in the course of the discussions.

In the first place, we should like to comment on the statement which was made by the honorable delegate from Egypt to the effect that "it must be admitted that so far the United Nations' efforts in the study of other solutions than ^{partition} ~~Palestine~~ have been less than casual. The General Assembly hardly gave any of those solutions a cursory look . . . The General Assembly did not, either in Committee or in Plenary Session, give any reasonable scope for discussion of any plan but partition."

It should be recalled that the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine submitted to the Assembly two solutions for the Palestine problem, a majority and a minority solution. The minority solution found no support. The Arab States put forward their own proposals. In order to consider all proposals, the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine appointed two committees, the one to consider the majority report which proposed partition and the other to consider the proposals of the Arab States. Both committees worked for weeks and both submitted separate reports to the Ad Hoc Committee. The delegates of the several Arab States had the fullest opportunity, of which they fully availed themselves, to advocate the proposal which they favored. Many days were consumed in this discussion. When the vote was finally taken the report of the minority committee was decisively rejected.

We submit, therefore, that it is quite inaccurate to state that "the General Assembly did not either in Committee or in Plenary Session give any reasonable scope for discussion of any plan but partition."

The Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine appointed still a third committee -- a Conciliation Subcommittee composed of three members comprising the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, the Rapporteur of the Committee -- the representative of Iceland, and the vice-chairman of the Committee -- the representative of Siam. This Committee was given full powers to undertake efforts at conciliation between the Jews and the Arabs. Efforts were made by this Committee to find a formula other than those of the majority and minority proposals which would be

mutually acceptable. According to the testimony of the Chairman of this Committee, Mr. Evatt, the ground was explored from every possible point of view and "we reached the conclusion that right up to the present time no more could be done." Mr. Thor Thors of Iceland, member of this Committee, addressing the Assembly on November 29, just prior to the final vote, declared: "The Conciliation Subcommittee followed developments closely, both in subcommittee one and in subcommittee two. Unfortunately, the gulf between the two parties was too great then to be breached by conciliation. The Arabs did not seem to be willing to permit large-scale immigration of Jews and to grant independence to a Jewish State in Palestine. The Jews would not accept anything less than reasonably free immigration and the prospect of independence. Between these different contentions no conciliation could be found during the treatment of the problem by the United Nations. The Arab Higher Committee was approached by UNSCOP on more than one occasion and was invited to assist in the work of UNSCOP but it refused . . . Now at the eleventh hour, just when the vote is to take place there are criticisms of the work of the Conciliation Subcommittee and vague suggestions about a possibility of conciliation. Actually, the Conciliation Subcommittee tried everything possible, but in vain. Moreover, there has been up to the last few minutes no concrete or specific offer of conciliation or compromise."

In a similar vein the representative of the United States, Ambassador Herschel Johnson, speaking at that same session declared: "This Palestine problem has been of concern to the world now for the past thirty years. It has been the subject of innumerable inquiries and commissions and all conceivable types of solution have been proposed. As members know, the Peel Commission in 1937 recommended the partition of Palestine. However, subsequent events prevented definitive action at that time. Since the conclusion of World War II two renewed attempts have been made to solve the Palestine problem. The work of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of 1946 was followed by conferences in London in which the so-called Grady-Morrison proposals were evolved. There were further conferences in London last winter. Finally, in May of 1947, an inquiry was undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations. During all of these studies the various solutions of the Palestine problem have been given careful consideration. I know from my study of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine that it made every effort to arrive at a solution which would be acceptable to both the Jews and the Arabs —"

The charge, therefore, which was made here that "so far the United Nations' efforts in the study of other solutions than partition have been less than casual" is not borne out by the facts.

2. The failure to reach an agreed solution after thirty years of questing and searching for it, so eloquently attested by the events themselves and by the testimony of the distinguished representatives, both of Great Britain and of the United States, which were quoted by the spokesman of the Jewish Agency last week, leads us strongly to question the usefulness of that part of the proposal of the United States delegation which calls upon the Committee of the Security Council to be appointed "to consult with the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendation of 29, November, 1947."

This proposal, undoubtedly suggested by commendable motives, may, we fear, cause long and disastrous delays and the stultification of the activities of the United Nations Commission. The honorable delegate of the United Kingdom correctly pointed out the other day that "the untractable problems facing the Palestine Commission are becoming rapidly insoluble as delay is further protracted and as hope recedes that the Commission will be adequately equipped to take up the immense responsibilities imposed upon it." The United States proposal for new consultations introduces anew an element of uncertainty which invariably inhibits conclusive action. It will be seized upon by the opponents of the United Nations decision as another opportunity to re-open the whole question, to force through those solutions which were rejected by the United Nations or which failed of acceptance time and again on other occasions, or failing in all this, to attempt to entangle and prevent all action.

This grave international problem cannot be solved by indecision or postponement. It was indecision and lack of forthrightness on the part of the Mandatory of Palestine, "the irresistible operation of feeble councils," to use a phrase of Burke, which led to that grave deterioration in the country which finally forced the Mandatory to turn to the United Nations for a final solution of the problem. The United Nations accepted that solemn responsibility and proceeded, earnestly and deliberately, to investigate the problem de novo, to study its history and all of its present implications. It appointed a committee whose members were scrupulously selected for their impartiality and neutrality to make the investigation and to bring in recommendations. After prolonged and serious discussion of their recommendations the United Nations overwhelmingly accepted the plan to set up two independent states in Palestine, one Jewish and one Arab, within the framework of an economic union, and an international regime in Jerusalem. The nations who voted for this plan fully realized that what they were doing was not just endorsing some abstract idea, or making a recommendation which would then be left suspended in mid-air. They were deciding upon a course of action as well as upon a policy. They forthwith appointed a Commission of the United Nations and authorized it to implement their decision, according to a carefully worked out plan of action, and they

called upon the Security Council to take the necessary measures to assist it in carrying through the implementation.

The Commission of the U.N. has already done an enormous amount of effective work in connection with the execution of this plan. The preparatory steps have nearly all been taken. The Commission is now on the eve of taking over its responsibilities in Palestine, as the date of the termination of the Mandate on May 15 rapidly approaches. The British Colonial Secretary stated before this body last week that the Palestine Administration is taking all practical steps to terminate its control by May 15 and that the withdrawal of British forces and stores is already well under way. He further declared on March 2 that "the date of termination of our responsibility is irrevocably fixed."

To raise at this late hour the prospect of new negotiations and consultations between Arabs and Jews on the nature and character of the future government of Palestine is, in our judgment, to endanger the very object which the United Nations, by its action last November, sought to achieve. In that direction lies neither hope nor promise. That road leads to a quagmire of indecision and inaction. There is but a brief time left, and time is fast running out to chaos and anarchy.

3. We should like to comment also on the statement which was repeated here by the Egyptian delegate to the effect that the decision taken last November was "a mere recommendation to the Egyptian Government."

The action taken by the Assembly was action taken in response to the request of the Mandatory Power, the only state member of the United Nations having any authority to act in Palestine - a country placed under an international trust. The request was for the solution of the problem of the future government of Palestine. Before taking any action the General Assembly took note of the declaration by the Mandatory Power that it plans to complete the evacuation of Palestine by August 1, 1948.

The action taken by the General Assembly was a resolution in the form of recommendations to the United Kingdom, as Mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other members of the United Nations, for the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future Government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union.

While the United Kingdom has refused to accept special responsibility for the implementation of the plan, it has not, as Mandatory, rejected the recommended plan. On the contrary, the United Kingdom has officially stated that it accepted the decision of the Assembly and announced its intention to terminate its Mandate on May 15, and has further announced its intention and readiness to turn over the administration of Palestine to the United Nations

Commission, as envisaged in the recommended plan. The recommended plan is, therefore, no longer a mere recommendation. The Mandatory is in process of liquidating its Mandate. It has accepted the United Nations plan for Palestine in much the same manner as the states party to the Italian treaty accepted a United Nations plan for the Free Territory of Trieste. On May 15, the only Administration in Palestine having any international standing will be the United Nations Commission. If its authority fails there will be no regime of law in Palestine, and anarchy will prevail.

It is for that reason that the Jewish Agency strongly urges immediate action on the United States Government proposal that the Security Council accept the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in its Resolution so as to avoid the unwarranted assumption that there is no legal basis in which law and order may be maintained in Palestine after May 15.

It is regrettable that the necessity exists to remind member nations that it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations for any member state to use force or the threat of force, or to encourage the use of force or the threat of force to obstruct the carrying out of the plan recommended by the Assembly and accepted by the Mandatory Power. Unless the member states accept the overwhelming moral authority of a decision which derives from the collective judgment of the United Nations, the great hope which inspired its organization is tragically doomed. What is involved here is far more than a technical legal question. It is a question whether the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for world peace and the salvation of mankind or whether it is to be but an impressive stage-setting for actors and supernumeraries busily engaged in a meaningless play of long-winded futility.

I submit, Mr. Chairman, that those who would empty the concept of a United Nations resolution of all compelling moral authority are the enemies, not alone of this particular decision of the United Nations, but unconsciously, of the United Nations organization itself.

4. This leads us to an observation on the relation of the Security Council to the implementation of the United Nations decision. Technically, the position which was taken by the distinguished spokesman of the United States delegation and by others, that the Security Council cannot use armed force for the implementation of any decision of the United Nations, but only in cases where it is determined that there exist threats to peace, breaches of the peace, or acts of aggression affecting international peace, may be correct. It may be an important legal and technical distinction to make and we assume that it was made in order to keep the action requested of the Security Council fully within the terms defined by the Charter.

But this legal distinction should not obscure the realities of the situation which should be faced frankly. It is the determined and organized resistance to the decision of the United Nations which has brought about a condition of a breach of peace and a threat to peace in Palestine and has forced the UN Commission to call upon the Security Council "for assistance in the discharge of its duty to the General Assembly." The report states that "powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the Resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein." The Commission is further of the opinion that "a basic issue of international order is involved. A dangerous and tragic precedent will have been established if force or the threat of the use of force is to prove an effective deterrent to the will of the United Nations." What the Commission asked for is not an armed force to enforce partition, but "an adequate non-Palestinian force which will assist law-abiding elements in both the Arab and Jewish communities organized under the general direction of the Commission in maintaining order and security in Palestine, and thereby enabling the Commission to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly." This, we believe, is a fair and pragmatic statement of the issue and in keeping with the legal requirements of the situation.

The role of the Security Council is an integral part of the plan adopted by the United Nations in November. In adopting it, the Assembly of the United Nations relied upon the fullest cooperation of the Security Council. It should not take long for the members of the Security Council to determine the fact that a breach of the peace exists in Palestine and that acts of aggression have taken place. The measure of support which the Security Council will give to the decision of the United Nations in its efforts at implementation will be evidenced by the urgency with which it approaches its task, and by the effective measures which it will take to re-establish a condition of peace in Palestine in which the United Nations Commission can carry out the responsibilities which were entrusted to it. Here again the action of the

Security Council on this issue will have far-reaching implications for the effectiveness of United Nations actions on other issues and for the buttressing of the authority and prestige of this great world organization. Failure of the Security Council to comply with the request of the General Assembly to take the necessary measures to empower the Commission to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it if a threat to peace develops there during the transitional period, and to determine as a threat to the peace any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged in the Resolution, would be a serious matter which goes far beyond the Palestine controversy. It concerns the coordination and the effective functioning of the activities of the various organs of the United Nations. The basic thought underlying these two major organs of the United Nations is that they will coordinate their activities and actively support each other. A serious break in the normal workings of this mechanism would inflict an additional blow to the organization of the United Nations. It is our view that the American Government's proposal that the Council accept the request addressed by the General Assembly to it must be the starting point for any effective action by the Security Council in this matter.

5. While the Security Council is deliberating on the request submitted to it by the UN Commission we are pleased to note that the Commission intends to continue with such of the preparatory work essential to the implementation of the recommendations as can be undertaken without the assistance of the Security Council which it requested. We should like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that the Jewish militia, whose organization is called for by the plan which was adopted and which will have the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the Jewish State after May 15, has not yet been organized, that its organization is not permitted by the Mandatory Government prior to the termination of the Mandate, and that the request of the UN Commission to permit the preparatory work for the organization of this militia has likewise been denied. In its report, the UN Commission calls the attention of the Security Council to the fact that "the refusal of the Mandatory Power to allow the formation of such militia until the termination of the Mandate will entail delay in the implementation of the Assembly's plan and renders much more difficult the problem of the security of the Jewish State when the Mandate is relinquished." I draw your attention to this statement of the Commission in order that it might serve as a commentary to the statement made by the distinguished spokesman of the United Kingdom delegation on March 2, in which he rejected the accusations that his Government was making the transfer of authority in Palestine as difficult as possible, and was denying assistance to the United Nations. Unfortunately, not only in this most vital question of the militia, but in other essential matters which would have facilitated the coming

of the new regime in Palestine the Mandatory Government has been uncooperative and obstructive. To be sure, it has furnished information of a kind, and it has discussed with the UN Commission various problems. But the test is not willingness to discuss, but willingness to comply with the urgent requests which were made by the Commission and the United Nations. Thus, the Mandatory Government refused to open a port to Jewish immigration on February 1, as called for by the decision of the United Nations. It has refused to permit the United Nations Commission to come to Palestine in ample time properly to prepare for its immense duties. It has rejected the plan of a progressive transfer of areas to the Commission's administration. All this, according to the honored delegate of the United Kingdom, because of "specific threats by the Arabs." This would suggest that the Mandatory does not have an adequate military force to meet these threats. However, when confronted with the suggestion that the security forces of the Mandatory might be supplemented by other forces available in Palestine itself, it has maintained that it alone was responsible for law and order in the country and could not tolerate "the danger of divided responsibility." The delegate of the United Kingdom asserted that "our fervent hope is that this Council will now find a way to secure effective assumption of authority in Palestine by the United Nations when the Mandate is terminated." But we most regretfully note that almost every way which is suggested by the responsible agency of the United Nations is effectively blocked by the Mandatory Power.

The honorable delegate of the United Kingdom declared last Tuesday that they "cannot participate in any way in the implementation of a scheme which involves the coercion of one of the communities." One is forced to recall that for years Great Britain has implemented a scheme in Palestine of its own making, disapproved of by the League of Nations, condemned by its own leading statesmen, including the distinguished British Colonial Secretary himself, which quite definitely involved the coercion of one of the communities of Palestine. When is coercion not coercion? And under what conditions is conscience to be invoked to approve or disapprove of a political policy?

The Jewish Agency appeals to the Security Council and to the members of the United Nations to make earnest representation to the present Mandatory Government of Palestine to permit the immediate organization of an adequate Jewish state militia and the preparation for its equipment to protect the lives of the inhabitants of the new Jewish State who are being threatened by forces inside and outside of Palestine who have proclaimed their resolve to defeat by violence the decision of the United Nations and the new Jewish State which the decision envisages. This, we maintain, is an elementary moral obligation of the United Nations in view of the decision which it has taken. It is likewise an elementary moral obligation on the part of those nations who have approved the plan to remove all embargoes on the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine who have loyally accepted the decision of the United Nations, and to deny such arms to those who are violently resisting it. Surely this is not an unreasonable request. The organization, recognition and equipment of the Jewish militia is for us of greater urgency than the sending of a non-Palestinian armed force by the Security Council. The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves but their hands must not be tied. The quicker and the stronger the Jewish militia is permitted to become, the less sizeable need be the international force, which the Commission has requested.

We are still hoping that there may be no need for prolonged and serious conflict in Palestine. We do not wish war with our neighbors, only peace and cooperation. Within the framework of the plan calling for two independent states joined in an economic union there is definitely the possibility for such peace and cooperation. The national status and independence of each people is guaranteed and their economic cooperation for the good of both is provided for. Partition was not the Jewish solution. It fell far short of the just rights and aspirations of the Jewish people. It was a grievous abridgement of these rights. Nevertheless, reluctantly but loyally, we accepted the decision which appeared fair and reasonable to the United Nations. We still hope that the Arabs of Palestine will likewise accept it and thereby put an end to the scourge of strife and bloodshed which can only do incalculable hurt to both peoples. But in the face of the mounting threats and the incursion of armed bands across the frontiers bent on war, the Jewish people of Palestine is compelled to make all necessary preparation for self-defense. We plead with the United Nations to remove all obstacles in the way. We are carrying out the purposes of the United Nations. We should not be penalized for doing so.

We feel under obligation to make our position unmistakably clear. As far as the Jewish people is concerned, it has accepted the decision of the United Nations. We regard it as binding and it is resolved to move forward in the spirit of that decision. Under the plan there are dates to be met. We must assume that these dates will be met.

We fully respect the authority of the United Nations but if it is unable to carry out its own decisions and, as a consequence, the Jewish community of Palestine is confronted with the threat of annihilation, it will be compelled by the considerations of sheer survival, not to speak of the preservation of its rights, to take all necessary measures which the situation will call for.

6. In conclusion we should like to comment on the serious strictures which the distinguished delegate of the United Kingdom made against the Jewish Agency in his address on March 2. He accused the Jewish Agency of "subordinating moral considerations to political expediency." He charged it with "moral weakness and political ineptitude." The Jewish Agency has not had the experience of running a world empire and so may be pardoned for not having the political aptitude which is possessed by the present political leaders of Great Britain, although it is rumored that there is considerable heresy abroad in the world and in the British Isles themselves, which, perversely enough, questions their infallibility. But surely the eminent spokesman of the United Kingdom, who knows better than most the full story of the attitude of his Government and of his Party towards Zionism and Palestine, should be the last man to charge the Jewish Agency with "an equivocal and pusillanimous policy" and with "subordinating moral considerations to political expediency."

Has the honorable Colonial Secretary of Great Britain forgotten the pledges of the British Labor Party on Palestine and its bitter denunciation of the moral turpitude of the British Government for its failure to fulfill its obligations in Palestine? May I remind him of the Resolution adopted by the Labor Party Conference in Southport in 1939 on the subject of the White Paper policy which this Labor Party has been enforcing in Palestine ever since it came into office:

"This Conference endorses the stand taken by the Parliamentary Labor Party against the Government's Statement of Policy on Palestine. It declares that the White Paper, by imposing minority status on the Jews, by departing from the principle of economic absorptive capacity governing Jewish immigration, by making Jewish entry dependent on Arab consent, and by restricting Jewish land settlement, violates the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. The policy of the White Paper represents a further surrender to aggression, places a premium on violence and terror, and is a setback to the progressive forces among both Arabs and Jews...This Conference calls upon the Government to rescind the White Paper policy and to reopen the gates of Palestine for Jewish immigration in accordance with the country's economic absorptive capacity." This was in 1939.

Later the British Labor Party reaffirmed its international policy of "building Palestine as the Jewish National Home." This was in 1943.

In December, 1944, the British Labor Party, on the eve of its election to the Government of Great Britain, declared: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land (Palestine) in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe." This Resolution of the Labor Party went further, even beyond the program of the Zionist movement. I quote: "Here too in Palestine surely is a case on human grounds and to promote a stable settlement for transfers of population. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine less than the size of Wales. Indeed, we should re-examine also the possibility of extending the present Palestinian boundaries by agreement with Egypt, Syria and Trans-Jordan."

Those who solemnly and publicly made these declarations are today the rulers of Great Britain. But since coming into office, they have refused to honor a single one of these promises.

The words of the honorable delegate of the United Kingdom, Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones, which he uttered the other day, fell unpleasantly on the ears of those who heard him in this very city three years ago when he declared:

"In building up their National Home they (the Jews) have inflicted no wrong on the inhabitants of Palestine. There has been no scheme of colonization in the whole history of mankind which has been carried through with such care, such scrupulous fairness and consideration for the native population as has been displayed by the Jews." All this, of course, was achieved under the guidance and control of that very Jewish Agency which is now being charged with the subordination of moral considerations to political expediency.

"It is clear to us," Mr. Creech-Jones further continued, "that the White Paper policy must be abrogated. It is obvious to us that the restrictions that have been imposed with regard to the development of the National Home during recent years must go; that the gates of Palestine must be opened." How is this to be reconciled with the brutal enforcement of the restrictive measures of the White Paper which have been carried on by the British Colonial Office?

He further stated: "We are encouraged by the fact that American opinion has made itself heard in regard to the Palestine problem. That will fortify us in our advocacy in the House of Commons." But in the House of Commons American public opinion in regard to the Palestine problem is contemptuously derided by the spokesmen of his Party as emanating from political pressure in New York City. He concluded by saying: "It will be for us in London to carry on our work in Parliament and elsewhere so that there is no misadventure, so that the White Paper policy is reversed, so that the Jews can be sure that at last their National Home is being established firmly and securely and they can realize their own Commonwealth, a free nation which can contribute fully and freely to the general life of the whole of mankind." Was there a single echo of all this in the declarations of the honorable spokesman of the United Kingdom delegation on Tuesday last or in any of the recent declarations of his Government? Who then should be charged with moral weakness and with subordinating moral considerations to political expediency?

7. The Jewish Agency has never condoned terrorism. It has deprecated it and denounced it time and again. It has carried on an intensive campaign of education among the Jews of Palestine against it. It took practical steps to combat it, as was acknowledged by the Palestine Government, even at the cost of life. The Jewish Agency, be it remembered, has no governmental or police authority. It could not reach the source of the evil which was feeding terrorism in Palestine. That source was the immoral and iniquitous policy of the White Paper, a self-willed and unlawful policy decreed by Great Britain. This policy was condemned by the foremost of Great Britain's statesmen. "A plain breach of a solemn obligation," Mr. Churchill called it. "The breaking of all the pledges and promises that have been given to the Jews," was the way the Rt. Hon. Leopold Stennett Amery characterized it. And he asked: "Does my Right Hon. Friend believe that these people (the Jews) will be contented to be relegated to the position of a statutory minority, to be denied all hope of giving refuge and relief to their tortured kinsfolk in other countries; that they will wait passively until, in due course, they and the land they created are to be handed over to the Mufti?" The Rt. Hon. Herbert Stanley Morrison, who is now Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons, indignantly declared: "I cannot accept the view that His Majesty's Government is doing anything other than counterfeiting this business or that it is doing other than breaking its promises and acting dishonorably before the whole of the civilized world."

This lawless policy, which was imposed upon the Jewish people in Palestine at a time when their brothers and sisters were seeking to escape from the Hell of Europe where they were threatened with extinction and where six million of them ultimately perished, aroused the bitter resentment of the entire population. They came to regard such a repressive Government

as hostile. Resistance flared up. The sharp injustice of seeing thousands of their unfortunate fellow Jews turned away from the shores of Palestine and sent back to concentration camps to resume a life of despair and homelessness inflamed the passions, especially of the youth of Palestine. Is there any wonder then that some of the most intemperate of them resorted to acts which no one condones, which the authoritative organs of our movement have repeatedly condemned and denounced as harmful to the Jewish people, but which everyone in all fairness must try to understand? It is amazing to find not a single word in the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom, not a single humble word which would indicate that the policy of Government was in any way whatsoever, directly or indirectly, a contributory factor to these tragic acts which we all deplore.

It is amazing, too, to note that not a single word of condemnation was uttered against the acts of violence perpetrated by the Arabs against whom no White Paper was ever enforced, who faced no desperate problems of refugeeism and homelessness and who are now perpetrating acts of terror in Palestine in an effort to defeat the United Nations decision and to persuade the world of its unworkability.

We deeply regret that we have to engage in polemics with the spokesman of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with the British people. We had hoped that the chapter of Great Britain's mandatory regime in Palestine would end on a happier note. We regret that this was not to be. We are not unmindful of the sympathetic understanding which our cause has always received among the great masses of the British peoples and among its foremost leaders. If the sad events of the recent dark and turbulent years have introduced an element of controversy and estrangement in our relations we hope that it will prove only temporary. We do not wish to forget the gracious pattern of friendship and esteem which has been woven into the long fabric of the years. We are here critical of a Government and of a policy, not of a people. Governments and policies change. The enduring spiritual and intellectual kinship between peoples remains.

Mr. President, the Palestine issue which is before the United Nations is a test case which the whole world is following with utmost concern, for much indeed depends upon its final outcome. Whether justice will finally be done to a sorely tried people whose monumental spiritual achievements made that little land of Palestine the Holy Land of mankind, whether solemn international pledges are truly to be redeemed and whether this international organization which has been built upon the ruins of another such peace organization, wrecked by the failure of the Great Powers to maintain its authority, will share a similar fate or whether it will in truth become the tree whose fruit will be for the healing of the nations, all this is involved in this issue which is now before you and quite discernible to all who can see beneath the surface of single events into the sweep of great historic processes.

We confidently await your action.

was talking about when he said that all of the people can't be fooled all of the time.

Today the American people know that they have been fooled, and badly fooled. They recognize that glib oratory, facile promises, and deceitful leadership led them to their current disillusion. Now, above everything else, they want a President with integrity.

The Republican Party has made many blunders and set up many false gods since Lincoln's day. The Democrats realized, under the New Deal, that their strength lay in Republican ineptitude, and Franklin Roosevelt made the most of it. The Republicans have been less quick to realize that their political opportunity lies in a defense of the American tradition, which is at bottom a liberal tradition, ill-represented by many of the captains of industry who have sought to dominate the party.

The greatest asset of Senator Taft is his real—not spurious—liberalism. The true liberal is not one who rages for free enterprise but one who deeply believes in that central, indivisible core of freedom of which free enterprise is but a single facet. The true liberal is one who hates monopoly, whether exercised by a government, a corporation, or a labor union. The true liberal, in America, believes in the constructive power of intelligence when harnessed to fundamental religious principles. Taft is a true American liberal.

He has not set his heart on the Republican nomination. He has not changed any of his opinions or compromised himself in any way to get it. He knows, and Martha Taft knows, that the effort of candidacy and the responsibility of office if elected are killing strains. And Taft is not naturally a gladiator. He gets no pleasure from being in the public eye.

But there is in this man, as in every real liberal, a driving force which outweighs personal inclination. It may be called a sense of duty, a desire to fulfill capacity to the utmost, a feeling of responsibility to those who built for living Americans the heritage which is theirs to conserve—or dissipate. The name that is given to this impersonal urge is immaterial. It is sufficient that Taft has it, and that more and more the American people have come to recognize that here is an aspirant for the Presidency whom they can really trust.

Civil-Rights Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENDERSON LANHAM

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1948

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to introduce into the Record a resolution adopted by the Democratic executive committee of Whitfield County, Ga.

This resolution expresses clearly the sentiment of the great majority of our people not only in the Seventh District, but throughout Georgia.

The resolution follows:

Whereas Harry S. Truman was elevated to the highest office within the gift of the American people through the Democratic Party and the loyal solid South; and

Whereas for his own selfish political purposes he now seeks to force upon the people of the States, under the false guise of so-called civil rights, a system including the worst features of the secret police of Germany and Russia; and

Whereas, by said program, he is seeking to set up a system of secret agents, inquisitors, and bureaucrats, with headquarters in Washington, to roam at will over the entire United States, and said agents will oppress and persecute the people in their business, social, civil, political, personal, and religious lives this Truman program, even vesting in Negro FEPC agents the power to say which people shall be employed in any private business; and

Whereas this so-called civil-rights program would utterly destroy individual liberty, security, and justice, private enterprise, local self-government, States' rights, and the republican form of government guaranteed by the United States Constitution; and

Whereas the interest of our country as a whole under the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution demands the loyalty of all true Americans in every State, regardless of party, section, or personal interest: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Democratic Executive Committee of Whitfield County, Ga., do hereby go on record as being vigorously opposed to the Truman so-called civil-rights program and hereby strongly commend all southern men and women in and out of public office, as well as those from other sections of the country, who have denounced this iniquitous program for what it really is. We deplore and condemn the aid, comfort, and support given the said Truman program by a few self-seeking politicians.

This Truman program has created the gravest crisis in the South since the dark days of reconstruction. We strongly urge that all true Southern Democrats stand up and be counted against this undemocratic and un-American program; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be given to the press and to the Congressmen and Senators of Georgia and to the Governors of all the Southern States.

Isaac Adams; Charley Deck; Byron Smith; W. B. Strain; James Lupo, Jr.; Jim Bowman; W. C. Douglas; L. P. Moore; Frank Bird; W. C. Bryant; D. L. Self; W. L. Parker; Tom Patterson; Earl Henderson; Harry Baxter; Mrs. Chas. Deck, Secretary.

This is to certify that the above is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by the Democratic executive committee, Whitfield County, Ga., duly held on March 6, 1948, by an affirmative vote of each member present. This March 6, 1948.

WHITFIELD COUNTY DEMOCRATIC
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
By ISAAC ADAMS, Chairman.

Exposing Some Fallacies About DP's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1948

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, there are too many misconceptions regarding the displaced persons of Europe who survived the horrors of war and persecution under the Nazi regime only to find themselves the inmates of a new type of concentration camp—the displaced persons camps. As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Displaced Persons and the International Refugee Organization, I saw for myself last summer that the overwhelming majority of surviving displaced persons are

young, skilled, democracy-loving people, who wish to lead productive peaceful lives in a new country. Miss Gene Delano whose letter to the editor of the Baltimore Sun follows, gives a very able and illuminating answer to some of the accusations which have been made against the displaced persons:

EXPOSING SOME FALLACIES ABOUT DP's

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN: Sir: Having recently returned from over 2 years of continuous work in displaced-persons camps in the British zone of Germany, I am appalled by some of the unfounded arguments used to defeat the Stratton bill, which would allow a fair share of Europe's displaced persons to enter this country. I would like to refute some of the baseless anti-DP statements that I have heard people here make.

I. DISPLACED PERSONS ARE UNWILLING TO WORK

This is fallacious. I do not deny that there are some lazy people in DP camps, just as there are in any community, but they are not the rule. An example is the camp in which I worked for more than a year. It held between 800 and 1,000 persons of Baltic and Polish origin. Of these, over 400 were employed full time in the Volkswagenwerke, a German automobile factory which the British military government operates to produce cars for the occupation forces in the four German zones.

Another 200 DP's from the same camp worked full time to staff a large transit camp through which over 100,000 repatriating Poles traveled in 1 year. Still others worked for a British Army unit stationed near the camp. During my entire stay in the camp, the full-time employment rate of its occupants (with all persons over age 14 considered employable, excepting women with small children and persons certified by doctors as unfit for work) never dropped below 90 percent.

Later I worked in a more isolated camp, where it was more difficult to find jobs for DP's. The employment rate of the 3,000 occupants was nevertheless over 70 percent, mainly because hundreds of them, finding no other employment, cut timber in a near-by forest for the British to alleviate the shortage of building materials in England. With my own eyes I have seen some of these DP's working in the snow in forests with bleeding feet caused by lack of adequate footwear. This is no exaggeration.

II. DISPLACED PERSONS MAY HAVE HARMFUL IDEOLOGIES

The suspicion that DP's may have communistic ideas is senseless. If there are any persons anywhere about whom one can generalize to the point of saying, "These are all anti-communists," they are the DP's. The only reason that they are still displaced persons, nearly 3 years after VE-day, is that they cannot, or dare not, return to their Communist-dominated homelands. If you could witness a camp visit by a Russian officer, with his escort of military government officials and police to protect him from violence, you would realize that all of the hatred in DP's souls is directed against those whose political ideologies have deprived the Balts and the Poles of the freedom for which they fought.

III. DISPLACED PERSONS HAVE REFUSED INDUCEMENTS TO EMIGRATE TO FREE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

This erroneous notion apparently stems from the fact that 60-day rations were offered in 1946 to Polish DP's to induce them to return home. Many, under the pressure of their starvation diet in Germany, took a chance on repatriation. Later many of them realized their mistake and managed to escape to Germany again.

Never was it necessary to offer any inducement to any D. P. to emigrate to a free country. When the British offered jobs in Eng-

land for 20,000 DP's in the British zone. I can estimate conservatively that 120,000 DP's made written applications. Many DP's have gone and are clamoring to go to Brazil, Australia, and Canada.

IV. THIS COUNTRY HAS NO ROOM OR JOBS FOR DP's

While others know more about this than I, the Census Bureau reports that eight Midwestern States have suffered an 800,000 loss in farm population since 1940. And most of the DP's are farmers. They are proud to be farmers. In many of the DP camps they have organized agricultural schools to teach their youngsters to be farmers. They are even working on German farms, helping the people who enslaved them. Does anyone believe that this country cannot use a stock of men and women who know how to farm the hard way, when 800,000 Americans have left the soil?

If Americans could see the DP's cleaning their rooms with brooms they make from twigs gathered in the forests, painting their barracks with brushes they make from blocks of wood and bits of rope, cooking with utensils they make from bits of wrecked airplanes, these same Americans would know that the DP's represent the type of workmen that made this country great. The DP's have the kind of fortitude and ingenuity that our ancestors had, attributes that we are, perhaps, losing as life becomes so easy in the United States of America.

MISS GENE DELANO.

BALTIMORE, March 4.

Palestine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1948

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a statement by Moshe Shertok, head of the political department of Jewish Agency for Palestine. Also a statement by Dr. Atba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. These statements were made before the United Nations Security Council.

The statements follow:

STATEMENT BY MOSHE SHERTOK, HEAD OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE, BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL.

Mr. President and members of the Security Council, Jews throughout the world, and particularly the Jews of Palestine in their grave ordeal, have for many weeks past eagerly awaited the opportunity of bringing their case regarding the present position in Palestine to the direct attention of this high international body. The Jewish Agency is therefore deeply grateful to the Security Council for the privilege accorded it of being seated at this table and enabled to express its views on the subject now under discussion.

It is nearly 3 months since the momentous resolution on Palestine was adopted by the General Assembly. The resolution did not accept the full Jewish claim. Far from it. The Jews had asserted their internationally recognized right to immigration and settlement in all parts of Palestine west of the Jordan, so that upon the formation of a Jewish majority the whole of that territory might become a Jewish state. The Arabs had asked for the complete stoppage of Jewish

immigration and the immediate proclamation of Palestine as an independent Arab state. The Assembly adopted a compromise solution. It did so after exhaustive deliberation which absorbed two of its sessions and the work of a special 11-power committee, altogether a process of 8 months' continuous discussion.

The compromise, as is well known, was to set up two independent states in Palestine—one Jewish, one Arab, to place Jerusalem under international rule; and to maintain the over-all unity of Palestine by linking together the three units in an economic union.

This solution, Mr. President, entailed most far-reaching sacrifices for the Jews. Twenty-five years ago, the closing of Transjordan to Jewish settlement had reduced the area of the Jewish national home to about one-quarter of its original size. The Jews were now expected to part with nearly one-half of the remainder. Moreover, Transjordan having in the meantime become an Arab kingdom, Jewish consent was now sought for the establishment of a second independent Arab state in the country which the Jewish people had for thousands of years regarded as its national patrimony and historic heritage. The separation of Jerusalem from the Jewish state was a particularly painful wrench.

Yet the Jewish Agency, with the support of the overwhelming majority of Palestinian Jews, decided, however reluctantly to accept the compromise. It bowed to the imposed verdict of the international tribunal. It was able to do so because, though only in one-eighth of the area promised in the Balfour Declaration, the new solution satisfied the Jewish claim to statehood and a place in the family of nations; also because even that limited area contained possibilities of development which opened the way for large-scale settlement; and because, though sovereignty was to be curtailed by the Economic Union, the freedom of the Jewish state to admit as many Jewish immigrants as it found necessary and possible remained unimpaired. It was the combination of these three elements—statehood, the given area, and freedom of immigration—that constituted the irreducible minimum which the Jews accepted, but beyond which they would not go.

What has happened in the course of the 3 months and what is happening today is a determined attempt, in open defiance of international authority, to deny to the Jews even that minimum and to reduce them to a state of political subjection, if not actually to confront them with the menace of physical annihilation. The Arab government, members of the United Nations, are endeavoring to defeat the Assembly's resolution by force of arms. The mandatory power is thwarting the United Nations plan by a policy of non-cooperation and is openly tolerating the active obstruction of its implementation.

Mr. President, the Security Council is faced with an open attempt to alter by force the settlement decreed by the Assembly, which the Assembly requested the Council to determine "as a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, and an act of aggression." The attempt is directly sponsored by the governments of Arab states, members of the United Nations. This assertion hardly stands in need of evidential proof or investigation. It rests on the free admission of the parties concerned. Nor is any research or intelligence work necessary to bring that admission to light. It is shouted from every public platform in the various Arab capitals and blared through all the trumpets of their official propaganda machine. The endeavor of the Arab governments is not limited to the defeat of the United Nations plan; they aim at imposing their own solution, the one which the Assembly has rejected; and they are trying to achieve both ends—the negative and the affirmative—by methods of aggression and violence which are the very negation of the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

The threats of force to resist the partition plan, which were voiced by practically every Arab delegate to the Assembly, are still vivid in memory. The governments concerned are now making every effort to live up to the words of their spokesmen. Even before the session of the Assembly in September 1947, soon after the recommendations of UNSCOP were published, the six Arab governments, members of the United Nations, met in Sofar, Lebanon, and adopted a resolution expressing their determination "to resist the implementation of these recommendations" and undertaking to assist the Arabs of Palestine in "a relentless war" against them, "supplying them with men, funds, and ammunition."

Soon after the Assembly's session, the Prime Ministers of the Arab states held a consultation in Cairo, as a result of which an official announcement was published on December 17, 1947, which declared that "the Arab governments will take decisive measures which will guarantee the defeat of partition," and threatened that they would throw the full force of their armies into the battle until victory is achieved. On the same occasion the Lebanese Prime Minister issued a statement in which he said: "We will never sleep until we have Palestine as an independent Arab unitary state . . . we will supply Palestine . . . with weapons, equipment, and men." The Syrian Prime Minister likewise stated: "The time for speeches is past and the stage of action is at hand; we should all be determined to liberate Palestine by our might and money." On January 15, 1948, the press offices of the Arab League—a league comprising seven Arab governments, of which six are members of the United Nations—disclosed that the league "had recommended that the Arab nations occupy all Palestine with their regular armies when British troops leave Palestine."

The stage of action had, indeed, arrived. Time will not permit a full enumeration of all the activities which received publicity. Members of the Security Council might refer to the Jewish Agency's Memorandum on Arab Aggression, of which they will receive copies. Here only some of the most salient facts will be mentioned. The Arab governments have jointly proceeded to the formation of what is called an Arab army of liberation. They have appointed its high command. In most Arab countries, recruiting offices for volunteers have been opened with official sanction of the governments. In Syria, recruitment and training are under the direct charge of the Ministry of Defense, which issues official notices to regulate it. The Ministry has announced, inter alia, its acceptance of the resignation of army officers volunteering for service in Palestine to fight against partition. Similar resignations are reported from Egypt and Iraq, where the officers were placed in charge of training volunteers. When the first incursion of an armed force from Syria via Lebanon into Palestine occurred on January 9, the press reported that the Ministers of Defense of both countries personally led the convoy, and that the Syrian Defense Minister's car headed the column, the car flying the Syrian flag. Subsequently, on January 14, the Lebanese Defense Minister gave to the Chamber of Deputies in Beirut an eyewitness account of the attack which the force had made on Jewish villages, and in which incidentally, Mr. President, it suffered a crushing defeat. He added that "all activities, such as the collection of funds, registration and training of volunteers, assembly of arms, etc., are being supervised by himself and the Syrian Defense Minister in accordance with the resolutions of the Prime Ministers' Conference in Cairo."

Since that date several such columns have crossed the frontiers into Palestine as reported by the Mandatory Power to the Commission, all provided with motor transport and all properly equipped and provisioned. The invaders from outside form the backbone of the forces now attacking the Jews

in Palestine, attacks in which Palestine Arabs play only a secondary part. All these activities are conducted in conjunction with the Palestine Arab higher committee of which the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem is still the president. It is noteworthy that prominent in the high command and among the district commanders are men who, like the Mufti, spent the war years in Germany helping Hitler. The backbone of the Iraqi contingents are those who fought under Rashid Ali in the pro-Nazi rebellion of 1941. When the leader of an Egyptian contingent arrived in Damascus, he proposed that the contingent be named after a notorious Egyptian Nazi who had died in Germany.

The distinguished delegate of Egypt must be complimented on the extreme moderation and restraint of his expressions when he attempts to describe these aggressive acts, to which his government is a party, as being merely a matter of "noncompliance" with a recommendation of the Assembly. Open and active defiance are the words indicated. Moderation is, indeed, a relative notion. To the Egyptian delegate, the Arab solution for the Palestine problem, which expects the Jews of Palestine to put up with the fate of a crystallized or dwindling minority and console themselves with a paper guaranty of religious toleration, is the very acme of moderation. Such imperviousness to arguments from the other side and refusal to understand the essence of the national movement of another people make the continuation of political discussion futile. It is high time for the representative of the Arab governments to realize that the Jewish people in Palestine will never submit to the status of a minority on sufferance which is the lot of the oriental Jewish communities; that the urge for independence will never be eradicated from Jewish hearts; that the very logic by which one Arab country after another in the Middle East has achieved its national sovereignty makes the Jewish claim to statehood in Palestine indisputable and its realization irresistible; that as long as Arab states continue to resist by force the attainment of the Jewish national goal there can be no peace or stability in the Middle East; and that the long-term interests of all concerned can only be served by mutual adjustment based on equality of status rather than by attempts at suppression and obliteration.

The Jews repudiate, Mr. President, as fantastic and grotesque, the allegation which the Syrian delegate saw fit to repeat here that for the Jews, Palestine is a mere springboard for imperialistic expansion into the whole area of the Middle East. The assertion is fantastic under any circumstances, for it is the very essence of Zionism to concentrate on Palestine and not to create a new dispersal. The assertion is grotesque at a time when all the countries around Palestine are poised to sweep down on it to crush the budding Jewish state out of existence.

It may be idle to try to refute many other outworn shibboleths in the Syrian delegate's speech, for this has been done many a time, apparently to no avail. Only one charge cannot be ignored, for it carries in it poisonous seed which may strike fruitful ground in the Middle East and bear pernicious fruit. It is that the creation of the Jewish state would place Christian and Moslem holy places under Jewish domination, with results too horrible to contemplate. The Syrian delegate's speech was undoubtedly animated by the highest ideals of interreligious peace. The speech will probably be widely read in the Arab countries but there will be no footnote to inform the uninformed that Jerusalem and Bethlehem are in the international zone, that Hebron (incidentally holy primarily to the Jews) and Nazareth are in the Arab state, and that throughout the area of the Jewish state there is hardly a single Moslem or Christian shrine, in the true sense of the term. As to ordinary churches and mosques,

the delegate of Syria gave the impression that there were many cases of their desecration by Jews. Actually not a single such case is on record anywhere in the world. This is to compare with the riots in Aleppo in December 1947, when all the 12 Jewish synagogues of the city were sacked and burned practically to the ground, invaluable ancient scrolls being consumed in the fire, or with the riots in Cairo in November 1946, where synagogues and churches alike were the target of mob violence. While the Syrian delegate was making his speech, the newspapers of the day carried a picture showing Arab riflemen at the Wailing Wall, the greatest sanctuary of the Jewish people, to which the access of Jewish worshippers is now barred. Such incidents serve as a measure of degeneration of the proverbial Arab chivalry. Other manifestations of it are, on one plane, the forcible extortion of contributions from the Jews of Egypt, Lebanon, and Iraq in support of the antipartition campaign, i. e., of the killing of their kith and kin in Palestine and of the liquidation of the national hope of their people which they so fervently share; and, on another plane, the horrible mutilation of the bodies of Jewish fallen in Palestine and the parading through Arab towns of the cut-off heads of Jewish victims stuck on spikes.

The Arab spokesmen have invested much effort in the contention that the resolution of the Assembly is a mere recommendation. I hope, Mr. President, that though not privileged to represent a member state I may be permitted to make a few comments on this aspect of the problem which specifically concerns the United Kingdom. When the United Kingdom proposed and other powers agreed that the problem of Palestine should be referred to the Assembly, they were fully aware of the powers of this body. They were also fully aware of the fact that Palestine had for 28 years been an international trust. In the face of the announced decision of the mandatory power to terminate the mandate, the General Assembly was fully aware of its responsibilities in regard to this trust and of its power to fill the vacuum created by the liquidation of the mandatory regime. One government goes, another government—the United Nations Commission as agent of the General Assembly—replaces it.

This recommendation of the General Assembly, which was addressed in the first place to the Mandatory Power, was accepted by the Mandatory Power as a decision of that body. I underline the word decision. Speaking in the House of Commons on December 11, 1947, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech-Jones, said:

"The decision of the Assembly is regarded by His Majesty's Government as the decision of a court of international opinion. This is not a grudging acceptance . . . we wish our authority transferred to our successors in an orderly manner. We can only express our hope . . . that the greatest respect will be shown this decision of the international authority."

On December 12, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bevin, declared:

"I am not going and His Majesty's Government are not going to oppose the United Nations decision . . . There is the United Nations decision . . . If my colleagues or I can render any assistance . . . we shall do it."

It may be recalled that when the British Government first referred the question of Palestine to the United Nations, it made no stipulation as to whether and under what terms it would comply with the recommendation. It seemed reasonable to assume, at the time, that whatever the verdict, the United Kingdom would accept it and, as a loyal member of the United Nations, cooperate in its execution. Later, when conditions were put forward, every effort was made by

those responsible for the drafting of the plan in the session of the Assembly to meet them. Yet the attitude of the British Government has developed and hardened into one of non-cooperation bordering on obstruction.

The British Government declared that it would take no part in the implementation of the plan. Actually, the plan was not based on its enforcement by the Mandatory Power. On the other hand, it insisted that, as long as the mandate lasts, it can suffer no rival authority in Palestine but must alone be responsible for the maintenance of law and order. It has not discharged that responsibility.

One can understand the quandary in which the United Kingdom Government found itself placed as a result of its own attitude. The Arab attack was not directed purely and simply against Jewish lives and Jewish property. Its main target was the policy of the United Nations. To defend Jews against Arab attack meant by implication to defend the policy of the United Nations against those trying to subvert it. From this implication the mandatory administration found itself inhibited. It therefore could not fully maintain law and order. To say the least, its will was paralyzed, its springs of action were braked. At the very inception of the trouble, a senior government official informed the Jewish Agency that police escort could not be provided for interurban transport since "this might be interpreted as British implementation of partition."

In trying to escape the dilemma, the administration evolved a theory of its own neutrality in a conflict between the Jews and Arabs, and in justification of the theory it proceeded to conjure up a spurious equality of guilt as between the attackers and the attacked—between those upholding and those defying the authority of the United Nations. "The Jewish story that the Arabs are the attackers and the Jews the attacked is not tenable," said Sir Alexander Cadogan in the statement to the Commission. "Elements on each side," he went on "are engaged in attacking or in making reprisals undistinguishable from attacks." But this artificial equality, in the further endeavor of rationalizing British behavior, becomes again an inequality, this time somewhat in favor for, so runs the official British account, "the of the Arab and to the discredit of the Jew. Arabs are determined to show that they will not submit tamely to the United Nations plan of partition; while the Jews are trying to consolidate the advantages gained at the General Assembly."

The fallacy of this analysis was, Mr. President, we believe, fully exposed in the Jewish agency's Memorandum on the Policy of the Mandatory Power in Palestine Since the Adoption of the General Assembly's Resolution with Particular Reference to Security, submitted to the UN Palestine Commission on February 21, 1948, copies of which were sent to members of the Security Council. It was the Arabs who launched the attack. The Jews acted in self-defense. They expected a strong reaction from the Government, in accordance with its undertaking. This was not forthcoming. On the contrary, Jewish self-defense activities were hampered and disrupted. Searches of arms among the Jews, arrests of Jewish defenders almost under the fire of Arab attack, prohibition of the use by Jews of more effective defense equipment were the order of the day. It was only then that isolated acts of indiscriminate bloodshed on the part of dissident Jewish groups occurred. Although even these came by way of reaction to Arab violence, they were unreservedly condemned by the organized community, but were seized upon by the authorities in justification of their neutrality. On the other hand, the organized Jewish defense organization, the Haganah, found itself constrained by official inaction or by lack of official action to assume the counter-

offensive by trying to attack and eliminate enemy strongholds. Its counterattacks have been limited in number and aimed at selected targets. No action of the Haganah was ever motivated by the desire to consolidate the advantages gained from the partition plan, though if there were such action, its purpose would have been to uphold the United Nations' decision and not to resist it. The only act which could by a long stretch of interpretation come under that definition was the refusal of the Jews to follow official advice to evacuate certain parts of Palestine—but this was no consolidation, it was mere maintenance of previously acquired positions, which the Government wanted them to surrender. Throughout, the Jewish plan of campaign was one of defense, that of the Arabs one of aggression. It was only complete political disorientation that could so distort the picture in the eyes of the mandatory Government.

Were the facts to conform with Sir Alexander Cadogan's theory there would have had to be cases of large crowds of armed Jews converging from all sides to wipe out an isolated Arab village, or crossing into Syria, there to disrupt traffic or attack peaceful settlements. Then, and then only, would the acts on both sides indeed become indistinguishable.

There are questions arising from certain aspects of the mandatory's policy and practice to which it is indeed difficult to find an answer. Why are arms distributed to units of the Arab municipal police and withheld from the Jewish? Is it not clear that those arms will be used against the Jews and the United Nations' plan? Why are units of the Arab Legion so stubbornly maintained in or near Jewish areas after their murderous attacks on Jewish traffic and passers-by? Must the Jews be continually subjected to this extreme provocation? Why does the British Government continue to supply arms to the Arab States? Representatives of the British Government have denied that these arms are being used for fighting in Palestine. How can they be sure? And even if this were true, is it not clear that the supply of arms to Arab States at this juncture releases other arms for Palestine? And I should like to add: Why is it that the domination of the entire area of the old city of Jerusalem by Arab bands is tolerated?

The gravest problem of all arises in connection with the continued incursion of Arab armed forces from outside. The government which has shown such a remarkable excess of zeal, vigilance, and efficiency in tracking down and intercepting sea transports of Jewish refugees from Europe, maintains, to all appearances, an attitude of almost complete resignation and helplessness—or indifference—in the face of this steady piecemeal invasion of a territory which is still in its charge. According to the information of the Jewish Agency, so far seven contingents have crossed into Palestine through the northern and eastern frontiers, numbering between them some 4,000 to 4,500 men. They did not infiltrate in small groups; they came each time hundreds of men together, mostly in well-organized convoys of motor trucks. They crossed bridges and traveled along highways. With one or two exceptions their entry was entirely unhindered. Is it conceivable that no advance information could be obtained regarding the movements of these columns and no effective guard could be maintained at the main entrances or crossings? On one occasion the Jewish Agency succeeded in warning the authorities 48 hours in advance of an impending crossing. Yet nothing was done to prevent it and the contingent crossed safely and pitched its tents near a large Arab village where it remained unmolested until the men were presumably posted to various centers. The administration now admits that certain

parts of Palestine are under the virtual control of the commanders of these foreign forces. They are increasingly active in offensive operations. How can the general public then resist the impression that preparations are openly tolerated for the proclamation of Arab rule, local or foreign, over large parts of Palestine, in complete disregard of the United Nations' decision and under conditions of mortal peril to the Jewish population concerned?

The situation, Mr. President, is further aggravated by a process of rapid disintegration of authority which is destructive of discipline. Latent hatreds are given free rein. There have been clear cases of individual Jews being shot in cold blood by British troops and police, and worse excesses are believed to be possible. The very fact that such is the state of feeling creates an untenable situation and contributes an additional reason why the British mandate must be terminated as soon as possible and should certainly not be prolonged beyond the fixed date of May 15.

Despite all the better disappointments born of the white paper of 1939, the Jews had hoped that the winding-up of the British mandate would produce a détente in their relations with the mandatory and make possible a friendly separation. These hopes have been tragically falsified by experience. As long as the mandatory government inexorably pursues its present political course, even the slightest revival of mutual confidence seems unthinkable. On the crucial issue of immigration, policy has remained unchanged, and even a clear recommendation of the Assembly for the freeing of a port to allow a substantial immigration has proved of no avail. Only 750 permits per month are available for immigration from Europe, the balance of the quota being devoted to the evacuation of Cyprus. In these circumstances, is it surprising that groups of survivors of the European massacres continue to cross the Mediterranean on their own? What is surprising is that the arrival of these transports, all intercepted, should be set by the honorable spokesman of the United Kingdom as a disturbing factor in the security situation, equal in its damaging effect to that of the incursion of armed Arab forces across the land frontiers—and this at a time when all recent refugee transports let themselves be diverted or transhipped to Cyprus without the slightest disturbance or the least resistance.

The mandatory government has also so far opposed steps being taken in preparation of the Jewish state militia. The British Secretary of State for the Colonies in his statement to the Security Council said that his Government could not agree "to the formation of a militia under the control of the provisional government of the future Jewish state." But nothing of the sort was requested at this stage by the Jewish Agency. The proposal which we put forward to the U. N. Commission on Palestine and which we understand was transmitted to the mandatory government was not for the immediate establishment of a militia to operate independently of British control during the period of the mandate. It was something quite different, namely, that preparations should start now for the setting up of the militia, after the termination of the mandate. We suggested that permission should be given for the proper training of a nucleus of the militia, which would take no part in day-to-day defense duties, and that facilities should be given for the acquisition and storing of the necessary equipment. It is these requests that, according to our information, have been refused by representatives of the mandatory government.

This question of the militia and of the forces required for the implementation of the plan in general calls for a clear definition of the Jewish Agency's attitude. We have

throughout maintained, first, that the Jews of Palestine are ready to shoulder far-reaching responsibilities in their defense and in the defense of their territory under the plan; second, that in view of the fact that the United Nations authority may be threatened by aggression from outside, an international force is vitally necessary. This attitude remains unchanged. Our experience as a result of the operation of the Haganah in the last 3 months has been definitely encouraging. We have held our ground throughout. Every single attack has been beaten off. We have been assisted by British forces only on special occasions, more often than not after the battle had already been decided in our favor by our own action. In general we have been hampered and impeded in our defense activities by the limitations imposed by the Government. Granted adequate equipment and full freedom of action, we feel hopeful of being able to build up an effective defense force for the Jewish state. To achieve that we require assistance—certainly in arms, possibly in funds during the initial period, but not in men.

On the other hand, there is the problem of the enforcement of the Charter and of the prevention of aggression which is essentially a United Nations responsibility. We have never set the formation of an international force as an indispensable condition for the implementation of the plan. In view of the fact of outside aggression an international force is clearly indicated. Yet if the international force is not established, we shall still be ready to discharge our responsibility, but in that eventuality our need for assistance will be correspondingly greater.

Whatever happens, and even if the worst comes to the worst, the Jews of Palestine will fight for the defense of their lives and their political rights. Their spirit and their capacity have been revealed in the last 3 months.

Time is of the most vital essence. Since we must be ready to assume responsibility upon the termination of the mandate, naturally under the direction of the United Nations Commission, our preparations must begin at once. We have asked the commission for the immediate provision of supplementary arms for our present needs. But apart from the forces engaged at present in day-to-day defense, additional contingents of our people must be organized and commence their training, and arms must be provided for setting up the militia. This would call for the revision of indiscriminate embargoes and for the initiation of an arms policy which would be in harmony with the United Nations plan, namely, the supply of arms to those who are ready to assume defense responsibilities in the implementation of the plan and the denial of arms to those engaged in resisting it. We very respectfully suggest, Mr. President, that the Security Council might consider issuing a call to all member states to adopt such a policy in regard to the sale or supply of arms to Palestine and the neighboring countries, including all countries of the Arab League.

The United Nations Commission, which has been at work since January 9, has already made progress with many aspects of the program of implementation. We are gratified to note their decision, communicated to the Security Council, to proceed with their work, in which the Jewish Agency will be happy to continue its fullest co-operation. One of the most important and urgent tasks of the commission is the formation of a provisional council of government, in regard to which negotiations are in progress.

The possibility that on April 1 the Security Council may have to consider what steps should be taken in regard to the Arab state area if no provisional council has been formed there was anticipated in the resolu-

tion and is no reason why a provisional council for the Jewish state should not be established in time.

These are, Mr. President, our observations on the subject of implementation. The distinguished delegate of the United States has introduced a resolution proposing that the Council "accept, subject to the authority of the Security Council under the Charter, the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in paragraphs (a), (b), and (c) of the General Assembly resolution," and that it establish a committee comprising the five permanent members of the Council whose functions will be, *inter alia*, "to consider whether the situation with respect to Palestine constitutes a threat to international peace and security, and to report its conclusions as a matter of urgency to the Council." The Jewish agency submits, Mr. President, that both steps are patently urgent.

The delegate of the United States also proposed that the same committee should "consult with the Palestine Commission, the mandatory power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendation." In the passage of his address which bears on this particular proposal he explained that the purpose of the Security Council in undertaking this consultation should be to "make every effort to get an agreement on the basis of the General Assembly recommendation for the underlying political difficulty."

The purpose of the consultation, we must confess, is not clear, and the proposal leaves us greatly bewildered. We fear that it may lead to new delays and complications which may jeopardize the implementation of the whole plan and further exacerbate the situation in Palestine. In the past, innumerable attempts were made by the Jewish agency and some also by the mandatory government—each side, naturally, acting according to its own lights—to explore the possibility of an agreed settlement of the Palestine problem. All these efforts remained fruitless. It was as a result and at the end of this long, laborious, and futile quest for an agreed solution that the question was eventually brought before the United Nations for final adjudication and the partition compromise was adopted by the Assembly as a way out of the difficulty. In recommending to the British Parliament the submission of the question to the United Nations, representatives of the British Government themselves expressed their conviction, based on long experience, that a solution acceptable to both parties was outside the realm of practical politics.

Thus, Mr. Bevin, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared in the House of Commons on February 18, 1947, that there was no prospect of reaching any settlement in Palestine "which would be even broadly acceptable to the two communities in Palestine." This view was also expressed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech-Jones in the House of Commons on August 12, 1947, and Sir Alexander Cadogan in the General Assembly on November 26, 1947.

A similar view was very eloquently expressed—with remarkable cogency—by the delegate of the United States at the last session of the Assembly, and I would beg leave to quote the relevant passage. Speaking at one of the concluding meetings of the Assembly on November 26, Ambassador Johnson said: "Much has been said during the course of these debates on the desirability and necessity of presenting to the General Assembly a plan which would command the agreement of both the principal protagonists in this situation. I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented, either to this Assembly or to the mandatory government during its long years of tenure, or in any other place, which would meet with

the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented, and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented. If we are to effect through the United Nations a solution of this problem, it cannot be done without the use of the knife. Neither the Jews nor the Arabs will ever be completely satisfied with anything we do, and it is just as well to bear that in mind."

It is doubtful whether a change of even one word in this memorable statement is warranted today. Be that as it may, the Jewish Agency feels bound at this stage of the proceedings to make its attitude clear beyond any possible doubt. The partition plan adopted by the Assembly is, to us, the last and final compromise and the irreducible minimum of acceptability. No reduction of Jewish rights under the Assembly's plan, either in territory or in sovereignty, can be accepted by the Jewish people.

Mr. President, the United Nations, through its various organs, has worked hard in grappling with the Palestine problem. The resolution of the Assembly represents the collective wisdom of the international community on this burning issue. Ours is a historic problem and its constructive solution will be a distinct contribution to the success and vitality of the new great international organization. We appeal to the Security Council and to all its members to take such action as falls within their province to translate the Assembly's plan into a reality.

STATEMENT BY DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER, CHAIRMAN THE AMERICAN SECTION, JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE, BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL

Mr. President and members of the Security Council, the Jewish Agency is grateful for the opportunity to make some additional observations on the subject which is now before the Security Council. We should like to give our reactions to the resolutions which are before this Council bearing upon the reports which were submitted to it by the United Nations Palestine Commission, as well as to comment on certain statements which were made here in the course of the discussions.

In the first place, we should like to comment on the statement which was made by the honorable delegate from Egypt to the effect that "it must be admitted that so far the United Nations' efforts in the study of other solutions than partition have been less than casual. The General Assembly hardly gave any of those solutions a cursory look. The General Assembly did not, either in committee or in plenary session, give any reasonable scope for discussion of any plan but partition."

It should be recalled that the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine submitted to the Assembly two solutions for the Palestine problem, a majority and a minority solution. The minority solution found no support. The Arab States put forward their own proposals. In order to consider all proposals, the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine appointed two committees, the one to consider the majority report which proposed partition and the other to consider the proposals of the Arab States. Both committees worked for weeks and both submitted separate reports to the ad hoc committee. The delegates of the several Arab States had the fullest opportunity, of which they fully availed themselves, to advocate the proposals which they favored. Many days were consumed in this discussion. When the vote was finally taken the report of the minority committee was decisively rejected.

We submit, therefore, that it is quite inaccurate to state that "the General Assembly did not either in committee or in plenary session give any reasonable scope for discussion of any plan but partition."

The ad hoc committee on Palestine appointed still a third committee—a conciliation subcommittee—composed of three members comprising the chairman of the ad hoc committee, the rapporteur of the committee—the representative of Iceland, and the vice chairman of the committee—the representative of Siam. This committee was given full powers to undertake efforts at conciliation between the Jews and the Arabs. Efforts were made by this committee to find a formula other than those of the majority and minority proposals which would be mutually acceptable. According to the testimony of the chairman of this committee, Mr. Evatt, the ground was explored from every possible point of view and "we reached the conclusion that right up to the present time no more could be done." Mr. Thor Thors of Iceland, member of this committee, addressing the assembly on November 29, just prior to the final vote, declared: "The conciliation subcommittee followed developments closely, both in subcommittee one and in subcommittee two. Unfortunately, the gulf between the two parties was too great then to be bridged by conciliation. The Arabs did not seem to be willing to permit large-scale immigration of Jews and to grant independence to a Jewish state in Palestine. The Jews would not accept anything less than reasonably free immigration and the prospect of independence. Between these different contentions no conciliation could be found during the treatment of the problem by the United Nations. The Arab higher committee was approached by UNSCOP on more than one occasion and was invited to assist in the work of UNSCOP but it refused Now at the eleventh hour, just when the vote is to take place there are criticisms of the work of the conciliation subcommittee and vague suggestions about a possibility of conciliation. Actually, the conciliation subcommittee tried everything possible, but in vain. Moreover, there has been up to the last few minutes no concrete or specific offer of conciliation or compromise."

In a similar vein the representative of the United States, Ambassador Herschel Johnson, speaking at that same session, declared: "This Palestine problem has been of concern to the world now for the past 30 years. It has been the subject of innumerable inquiries and commissions and all conceivable types of solution have been proposed. As Members know, the Peel Commission in 1937 recommended the partition of Palestine. However, subsequent events prevented definitive action at that time. Since the conclusion of World War II two renewed attempts have been made to solve the Palestine problem. The work of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of 1945 was followed by conferences in London in which the so-called Grady-Morrison proposals were evolved. There were further conferences in London last winter. Finally, in May of 1947, an inquiry was undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations. During all of these studies the various solutions of the Palestine problem have been given careful consideration. I know from my study of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine that it made every effort to arrive at a solution which would be acceptable to both the Jews and the Arabs"

The charge, therefore, which was made here that "so far as the United Nations' efforts in the study of other solutions than partition have been less than casual" is not borne out by the facts.

3. The failure to reach an agreed solution after 30 years of questing and searching for it, so eloquently attested by the events themselves and by the testimony of the distinguished representatives, both of Great Britain and of the United States, which were quoted by the spokesman of the Jewish Agency last week, leads us strongly to question the use-

fulness of that part of the proposal of the United States delegation which calls upon the Committee of the Security Council to be appointed "to consult with the Palestine Commission, the mandatory power, and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendation of November 29, 1947."

This proposal, undoubtedly suggested by commendable motives, may, we fear, cause long and disastrous delays and the stultification of the activities of the United Nations Commission. The honorable delegate of the United Kingdom correctly pointed out the other day that "the intractable problems facing the Palestine Commission are becoming rapidly insoluble as delay is further protracted and as hope recedes that the Commission will be adequately equipped to take up the immense responsibilities imposed upon it." The United States proposal for new consultations introduces anew an element of uncertainty which invariably inhibits conclusive action. It will be seized upon by the opponents of the United Nations decision as another opportunity to reopen the whole question, to force through those solutions which were rejected by the United Nations, or which failed of acceptance time and again on other occasions, or failing in this, to attempt to entangle and prevent all action.

This grave international problem cannot be solved by indecision or postponement. It was indecision and lack of forthrightness on the part of the mandatory of Palestine, "the irresistible operation of feeble councils," to use a phrase of Burke, which led to that grave deterioration in the country which finally forced the mandatory to turn to the United Nations for a final solution of the problem. The United Nations accepted that solemn responsibility and proceeded, earnestly and deliberately, to investigate the problem de novo, to study its history and all of its present implications. It appointed a committee whose members were scrupulously selected for their impartiality and neutrality to make the investigation and to bring in recommendations. After prolonged and serious discussion of their recommendations, the United Nations overwhelmingly accepted the plan to set up two independent states in Palestine, one Jewish and one Arab, within the framework of an economic union, and an international regime in Jerusalem. The nations who voted for this plan fully realized that what they were doing was not just endorsing some abstract idea, or making a recommendation which would then be left suspended in mid air. They were deciding upon a course of action as well as upon a policy. They forthwith appointed a Commission of the United Nations and authorized it to implement their decision, according to a carefully worked out plan of action, and they called upon the Security Council to take the necessary measures to assist it in carrying through the implementation.

The Commission of the UN has already done an enormous amount of effective work in connection with the execution of this plan. The preparatory steps have nearly all been taken. The Commission is now on the eve of taking over its responsibilities in Palestine, as the date of the termination of the mandate on May 15 rapidly approaches. The British Colonial Secretary stated before this body last week that the Palestine Administration is taking all practical steps to terminate its control by May 15 and that the withdrawal forces and stores is already well under way. He further declared on March 2 that "the date of termination of our responsibility is irrevocably fixed."

To raise at this late hour the prospect of new negotiations and consultations between Arabs and Jews on the nature and character of the future government of Palestine is, in

our judgment, to endanger the very object which the United Nations, by its action last November, sought to achieve. In that direction lies neither hope nor promise. That road leads to a quagmire of indecision and inaction. There is but a brief time left, and time is fast running out to chaos and anarchy.

3. We should like to comment also on the statement which was repeated here by the Egyptian delegate to the effect that the decision taken last November was "a mere recommendation to the Egyptian Government."

The action taken by the Assembly was action taken in response to the request of the mandatory power, the only state member of the United Nations having any authority to act in Palestine—a country placed under an international trust. The request was for the solution of the problem of the future government of Palestine. Before taking any action the General Assembly took note of the declaration by the mandatory power that it plans to complete the evacuation of Palestine by August 1, 1948.

The action taken by the General Assembly was a resolution in the form of recommendations to the United Kingdom, as mandatory power for Palestine, and to all other members of the United Nations, for the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the plan of partition with economic union.

While the United Kingdom has refused to accept special responsibility for the implementation of the plan, it has not, as mandatory, rejected the recommended plan. On the contrary, the United Kingdom has officially stated that it accepted the decision of the Assembly and announced its intention to terminate its mandate on May 15, and has further announced its intention and readiness to turn over the administration of Palestine to the United Nations Commission, as envisaged in the recommended plan. The recommended plan is, therefore, no longer a mere recommendation. The mandatory is in process of liquidating its mandate. It has accepted the United Nations plan for Palestine in much the same manner as the states party to the Italian treaty accepted a United Nations plan for the Free Territory of Trieste. On May 15, the only administration in Palestine having any international standing will be the United Nations Commission. If its authority fails there will be no regime of law in Palestine, and anarchy will prevail.

It is for that reason that the Jewish Agency strongly urges immediate action on the United States Government proposal that the Security Council accept the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in its resolution so as to avoid the unwarranted assumption that there is no legal basis in which law and order may be maintained in Palestine after May 15.

It is regrettable that the necessity exists to remind member nations that it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations for any member state to use force or the threat of force, or to encourage the use of force or the threat of force to obstruct the carrying out of the plan recommended by the Assembly and accepted by the mandatory power. Unless the member states accept the overwhelming moral authority of a decision which derives from the collective judgment of the United Nations, the great hope which inspired its organization is tragically doomed. What is involved here is far more than a technical legal question. It is a question whether the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for world peace and the salvation of mankind or whether it is to be but an impressive stage setting for actors and supernumeraries busily engaged in a meaningless play of long-winded futility.

I submit, Mr. Chairman, that those who would empty the concept of a United Nations resolution of all compelling moral au-

thority are the enemies, not alone of this particular decision of the United Nations, but unconsciously, of the United Nations organization itself.

4. This leads us to an observation on the relation of the Security Council to the implementation of the United Nations decision. Technically, the position which was taken by the distinguished spokesman of the United States delegation and by others, that the Security Council cannot use armed force for the implementation of any decision of the United Nations, but only in cases where it is determined that there exist threats to peace, breaches of the peace, or acts of aggression affecting international peace, may be correct. It may be an important legal and technical distinction to make and we assume that it was made in order to keep the action requested of the Security Council fully within the terms defined by the Charter.

But this legal distinction should not obscure the realities of the situation which should be faced frankly. It is the determined and organized resistance to the decision of the United Nations which has brought about a condition of a breach of peace and a threat to peace in Palestine and has forced the UN Commission to call upon the Security Council for assistance in the discharge of its duty to the General Assembly. The report states that powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein. The Commission is further of the opinion that "a basic issue of international order is involved. A dangerous and tragic precedent will have been established if force or the threat of the use of force is to prove an effective deterrent to the will of the United Nations." What the Commission asked for is not an armed force to enforce partition, but "an adequate non-Palestinian force which will assist law-abiding elements in both the Arab and Jewish communities organized under the general direction of the Commission in maintaining order and security in Palestine, and thereby enabling the Commission to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly." This, we believe, is a fair and pragmatic statement of the issue and in keeping with the legal requirements of the situation.

The role of the Security Council is an integral part of the plan adopted by the United Nations in November. In adopting it, the Assembly of the United Nations relied upon the fullest cooperation of the Security Council. It should not take long for the members of the Security Council to determine the fact that a breach of the peace exists in Palestine and that acts of aggression have taken place. Arab aggression is patent. It is self-confessed. The measure of support which the Security Council will give to the decision of the United Nations in its efforts at implementation will be evidenced by the urgency with which it approaches its task, and by the effective measures which it will take to re-establish a condition of peace in Palestine in which the United Nations Commission can carry out the responsibilities which were entrusted to it. Here again the action of the Security Council on this issue will have far-reaching implications for the effectiveness of United Nations actions on other issues and for the buttressing of the authority and prestige of this great world organization. Failure of the Security Council to comply with the request of the General Assembly to take the necessary measures to empower the Commission to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it if a threat to peace develops there during the transitional period, and to determine as a threat to the peace any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged in the resolution, would be a serious matter which goes far beyond the Palestine controversy. It concerns the coordination

and the effective functioning of the activities of the various organs of the United Nations. The basic thought underlying these two major organs of the United Nations is that they will coordinate their activities and actively support each other. A serious break in the normal workings of this mechanism would inflict an additional blow to the organization of the United Nations. It is our view that the American Government's proposal that the Council accept the request addressed by the General Assembly to it must be the starting point for any effective action by the Security Council in this matter.

5. While the Security Council is deliberating on the request submitted to it by the UN Commission we are pleased to note that the Commission intends to continue with such of the preparatory work essential to the implementation of the recommendations as can be undertaken without the assistance of the Security Council which it requested. We should like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that the Jewish militia, whose organization is called for by the plan which was adopted and which will have the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the Jewish State after May 15, has not yet been organized, that its organization is not permitted by the mandatory government prior to the termination of the mandate, and that the request of the UN Commission to permit the preparatory work for the organization of this militia has likewise been denied.

In its report, the UN Commission calls the attention of the Security Council to the fact that "the refusal of the mandatory power to allow the formation of such militia until the termination of the mandate will entail delay in the implementation of the Assembly's plan and renders much more difficult the problem of the security of the Jewish State when the mandate is relinquished." I draw your attention to this statement of the Commission in order that it might serve as a commentary to the statement made by the distinguished spokesman of the United Kingdom delegation on March 2, in which he rejected the accusations that his Government was making the transfer of authority in Palestine as difficult as possible, and was denying assistance to the United Nations. Unfortunately, not only in this most vital question of the militia, but in other essential matters which would have facilitated the coming of the new regime in Palestine the mandatory government has been uncooperative and obstructive. To be sure, it has furnished information of a kind, and it has discussed with the UN Commission various problems. But the test is not willingness to discuss, but willingness to comply with the urgent requests which were made by the Commission and the United Nations. Thus, the mandatory government refused to open a port to Jewish immigration on February 1, as called for by the decision of the United Nations. It has refused to permit the United Nations Commission to come to Palestine in ample time properly to prepare for its immense duties. It has rejected the plan of a progressive transfer of areas to the Commission's administration. All this according to the honored delegate of the United Kingdom, because of "specific threats by the Arabs." This would suggest that the mandatory does not have an adequate military force to meet these threats. However, when confronted with the suggestion that the security forces of the mandatory might be supplemented by other forces available in Palestine itself, it has maintained that it alone was responsible for law and order in the country and could not tolerate "the danger of divided responsibility." The delegate of the United Kingdom asserted that "our fervent hope is that this Council will now find a way to secure effective assumption of authority in Palestine by the United Nations when the mandate is terminated." But we most regretfully note that almost every way which is suggested by

the responsible agency of the United Nations is effectively blocked by the mandatory power.

The honorable delegate of the United Kingdom declared last Tuesday that they "cannot participate in any way in the implementation of a scheme which involves the coercion of one of the communities." One is forced to recall that for years Great Britain has implemented a scheme in Palestine of its own making, disapproved of by the League of Nations, condemned by its own leading statesmen, including the distinguished British Colonial Secretary himself, which quite definitely involved the coercion of one of the communities of Palestine. When is coercion not coercion? And under what conditions is coercion to be invoked to approve or disapprove of a political policy?

The Jewish agency appeals to the Security Council and to the members of the United Nations to make earnest representation to the present mandatory Government of Palestine to permit the immediate organization of an adequate Jewish state militia and the preparation for its equipment to protect the lives of the inhabitants of the new Jewish state who are being threatened by forces inside and outside of Palestine who have proclaimed their resolve to defeat by violence the decision of the United Nations and the new Jewish state which the decision envisages. This, we maintain, is an elementary moral obligation of the United Nations in view of the decision which it has taken. It is likewise an elementary moral obligation on the part of those nations who have approved the plan to remove all embargoes on the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine who have loyally accepted the decision of the United Nations, and to deny such arms to those who are violently resisting it. Surely this is not an unreasonable request. The organization, recognition and equipment of the Jewish militia is for us of greater urgency than the sending of a non-Palestinian armed force by the Security Council. The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves but their hands must not be tied. The quicker and the stronger the Jewish militia is permitted to become, the less sizable need be the international force, which the commission has requested.

We are still hoping that there may be no need for prolonged and serious conflict in Palestine. The Jews do not wish war with their neighbors, only peace and cooperation. Within the framework of the plan calling for two independent states joined in an economic union there is definitely the possibility for such peace and cooperation. The national status and independence of each people is guaranteed and their economic cooperation for the good of both is provided for. Partition was not the Jewish solution. It fell far short of the just rights and aspirations of the Jewish people. It was a grievous abridgement of these rights. Nevertheless, reluctantly but loyally, we accepted the decision which appeared fair and reasonable to the United Nations. We still hope that the Arabs of Palestine will likewise accept it and thereby put an end to the scourge of strife and bloodshed which can only do incalculable hurt to both peoples. But in the face of the mounting threats and the incursion of armed bands across the frontiers bent on war, the Jewish people of Palestine is compelled to make all necessary preparation for self-defense. We plead with the United Nations to remove all obstacles in the way. We are carrying out the purposes of the United Nations. We should not be penalized for doing so.

We feel under obligation to make our position unmistakably clear. As far as the Jewish people is concerned, it has accepted the decision of the United Nations. We regard it as binding and it is resolved to move forward in the spirit of that decision. Under

the plan there are dates to be met. We must assume that these dates will be met.

We fully respect the authority of the United Nations, but if it is unable to carry out its own decisions and, as a consequence, the Jewish community of Palestine is confronted with the threat of annihilation, it will be compelled by the considerations of sheer survival, not to speak of the preservation of its rights, to take all necessary measures which the situation will call for.

6. In conclusion we should like to comment on the serious strictures which the distinguished delegate of the United Kingdom made against the Jewish Agency in his address on March 2. He accused the Jewish Agency of "subordinating moral considerations to political expediency." He charged it with "moral weakness and political ineptitude." The Jewish Agency has not had the experience of running a world empire and so may be pardoned for not having the political aptitude which is possessed by the present political leaders of Great Britain, although it is rumored that there is considerable heresy abroad in the world and in the British Isles themselves, which, perversely enough, questions their infallibility. But surely the eminent spokesman of the United Kingdom, who knows better than most the full story of the attitude of his Government and of his party towards Zionism and Palestine, should be the last man to charge the Jewish Agency with "an equivocal and pusillanimous policy" and with "subordinating moral considerations to political expediency."

Has the honorable Colonial Secretary of Great Britain forgotten the pledges of the British Labor Party on Palestine, and its bitter denunciation of the moral turpitude of the British Government for its failure to fulfill its obligations in Palestine? May I remind him of the resolution adopted by the Labor Party conference in Southport in 1939 on the subject of the white paper policy which this Labor Party has been enforcing in Palestine ever since it came into office:

"This conference endorses the stand taken by the Parliamentary Labor Party against the Government's statement of policy on Palestine. It declares that the white paper, by imposing minority status on the Jews, by departing from the principle of economic absorptive capacity governing Jewish immigration, by making Jewish entry dependent on Arab consent, and by restricting Jewish landsettlement, violates the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. The policy of the white paper represents a further surrender to aggression, places a premium on violence and terror, and is a setback to the progressive forces among both Arabs and Jews. . . . This conference calls upon the Government to rescind the white paper policy and to reopen the gates of Palestine for Jewish immigration in accordance with the country's economic absorptive capacity." This was in 1939.

Later the British Labor Party reaffirmed its international policy of building Palestine as the Jewish National Home. This was in 1943.

In December 1944, the British Labor Party, on the eve of its election to the Government of Great Britain, declared: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land (Palestine) in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded, calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe." This resolution of the Labor Party went further, even beyond the program of the Zionist movement. I quote: "Here too in Palestine surely is a case on human grounds and to promote a stable settlement for transfers of population. Let

the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own, they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than the size of Wales. Indeed, we should reexamine also the possibility of extending the present Palestinian boundaries by agreement with Egypt, Syria, and Transjordan."

Those who solemnly and publicly made these declarations are today the rulers of Great Britain. But since coming into office, they have refused to honor a single one of these promises.

The words of the honorable delegate of the United Kingdom, Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones, which he uttered the other day, fell unpleasantly on the ears of those who heard him in this very city 3 years ago when he declared:

"In building up their National Home they (the Jews) have inflicted no wrong on the inhabitants of Palestine. There has been no scheme of colonization in the whole history of mankind which has been carried through with such care, such scrupulous fairness and consideration for the native population as has been displayed by the Jews." All this, of course, was achieved under the guidance and control of that very Jewish agency which is now being charged with the subordination of moral considerations to political expediency.

"It is clear to us," Mr. Creech-Jones further continued, "that the white-paper policy must be abrogated. It is obvious to us that the restrictions that have been imposed with regard to the development of the national home during recent years must go; that the gates of Palestine must be opened." How is this to be reconciled with the brutal enforcement of the restrictive measures of the white paper which have been carried on by the British Colonial Office?

He further stated: "We are encouraged by the fact that American opinion has made itself heard in regard to the Palestine problem. That will fortify us in our advocacy in the House of Commons." But in the House of Commons American public opinion in regard to the Palestine problem is contemptuously derided by the spokesmen of his party as emanating from political pressure in New York City. He concluded by saying: "It will be for us in London to carry on our work in Parliament and elsewhere so that there is no misadventure, so that the white-paper policy is reversed, so that the Jews can be sure that at last their national home is being established firmly and securely and they can realize their own commonwealth, a free nation which can contribute fully and freely to the general life of the whole of mankind." Was there a single echo of all this in the declarations of the honorable spokesman of the United Kingdom delegation on Tuesday last or in any of the recent declarations of his Government? Who then should be charged with moral weakness and with subordinating moral considerations to political expediency?

7. The Jewish Agency has never condoned terrorism. It has deprecated it and denounced it time and again. It has carried on an intensive campaign of education among the Jews of Palestine against it. It took practical steps to combat it, as was acknowledged by the Palestine government, even at the cost of life. The Jewish Agency, be it remembered, has no governmental or police authority. It could not reach the source of the evil which was feeding terrorism in Palestine. That source was the immoral and iniquitous policy of the white paper, a self-willed and unlawful policy decreed by Great Britain. This policy was condemned by the foremost of Great Britain's statesmen. "A plain breach of a solemn obligation," Mr. Churchill called it. "The breaking of all the pledges and promises that have been given

to the Jews," was the way the Right Honorable Leopold Stennett Amery characterized it. And he asked: "Does my right honorable friend believe that these people (the Jews) will be contented to be relegated to the position of a statutory minority, to be denied all hope of giving refuge and relief to their tortured kinsfolk in other countries; that they will wait passively until, in due course, they and the land they created are to be handed over to the Mufti?" The Right Honorable Herbert Stanley Morrison, who is now Lord President of the Council and leader of the House of Commons, indignantly declared: "I cannot accept the view that His Majesty's Government is doing anything other than counterfeiting this business or that it is doing other than breaking its promises and acting dishonorably before the whole of the civilized world."

This lawless policy, which was imposed upon the Jewish people in Palestine at a time when their brothers and sisters were seeking to escape from the hell of Europe where they were threatened with extinction and where 6,000,000 of them ultimately perished, aroused the bitter resentment of the entire population. They came to regard a repressive government as hostile. Resistance flared up. The sharp injustice of seeing thousands of their unfortunate fellow Jews turned away from the shores of Palestine and sent back to concentration camps to resume a life of despair and homelessness inflamed the passions, especially of the youth of Palestine. Is there any wonder then that some of the most intemperate of them resorted to acts which no one condones, which the authoritative organs of our movement have repeatedly condemned and denounced as harmful to the Jewish people, but which everyone in all fairness must try to understand? It is amazing to find not a single word in the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom, not a single humble word which would indicate that the policy of government was in any way whatsoever, directly or indirectly, a contributory factor to these tragic acts which we all deplore.

It is amazing, too, to note that not a single word of condemnation was uttered against the acts of violence perpetrated by the Arabs against whom no white paper was ever enforced, who faced no desperate problems of refugeism and homelessness, and who are now perpetrating acts of terror in Palestine in an effort to defeat the United Nations decision and to persuade the world of its unworkability.

We deeply regret that we have to engage in polemics with the spokesman of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with the British people. We had hoped that the chapter of Great Britain's mandatory regime in Palestine would end on a happier note. We regret that this was not to be. We are not unmindful of the sympathetic understanding which our cause has always received among the great masses of the British peoples and among its foremost leaders. If the sad events of the recent dark and turbulent years have introduced an element of controversy and estrangement in our relations we hope that it will prove only temporary. We do not wish to forget the gracious pattern of friendship and esteem which has been woven into the long fabric of the years. We are here critical of a government and of a policy, not of a people. Governments and policies change. The enduring spiritual and intellectual kinship between peoples remain.

Mr. President, the Palestine issue which is before the United Nations is a test case which the whole world is following with utmost concern, for much indeed depends upon its final outcome. Whether justice will finally be done to a sorely tried people whose monumental spiritual achievements made that little land of Palestine the Holy Land of mankind, whether solemn interna-

tional pledges are truly to be redeemed and whether this international organization which has been built upon the ruins of another such peace organization, wrecked by the failure of the great powers to maintain its authority, will share a similar fate or whether it will in truth become the tree whose fruit will be for the healing of the nations, all this is involved in this issue which is now before you and quite discernible to all who can see beneath the surface of single events into the sweep of great historic processes.

We confidently await your action.

Restraint on Religious Teachings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DWIGHT L. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1948

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the United States Supreme Court in the case of Mrs. Vashti McCollum against Board of Education, has just rendered a far reaching and if enforced, a revolutionary decision pertaining to religious instruction in our public schools, although the taking of the instruction was optional, voluntary, and without coercion or compulsion.

The Supreme Court of the State of Illinois had passed upon the merits of this case, and its validity, under the Constitution, had been affirmed by the Illinois Supreme Court but the United States Supreme Court, the Court of last resort, has disagreed with and overruled the decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, thus closing the doors of the public schools to any form of religious instruction and education.

In this day "when spiritual guides and concepts are crumbling under the impact of materialism, communism, and materialistic philosophy," it is deplorable that a ban should be placed on religious training and spiritual teachings under the facts as revealed in this case. When an atheist, who is not interested in religious and spiritual values, can intercept and prevent the teachings thereof, then this Nation has forsaken the ideals of our forefathers who landed at Plymouth Rock.

While our Nation is vigorously fighting communism at home as well as abroad its twin sister, atheism, is recognized and given power to strike down the teachings in our public schools of the greatest force, religion, which is the strongest power to kill and destroy communism. Religion is an antidote for communism.

I am including herein the comments of Earl Godwin, the dean of Washington commentators and one of the most outstanding, sound, fearless, reliable, and constructive commentators of our time. His broadcast was over WMAL on March 9, 1948, and he made the following comment:

The Supreme Court of the United States rules that public schools in Champaign, Ill., cannot give religious instruction once a week on a voluntary basis, in answer to a public sentiment in favor of just such instruction.

48-11

16 East 66th Street
New York 21, N.Y.
June 8, 1948

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

At a meeting of the General Council of the Zionist Organization which was held in Tel Aviv last April, an agreement was confirmed between Haganah and the Irgun Zvai Leumi regarding their future cooperation. Under that arrangement the Irgun was free to collect its own funds.

The agreement also provided that upon the establishment of the Jewish State, Irgun would disband as a separate military force. The State of Israel was established on May 15th. On May 28th the Provisional Government of Israel issued a special order creating "the Defense Army of Israel." The order further stated "It is herewith forbidden to create or maintain any armed force other than the Defense Army of Israel."

In response to an inquiry which was addressed to the Foreign Secretary of Israel, the following cablegram has now been received: "In view of the dissolution of Irgun Zvai Leumi and its impending complete incorporation in the Defense Army of Israel, all separate drives and allocations are unwarranted and should be discontinued forthwith. All parts of the Defense Army are financed with central funds and no question can arise of any section or group of the Army claiming separate financial assistance for its maintenance or operations expenses."

In the light of the above we wish to apprise everyone that any collection of funds in behalf of the Irgun or for any other military organization by any individual or organization in the United States is unwarranted and is contrary to the expressed wishes of the State of Israel. There is today but one Defense Army of Israel - "The Z'va Haganah l'Yisrael" - and it is maintained by the Provisional Government of Israel.

We trust that the fullest publicity will be given to the above in every community.

Silver

July 26, 1948

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
LAKE SUCCESS--

A spokesman for the Israeli Mission made the following statement today on the conditions proposed by the Arab League for the demilitarization of Jerusalem:

These three conditions are so absurd that they will not even provide a basis for discussion. None of them ~~have~~^{has} anything to do with the demilitarization of Jerusalem as such, and putting them forward amounts to a rejection of this part of the Security Council's Resolution of July 15.

The question of arms is already governed by the terms of the truce, while the questions of Jewish immigration and Arab refugees lie completely outside the Security Council Resolution.

In any case, the Government of Israel has made clear that it will not discuss any encroachment upon its sovereign jurisdiction in respect of immigration. The return of Arab refugees is a matter primarily of military security, and can only be considered in the context of a final peace settlement, and when the threat of any hostile action against Israel has permanently disappeared.

STATEMENT OF DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER

Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and of
the American Zionist Emergency Council

Dr. Silver has been requested by the Executive of the Jewish Agency to return to the United States at an earlier date than he had previously planned. Problems connected with the work of the United Nations Commission necessitate his presence in the United States at this time.

Upon his departure from Jerusalem, where he has spent the last ten days in conferences with the Executive of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Silver expressed unqualified admiration for the magnificent spirit of the Jewish Community of Jerusalem, especially the men and women besieged in the Old City - for their quiet courage, discipline and confidence. This is characteristic of the entire Jewish Community of Palestine, declared Dr. Silver, and is most gloriously manifest in its youth. There is no finer youth in the world today. The Jews of Palestine, declared Dr. Silver, ardently want peace but they are prepared for every eventuality. He is confident that they will win through. The Jewish State will be established this year, he said. There is no doubt about it.

Dr. Silver stated furthermore:

I have found the Jewish Community of Palestine deeply troubled over reports that my own Government is failing to put the full weight of its authority behind the decision of the United Nations, and that - on the contrary - certain officials of the Department of State have reverted to old techniques of circumventing the declared American policy on Palestine. If it has been correctly reported, such an attitude is incomprehensible. It was largely as a result of the vigorous stand taken by the United States that the United Nations finally took its decision of November 29th. For America now to withhold positive support from the implementation of that decision, at the very moment when Arab violence is directed towards frustrating it, would be a betrayal of the United Nations and the Jewish people. Knowing the spirit of the American people, I venture the prediction that this will not happen.

It is clear that without an international force and without the arming of a Jewish militia to protect the Jewish State, which was decreed by the United Nations, the implementation of the decision will be jeopardized. President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall, who actively supported the decision, must fully realize this. They will surely not permit subordinate officials to scuttle the plan.

The decision can most certainly be carried out if the provisions which were made for its implementation are quickly and whole-heartedly put into effect by the nations responsible for it - especially the United States. One wonders why the special police force for Jerusalem, the formation of which has already been decreed by the United Nations, is not immediately organized and sent here, and why the Governor of Jerusalem has not yet been appointed and sent out. This would have a very salutary and pacifying effect on the entire Jerusalem area, which is the most troubled region in Palestine. The show of violence in Palestine is deliberately calculated to create the impression in the United States that the U.N. plan is impractical. I am hopeful that the statesmen of the world and the leaders of my own country will not yield to this shabby intimidation.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

NOT TO BE RELEASED UNTIL DELIVERY.

STATEMENT BY DR. ABRA HILIEL SILVER, BEFORE THE
SECURITY COUNCIL

The proposal of the United States Government to suspend all efforts to implement the Partition Plan, approved by the United Nations General Assembly last November under the leadership of the United States, and to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine, is a shocking reversal of its position.

Up to the last few days, the spokesman of the United States Delegation told the Security Council that the American Government firmly ^{STANDS} by Partition. Both the President of the United States and the Secretary of State have repeatedly within recent weeks maintained that the position of the United States on Partition remained unaltered.

We are at an utter loss ^{to} understand the reason for this amazing reversal which will bring confusion and is likely to lead to increased violence in Palestine and will incalculably hurt the prestige and authority of the United Nations for whose effectiveness the President of the United States pleaded again as recently as Wednesday last.

We can't find
It is clear, from the statement of the American Delegation that the reason for scrapping a decision of the United Nations General Assembly -- overwhelmingly approved by its members -- was the threat on the part of some member states to alter that decision by violence. This will be a fateful capitulation on the part of the world organization to threats and intimidation which will completely destroy all of its future effectiveness as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes and the maintenance of world peace.

It should be clear to everyone that the establishment of a Trusteeship by the United Nations in Palestine will not automatically insure peace in that country, and that force will have to be used to maintain that arrangement, just as it would have been necessary to carry out the partition decision of the United Nations.

The statement that the plan proposed by the General Assembly is an integral

plan which cannot succeed, unless each of its parts can be carried out, is incorrect. This conception was never part of the plan. Indeed it is contrary to the statement made by the representative of the United States during the General Assembly.

It is clear that an attempt is being made to force a solution upon the Jewish people of Palestine which would diminish its sovereignty, territory and immigration as was provided for in the partition plan. Otherwise no new proposals would now be made by the United States delegation looking towards a new solution. The United States knows full well that the Arabs have opposed and continue to oppose every solution which offers any satisfaction to the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

The Jewish Agency has repeatedly been under necessity of stating that the Partition Plan represented maximum sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people beyond which it cannot go. Any proposals calling for further sacrifices will have to be imposed upon the Jewish community of Palestine by force.

We hope that the United Nations will not knowingly assume the role of the British Mandatory in an effort to carry out the kind of restrictive, crippling and discriminatory measures under which the country has been administered in recent years.

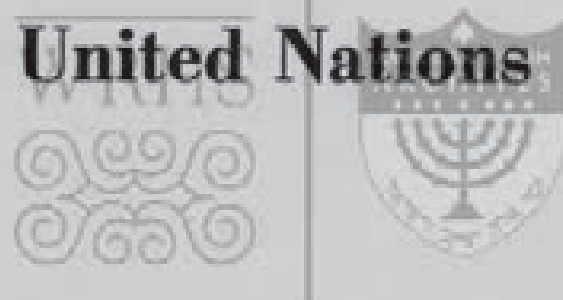
We are under obligation at this time to repeat what we stated at the session of the Security Council last week. The decision of the General Assembly remains valid for the Jewish people. We have accepted it and we are prepared to abide by it. If the United Nations Commission is unable to carry out the mandates which were assigned to it by the General Assembly, the Jewish people of Palestine will move forward in the spirit of the resolution and will do everything which will be dictated by considerations of national survival, as well as the considerations of justice and historic rights.

The world will not profit by the lesson which is now being read to it by the United States that a revision of an international judgment maturely arrived at after prolonged and objective investigation and discussion, can be extorted by threats and defiance.

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The Jewish Agency for Palestine

before the
Security Council
of the

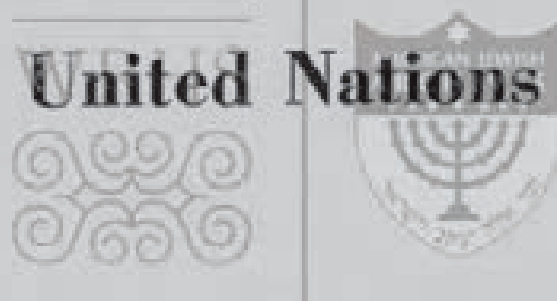


STATEMENTS
by
MOSHE SHERTOK
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

before the
Security Council

of the



STATEMENTS

submitted by

MOSHE SHERTOK, head of the Political Department

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, chairman of the American Section

Foreword

On February 16, the United Nations Palestine Commission submitted a report to the Security Council of the United Nations on the Problem of Security in Palestine. The Jewish position was set forth by representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in oral statements before the Security Council. Statements were made by Moshe Shertok, head of the political department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, on February 27, and by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, on March 5. Later, on March 19, the representative of the United States reported to the Security Council on the deliberations of the Permanent Members of the Council. His version of the situation in Palestine brought critical comment from Dr. Silver, on behalf of the Jewish Agency. That afternoon, the United States came forward with a proposal to call a special session of the General Assembly and to establish a temporary trusteeship in Palestine. The reaction of the Jewish Agency to this plan was given on the same day by Dr. Silver. On March 24, the formal statement of the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi, rejecting trusteeship and outlining their future course of action was read to the Council by Dr. Silver. Finally, on April 1, Mr. Shertok presented the views of the Jewish Agency on the United States resolutions calling for a truce in Palestine and for a special session of the General Assembly. The texts of these six statements follow:

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STATEMENT

on the Jewish Case Before the United Nations Security Council

by MOSHE SHERTOK

February 27, 1948

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council:

Jews throughout the world, and particularly the Jews of Palestine in their grave ordeal, have for many weeks past eagerly awaited the opportunity of bringing their case regarding the present position in Palestine to the direct attention of this high international body. The Jewish Agency is therefore deeply grateful to the Security Council for the privilege accorded it of being seated at this table and enabled to express its views on the subject now under discussion.

It is nearly three months since the momentous resolution on Palestine was adopted by the General Assembly. The resolution did not accept the full Jewish claim. Far from it. The Jews had asserted their internationally recognized right to immigration and settlement in all parts of Palestine west of the Jordan, so that upon the formation of a Jewish majority the whole of that territory might become a Jewish State. The Arabs had asked for the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration and the immediate proclamation of Palestine as an independent Arab State. The Assembly adopted a compromise solution. It did so after exhaustive deliberation which absorbed two of its sessions and the work of a special eleven-power committee—altogether a process of eight months' continuous discussion.

The compromise, as is well known, was to set up two independent States in Palestine—one Jewish, one Arab; to place Jerusalem under international rule; and to maintain the over-all unity of Palestine by linking together the three units in an economic union.

This solution entailed most far-reaching sacrifices for the Jews. Twenty-five years ago, the closing of Transjordan to Jewish settlement had reduced the area of the Jewish National Home to about one-quarter of its original size. The Jews were now expected to part with nearly one-half of the remainder. Moreover, Transjordan having in the meantime become an Arab Kingdom, Jewish consent was now sought for the establishment of a second independent Arab State in the country which the Jewish people had for thousands of years regarded as its national patrimony and historic heritage. The separation of Jerusalem from the Jewish State was a particularly painful wrench.

Yet the Jewish Agency, with the support of the overwhelming majority of Palestinian Jews, decided, however reluctantly, to accept the compromise. It bowed to the imposed verdict of the international tribunal. It was able to do so because, though only in one-eighth of the area promised in the Balfour Declaration, the new solution satisfied the Jewish claim to statehood and a place in the family of nations; also because even that limited area contained possibilities of development which opened the way for large-scale settlement; and because, though sovereignty was to be curtailed by the economic union, the freedom of the Jewish State to admit as many Jewish immigrants as it found necessary and possible remained unimpaired. It was the combination of these three elements—statehood, the given area and freedom of immigration—that constituted the irreducible minimum which the Jews accepted; but beyond which they would not go.

What has happened in the course of the three months and what is happening today is a determined attempt, in open defiance of international authority, to deny to the Jewish people even that minimum and to reduce them to a state of political subjection, if not actually to confront them with the menace of physical annihilation. The Arab governments, members of the United Nations, are endeavoring to defeat the General Assembly's resolution by force of arms. The Mandatory Power is thwarting the United Nations plan by a policy of non-cooperation and is tolerating the active obstruction of its implementation.

The Security Council is faced with an open attempt to alter by force the settlement decreed by the General Assembly, which the General Assembly requested the Security Council to determine "as a threat to the peace, a breach of the peace and an act of aggression." The attempt is directly sponsored by the governments of Arab States, members of the United Nations. This assertion hardly stands in need of evidential proof or investigation. It rests on the free admission of the parties concerned. Nor is any research or intelligence work necessary to bring that admission to light. It is shouted from every public platform in the various Arab capitals and blared through all the trumpets of their official propaganda machine. The endeavor of the Arab governments is not limited to the defeat of the United Nations plan; they aim at imposing their own solution, the one which the General Assembly has rejected; and they are trying to achieve both ends—the negative and the affirmative—by methods of aggression and violence which are the very negation of the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

The threats of force to resist the partition plan, which were voiced by practically every Arab representative to the General Assembly, are

still vivid in memory. The governments concerned are now making every effort to live up to the words of their spokesmen. Even before the session of the General Assembly in September, 1947, soon after the recommendations of UNSCOP were published, the six Arab governments, members of the United Nations, met in Sofar, Lebanon, and adopted a resolution expressing their determination "to resist the implementation of these recommendations" and undertaking to assist the Arabs of Palestine in "a relentless war" against them, "supplying them with men, funds and ammunition."

Soon after the General Assembly's session, the Prime Ministers of the Arab States held a consultation in Cairo, as a result of which an official announcement was published on December 17, 1947, which declared that "the Arab governments will take decisive measures which will guarantee the defeat of partition" and threatened that they would throw the full force of their armies into the battle until victory is achieved. On the same occasion the Lebanese Prime Minister issued a statement in which he said: "We will never sleep until we save Palestine as an independent Arab unitary state . . . we will supply Palestine . . . with weapons, equipment and men." The Syrian Prime Minister likewise stated: "The time for speeches is past and the stage of action is at hand; we should all be determined to liberate Palestine by our might and money." On January 15, 1948, the Press Officer of the Arab League—a League comprising seven Arab governments of which six are members of the United Nations—disclosed that the League "had recommended that the Arab nations occupy all Palestine with their regular armies when British troops leave Palestine."

The stage of action had, indeed, arrived. Time will not permit a full enumeration of all the activities which received publicity. Members of the Security Council might refer to the Jewish Agency's "Memorandum on Arab Aggression," of which they will receive copies. Here only some of the most salient facts will be mentioned. The Arab governments have jointly proceeded to the formation of what is called an Arab army of liberation. They have appointed its high command. In most Arab countries recruiting offices for volunteers have been opened with official sanction of the governments. In Syria recruitment and training are under the direct charge of the Ministry of Defense, which issues official notices to regulate it. The Ministry has announced, *inter alia*, its acceptance of the resignation of army officers volunteering for service in Palestine to fight against partition. Similar "resignations" are reported from Egypt and Iraq where the officers were placed in charge of training volunteers. When the first incursion of an armed force from Syria via Lebanon into Palestine occurred on January 9, the press re-

ported that the Ministers of Defense of both countries personally led the convoy, and that the Syrian Defense Minister's car headed the column, the car flying the Syrian flag. Subsequently, on January 14, the Lebanese Defense Minister gave to the Chamber of Deputies in Beirut an eye witness account of the attack which the force had made on Jewish villages, and in which, incidentally, it suffered a crushing defeat. He added that "all activities, such as the collection of funds, registration and training of volunteers, assembly of arms, etc., are being supervised by himself and the Syrian Defense Minister in accordance with the resolutions of the Prime Ministers' Conference in Cairo."

Since that date several such columns have crossed the frontiers into Palestine as reported by the Mandatory Power to the Commission, all provided with motor transport and all properly equipped and provisioned. The invaders from outside form the backbone of the forces now attacking the Jews in Palestine, attacks in which Palestine Arabs play only a secondary part. All these activities are conducted in conjunction with the Palestine Arab Higher Committee of which the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem is still the president. It is noteworthy that prominent in the high command and among the district commanders are men who, like the Mufti, spent the war years in Germany helping Hitler. The backbone of the Iraqi contingents consists of those who fought under Rashid Ali in the pro-Nazi rebellion of 1941. When the leader of an Egyptian contingent arrived in Damascus, he proposed that the contingent be named after a notorious Egyptian Nazi who had died in Germany.

The representative of Egypt must be complimented on the extreme moderation and restraint of his expressions when he attempts to describe these aggressive acts, to which his government is a party, as being merely a matter of "non-compliance" with a recommendation of the General Assembly. Open and active defiance are the words indicated. Moderation is, indeed, a relative notion. To the Egyptian representative, the Arab solution for the Palestine problem, which expects the Jews of Palestine to put up with the fate of a crystallized or dwindling minority and to console themselves with a paper guarantee of religious toleration, is the very acme of moderation. Such imperviousness to arguments from the other side and such refusal to understand the essence of the national movement of another people make the continuation of political discussion futile. It is high time for the representatives of the Arab governments to realize that the Jewish people in Palestine will never submit to the status of a minority on sufferance which is the lot of the oriental Jewish communities; that the urge for independence will never

be eradicated from Jewish hearts; that the very logic by which one Arab country after another in the Middle East has achieved its national sovereignty makes the Jewish claim to statehood in Palestine indisputable and its realization irresistible; that as long as Arab states continue to resist by force the attainment of the Jewish national goal, there can be no peace or stability in the Middle East; and that the long-term interests of all concerned can be served only by mutual adjustment based on equality of status rather than by attempts at suppression and obliteration.

The Jews repudiate, as fantastic and grotesque, the allegation which the Syrian representative saw fit to repeat here that for the Jews, Palestine is a mere springboard for imperialistic expansion into the whole area of the Middle East. The assertion is fantastic under any circumstances, for it is the very essence of Zionism to concentrate on Palestine and not to create a new dispersal. The assertion is grotesque at a time when all the countries around Palestine are poised to swoop down on it to crush the budding Jewish State out of existence.

It may be idle to try to refute many other outworn shibboleths in the Syrian representative's speech, for this has been done many a time, apparently to no avail. Only one charge cannot be ignored, for it carries in it poisonous seed which may strike fruitful ground in the Middle East and bear pernicious fruit. It is that the creation of the Jewish State would place Christian and Moslem holy places under Jewish domination, with results too horrible to contemplate. The Syrian representative's speech was undoubtedly animated by the highest ideals of inter-religious peace. The speech will probably be widely read in the Arab countries, but there will be no footnote to inform the uninitiated that Jerusalem and Bethlehem are in the international zone, that Hebron (incidentally holy primarily to the Jews!) and Nazareth are in the Arab State, and that throughout the area of the Jewish State there is hardly a single Moslem or Christian shrine, in the true sense of the term. As to ordinary churches and mosques, the representative of Syria gave the impression that there were many cases of their desecration by Jews. Actually not a single such case is on record anywhere in the world. This is to compare with the riots in Aleppo in December, 1947, when all the twelve Jewish synagogues of the city were sacked and burned practically to the ground, invaluable ancient scrolls being consumed in the fire, or with the riots in Cairo in November, 1946, where synagogues and churches alike were the target of mob violence. While the Syrian representative was making his speech, the newspapers of the day carried a picture showing Arab riflemen at the Wailing Wall, the greatest sanctuary of the Jewish people, to which the access of Jew-

ish worshippers is now barred. Such incidents serve as a measure of degeneration of the proverbial Arab chivalry. Other manifestations of it are, on one plane, the forcible extortion of contributions from the Jews of Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq in support of the anti-partition campaign—that is to say, in support of the killing of their kith and kin in Palestine and of the liquidation of the national hope of their people which they so fervently share—and, on another plane, the horrible mutilation of the bodies of Jewish fallen in Palestine and the parading through Arab towns of the cut-off heads of Jewish victims stuck on spikes.

The Arab spokesmen have invested much effort in the contention that the resolution of the General Assembly is a mere recommendation. I hope that though not privileged to represent a member state, I may be permitted to make a few comments on this aspect of the problem which specifically concerns perhaps the United Kingdom. When the United Kingdom proposed and other powers agreed that the problem of Palestine should be referred to the General Assembly, they were fully aware of the powers of this body. They were also fully aware of the fact that Palestine had for twenty-five years been an international trust. In the face of the announced decision of the Mandatory Power to terminate the Mandate, the General Assembly was fully aware of its responsibilities in regard to this trust and of its power to fill the vacuum created by the liquidation of the mandatory regime. One government goes, another government—the United Nations Commission as agent of the General Assembly—replaces it.

This recommendation of the General Assembly, which was addressed in the first place to the Mandatory Power, was accepted by the Mandatory Power as a *decision* of that body. Speaking in the House of Commons on December 11, 1947, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech-Jones, said: "The decision of the Assembly is regarded by His Majesty's Government as the decision of a court of international opinion. This is not a grudging acceptance . . . we wish our authority transferred to our successors in an orderly manner. We can only express our hope . . . that the greatest respect will be shown this decision of the international authority."

On December 12, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bevin declared: "I am not going and His Majesty's Government are not going to oppose the United Nations decision. . . . There is the United Nations decision. . . . If my colleagues or I can render any assistance . . . we shall do it."

It may be recalled that when the British Government first referred the question of Palestine to the United Nations, it made no stipulation

as to whether and under what terms it would comply with the recommendation. It seemed reasonable to assume, at the time, that whatever the verdict, the United Kingdom would accept it and, as a loyal member of the United Nations, cooperate in its execution. Later, when conditions indeed were put forward, every effort was made by those responsible for the drafting of the plan in the session of the General Assembly to meet them. Yet the attitude of the British Government has developed and hardened into one of non-cooperation bordering on obstruction.

The British Government declared that it would take no part in the implementation of the plan. Actually, the plan was not based on its enforcement by the Mandatory Power. On the other hand, it insisted that, as long as the Mandate lasts, it can suffer no rival authority in Palestine but must alone be responsible for the maintenance of law and order. It has not discharged that responsibility.

One can understand the quandary in which the United Kingdom Government found itself placed as a result of its own attitude. The Arab attack was not directed purely and simply against Jewish lives and Jewish property. Its main target was the policy of the United Nations. To defend Jews against Arab attack meant by implication to defend the policy of the United Nations against those trying to subvert it. From this implication the mandatory administration found itself inhibited. It therefore could not fully maintain law and order. To say the least, its will was paralyzed, its springs of action were braked. At the very inception of the trouble, to mention one illustration, a senior government official informed the Jewish Agency that police escort could not be provided for inter-urban transport since "this might be interpreted as British implementation of partition."

In trying to escape the dilemma, the administration evolved a theory of its own neutrality in a conflict between the Jews and the Arabs, and in justification of the theory, it proceeded to conjure up a spurious equality of guilt as between the attackers and the attacked—between those upholding and those defying the authority of the United Nations. "The Jewish story that the Arabs are the attackers and the Jews the attacked is not tenable," said Sir Alexander Cadogan in his statement to the Commission. "Elements on each side," he went on, "are engaged in attacking or in making reprisals indistinguishable from attacks." But this artificial equality, in the further endeavor of rationalizing British behavior, becomes again an inequality, this time somewhat in favor of the Arab and to the discredit of the Jew. For, so runs the official British account, "the Arabs are determined to show that they will not submit tamely to the United Nations plan of partition; while the Jews

are trying to consolidate the advantages gained at the General Assembly."

The fallacy of this analysis was, we believe, fully exposed in the Jewish Agency's "Memorandum on the Policy of the Mandatory Power in Palestine Since the Adoption of the General Assembly's Resolution, with Particular Reference to Security," submitted to the United Nations Palestine Commission on February 21, 1948, copies of which were sent to members of the Security Council. It was the Arabs who launched the attack. The Jews acted in self-defense. They expected a strong reaction from the Government, in accordance with its undertaking. This was not forthcoming. On the contrary, Jewish self-defense activities were hampered and disrupted. Searches of arms among the Jews, arrests of Jewish defenders almost under the fire of Arab attack, prohibition of the use by Jews of more effective defense equipment were the order of the day. It was only then that isolated acts of indiscriminate bloodshed on the part of dissident Jewish groups occurred. Although even these came by way of reaction to Arab violence, they were unreservedly condemned by the organized community, but were seized upon by the authorities in justification of their neutrality. On the other hand, the organized Jewish defense organization, the Haganah, found itself constrained by official inaction or by lack of official action to assume the counter-offensive by trying to attack and eliminate every enemy stronghold. Its counter-attacks have been limited in number and aimed at selected targets. No action of the Haganah was ever motivated by the desire "to consolidate the advantages gained" from the partition plan, though if there were such action, its purpose would have been to uphold the United Nations decision and not to resist it. The only act which could, by a long stretch of interpretation, come under that definition was the refusal of the Jews to follow official advice to evacuate certain parts of Palestine—but this was no consolidation, it was maintenance of previously acquired positions, which the Government wanted them to surrender. Throughout, the Jewish plan of campaign was one of defense, that of the Arabs one of aggression. It was only complete political disorientation that could so distort the picture in the eyes of the Mandatory Government.

Were the facts to conform with Sir Alexander Cadogan's theory, there would have had to be cases of large crowds of armed Jews converging from all sides to wipe out an isolated Arab village, or crossing into Syria, there to disrupt traffic or attack peaceful settlements. Then, and then only, would the acts on both sides indeed become "indistinguishable."

There are questions arising from certain aspects of the Manda-

tory's policy and practice to which it is indeed difficult to find an answer. Why are arms distributed to units of the Arab municipal police and withheld from the Jewish? Is it not clear that those arms will be used against the Jews and the United Nations plan? Why are units of the Arab Legion so stubbornly maintained in or near Jewish areas after their murderous attacks on Jewish traffic and passers-by? Must the Jews be continually subjected to this extreme provocation? Why does the British Government continue to supply arms to the Arab States? Representatives of the British Government, it is true, have denied that these arms are being used for fighting in Palestine. How can they be sure? Even if this were true, is it not clear that the supply of arms to Arab States at this juncture releases other arms for Palestine? And I should like to add: Why is the domination of armed Arab bands over the entire area of the holy city of Jerusalem tolerated?

The gravest problem of all arises in connection with the continued incursion of armed Arab forces from outside. The Government, which has shown such a remarkable excess of zeal, vigilance and efficiency in tracking down and intercepting sea transports of Jewish refugees from Europe, maintains, to all appearances, an attitude of almost complete resignation and helplessness—or indifference—in the face of this steady piecemeal invasion of a territory which is still in its charge. According to the information of the Jewish Agency, so far seven contingents have crossed into Palestine through the northern and eastern frontiers, numbering between them some 4,000 to 4,500 men. They did not infiltrate in small groups; they came each time hundreds of men together, mostly in well organized convoys of motor-trucks. They crossed bridges and travelled along highways. With one or two exceptions their entry was entirely unhindered. Is it conceivable that no advance information could be obtained regarding the movements of these columns and no effective guard could be maintained at the main entrances or crossings? On one occasion the Jewish Agency succeeded in warning the authorities forty-eight hours in advance of an impending crossing. Yet nothing was done to prevent it and the contingent crossed safely and pitched its tents near a large Arab village where it remained unmolested until the men were presumably posted to various centers. The administration now admits that certain parts of Palestine are under the virtual control of the commanders of these foreign forces. They are increasingly active in offensive operations. How then can the general public resist the impression that preparations are openly tolerated for the proclamation of Arab rule, local or foreign, over large parts of Palestine, in complete disregard of the United Nations decision and under conditions of mortal peril to the Jewish population concerned?

The situation is further aggravated by a process of rapid disintegration of authority which is destructive of discipline. Latent hatreds are given free rein. There have been clear cases of individual Jews being shot in cold blood by British troops and police, and worse excesses are believed to be possible. The very fact that the state of feeling is such creates an untenable situation and contributes an additional reason why the British Mandate must be terminated as soon as possible and should certainly not be prolonged beyond the fixed date of May 15.

Despite all the bitter disappointments born of the White Paper of 1939, the Jews had hoped that the winding-up of the British Mandate would produce a *defente* in their relations with the Mandatory and make possible a friendly separation. These hopes have been tragically falsified by experience. As long as the Mandatory Government inexorably pursues its present political course, even the slightest revival of mutual confidence seems unthinkable. On the crucial issue of immigration, policy has remained unchanged, and even a clear recommendation of the General Assembly for the freeing of a port to allow a substantial immigration has proved of no avail. Only 750 permits per month are available for immigration from Europe, the balance of the quota being devoted to the evacuation of Cyprus. In these circumstances, is it surprising that groups of survivors of the European massacres continue to cross the Mediterranean on their own? What is surprising is that the arrival of these transports, all intercepted, should be set by the spokesman of the United Kingdom as a disturbing factor in the security situation, equal in its damaging effect to that of the incursion of armed Arab bands across the land frontiers—and this at a time when all recent refugee transports let themselves be diverted or trans-shipped to Cyprus without the slightest disturbance or the least resistance.

The Mandatory Government has also so far opposed steps being taken in preparation of the Jewish State militia. The British Secretary of State for the Colonies in his statement to the Security Council said that his Government could not agree "to the formation of a militia under the control of the Provisional Government of the future Jewish State." But nothing of the sort was requested at this stage by the Jewish Agency. The proposal which we put forward to the United Nations Commission on Palestine and which we understand was transmitted to the Mandatory Government was not for the immediate establishment of a militia to operate independently of British control during the period of the Mandate. It was something quite different, namely that *preparations* should start now for the setting up of the militia after the termination of the Mandate. We suggested that permission should be

given for the proper training of a nucleus of the militia, which would take no part in day-to-day defense duties, and that facilities should be given for the acquisition and storing of the necessary equipment. It is these requests which, according to our information, have been refused by representatives of the Mandatory Government.

This question of the militia and of the forces required for the implementation of the plan in general calls for a clear definition of the Jewish Agency's attitude. We have throughout maintained first, that the Jews of Palestine are ready to shoulder far-reaching responsibilities in their defense and in the defense of their territory under the plan; second, that in view of the fact that the United Nations authority may be threatened by aggression from outside, an international force is vitally necessary. This attitude remains unchanged. Our experience as a result of the operation of the Haganah in the last three months has been definitely encouraging. We have held our ground throughout. Every single attack has been beaten off. We have been assisted by British forces only on special occasions, more often than not after the battle had already been decided in our favor by our own action. In general, we have been hampered and impeded in our defense activities by the limitations imposed by the Government. Granted adequate equipment and full freedom of action, we feel hopeful of being able to build up an effective defense force for the Jewish State. To achieve that we require assistance—certainly in arms, possibly in funds during the initial period, but not in men.

On the other hand, there is the problem of the enforcement of the Charter and of the prevention of aggression which is essentially a United Nations responsibility. We have never set the formation of an international force as an indispensable condition for the implementation of the plan. In view of the fact of outside aggression, an international force is clearly indicated. Yet if the international force is not established, we shall still be ready to discharge our responsibility but in that eventuality our need for assistance would be correspondingly greater. Whatever happens, however, and even if the worst comes to the worst, the Jews of Palestine will fight in defense of their lives and of their political rights. Their spirit and their capacity have been revealed by the experience of the last few months.

Time is of the most vital essence. Since we must be ready to assume responsibility upon the termination of the Mandate, naturally under the direction of the United Nations Commission, our preparations must begin at once. We have asked the Commission for the immediate provision of supplementary arms for our present defense needs. But apart from the forces engaged at present in day-to-day defense, additional

contingents of our people must be organized and commence their training, and arms must be provided for setting up the militia. This would call for the revision of indiscriminate embargoes and for the initiation of an arms policy which would be in harmony with the United Nations plan, namely, the supply of arms to those who are ready to assume defense responsibilities in the implementation of the plan and the denial of arms to those engaged in resisting it. We very respectfully suggest that the Security Council might consider issuing a call to all member states to adopt such a policy in regard to the sale or supply of arms to Palestine and the neighboring countries, including all countries of the Arab League.

The United Nations Commission, which has been at work since January 9, has already made progress with many aspects of the program of implementation. We are gratified to note their decision, communicated to the Security Council, to proceed with their work, in which the Jewish Agency will be happy to continue its fullest cooperation. One of the most important and urgent tasks of the Commission is the formation of a Provisional Council of Government, in regard to which negotiations are in progress.

The possibility that on April 1 the Security Council may have to consider what steps should be taken in regard to the Arab State area if no Provisional Council has been formed there was anticipated in the resolution and constitutes no reason why a Provisional Council for the Jewish State should not be established in time.

These are our observations on the subject of implementation. The representative of the United States has introduced a resolution proposing that the Security Council "accept, subject to the authority of the Security Council under the Charter, the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in paragraphs (a), (b), and (c) of the General Assembly resolution"; and that it establish a committee comprising the five permanent members of the Security Council whose functions will be, *inter alia*, "to consider whether the situation with respect to Palestine constitutes a threat to international peace and security, and to report its conclusions as a matter of urgency to the Council." The Jewish Agency submits that both steps are patently urgent.

The representative of the United States also proposed that the same committee should "consult with the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendation." In the passage of his address which bears on this

particular proposal he explained that the purpose of the Security Council in undertaking this consultation should be to "make every effort to get an agreement on the basis of the General Assembly recommendation for the underlying political difficulty."

The purpose of the consultation, we must confess, is not clear and the proposal leaves us greatly bewildered. We fear that it may lead to new delays and complications which may jeopardize the implementation of the whole plan and further exacerbate the situation in Palestine. In the past, innumerable attempts were made by the Jewish Agency and some also by the Mandatory Government—each side, naturally acting according to its own lights—to explore the possibility of an agreed settlement of the Palestine problem. All these efforts remained fruitless. It was as a result and at the end of this long, laborious and futile quest for an agreed solution that the question was brought before the United Nations for final adjudication and the partition compromise was adopted by the General Assembly as the only way out of the difficulty. In recommending to the British Parliament the submission of the question to the United Nations, representatives of the British Government themselves expressed their conviction, based on long experience, that a solution acceptable to both parties was outside the realm of practical politics.

Thus, Mr. Bevin, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared in the House of Commons on February 18, 1947, that there was no prospect of reaching any settlement in Palestine "which would be even broadly acceptable to the two communities in Palestine." This view was also expressed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech-Jones, in the House of Commons on August 12, 1947, and Sir Alexander Cadogan in the General Assembly on November 26, 1947.

A similar view was expressed with remarkable cogency by the representative of the United States at the last session of the General Assembly, and I would beg leave to quote the relevant passage. Speaking at one of the concluding meetings of the General Assembly on November 26, 1947, Ambassador Johnson said: "Much has been said during the course of these debates on the desirability and necessity of presenting to the General Assembly a plan which would command the agreement of both the principal protagonists in this situation. I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented, either to the General Assembly or to the Mandatory Government during its long years of tenure, or in any other place, which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented, and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented. If we are to effect through the United

Nations a solution of this problem, it cannot be done without the use of the knife. Neither the Jews nor the Arabs will ever be completely satisfied with anything we do, and it is just as well to bear that in mind."

It is doubtful whether a change of even one word in this memorable statement is warranted today. Be that as it may, the Jewish Agency feels bound at this stage of the proceedings to make its attitude clear beyond any possible doubt. The partition plan adopted by the General Assembly is, to us, the last and final compromise and the irreducible minimum of acceptability. No reduction of Jewish rights under the General Assembly's plan, either in territory or in sovereignty, can be accepted by the Jewish people.

The United Nations through its various organs has worked hard in grappling with the Palestine problem. The resolution of the General Assembly represents the collective wisdom of the international community on this burning issue. Ours is an historic problem and its constructive solution will be a distinct contribution to the success and the vitality of this new great international organization. We appeal to the Security Council and to all its members to take such actions as fall within their province to translate the General Assembly's plan into a reality.



STATEMENT

on the Jewish Case Before the United Nations Security Council

by DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

March 5, 1948

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council:

The Jewish Agency is grateful for the opportunity to make some additional observations on the subject which is now before the Security Council. We should like to give our reactions to the resolutions which are before the Security Council bearing upon the reports which were submitted to it by the United Nations Palestine Commission, as well as to comment on certain statements which were made here in the course of the discussions.

In the first place, we should like to comment on the statement which was made by the representative of Egypt to the effect that "it must be admitted that so far the United Nations' efforts in the study of other solutions than partition have been less than casual. The General Assembly hardly gave any of those solutions a cursory look. . . . The General Assembly did not, either in Committee or in Plenary Session, give any reasonable scope for discussion of any plan but partition."

It should be recalled that the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine submitted to the General Assembly two solutions for the Palestine problem, a majority and a minority solution. The minority solution found no support. The Arab States put forward their own proposals. In order to consider all proposals, the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine appointed two committees, the one to consider the majority report which proposed partition and the other to consider the proposals of the Arab States. Both committees worked for weeks and both submitted separate reports to the Ad Hoc Committee. The representatives of the several Arab States had the fullest opportunity, of which they fully availed themselves, to advocate the proposal which they favored. Many days, the members will recall, were consumed in this discussion. When the vote was finally taken, the report of the minority committee was decisively rejected.

We submit, therefore, that it is quite inaccurate to state that "the General Assembly did not either in Committee or in Plenary Session give any reasonable scope for discussion of any plan but partition."

The Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine appointed still a third committee—a Conciliation Subcommittee composed of three members comprising the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, the Rapporteur of the

Committee—the representative of Iceland, and the vice-chairman of the Committee—the representative of Siam. This Committee was given full powers to undertake efforts at conciliation between the Jews and the Arabs. Efforts were made by this Committee to find a formula other than those of the majority and minority proposals which would be mutually acceptable. According to the testimony of the Chairman of this Committee, Mr. Evatt, the ground was explored from every possible point of view and “we reached the conclusion that right up to the present time no more could be done.” Mr. Thor Thors of Iceland, member of this Committee, addressing the General Assembly on November 29, just prior to the final vote, declared: “The Conciliation Subcommittee followed developments closely, both in subcommittee one and in subcommittee two. Unfortunately, the gulf between the two parties was too great then to be bridged by conciliation. The Arabs did not seem to be willing to permit large-scale immigration of Jews and to grant independence to a Jewish State in Palestine. The Jews would not accept anything less than reasonably free immigration and the prospect of independence. Between these different contentions no conciliation could be found during the treatment of the problem by the United Nations. The Arab Higher Committee was approached by UNSCOP on more than one occasion and was invited to assist in the work of UNSCOP but it refused. . . . Now at the eleventh hour, just when the vote is to take place there are criticisms of the work of the Conciliation Subcommittee and vague suggestions about a possibility of conciliation. Actually, the Conciliation Subcommittee tried everything possible, but in vain. Moreover, there has been up to the last few minutes no concrete or specific offer of conciliation or compromise.”

In a similar vein the representative of the United States, Ambassador Herschel Johnson, speaking at that same session declared: “This Palestine problem has been of concern to the world now for the past thirty years. It has been the subject of innumerable inquiries and commissions and all conceivable types of solution have been proposed. As members know, the Peel Commission in 1937 recommended the partition of Palestine. However, subsequent events prevented definitive action at that time. Since the conclusion of World War II two renewed attempts have been made to solve the Palestine problem. The work of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of 1946 was followed by conferences in London in which the so-called Grady-Morrison proposals were evolved. There were further conferences in London last winter. Finally, in May of 1947, an inquiry was undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations. During all of these studies the various solutions of the Palestine problem have been given careful consideration. I

know from my study," declared Mr. Johnson, "of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine that it made every effort to arrive at a solution which would be acceptable to both the Jews and the Arabs —"

The charge, therefore, which was made here that "so far the United Nations' efforts in the study of other solutions than partition have been less than casual" is not borne out by the facts.

2. The failure to reach an agreed solution after thirty years of questing and searching for it, so eloquently attested by the events themselves and by the testimony of the representatives, both of Great Britain and of the United States, which were quoted by the spokesman of the Jewish Agency last week, leads us strongly to question the usefulness of that part of the proposal of the United States delegation which calls upon the Committee of the Security Council to be appointed "to consult with the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendation of 29, November, 1947."

This proposal, undoubtedly suggested by commendable motives, may, we fear, cause long and disastrous delays and the stultification of the activities of the United Nations Commission. The representative of the United Kingdom correctly pointed out the other day that "the untractable problems facing the Palestine Commission are becoming rapidly insoluble as delay is further protracted and as hope recedes that the Commission will be adequately equipped to take up the immense responsibilities imposed upon it." The United States proposal for new consultations introduces anew an element of uncertainty which invariably inhibits conclusive action. It will be seized upon by the opponents of the United Nations decision as another opportunity to reopen the whole question, to force through those solutions which were rejected by the United Nations or which failed of acceptance time and again on other occasions, or failing in all this, to attempt to entangle and prevent all action.

This grave international problem cannot be solved by indecision or postponement. It was indecision and lack of forthrightness on the part of the Mandatory of Palestine, "the irresistible operation of feeble councils," to use a phrase of Burke, which led to that grave deterioration in the country which finally forced the Mandatory to turn to the United Nations for a final solution of the problem. The United Nations accepted that solemn responsibility and proceeded, earnestly and deliberately, to investigate the problem *de novo*, to study its history and all

of its present implications. It appointed a committee whose members were scrupulously selected for their impartiality and neutrality to make the investigation and to bring in recommendations. After prolonged and serious discussion of their recommendations the United Nations overwhelmingly accepted the plan to set up two independent states in Palestine, one Jewish and one Arab, within the framework of an economic union, and an international regime in Jerusalem. The nations who voted for this plan fully realized that what they were doing was not just endorsing some abstract idea or making a recommendation which would then be left suspended in mid-air. They were deciding upon a course of action as well as upon a policy. They forthwith appointed a Commission of the United Nations and authorized it to implement their decision, according to a carefully worked out plan of action, and they called upon the Security Council to take the necessary measures to assist it in carrying through the implementation.

The Commission of the United Nations has already done an enormous amount of effective work in connection with the execution of this plan. The preparatory steps have nearly all been taken. The Commission is now on the eve of taking over its responsibilities in Palestine, as the date of the termination of the Mandate on May 15 rapidly approaches. The British Colonial Secretary stated before this body last week that the Palestine Administration is taking all practical steps to terminate its control by May 15 and that the withdrawal of British forces and stores is already well under way. He further declared on March 2 that "the date of termination of our responsibility is irrevocably fixed."

To raise at this late hour the prospect of new negotiations and consultations between Arabs and Jews on the nature and character of the future government of Palestine is, in our judgment, to endanger the very object which the United Nations, by its action last November, sought to achieve. In that direction lies neither hope nor promise. That road leads to a quagmire of indecision and inaction. There is but a brief time left, and time is fast running out to chaos and anarchy.

3. We should like to comment also on the statement which was repeated here by the Egyptian representative to the effect that the decision taken last November was "a mere recommendation to the Egyptian Government."

This action taken by the Assembly was action taken in response to the request of the Mandatory Power, the only state member of the United Nations having any authority to act in Palestine—a country placed under an international trust. The request was for the solution of

the problem of the future government of Palestine. Before taking any action, the General Assembly took note of the declaration by the Mandatory Power that it plans to complete the evacuation of Palestine by August 1, 1948.

The action taken by the General Assembly was a resolution in the form of recommendations to the United Kingdom, as Mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other members of the United Nations, for the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the plan of partition with economic union.

While the United Kingdom has refused to accept special responsibility for the implementation of the plan, it has not, as Mandatory, rejected the recommended plan. On the contrary, the United Kingdom has officially stated that it accepted the decision of the General Assembly and announced its intention to terminate its Mandate on May 15, and has further announced its intention and readiness to turn over the administration of Palestine to the United Nations Commission as envisaged in the recommended plan. The recommended plan is, therefore, no longer a mere recommendation. The Mandatory is in process of liquidating its Mandate. It has accepted the United Nations plan for Palestine in much the same manner as the states party to the Italian treaty accepted a United Nations plan for the Free Territory of Trieste. On May 15, the only administration in Palestine having any international standing will be the United Nations Commission. If its authority fails there will be no regime of law in Palestine at all, and anarchy will prevail.

It is for that reason that the Jewish Agency strongly urges immediate action on the United States Government proposal that the Security Council accept the requests addressed by the General Assembly to it in its resolution so as to avoid the unwarranted assumption that there is no legal basis in which law and order may be maintained in Palestine after May 15.

It is regrettable that the necessity exists to remind member nations that it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations for any member state to use force or the threat of force, or to encourage the use of force or the threat of force to obstruct the carrying out of the plan recommended by the General Assembly and accepted by the Mandatory Power. Unless the member states accept the overwhelming moral authority of a decision which derives from the collective judgment of the United Nations, the great hope which inspired its organization is tragically doomed. What is involved here is far more than a technical legal question. It is a question whether the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for world peace and the salvation of man-

kind or whether it is to be but an impressive stage-setting for actors and supernumeraries busily engaged in a meaningless play of long-winded futility.

I submit that those who would empty the concept of a United Nations resolution of all compelling moral authority are the enemies, not alone of this particular decision of the United Nations, but unconsciously of the United Nations organization itself.

4. This leads us to an observation on the relation of the Security Council to the implementation of the United Nations decision. Technically, the position which was taken by the representative of the United States and by others, that the Security Council cannot use armed force for the implementation of any decision of the United Nations, but only in cases where it is determined that there exist threats to peace, breaches of the peace, or acts of aggression affecting international peace, may be correct. It may be an important legal and technical distinction to make, and we assume that it was made in order to keep the action requested of the Security Council fully within the terms defined by the Charter.

But this legal distinction should not obscure the realities of the situation which should be faced frankly. It is the determined and organized resistance to the decision of the United Nations which has brought about a condition of a breach of peace and a threat to peace in Palestine and has forced the United Nations Palestine Commission to call upon the Security Council "for assistance in the discharge of its duty to the General Assembly." The report states that "powerful Arab interests, both inside and outside Palestine, are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein." The Commission is further of the opinion that "a basic issue of international order is involved. A dangerous and tragic precedent will have been established if force or the threat of the use of force is to prove an effective deterrent to the will of the United Nations." What the Commission asked for is not an armed force to enforce partition, but "an adequate non-Palestinian force which will assist law-abiding elements in both the Arab and Jewish communities organized under the general direction of the Commission in maintaining order and security in Palestine, and thereby enabling the Commission to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly." This, we believe, is a fair and pragmatic statement of the issue and in keeping with the legal requirements of the situation.

The role of the Security Council is an integral part of the plan adopted by the United Nations in November. In adopting it, the General

Assembly of the United Nations relied upon the fullest cooperation of the Security Council. It should not take long for the members of the Security Council to determine the fact that a breach of the peace exists in Palestine and that acts of aggression have taken place. Arab aggression is patent. It is self-confessed. The measure of support which the Security Council will give to the decision of the United Nations in its efforts at implementation will be evidenced by the urgency with which it approaches its task, and by the effective measures which it will take to re-establish a condition of peace in Palestine in which the United Nations Palestine Commission can carry out the responsibilities which were entrusted to it. Here again the action of the Security Council on *this* issue will have far-reaching implications for the effectiveness of United Nations actions on other issues and for the buttressing of the authority and prestige of this great world organization. Failure of the Security Council to comply with the request of the General Assembly to take the necessary measures to empower the Commission to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it if a threat to peace develops there during the transitional period, and to determine as a threat to the peace any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged in the resolution, would, in our judgment, be a serious matter which goes far beyond the Palestine controversy. It concerns the coordination and the effective functioning of the activities of the various organs of the United Nations. The basic thought underlying these two major organs of the United Nations—the General Assembly and the Security Council—is that they will coordinate their activities and actively support each other. A serious break in the normal workings of this mechanism would inflict an additional blow to the organization of the United Nations. It is our view that the United States Government's proposal that the Security Council accept the request addressed by the General Assembly to it must be the starting point for any effective action by the Security Council in this matter.

5. While the Security Council is deliberating on the request submitted to it by the United Nations Palestine Commission, we are pleased to note that the Commission intends to continue with such of the preparatory work essential to the implementation of the recommendations as can be undertaken without the assistance of the Security Council which it requested. We should like to draw the attention of the Security Council to the fact that the Jewish militia, whose organization is called for by the plan which was adopted and which will have the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the Jewish State after May 15, has not yet been organized, that its organization is not

permitted by the Mandatory Government prior to the termination of the Mandate, and that the request of the United Nations Palestine Commission to permit the preparatory work for the organization of this militia has likewise been denied. In its report, the United Nations Palestine Commission calls the attention of the Security Council to the fact that "the refusal of the Mandatory Power to allow the formation of such militia until the termination of the Mandate will entail delay in the implementation of the General Assembly's plan and renders much more difficult the problem of the security of the Jewish State when the Mandate is relinquished." I draw the attention of the Security Council to this statement of the Commission in order that it might serve as a commentary to the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom on March 2, in which he rejected the accusations that his Government was making the transfer of authority in Palestine as difficult as possible and was denying assistance to the United Nations. Unfortunately, not only in this most vital question of the militia, but also in other essential matters which would have facilitated the coming of the new regime in Palestine, the Mandatory Government has been uncooperative and obstructive. To be sure, it has furnished information of a kind, and it has discussed with the United Nations Palestine Commission various problems. But the test is not willingness to discuss, but willingness to comply with the urgent requests which were made by the Commission and the United Nations. Thus, the Mandatory Government refused to open a port to Jewish immigration on February 1, as called for by the decision of the United Nations. It has refused to permit the United Nations Palestine Commission to come to Palestine in ample time properly to prepare for its immense duties. It has rejected the plan of a progressive transfer of areas to the Commission's administration. All this, according to the representative of the United Kingdom, because of "specific threats by the Arabs." This would suggest that the Mandatory does not have an adequate military force to meet these threats. However, when confronted with the suggestion that the security forces of the Mandatory might be supplemented by other forces available in Palestine itself, it has maintained that it alone was responsible for law and order in the country and could not tolerate "the danger of divided responsibility." The delegate of the United Kingdom asserted that "our fervent hope is that this Council will now find a way to secure effective assumption of authority in Palestine by the United Nations when the Mandate is terminated." But we most regretfully note that almost every way which is suggested by the responsible agency of the United Nations is effectively blocked by the Mandatory Power.

The representative of the United Kingdom declared last Tuesday that they "cannot participate in any way in the implementation of a

scheme which involves the coercion of one of the communities." One is forced to recall that for years Great Britain has implemented a scheme in Palestine of its own making, disapproved of by the League of Nations, condemned by its own leading statesmen, including the distinguished British Colonial Secretary himself, which quite definitely involved the coercion of one of the communities of Palestine. When is coercion not coercion? And under what conditions is conscience to be invoked to approve or disapprove of a political policy?

The Jewish Agency appeals to the Security Council and to the members of the United Nations to make earnest representation to the present Mandatory Government of Palestine to permit the immediate organization of an adequate Jewish state militia and the preparation for its equipment to protect the lives of the inhabitants of the new Jewish State who are being threatened by forces inside and outside of Palestine who have proclaimed their resolve to defeat by violence the decision of the United Nations and the new Jewish State which the decision envisages. This, we maintain, is an elementary moral obligation of the United Nations in view of the decision which it has taken. It is likewise an elementary moral obligation on the part of those nations which have approved the plan to remove all embargoes on the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine who have loyally accepted the decision of the United Nations, and to deny such arms to those who are violently resisting it. Surely this is not an unreasonable request. The organization, recognition and equipment of the Jewish militia is for us of greater urgency than the sending of a non-Palestinian armed force by the Security Council. The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves but their hands must not be tied. The quicker and the stronger the Jewish militia is permitted to become, the less sizeable need be the international force which the Commission has requested.

We are still hoping that there may be no need for prolonged and serious conflict in Palestine. The Jews do not wish war with their neighbors, only peace and cooperation. Within the framework of the plan calling for two independent states joined in an economic union there is definitely the possibility for such peace and cooperation. The national status and independence of each people is guaranteed and their economic cooperation for the good of both is provided for. Partition was not the Jewish solution. It fell far short of the just rights and aspirations of the Jewish people. It was a grievous abridgement of these rights. Nevertheless, reluctantly but loyally, we accepted the decision which appeared fair and reasonable to the United Nations. We still hope that the Arabs of Palestine will likewise accept it and thereby put an end to the scourge of strife and bloodshed which can only do incalculable hurt to both peoples. But in the face of the mounting threats and the

incursion of armed bands across the frontiers bent on war, the Jewish people of Palestine are compelled to make all necessary preparation for self-defense. We plead with the United Nations to remove all obstacles in the way. We are carrying out the purposes of the United Nations. We should not be penalized for doing so.

We feel under the obligation to make our position unmistakably clear. As far as the Jewish people is concerned, it has accepted the decision of the United Nations. We regard it as binding and we are resolved to move forward in the spirit of that decision. Under the plan there are dates to be met. We must assume that these dates will be met.

We fully respect the authority of the United Nations, but if it is unable to carry out its own decisions and, as a consequence, the Jewish community of Palestine is confronted with the threat of annihilation, it will be compelled by the considerations of sheer survival, not to speak of the preservation of its rights, to take all necessary measures which the situation will call for.

6. In conclusion, we should like to comment on the serious strictures which the representative of the United Kingdom made against the Jewish Agency in his address on March 2. He accused the Jewish Agency of "subordinating moral considerations to political expediency." He charged it with "moral weakness and political ineptitude." The Jewish Agency has not had the experience of running a world empire and so may be pardoned for not having the political aptitude which is possessed by the present political leaders of Great Britain, although it is rumored that there is considerable heresey abroad in the world and in the British Isles themselves, which, perversely enough, questions their infallibility. But surely the eminent spokesman of the United Kingdom, who knows better than most the full story of the attitude of his Government and of his Party towards Zionism and Palestine, should be the last man to charge the Jewish Agency with "an equivocal and pusillanimous policy" and with "subordinating moral considerations to political expediency."

Has the honorable Colonial Secretary of Great Britain forgotten the pledges of the British Labor Party on Palestine and its bitter denunciation of the moral turpitude of the British Government for its failure to fulfill its obligations in Palestine? May I remind him of the resolution adopted by the Labor Party Conference in Southport in 1939 on the subject of the White Paper policy which this Labor Party has been enforcing in Palestine ever since it came into office:

"This Conference endorses the stand taken by the Parliamentary Labor Party against the Government's Statement of Policy on Palestine. It declares that the White Paper, by imposing minority status on

the Jews, by departing from the principle of economic absorptive capacity governing Jewish immigration, by making Jewish entry dependent on Arab consent, and by restricting Jewish land settlement, violates the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. The policy of the White Paper represents a further surrender to aggression, places a premium on violence and terror, and is a setback to the progressive forces among both Arabs and Jews. . . . This Conference calls upon the Government to rescind the White Paper policy and to reopen the gates of Palestine for Jewish immigration in accordance with the country's economic absorptive capacity." This was in 1939.

Later the British Labor Party reaffirmed its international policy of "*building Palestine as the Jewish National Home*." This was in 1943.

In December, 1944, the British Labor Party, on the eve of its election to the Government of Great Britain, declared: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land (Palestine) in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the coldblooded calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe." This resolution of the Labor Party went further, even beyond the program of the Zionist movement. I quote: "Here too in Palestine surely is a case on human grounds and and to promote a stable settlement for transfers of population. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine less than the size of Wales. Indeed, we should re-examine also the possibility of extending the present Palestinian boundaries by agreement with Egypt, Syria and Trans-Jordan."

Those who solemnly and publicly made these declarations are today the rulers of Great Britain. But since coming into office, they have refused to honor a single one of these promises.

The words of the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones, which he uttered the other day, fell unpleasantly on the ears of those who heard him in this very city three years ago when he declared:

"In building up their National Home they (the Jews) have inflicted no wrong on the inhabitants of Palestine. There has been no scheme of colonization in the whole history of mankind which has been carried through with such care, such scrupulous fairness and consideration for

the native population as has been displayed by the Jews." All this, of course, was achieved under the guidance and control of that very Jewish Agency which is now being charged with subordinating moral considerations to political expediency.

"It is clear to us," Mr. Creech-Jones further continued, "that the White Paper policy must be abrogated. It is obvious to us that the restrictions that have been imposed with regard to the development of the National Home during recent years must go; that the gates of Palestine must be opened." How is this to be reconciled with the brutal enforcement of the restrictive measures of the White Paper which have been carried on by the British Colonial Office?

He further stated: "We are encouraged by the fact that American opinion has made itself heard in regard to the Palestine problem. That will fortify us in our advocacy in the House of Commons." But in the House of Commons American public opinion in regard to the Palestine problem is contemptuously derided by the spokesmen of his Party as emanating from political pressure in New York City. He concluded by saying: "It will be for us in London to carry on our work in Parliament and elsewhere so that there is no misadventure, so that the White Paper policy is reversed, so that the Jews can be sure that at last their National Home is being established firmly and securely and they can realize their own Commonwealth, a free nation which can contribute fully and freely to the general life of the whole of mankind." Was there, I ask, a single echo of all this in the declarations of the spokesman of the United Kingdom delegation on Tuesday last or in any of the recent declarations of his Government? Who then should be charged with moral weakness and with subordinating moral considerations to political expediency?

7. The Jewish Agency has never condoned terrorism. It has deprecated it and denounced it time and again. It has carried on an intensive campaign of education among the Jews of Palestine against it. It took practical steps to combat it, as was acknowledged by the Palestine Government, even at the cost of life. The Jewish Agency, be it remembered, has no governmental or police authority. It could not reach the source of the evil which was feeding terrorism in Palestine. That source was the immoral and iniquitous policy of the White Paper, a self-willed and unlawful policy decreed by Great Britain. This policy was condemned by the foremost of Great Britain's statesmen. "A plain breach of a solemn obligation," Mr. Churchill called it. "The breaking of all the pledges and promises that have been given to the Jews," was the way the Rt. Hon. Leopold Amery characterized it. And he asked: "Does my Right Hon. Friend believe that these people (the Jews) will be contented to be

relegated to the position of statutory minority, to be denied all hope of giving refuge and relief to their tortured kinsfolk in other countries; that they will wait passively until, in due course, they and the land they created are to be handed over to the Mufti!" The Rt. Hon. Herbert Stanley Morrison, who is now Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons, indignantly declared: "I cannot accept the view that His Majesty's Government is doing anything other than counterfeiting this business or that it is doing other than breaking its promises and acting dishonorably before the whole of the civilized world."

This lawless policy, which was imposed upon the Jewish people in Palestine at a time when their brothers and sisters were seeking to escape from the Hell of Europe where they were threatened with extinction and where six million of them ultimately perished, aroused the bitter resentment of the entire population of Palestine. They came to regard such a repressive Government as hostile. Resistance flared up. The sharp injustice of seeing thousands of their unfortunate fellow Jews turned away from the shores of Palestine and sent back to concentration camps to resume a life of despair and homelessness inflamed the passions, especially of the youth of Palestine. Is there any wonder then that some of the most intemperate of them resorted to acts which no one condones, which the authoritative organs of our movement have repeatedly condemned and denounced as harmful to the Jewish people, but which everyone in all fairness must try to understand? It is amazing to find not a single word in the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom, not a single humble word which would indicate that the policy of his Government was in any way whatsoever, directly or indirectly, a contributory factor to these tragic acts which we all deplore.

It is amazing, too, to note that not a single word of condemnation was uttered in that statement against the acts of violence perpetrated by the Arabs against whom no White Paper was ever enforced, who faced no desperate problems of refugeeism and homelessness and who are now perpetrating acts of terror in Palestine in an effort to defeat the United Nations decision and to persuade the world of its unworkability.

We deeply regret that we have to engage in polemics with the spokesman of the United Kingdom. We have no quarrel with the British people. We had hoped that the chapter of Great Britain's mandatory regime in Palestine would end on a happier note. We regret that this was not to be. We are not unmindful of the sympathetic understanding which our cause has always received among the great masses of the British peoples and among its foremost leaders. If the sad events of the

recent dark and turbulent years have introduced an element of controversy and estrangement in our relations, we hope that it will prove only temporary. We do not wish to forget the gracious pattern of friendship and esteem which has been woven into the long fabric of the years. We are here critical of a Government and of a policy, not of a people. Governments and policies change. The enduring spiritual and intellectual kinship between peoples remains.

The Palestine issue which is before the United Nations is a test case which the whole world is following with utmost concern, for much indeed depends upon its final outcome. Whether justice will finally be done to a sorely tried people whose monumental spiritual achievements made that little land of Palestine the Holy Land of mankind, whether solemn international pledges are truly to be redeemed and whether this international organization which has been built upon the ruins of another such peace organization, wrecked by the failure of the Great Powers to maintain its authority, will share a similar fate or whether it will in truth become the tree whose fruit will be for the healing of the nations, all this, in my humble judgment, is involved in this issue which is now before the Security Council and quite discernible to all who can see beneath the surface of single events into the sweep of great historic processes.

We confidently await your action.



REACTION

to Report on Palestine Presented by the United States

by DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

March 19, 1948

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council:

This statement by Mr. Austin which is before the Security Council is, we assume, by way of an introductory statement leading up to certain resolutions which will be introduced at a later stage. The contents of those resolutions will of course determine the real significance of the recommendations contained in the second part of Mr. Austin's statement, and in fact will indicate the trend of the entire report—whether it tends in the direction of enabling the United Nations Commission on Palestine energetically to move forward with the implementation of the decision of the United Nations, or whether, in some form or in one way or another, it is to be detoured away from action.

We should like to make one or two observations, with the permission of the President, first on one or two facts reported in Part I of the statement and then on one or two items in Part II. Paragraph 4 of the statement reads:

“The Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power, the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee have indicated that the partition plan cannot be implemented by peaceful means under present conditions.”

That may be open to a certain misinterpretation which we should like to correct. If the emphasis is placed on the last three words of that paragraph, “under present conditions,” then it is not objectionable from the point of view of the Jewish Agency. But “under present conditions” clearly means the failure of the neighboring Arab States to do what they were requested to do—to observe the Charter—and their individual and concerted action to attempt to alter by force the decision of the United Nations.

These decisions and these actions of the neighboring Arab States have created the present conditions with which the United Nations is now confronted, and a solution for which is being sought at the hands of the Security Council. It is these conditions—the financing, arming, and encouragement of the organization of armed bands which have invaded Palestine for the sole purpose of altering by force a decision of the United Nations—which have led the United Nations Commis-

sion to request of the Security Council an international force to restore conditions of peace in order to enable it to carry out the clear mandates which it has received from the United Nations.

Had there been no such organized effort on a large scale to defy and to alter the decision of the United Nations, conditions in Palestine would be radically different today, and the problem of Palestine, within the framework of the decision of the United Nations, would be capable of solution through a minimum of conflict. I say through a minimum of conflict because no major political problem in the world today is capable of complete solution without a minimum of conflict.

I refer now to paragraph 5:

"The Mandatory Power has confirmed that a considerable number of incursions of illegal arms and armed elements into Palestine have occurred by land and sea."

That statement too is open to serious misunderstanding. As far as I know, and to the best of my knowledge, the Mandatory Power has never confirmed that a considerable number of incursions of armed elements into Palestine have occurred by sea. No such representation was ever made to the United Nations Commission. Official reports were made by the Mandatory Government to the United Nations Commission on the incursions of illegal arms and armed elements into Palestine by land.

In an official report dated 4 February 1948, the Mandatory Power states that:

"1. The High Commissioner for Palestine reported on 27 January that the security position had become more serious during the preceding week with the entry into Palestine of large parties of trained guerrillas from adjacent territory. A band of some 300 men had established itself in the Safad area of Galilee, and it was probably this band or part of it which carried out an intensive attack during that week on Yechiam settlement, using mortars and heavy automatics as well as rifles.

"2. On the same date, the High Commissioner further reported that a second large band of some 700 Syrians had entered Palestine via Trans-Jordan during the night of 20-21 January. This band had its own mechanised transport, its members were well equipped and provisioned, and wore battle dress" (Document A/AC.21/9, page 6)

"5. Subsequent reports dated 2 February indicate that a

further party of troops belonging to the 'Arab Liberation Army' arrived in Palestine via the Jisr Djamiyeh Bridge during the night of 29-30 January. The party, numbering some 950 men transported in 19 vehicles, consisted largely of non-Palestinian Arabs, all in uniform and well armed." (Document A/AC.21/9, page 7)

I submit to the Security Council that no such reports were ever submitted by the Mandatory Power concerning armed elements which have made incursions into Palestine by sea.

I should now like to make an observation on the first paragraph of part II of the statement of the representative of the United States, which reads:

"1. As a result of the consultations of the permanent members regarding the situation with respect to Palestine, they find and report that a continuation of the infiltration into Palestine by land and by sea of groups and persons with the purpose of taking part in violence would aggravate still further the situation, . . ."

Because of what I have said in connection with paragraph 5, part I, of the statement of the representative of the United States, the statement contained in paragraph 1, part II, is not an accurate statement of fact. I am sure that neither the Permanent Members of the Security Council nor the Security Council as a whole would wish to let this statement stand as it presently reads, in view of the facts which I have cited.

There has not been and there is not continuing to be any infiltration into Palestine by sea of groups or persons with the purpose of taking part in violence.

We feel that the use of the phrase "by land and by sea" is a most unfortunate one, and is introduced in that paragraph for a reason which, to us, is inexplicable. There is the danger that, if this phrase is left in the paragraph, an equation will be established in the minds of people between the armed guerrilla bands to whose incursions into Palestine the Mandatory Power has attested in more than one dispatch, and the so-called illegal immigrants who are coming into Palestine by way of Cyprus, who carry no weapons, no artillery, no mortars, no guns and who are not coming into Palestine for the purpose of taking part in violence. These men, women and children are coming into Palestine to settle in that country, which is their right under the Mandate.

They are not coming into the country in order to try to undo by

violence a decision of the United Nations; on the contrary, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which represents them and speaks for them, has loyally accepted the decision of the United Nations.

The armed bands who are coming into Palestine are coming into the country fully armed, for the sole purpose of carrying on war, in order to undo the decision of the United Nations. Surely the Security Council does not wish, in the eyes of the people, to have these groups placed on the same moral level and equated, as though both groups are guilty of the same thing and have the same objective.

These are all the observations the representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine would like to make at the moment. We do ask for the privilege, when the draft resolutions are presented, of making such comments as we should be called upon to make. We should have to react most violently against the possible aspersion—perhaps entirely unintended—which would be cast on our poor people, who are already carrying heavy burdens, should they be bracketed together with guerilla bands who are coming into Palestine to defy the will of the United Nations.



REPLY

to Proposals on Palestine Presented by the United States

by DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

March 19, 1948

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council:

I hope that we shall have the opportunity at a later stage to discuss more fully the statement which was presented by Mr. Austin, to discuss at great length some of the legal arguments presented in that statement, and perhaps to dwell again upon that quest for the will-o'-the-wisp of an agreed solution which the spokesmen of the United States delegation in the past, as well as of the United Kingdom Government, have stated time and again is not to be had.

I wish to take this opportunity to give the reaction of the Jewish Agency to the main recommendations contained in Mr. Austin's proposals.

The proposal of the United States Government to suspend all efforts to implement the partition plan, approved by the United Nations General Assembly last November under the leadership of the United States, and to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine, is a shocking reversal of its position.

Up to the last few days, the spokesman for the United States delegation has told the Security Council that the United States Government firmly stands by partition. Both the President of the United States and the Secretary of State have repeatedly within recent weeks maintained that the position of the United States on partition remained unaltered.

We are at an utter loss to understand the reason for this amazing reversal which will bring confusion, is likely to lead to increased violence in Palestine and will incalculably hurt the prestige and authority of the United Nations for whose effectiveness the President of the United States pleaded again as recently as Wednesday last.

We may assume from the statement of the United States delegation that the reason for scrapping a decision of the United Nations General Assembly—overwhelmingly approved by its members—was the threat on the part of some member states to alter that decision by violence. This will be a fateful capitulation on the part of the world organization to threats and intimidation which will completely destroy all of its future effectiveness as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes and for the maintenance of world peace.

It should be clear to everyone that the establishment of a Trusteeship by the United Nations in Palestine will not automatically insure peace in that country, and that force will have to be used to maintain that arrangement, just as it would have been necessary to carry out the partition decision of the United Nations.

(The statement that the plan proposed by the General Assembly is an integral plan which cannot succeed, unless each of its parts can be carried out, is incorrect. This conception was never part of the plan. Indeed it is contrary to the statement made by the representative of the United States during the General Assembly. The setting up of one state was not made conditional upon the setting up of the other state. Mr. Herschel Johnson, representing the United States delegation, speaking in a sub-committee of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question on October 28, 1947, stated, in discussing this very matter in connection with economic union: "The element of mutuality would not necessarily be a factor, as the document might be signed by one party only.")

It is clear that an attempt is being made to force a solution upon the Jewish people of Palestine which would diminish its sovereignty, territory and immigration such as was provided for in the partition plan. Otherwise no new proposals would now be made by the United States delegation looking toward a new solution. The United States knows full well that the Arabs have opposed and continue to oppose every solution which offers any satisfaction to the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

The Jewish Agency has repeatedly been under the necessity of stating that the partition plan represented the maximum sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people beyond which it cannot go. Any proposals calling for further sacrifices will have to be imposed upon the Jewish community of Palestine by force.

We hope that the United Nations will not knowingly assume the role of the British Mandatory in an effort to carry out the kind of restrictive crippling and discriminatory measures under which the country has been administered in recent years.

We are under the obligation at this time to repeat what we stated at a meeting of the Security Council last week. The decision of the General Assembly remains valid for the Jewish people. We have accepted it and we are prepared to abide by it. If the United Nations Commission is unable to carry out the mandates which were assigned to it by the General Assembly, the Jewish people of Palestine will move forward in the spirit of that resolution and will do everything which

will be dictated by considerations of national survival, as well as the considerations of justice and historic rights.

It is with deep sorrow that we state that the world will not profit by the lesson which is now being read to it by the United States—that a revision of an international judgment maturely arrived at after prolonged and objective investigation and discussion—can be extorted by threats and armed defiance.



DECLARATION

of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi

submitted by DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

March 24, 1948

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council:

The Jewish Agency for Palestine at this moment does not wish to enter into a discussion of the proposals (of the American delegation) because these proposals have not yet been submitted, as I understand it, to the Security Council. When and if they are submitted, I am sure that we would wish to ask for the privilege of making our observations on them.

At this moment I have the honor to submit to the Security Council a statement which was adopted by the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the National Council of the Jews of Palestine, the Vaad Leumi, on March 23, 1948. This statement is as follows:

"The Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi have learned with regret and astonishment of the attitude adopted by the United States representative in the Security Council concerning the United Nations decisions on Palestine.

"The Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi declare:

"1. The Jewish people and the Yishuv in Palestine will oppose any proposal designed to prevent or postpone the establishment of the Jewish State.

"2. We categorically reject any plan to set up a trusteeship regime for Palestine, even for a short period of time. A trusteeship would necessarily entail a denial of the Jewish right to national independence. It would leave Palestine under a foreign military regime.

"3. The failure and disintegration of the mandatory administration, the continuation of which was unanimously rejected by the United Nations, necessitates the early arrival in Palestine of the United Nations Palestine Commission. The Provisional Council of Government of the Jewish State should be recognized without delay by the United Nations Palestine Commission so that authority may be transferred to it as envisaged in the United Nations decisions.

"4. Upon the termination of the mandatory administration and not later than May 16 next, a Provisional Jewish Government will com-

mence to function in cooperation with the representatives of the United Nations then in Palestine. In the meantime, we shall do our utmost to minimize the chaos created by the present government, and we shall maintain, so far as lies in our power, the public services neglected by it.

"5. The Jewish people extends the hand of peace to the Arab people and invites representatives of the Arab population of the Jewish State to take their rightful place in all its organs of government. The Jewish State will be glad to co-operate with the neighboring Arab States and to enter into permanent treaty relations with them to strengthen world peace and to advance the development of all the countries of the Near East."



CONCLUDING ARGUMENT

on New United States Proposals on Palestine

by MOSHE SHERTOK

April 1, 1948

Mr. President and Members of the Security Council:

The Jewish Agency for Palestine is grateful for the opportunity to comment on the two resolutions submitted by the representative of the United States to the 275th meeting of the Security Council on March 30, 1948.

The first of these resolutions provides for the conclusion of a truce between the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine under the auspices of the Security Council in consultation with the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee. In its final paragraph the draft resolution proposes that the Security Council should "call upon Arab and Jewish armed groups in Palestine to cease acts of violence."

Before defining the views of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish people of Palestine on the conclusion of a truce, I feel bound to comment upon the setting in which the United States draft resolution seeks to present the problem of restoring peace in Palestine. I fear that that setting distorts the picture in two vital respects. It conveys the impression, first, that the armed conflict now raging in Palestine is a purely local affair, affecting only the population of Palestine, Jewish and Arab; and second, that the fighting has broken out as a result of both sides having fallen upon one another, so that both are now equally guilty, or at least as if it is impossible or immaterial to determine which is the attacker and which the attacked. Because of these misleading implications the resolution itself becomes a wrong starting point for the quest for peace.

For you cannot attack the root of the evil which now afflicts Palestine if you omit all reference to the central and salient feature of the country's disturbed condition—namely, the presence of Arab aggression from outside, sponsored and organized by Arab States, members of the United Nations, in an effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged by the General Assembly's resolution of November 29, 1947. I wish that it were easier to ascribe this omission to mere inadvertence, which the Security Council, by virtue of its primary duty to "suppress acts of aggression," will hasten to correct. For rarely in the modern history of international relations can an act of aggression

have occurred in a manner more blatant, more scornful of concealment, or more exultantly arrogant. The campaign of aggressive violence was launched amidst clamorous proclamations by the heads of Arab Governments of their intention to use force against the Jews of Palestine and against any agencies of the United Nations which might proceed to carry out their lawful duties in implementing the General Assembly's resolution. These statements were swiftly translated into action. Armed forces were recruited under the direction of the governments of Arab States. They were equipped and financed from the resources of those governments. Their commanders were appointed by ministers and officials of Arab States under the chairmanship of one of their heads, namely, the President of the Syrian Republic. They have been despatched across the frontiers with arms and mechanized transport, in successive and open acts of frontier violation. They have launched attacks on peaceful Jewish villages and organized riots and bloodshed among the urban population. They have fastened their effective military control upon large areas of the country. As the Security Council deliberates week after week in Palestine those Arab armed forces are moving into battle positions on what is still the territory of the British Mandate, perfecting their organization and periodically breaking out into attacks upon the Jewish population in preparation and training for the major assault whereby they hope to intimidate the United Nations into final submission and impose a settlement of the Palestine question by force.

It is the presence of these foreign Arab forces on the soil of Palestine and the preparation of further incursions which constitute the main threat to law and order in Palestine today. But for these invasions from neighboring states, the security situation in Palestine would hardly have raised a problem which could not be quickly resolved; and the implementation of the plan adopted by the General Assembly would have involved no international crisis.

It is therefore astonishing to find the United States representative setting the problem of violence in Palestine in terms of a conflict between the "Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine." There is nothing secret or even controversial about the facts which I have tried to summarize. The Mandatory Power has reported to the United Nations Palestine Commission on three separate incursions which took place in January. The Mandatory Power has also reported to the Permanent Members of the Security Council on several further incursions which took place in February and March. The United Kingdom Government has made public further authentic information on this subject through official statements in the House of Commons. I believe

that the United Kingdom representative here present will agree with me if, basing myself on official United Kingdom figures, I would estimate the total strength of these invading forces at approximately 7,500. From the same United Kingdom sources it can be deduced that these men come well armed and equipped, uniformed and organized in military formation.

The Mandatory Power, which has abdicated its responsibility as the guardian of the frontiers of Palestine and relegated itself to the role of a mere recorder of their violations, does not seem to have registered the direct responsibility of Arab Governments for all these invasions save as regards an incursion from Syria on January 21, 1948, against which His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom lodged a protest of sorts with the Government of the Syrian Republic and the Kingdom of Transjordan. The protest was ignored, no further action was taken by the United Kingdom, and incursions from Syria continued and became more open. But we need not resort to the good offices of the Mandatory Power to provide evidence that Arab Governments have organized these invasions. The evidence is more direct and authentic. It comes from those governments themselves. It is revealed in recruiting regulations issued by the Syrian Minister of Defense; in photographs of the Syrian Prime Minister supervising the training of troops for war in Palestine at Qatana barracks in Syria; in the action of the Egyptian Government in allotting military barracks at Hilmiyeh and Helwan for the same purpose; in the assignment by the Egyptian Government of budgetary allocations for operations in Palestine; in the announcement of the Lebanese Prime Minister on February 25 of his government's intention to supply Palestine with arms, money and men until there "will be nothing in Palestine but a unitary Arab State."

The evidence of these aggressive invasions and of the responsibility of the Arab Governments for them is too voluminous for me to recite here. I therefore beg leave to submit, as written information, under Rule 39 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, two memoranda on the subject, with annexes. The Security Council should at least not fail to record this notorious aggression, even if it proves unable to suppress it.

This campaign of aggression raises two questions which are relevant, in my submission, to the first of the United States resolutions. First, there is a fundamental point of principle. Is it legitimate for member states to use force against a settlement adopted by the General Assembly? The representatives of Arab States in their statements before the Security Council have tried to evade the issue by arguing that

member states are under no obligation to comply with a resolution of the General Assembly. Not to comply is one thing. Openly and actively to defy is quite another. So much for the aggressor states. But a more serious question arises in relation to the Security Council itself. Is it proper for the Security Council, having received conclusive evidence of aggression actually committed, to take no steps at all to suppress, nay, not even to condemn—nor even to record—that aggression? Is it a just interpretation of the Security Council's function in this question that it should obey the demand of the aggressor at pistol-point, and advocate a revision of a General Assembly resolution for no other reason than that the resolution is assailed by armed force? Does the United Nations seek in the case of Palestine a settlement on the basis of equity and mutual adjustment, or is it merely in pursuit of a settlement against which the Arabs will graciously condescend not to use force? It would be presumptuous on my part to elaborate on the point that the principle involved in these questions transcends even the grave episode which is under discussion and affects the very foundations of the international order.

It is all the more inadmissible for the Security Council to take no action against the patent external aggression which is in progress in view of the fact that there is a general agreement on the requirements of the Charter in this matter. Thus, on February 24, 1948, the distinguished representative of the United States on the Security Council took a keen interest in this matter of aggression. He said:

"Attempts to frustrate the General Assembly's recommendation by the threat or use of force . . . on the part of states or peoples outside Palestine are contrary to the Charter."

But on that very day of February 24, as though in direct response to Ambassador Austin's words, the Mandatory Power reported to the Permanent Members of the Security Council that "between 500 and 1,000 Iraqis, Lebanese, Syrians, Egyptians and Transjordanians entered Samaria and Galilee across the Jordan and the Lebanese frontier."

Again, the representative of France declared in the Security Council:

"It is quite inadmissible that any state member of the United Nations in a territory which is not its own, should by armed force oppose the efforts of other members of the United Nations to implement a resolution of the General Assembly. Such action goes much further than mere abstention from participation in implementation which the Charter allows. We are

faced here with open revolt which is clearly contrary to the Charter."

These exemplary words were spoken on March 5.

Yet on that day of March 5, according to British official sources, the notorious protege of Adolf Hitler, Fawzi al-Kawukji, entered Palestine with his headquarter troops to assume command of the so-called Yarmuk formation. He was acting in conformity with the decision taken at a meeting which took place in Damascus on February 5, under the chairmanship of the President of the Syrian Republic, when, according to a first-hand report by the Damascus correspondent of the Cairo daily Al-Masri,

"General Ismail Safwat was appointed commander-in-chief of the Arab Liberation Army, General Taha Pasha al-Hashimi was nominated Inspector of the Liberation Armies, and Fawzi al-Kawukji was entrusted with the command of the Al-Yarmuk formation."

It is always a diverting experience to contrast the learned speeches of the Syrian representative here, replete with quotations from the Charter and protestations of loyalty to the ideals of peace, with the quite different aspect of affairs at Damascus. As a member of the Security Council, Syria is one of those states on which the members of the United Nations have conferred "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security."

It is all very well for the Syrian representative on the Security Council to make here the bold assertion, as he did on March 16, that "the Arab States, including Syria, have not interfered by taking part in these encounters." The representative of Syria took no trouble to explain the overwhelming body of evidence to the contrary—the fact that it was no less a person than the President of his republic who presided over the appointment of commanders of the Arab forces of invasion, the numerous statements made by the Syrian Defense Minister acknowledging his direction of the operations, the official proclamations of the Syrian Government regarding the recruitment of volunteers, the physical appearance of the Syrian Prime Minister and Defense Minister respectively at training centers and at the head of convoys driving towards the Palestine frontier, etc., etc. It is on Syrian territory, under the direct charge of the Syrian Government, that armed forces are trained, equipped and despatched across the frontier to commit aggression and attempt to overthrow a United Nations decision by force.

If the Security Council sees aggression going on before its very eyes and proceeds to fulfill the main objective of that aggression by recommending a revision of the General Assembly's resolution, the consequences for world peace must indeed be grave. These consequences entail a very heavy responsibility for the leading world power which sponsors the present resolution. To recapitulate, the United States draft resolution tears the problem out of its context and treats the conflict in complete isolation from the question as to who upholds and who defies the United Nations authority; it ignores the gravest feature of the Palestine crisis which is aggression from outside; it flies in the face of facts by diagnosing the crisis as the result of a mere local communal clash; by implication, it exonerates the aggressor states of all guilt; without even attempting to deal with the invasion of Palestine by foreign forces it misses the target by urging a local truce as a remedy. In brief, the resolution perpetrates a triple optical illusion: first, it arbitrarily separates the conflict from its international setting; second, it artificially reduces its scope; third, it wantonly creates a position of false equality between the Jews and the Arabs. In presenting the resolution, the representative of the United States, quoting from his earlier report, to balance the uneven scales, conjures up an imaginary "infiltration into Palestine . . . by sea, of groups . . . with the purpose of taking part in violence." In the resolution itself the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee are put on an equal footing of culpability. The fact that it was the Arabs who started the offensive while the Jews reacted in defense is completely obliterated.

It is against this background that it is my duty to set before the Security Council the attitude of the Jewish Agency and of the Jewish population of Palestine towards the proposals for a truce. That attitude was expressed in a letter which I had the honor to address on March 17 to the Secretary General in response to a question put to us by the United States delegation in the course of the consultations held by the Permanent Members of the Security Council. The letter reads as follows:

'I have the honor, on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, to submit the following reply to the question addressed to the Jewish Agency as to whether it would be prepared to enter into the necessary agreements to bring about an effective truce in Palestine.

'1. It must be emphasized that insofar as the term 'truce' implies a conflict between two belligerents it does not accurately fit the facts of the present situation, in which, on

the one hand, an attempt is being made by the Arab States and the Arabs of Palestine to alter by force a settlement approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, while the Jewish community has been defending itself and the decision of the United Nations which it has loyally accepted.

"2. Subsequent to the adoption of the Resolution of the General Assembly, of November 29, on the future government of Palestine, the Jewish population in Palestine has been subjected to attacks by Arab forces, including armed bands from outside the country which, as the United Nations Palestine Commission has reported to the Security Council, are attempting to alter the Resolution of the General Assembly by force.

"3. The Jewish people has in no case resorted to aggression against the Arab people nor does it seek conflict with them. At the same time, the Jews of Palestine have been obliged to take measures to protect themselves from attack and to uphold their rights under the United Nations Resolution.

"4. The moment that Arab aggression ceases Jewish armed reaction will also terminate. There must of course be a clear understanding that the cessation of Arab aggression will also include the stoppage of preparations for future aggression, the evacuation of foreign forces and the prevention of further incursion of armed bands into Palestine.

"5. It is assumed that any arrangement for a truce will be carried out within the framework of the implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly and in strict conformity with the time-table provided in that Resolution."

It will be seen from this letter that the aim of avoiding violence in Palestine is one which the Jewish Agency and the Jewish people of Palestine wholeheartedly uphold. The sacrifice of young lives in defending the community against wanton attack is a source of continuing grief and sorrow, and the damage and casualties inflicted upon all elements of the population are a grievous burden. We long to end this sequence of bloodshed in the context of obedience to international law and without detriment to legitimate rights. Therefore the underlying idea of a truce is most welcome to us. We must only be concerned to pursue the aim in a manner that will ensure a real truce and lead to a lasting peace and not produce a mere breathing-spell as a prelude to renewed violence under worse conditions. In particular the

purposes of order cannot be separated from the purposes of law. Order cannot be purchased by setting law aside.

I now draw particular attention to Paragraph 4 of our letter in which the Jewish Agency stipulates "the evacuation of foreign forces and the prevention of further incursions of armed bands into Palestine" as indispensable conditions of any truce. There is no reality in "a truce between the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine" when the Arab community is merely a subsidiary agent of aggression, when the Jewish community has no other interest but to defend itself and move forward to the fulfillment of an authorized international program, and when the source of aggression lies outside the control of both parties and flourishes unhindered in the very centre of the country.

The Jews of Palestine can attach no validity to any assurance of peaceful intentions on the part of the Arabs so long as these foreign forces remain on Palestine soil, where they have no right of access, no jurisdiction and no internationally valid purpose to pursue.

We believe that we are justified in claiming their expulsion and that the fulfillment of this claim is both practical and necessary. No people anywhere in the world will voluntarily sign a truce with invading forces converging upon it and poised to strike. This would be not a truce. It would be a capitulation.

Moreover, the armed formations concerned are easily identifiable. The report of that memorable Damascus meeting of February 5, to which I have already referred, goes on to say:

"It was agreed to divide Palestine into four military areas each of which will be under a commanding officer responsible to the commander-in-chief (i.e. General Ismail Safwat, an Iraqi general, with his headquarters at Damascus). Certain internal powers, however, were granted to the Palestine Arab command in the Jerusalem area."

The location of the main formations of these foreign invaders can easily be found. Thus, on March 16, the battle order of Fawzi al-Kawukji's troops was, according to our information at that date, roughly as follows:

The First Yarmuk Regiment of Syrian troops at Jaba village between Nablus and Jenin commanded by a Syrian officer, Mohammed Safa.

The Second Yarmuk Regiment of Syrian troops at Jenin, under Hashem Mohammed, an Iraqi.

The Al-Hussein Regiment at Attil village, commanded by Abdul Wahhab, an Iraqi.

The Al-Hasan Regiment at Tubas village, commanded by Mahmud al-Hindi, an Iraqi.

An Iraqi contingent at Ras ul-Ain, near the source of the Jerusalem water supply.

An Egyptian contingent at Gaza.

A Bosnian-Moslem contingent at Lydda.

The authority supervising the truce should not have much difficulty in locating any of these large units, though some individuals may be found to have merged with the general population.

It is clear from the above quoted report of the Damascus meeting and from other local evidence that foreign commanders responsible to Damascus are in control of all Arab military operations in Palestine except in Jerusalem. In that city alone, the Arab Higher Committee, operating under the orders of the Mufti, has been awarded qualified freedom. Its role, according to a statement issued on Good Friday, is to organize force against any attempts to establish Jerusalem as an international city held by the United Nations in trust for mankind. It would thus be quite unrealistic to negotiate a truce with the Arab Higher Committee for any area except Jerusalem, where alone this local Palestinian body has some jurisdiction. So far as Jerusalem is concerned, the Jewish Agency has already stated that it is prepared to negotiate a truce with the body which it recognizes as responsible for the disorders there.

I would also draw attention to the first paragraph of the letter quoted, which explains the inapplicability of the term "truce" to the situation now existing in Palestine. The parties confronting each other are the Jews, defending a lawful international decision, and Arabs both inside and outside Palestine who are, in the words of the United Nations Palestine Commission, "defying the resolution of the General Assembly and attempting to overthrow it by force." Neither in their aims, nor in the relation of their activities to the terms of the Charter, can these two sides justly be equated. In this respect, the United States draft resolution, ignoring any distinction between aggression and defense, between obedience to and defiance of an international judgment, offers the Security Council an escape from the basic conceptions underlying the Charter, with their clear differentiation between the legitimacy and illegitimacy of force, into a world where all force is identical, irrespective of the purposes to which it is applied.

In Paragraph 5 of our letter of March 17, we stipulate that the proposed truce shall not hamper or delay the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution of November 29, 1947. It is obvious that to delay the implementation of that resolution would be no neutral act in the spirit of a truce, but a concession under pressure of violence to the main objectives of the attacking party. It is necessary to make this point clear since a situation may arise in which one of the parties makes the truce conditional on the suspension of the Assembly's resolution, while the other party makes it conditional on the maintenance of that resolution. It should go without saying that there can be no equation between the upholding of an international instrument and its violation. The Security Council, as an organ of the United Nations, can hardly take any other view. On March 5, the distinguished representative of France in the Security Council said:

"If the validity of the Assembly's recommendation and its binding character on certain states can be questioned, there can be no discussion as to its application to and its binding character upon all the organs of the United Nations, including, of course, the Security Council."

We fully share this conception of the binding character of the resolution and of the Security Council's lack of competence to set it aside. It is unreasonable to require one of the parties to the truce to sacrifice its rights in law in order that the other party, having won its aim, may desist from the violence by which it was achieved.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, universally acknowledged as the greatest Jewish leader of our generation, stated last week in this connection:

"There has been a solemn judgment by the authorized tribunal. The duty of conciliation is to summon all parties to the obedience of judgment, not to adapt judgment to the will of a defiant party."

Mr. President, we do not deem it useful at this stage to go into all the detailed aspects of a truce negotiation. The main principle to be followed is to avoid any impression, under the terms of a truce, that violence is politically rewarded, that it is left free by the conditions of the truce to renew itself with even greater vigor when occasion arises, and that it is encouraged by the very circumstances of the truce to repeat itself in the future. I would only refer to one over-riding question which should be cleared up before this resolution is voted. The maintenance of a truce requires an authority to supervise its observance by both parties, if and when they have agreed to its terms. This

authority must also have power to take action against any violation of the truce by one of the signatories. Its particular function in Palestine must be to watch over the frontiers and prevent their violation. It seems to us that it would not be realistic to pursue this matter far without any assurance that such a supervisory authority is available. The United States can hardly be unaware that the issue of enforcement cannot be shirked in the Palestine problem, not even in the maintenance of a truce.

Finally, I should like to urge, on the basis of these submissions, that the resolution be amended to conform with the realities of the situation, the dominant fact of which is foreign aggression. As has been pointed out, the draft in its present form, is based on the illusion of an internal conflict, and if it is accepted as setting the line of a truce negotiation, it may prejudice the end it has in view, namely, the restoration of peace in Palestine and the elimination of violence as a factor affecting international policy.

I come now to the second resolution submitted by the representative of the United States. It is proposed that the General Assembly be convoked once again in special session "to consider further the question of the future government of Palestine." There is a curious, if not ironic, coincidence attached to this proposal. It is debated here today one year less one day since the same request was originally presented by the United Kingdom. It is phrased in language almost identical. A word has been added. The word is "further." This may, or may not, represent progress.

One may assume that this resolution, like the truce proposal, emanated from the consultations of the Permanent Members of the Security Council. The Permanent Members, it will be recalled, were asked by the Security Council

"to consult and to inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine and to make, as a result of such consultations, recommendations to it regarding the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly."

Up to this moment, no such suggestion has been made to the Security Council as to how the Assembly's resolution may be implemented. If there were any consultations on this particular subject, and if any conclusions were reached on their result, these have not been reported.

The Jewish Agency, for its part, did submit to the conference of

the four Permanent Members of the Council its concrete proposals regarding the steps that might be taken by the Security Council with a view to ensuring the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution. For the sake of the record and for the information of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, I would, with the permission of the President, read here the text of these proposals, made on March 12, 1948. They were as follows:

"1. To assume the responsibilities assigned to it in the General Assembly's plan for implementation.

"2. To determine any attempt to alter by force the Assembly's resolution as a 'threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.'

"3. To determine that a threat to the peace does exist in view of actions by certain Arab Governments.

"4. To call upon Arab member states to stop recruiting and organizing armed forces to resist the Assembly's resolution, and to withdraw their nationals already sent for this purpose.

"5. To call upon Arab States to stop their warlike propaganda and incitement contrary to unanimous resolution of Assembly against warmongering (October 12, 1947).

"6. To call upon Mandatory Power to prevent the entry of unauthorized foreign forces and to expel those already in Palestine.

"7. To instruct the Palestine Commission to proceed with all speed with all phases of implementation, with special priority to the establishment of Provisional Councils of Government and the organization and equipment of militias.

"8. To call upon Member States to offer arms to parties co-operating with the United Nations resolution and to withhold them from those defying it.

"9. To empower the Palestine Commission to take all steps which may assist in the maintenance of peace in Jerusalem."

These were the proposals which Dr. Silver put forward on our behalf at our meeting with the four Permanent Members of the Security Council. The Jewish Agency is not aware whether this nine-point program was ever discussed.

In motivating his counsels of inaction to the Security Council, the distinguished representative of the United States has stated that it has been found impossible to implement the General Assembly's resolution by peaceful means. One may search the text of the resolution of the General Assembly in vain for any provision, express or implied, that unless it can be carried out peacefully it must remain inoperative. Threats of violence against implementation re-echoed in the General Assembly and in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question in the course of the discussions. They resounded till the very last moment before the voting. The General Assembly adopted its historic decision in the teeth of these threats. If it had intended to retreat and drop the plan when confronted by an attempt to resist it by force, what was the meaning of the express and emphatic provisions included in the resolution regarding the duties of the Security Council to take specific action if faced with such an attempt?

Yet the fact that the General Assembly did not set peaceful implementation as a prerequisite by no means signifies that the implementation of the plan could not be carried out peacefully. What is undeniable is that the peaceful implementation of the plan would inevitably have been gravely jeopardized—as it has indeed been jeopardized—by the absence of an adequate force to back it up. But since when has the building up and maintenance of an armed force to buttress peace, national or international, become morally approbrious or politically unacceptable? History abounds with instances, of which the most tragic is the position of the democracies in 1939, when lack of force in defense of peace became the direct cause of war.

What has happened insofar as the partition plan in Palestine is concerned? A special international force to ensure its implementation was not provided. The force which is in Palestine today by virtue of an international dispensation—the British Army—has refused to co-operate in the execution of the plan. Its very passivity served as a most powerful encouragement to the forces of disorder. But the role of the United Kingdom in the present Palestine crisis has not been purely passive. It is not merely that the United Kingdom as the Mandatory Power has chosen administratively to obstruct the plan. Its political attitude had more far-reaching and more calamitous effects. The policy of the United Kingdom in the Middle East is based on the active support of the Arab League. The United Kingdom cannot therefore divest itself from responsibility for the militant line of active aggression against the Jews of Palestine and armed defiance of the United Nations authority which its collective ally, the Arab League, has adopted and is steadily pursuing.

On the other hand, as regards arms for the Jewish population, a position of the most glaring inequality was created between the Jews and the Arabs. The United Kingdom has continued to supply arms to the governments of the Arab League, regardless of the fact that those very governments were in turn supplying arms for the anti-United Nations rebellion in Palestine. Only three weeks ago the Arab Legion in Palestine received considerable quantities of new British arms. At the same time, the United Kingdom has continued to blockade the shores of Palestine against any importation of arms by the Jews inside the country, and simultaneously armed Arab forces have poured in from outside before the eyes of the British forces which have maintained the role of mere onlookers. The Mandatory Power disarmed many Palestinian Jews and armed many Palestinian Arabs. Only a few days ago it passed to Arab attackers a quantity of arms which it took away from the Jews.

As to other governments, the United States has instituted an indiscriminate embargo on the exportation of arms to the Middle East, denying arms to the hard-pressed Jews in the same measure as to the Arab aggressors. Certain other governments are reported to be selling arms to the Arabs. The Arabs have seven states. The Jews have none. The Security Council has taken no action either to provide a force in support of the plan or at least to arm those defending it and themselves.

The sordid record of how every proposed step of the Palestine Commission has been impeded and obstructed is too well known to need repetition.

To sum it up, the will to implement the plan peacefully was not forthcoming. In the absence of that will, the way to implementation has not been found.

Yet despite all chicanery and indifference, the stream of life has proved irresistible. What is inherent in the nature of things and in the logic of developments is forcing its way through. Partition and the establishment of a Jewish State are actually in progress. The mandatory regime is disintegrating. The vacuum created thereby cannot but be filled. A new regime has already been born and is growing in the womb of the old. The Jewish State, potentially and actually, is an organic, integral part of Palestine. Come what may, the Jews of Palestine are determined to obtain the necessary arms and defend themselves and their state. Self-preservation and responsibility for the future of the Jewish people dictate their course of action. They have no other choice.

It is at this stage that the United States delegation has come forward with the proposal that a special session of the General Assembly be called again to consider the problem of Palestine. It has been made clear, although the draft resolution itself is silent on this point, that what it would propose in the special session is a plan for a temporary trusteeship, without prejudice to the character of the final political settlement.

Our attitude toward this proposal has already been concisely stated both in the immediate reaction of our representative at the Security Council and in the declaration adopted jointly by the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the National Council of Palestine Jews in Tel Aviv.

Trusteeship means denial or at least postponement of independence. We believe that we are ripe for independence. So are the Arabs. We challenge anyone to prove that we are not. We have passed the threshold of statehood. We refuse to be thrown back.

The United States Government cannot but be aware that the idea of trusteeship for Palestine has been thoroughly discussed by the UNSCOP and rejected by that body. Here is what the UNSCOP had to say in its unanimous Recommendation II:

"Although sharply divided by political issues, the peoples of Palestine are sufficiently advanced to govern themselves independently.

"The Arab and Jewish peoples, after more than a quarter of a century of tutelage under the Mandate, both seek a means of effective expression for their national aspirations.

"It is highly unlikely that any arrangement which would fail to envisage independence at a reasonably early date would find the slightest welcome among either Arabs or Jews."

The UNSCOP also pointed out in its comment on the unanimous Recommendation III that a transitional period "would in all likelihood only serve to aggravate the present difficult situation in Palestine unless it were related to a specific and definitive solution, which would go into effect immediately upon the termination of that period."

But the United States Government, through its Chief Executive, has declared that partition still remained the ultimate goal of its Palestine policy and that the proposed temporary trusteeship was designed merely to pave the way for its peaceful achievement. One looks in vain for consistent reasoning to explain this deviation from the original program. If the reason for abandoning partition as an immediate objective is armed opposition, why should that opposition not

apply to a trusteeship the only purpose of which is to serve as an intermediary stage leading towards partition in the future? If the Security Council capitulates to violence, why should not violence press its advantage further? Does not aggression feed on appeasement? If, on the other hand, what is meant by "eventual" partition is something quite different from what was resolved on November 29, 1947, how can the Jews be expected to submit *now* to a course calculated eventually to lead to their undoing?

Moreover, we note that it is proposed to force a trusteeship upon a country ripe for independence without any assurance that a trustee is available, that means of enforcement can be supplied, that any section of the population will co-operate, that the General Assembly will approve an agreement, or that a working regime can be established by May 15. The charted course of implementation of partition is to be replaced by a leap into the perilous unknown.

At the meeting of the Security Council on March 24 the representatives of France and Canada stated that it would be necessary for them to have more specific knowledge of what was actually involved in the trusteeship proposal, before they could commit their governments to support a reconsideration of the Palestine question based on the trusteeship idea. It is therefore surprising that not a single one of the crucial and intricate questions raised by trusteeship has been elucidated so far by the United States delegation. The second draft resolution still invites the Security Council to set out on a course with no clear destination, and no milestones on the way.

It is not too late to return to the path clearly traced by the General Assembly's resolution. That path represents the product of eight months' continuous constructive international thinking. The reversal of the process can only lead to chaos and to a crisis of confidence in the United Nations, the results of which are incalculable. A clock may not be turned so sharply backwards without injury to its mechanism. The General Assembly of the United Nations, which is so precious an instrument for the peace and progress of mankind, should not be exposed to this rejection of its judgment and undermining of its authority.

In conclusion, I beg leave to call the attention of the Council to one specific problem of a most critical urgency—a problem which has a direct bearing on the question of truce. I refer to the situation in Jerusalem and to the responsibilities of the United Nations for the immunity, peace and welfare of that Holy City and its environs.

Under the plan adopted by the General Assembly a special international regime under the United Nations Trusteeship Council was de-

creed for Jerusalem. The exclusion from the Jewish State of Jerusalem with its unique historic associations for the Jewish people and the central place it occupies in its tradition and modern life was a most painful sacrifice. Eloquent appeals were made to the Jewish Agency during the General Assembly session by representatives of powers big and small to realize the transcendent importance of Jerusalem to the entire civilized world and to let the city's universal associations take precedence over its predominantly Jewish character. In deference to an overwhelming consensus of world opinion the Jewish Agency accepted the idea of an international regime for Jerusalem. Since then the Jewish Agency has co-operated actively with the Trusteeship Council in helping to formulate a Statute for Jerusalem as provided for in the General Assembly's resolution. In thus subordinating Jewish claims to the fervently expressed interest of the Christian world, the Jewish Agency confidently expected that the United Nations would take all the steps necessary to secure the objectives which aroused such strong and widespread support in the General Assembly. It is tragic to record what has in fact happened.

The Mandatory Power has allowed the control of the Old City of Jerusalem to slip into the hands of armed Arab bands and has taken no effective action to prevent the approaches to the city from being likewise dominated by Arab forces. Commanders appointed by the Arab Higher Committee, i.e. the Mufti, now control access to the gates of the Holy City and to the Holy Places. The Arab Higher Committee has recently announced its determination to use force against any attempt to establish Jerusalem as an international city held by the United Nations in trust for mankind.

The cruel historic paradox which now threatens the fate of Jerusalem is not apparently realized by the civilized world. After centuries of neglect and depredation Jerusalem was conquered in 1917 by the British and Australian forces. The conquest ushered in a period of civilized rule for Jerusalem which has now lasted three decades. Jews formed the majority of the population of Jerusalem even before the British Mandate. Today they are 100,000 out of 160,000 inhabitants. As the Mandate now draws to an end, instead of coming under an international regime which would maintain the civilized standards of its government, Jerusalem seems about to fall, as most of its Holy Places have already fallen, into the clutches of the most fanatical and impious elements in the country.

One of the two henchmen of the Mufti now in command, Sheikh Yasin Bakri, has boasted in public of his prowess in sniping at Jewish funeral parties on their way to the hallowed cemetery on the Mount of

Olives. He has been photographed by Cairo newspapers in the act of directing fire from the walls of the Haram enclosure, the so-called Mosque of Omar. When we see other photographs of this person, photographs which have been submitted to this Council, receiving courtesy visits from the British area commander of Jerusalem, we are forced to assume that he is considered in some quarters as a suitable custodian of the holy sites. He has proclaimed another success: for the first time since Roman days, Jewish worshippers are now forcibly prevented from having access to the Wailing Wall, the greatest sanctuary of the Jewish faith. Another agent of the Mufti now in a position of command, Abdul Kader al-Husseini, has a notorious record for his murderous activities during the 1936 rebellion and for his pro-Nazi collaboration during the war. He is now engaged in plans for cutting off the city's water supply and reducing its Jewish population to starvation.

I said that the Jews yielded to the international verdict. They did not yield in favor of Sheikh Bakri or in favor of Abdul Kader al-Husseini. If the international regime is not promptly instituted and effectively enforced, it will soon become a matter of elementary self-preservation for the Jews to do their utmost—maybe their desperate utmost—even alone and unaided, to save Jerusalem from a monstrous tyranny. But in such a case, the city would become a battle-field. It may indeed become a shambles. We consider that the United Nations is most solemnly bound to avert the catastrophe by assuming its responsibilities in Jerusalem, first and foremost the responsibility of ensuring law and order and safeguarding access and supplies to the city.

The fate of Jerusalem disproves the assumption that Arab resistance is directed merely against the partition settlement and the Jewish State. Arab violence is the reaction to any policy which recognizes any specific non-Arab interest, whether Jewish or international, in any part of the country. The Jews will do their utmost to ensure that this claim to exclusive Arab mastery is defeated in the area of the Jewish State. If the United Nations is unable to assist the Jews in that legitimate endeavor, let the United Nations at least prevent the triumph of Arab defiance of world opinion in Jerusalem, and by the provision of a proper force inaugurate an era of peace and order in a city which is sacred to vast multitudes of civilized mankind.

סירוזער, ברומ

Day 4-5-48

אויסצוגען פון די שמורמישע רעדעס ב״י וועטראנען מארש אין ניו יארק

רעדע פון דר. אבא סילווער

שענס אין וואשינגטאן נים האלטען פאר אייר, און פאר די אסעמבלי אירען בכלל, קיין פארטראגען איבער פאטריאטישע פליכטען און פארטאגט ווארטליכקייטען. איר דארפט נים נען קיין לעקציעס וועגען אסעמבלי, נער פאטריאטיזם פון לאי הענדערסאן, ראבערט לאוועק אדער דושייטס פאר רעכטאל. אדער פון די אוילרענע, וועלכע וויינען פארטאגטווארטליך פאר דער שאקירענדער ענדערונג אין דער אסעמבלי קאנער שטעלונג.

אין די היינטיגע פארצווייגטעלעטע צייטען ליגט דער כח פון אונזער לאנד הויפטזעכליך אין דעם פארטרויען וואס די פרייע פעלקער פון דער וועלט האבן אין דער עהרליכקייט פון אונזערע צייטן לען און אין אונזער צונעמאנט ווארט. יעדער חשד און צווייזייטיגקייט אין אונזער אויסערליכער פאליטי און יעדע אויספארטאגטווארטליכקייט אין איינער צוואנגען דינען בלויז צו פאר שטארקען די ריפלאסאטישע גענוער שאפט צו אונז איבער דער גאנצער וועלט. דאס וועט קום קאנען באלאנג סירט ווערען מיט די ביליאנען דאלאר דען, וואס סירט גיבען אויס פאר הילף אין די פארשיידענע לענדער פון אייראפע.

די יעניגע, וועלכע האבען אויף אן אמת לוב אסערוקע און גלויבען אין דער היינער פארעאלישער פירנדער רא-לע, וואס איז אונז צונענדיגען געווארן, שטרעבען דערצו, אז איר גאנצער קייט זאל פארבלייבען אויסגארירט אין איר פאזיציע וואל נים אונגערישען ווערען פון קיין חשד פון וויכען געוויינטען אדער פון מאכט-פאליטיק. אין דער נע-שיכטע פון די פעלקער האט דאס אוי-סערנעבן זיך צו צייטווייליגע באקוועמ-ליכקייטס-סיטילען מער ווי איין טאל פארטראגט אויספארטווייבליכען שאר דען צו ווייזיגעינדע פונדאטענטאלע צוועקען און פונקציעס, וואל יעדער אסע-ריקאנער היינט גאכפערען ביי די מיט-גלידער פון די פאראייניגטע פעלקער און ער וועט אויסגעשינען, צו ווין גרוי-סער דערנידערונג, ווי שלעכט אונזער פאזיציע איז געפאלען, אלס רעזולטאט פון דער שאקירענדער ענדערונג פון דער אסעמבלי קאנער "ארץ" ישראל - פאלי-טי, וואס סיר האבן געזוכט צו בארעכ-טיגען מיט אזוי פיל לעגאליסטישע ווי-לאזע און פארפירעדישע ארגומענטען.

עס איז נאך נים צו שפעט פאר איי-נער ייבען לאנד צו פארריכטען דעם פעלער, פאר וועלכען געוויסע באאמ-טע אין וואשינגטאן וויינען פארטאגט ווארטליך, נים דער קאנגרעס פון די פאראייניגטע שטאטען און נים דאס אסעמבלי קאנער פאלס וועלען געהייסען די קאנע מאכט-פאליטיק, פארטאגט וואל א סליינע גרופע פון קאנספיראטארען רערלירט ווערען אריינגעפירן אונזער גרויס לאנד אין א בלאטע פון צוויי-הונדערטקייט, פארמינערענדיג אונזער פרעסטיזש אין דער וועלט, אויסער גראבנדיג די פונדאטענטען פון די פאר-אינייטע נאציעס, און באנייענדיג א שרעקליכען אומרעכט לנבי א שאק, וואס העכסט פאר דער ווידערערנדיג בונג פון פרייהייט און אוסאפהענגיג-קייט אין דעם אויפאלטען לאנד פון ישראל!

דער קאנגרעס פון די פאראייניגטע שטאטען האט צוויי טאל אינדאדריס-ט די נאציאנאלע אספיראציעס פון אידי-שען פאלס אין ארדיישראל, ביידע גרויסע פאליטישע פארטייען שטייען די ענאבלירטע פון א אידישער פאר-טאגטעלען אין ארדיישראל, יעדער פרעזידענט פון די פאראייניגטע שטאט-טען, ווינט וואויראן ווילסאן, האט עס אינדאדריס, אייך די פאראייניגטע פעלקער האבען מיט פיער חדשים צו-ריק, מיט דער פליקע שטייע פון איי-נער רעגירונג, דאס גלייכווייז באשטע-טיגט.

דאס אסעמבלי קאנער אידענטום שטייט ווייטער ביים באשלוס פון די פאראיי-ניגטע פעלקער און וועט זיך נים לאזען פארשיינען פון דער פראפאגאנדע פון די קאנספיראטארען, וואס ווילען דעם באשליס באגראבען.

עס איז נאך אלץ נים צו שפעט פאר אונזער לאנד צוריקצוקערען זיך פון א קאנאנעדישער אפערענדיג אויפ-ן ברייטען וועגען פון א קלארען ציל און א פיינער און לאנישער שטעלונג אין דער וועלט, אונזער רעגירונג דארף וויר-דערבאשטעטיגען איר שטעלונג, וועל-כע זי האט אזא קלוגען אופן געגרי-טען לעצטען גאוועסער צו גונסטען דער לייוונג פון ארדיישראל-פראבלעם דורך חלופה, א שטעלונג, וועלכע דער פרעזידענט פון די פאראייניגטע שטאט-טען אין דער סעקרטעארי אזוי סטייט האבען אינדאדריס און אינדאדריסירען נאך איצט.

דער פרעזידענט און דער סעקרטעא-רייזאטעטיס דערקלערען, אז ווי וויי-נען נאך אלץ פאר חלופה, אלס די רעכ-טע לייוונג פון ארדיישראל-פראבלעם פארטאגט ווארטליך ווי איצט גענומען די איניציאטיווע צו פארטראגט א ספע-ציעלע אסעמבלי פון דער וועלט, כדי צוריקצורופען דעם באשלוס פון דער לעצטער אסעמבלי, וואס האט מיט א גרויסער סערהייט שטימען געשטימען חלופה? איז עס דערפאר, וואס די אראבער האבען באקעמפט דעם בא-שלוס? צי גלויבען דער פרעזידענט און דער סטייטסעקרטעארי, אז נאך א פערזאן פון א צייטווייליגער טראכ-טיש, לויט ווי זיי שלאגען פאר, ווע-לען די אראבער אונטערען חלופה? איי-נען וואס פאר אן אינפארמאציע באזירען זיי דעם דאזיגען גלויבן? אויב טראכ-טיש איז נים באצוועקט צו נעמען דעם פלאץ פון חלופה, ווי ווי האבען דערקלערט, און די פערמאנענטע לוי-וונג פון ארדיישראל-פראבלעם וועט נאך אלץ דארפען געמונען אין חלופה וואס וועט דארפען אריינפגעוואונגען ווערען, ווען נאך פיל זאל זי באשלי-סען דורכצופירען, וואס פאר א גרופע-קאן ברענגען דאס אויסבאטייטשע אפ-לייגען פון א פערמאנענטער לייוונג, וואס פארלענערט דעם פערזאן פון אויסוויכערטיק און קאמף אין הייליגע-לאנד?

אויב די אסעמבלי קאנער רעגירונג איז נאך אלץ פארפליכטעט אין באצוג צום חלופה-באשלוס, ווי זי האט עס פיל טאל דערקלערט, און צום פרינציפ, אז דאס אידישע פאלק האט א רעכט אויף אוסאפהענגיקייט און עלבסשטענדיג-קייט, אויף וואס פאר אן אופן פארזי-כערט איר פארטראג די דערנידערונג פון דעם ציל? דאס אסעמבלי קאנער פאלק האט א רעכט צו קריגען אן ענטפער אויף דער פראגע, איינענטליך האט דער ענטפער געדארפט געגעבען ווע-לען נאך איידער דער אסעמבלי קאנער דער-לעגאט אין סעפיריטי קאונסיל האט אריינגעבראכט די נייע דעוואלוציע, אין נאמען פון אונזער רעגירונג.

יעדער אסעמבלי קאנער בירגער איז מיט פאראיינטערעסירט אין דער זיכער-קייט פון זיין לאנד, די זיכע פאר אסע-ריקע און געטריישאפט צו אירע טרא-דיציעס און אינטימאציעס ווינען מיט איינעווארטיגט אין די הערדער פון די אירע פון אסערוקע, אויך אידישע וועטעראנען, וועלכע האבען אין היי-נער דערסער טויזענטער, געדינט אסערוקע אין ביינע ווערסירטירטען, דארף מען נים דערציילען די דאזיגע עלעמענטא-רע אמת'ען, אויך דארפען די פאליטי-קאנער פארטאגט ווארטליך.



א ויסער, קרעמטיר, געד זיין... יעדער געשאקער טראפען מאנישעוויטי ווין דערמאנט אייד... עס איז - א ווין ווי די מאסע פלעגט איהם מאכען.

זיינען מיר פון ער וועלט-מלחמה?

זעהר שטארק פאראונטערשטירט, אז
אנקעגן ס'עס זאל איבערנעמען דעם
דזשאב און זאל מיליטעריש גארעמט
דען דעם סטאטוס פון מערב-איראפע.
ענגלאנד ווייזט נישט ארויס קיין שום
סמלים פון אילען זיך פאר מיליטע-
רישע גארבארדיגונגען. זיי זיינען דאס
ליסטע און באזירען נישט צופיל אויף
זייער אייגענער מיליטערישער מאכט.
אויב עפעס אומדערנאכטעס זאל
פאסירען, האט זי דערוויל גענוג אפרי-
מיציע. אסערדיקע וועט נישט שווען שטעל-
שיקען א מיליאן בילדען. ווי זי האט
עס געטוהט טאן אין 1940.

אויב א מלחמה זאל אויסברעכען,
דענסט מען אין לאנדאן, אז דאס וועט
זיין א לאנגע מלחמה.

ד ו י ס : מען דערט אין דוים א
סך ווייניגער וועגן מלחמה ווי מען
מיט עס אין אסעריקע.

אין זייער וואליקאמפלין פארשפריי-
טען דאס קאמיוניסטען שלום-אנשטאט
מלחמה. מען דענקט דא, אז אויב עס
וועט קומען צו א מלחמה וועט עס נאך
געפערן פיר ביז פינף יאר.

א מאיאריטעט דא גלייבט, אז רוס
לאנד וויל נישט קיין מלחמה ווייל אסע-
ריקע איז צווישטארק.

אויב רוסלאנד וועט פארנעמען איה
אוינפלוס ארום סעווערע א דעוואלוציע
דורך די אימפאליענישע קאמוניסטען,
וועט אן אולטימאטום פון אסעריקע
אפשטעלען רוסלאנד.

פילע האבן מורא, אז אסעריקע/ס
אילטימאטום וועט קומען צווישטען.

אויב די אימפאליענישע באפעלער
רונט זאל צווישען זיך אנהויבען א ציי-
וועלע מלחמה וועט אפילו רוסלאנד
נישט קאנען זי אפשטעלען.

ב ע ר ל : זעהר ווייניג דער
ווארטען דא א מלחמה. אויב א מלחמה
זאל יא אויסברעכען, וועט דייטשלאנד
ליידען מער פון אנדערע אייראפעאישע
לענדער.

מען שאפט אפ, אז די רוסישע
ארמיי טאן ער שטעל פארבאפען
סערבידייטשלאנד.

אונטער א יוסישער אימפאציע קאן
סערבידייטשלאנד בלויז דעווארטען
א בלוטיגען קאמפלין קענען אנטשיידן
מיניסטען, הכנע, תורבן און אסע-
ריקאנעל באכטען.

אויב עס זאל קומען צו א מלחמה,
וועט עס זיין א לאנגע מלחמה...

ד ו א ש י : עס איז איה
לערני צו דערווילען אונזערע לענדער,
וואס מען דעמט אין וואשינגטאן, ווי
ווייסען עס פון די סאנטיגעליכע נייעס.
די מלחמה גראדען פון אונזער
דערווייניגס דעמאנסטער אין ווא-
שינגטאן ווייזט, א שטייגענדע טעמ-
פעראטור פון מלחמה-היסטעריע.

נאָם מען דענקט וועגען דעם
אין אייראפע אין אין אסעריקע.
פון ג. מאַלבין

פילע גלייבען, אז אויב א מלחמה
זאל אויסברעכען קענען מיליטע-
רישע וועטע, און סאטעטרוסלאנד
אין א לאנגע צו באזיגען נאנט מער
איראפע ביז די גרעניצען פון שפא-
ניע אין א סטך פון פיר וואכען.

ביז די ארמיען וועלען דעארגאני-
זירט וועלען וועלען רוסלאנד'ס גע-
נער זי אנהויבען באשטארדירען, עס
וועט געמען פון פינף חדשים ביז א
יאר צו דעארגאניזירען די ארמיען.

און דער רעוולטאט' א פולשטער
דער תורבן פון דעם, וואס עס איז
א בערגעבליכען פון מערב-איראפע.
א א מלחמה קאן אנגיין פון פינף ביז
זיבען יאר. און ווער עס זאל נישט ווין
דער וינער, וועט פאר זיך האבען א
רואינרשע וועלט...

פ א ר י : אין מירענדע פריוון אין
פארו אין מען זעהר אויסוואג, מען
דעווארט א מלחמה אין דעם חדשים
אויס.

זיי באזירן זייער מורא פאר מלחמה
אויפ'ן גרונט פון דעם, וואס רוס
לאנד'ס האנדלונג באצוועקט צו פאר-
מידען, אז אסעריקע זאל באוואקסען
250 מיליאן אייראפעער.

די מלחמה געוועזענע אויף די
סאטען פון פארו דעמאנסט די הער-
שענדע פסיכאלאגיע אין 1938 און אין
אנהויב פון 1939. די מורא, אז א
מלחמה וועט אויסברעכען איז איה
באזירט אויף באריכטען, וואס לייען
א פון אסעריקע, אז די דאמסליע
עפעסליכע מיינונג איז גרויס פאר
מלחמה צוליב פראבלעמען, וואס ווע-
רען קלאר פארשטאנען און אפגע-
שאפט.

פראנקרייך, בעלגיע, האלאנד אין
לאסעסבורג דעווארטען, אז אסעריקע
וועט אויב שטעל ווי נאך סעניף צו
שיקען באוואקסענע און אסעריקע פאר
צושאנציע דיוויזיעס.

פראנצויזישע באאמטע גייען צו
פריוואט, אז ווערע ארעסטירט וועלען
לסריי, זיי האבען זעהר וועניג ערא-
פלאנען און אז ווער ארמיי זיי נישט
אנגאנען פארלעסליך.

פריוואט גיבען אויך צו די פראנ-
צויזען, אז זיי וואלטען וועלען, אז
אסעריקע זאל אנהויבען א מיליטע-
רישע אפעצ אויב שטעל ווי בעלגליך
ביז צו באזיגען זיך מיט דעם פאר-
צאגט וואס אסעריקע האט איצט אויפ'ן
גרייט פון דער אסאסישער באשטע-
לאנדאן אין לאנדאן אויב מען

פון מאַג ב. ז. נאָלדבערג

ביידע ווייזן דערווילעט געווארען נישט אין געוויינליכע
וואליקאמפלייט, נאך צופעליג, דורך קאטאסטראפעס.
וויסאן, צוליב א פאליטישער קאטאסטראפע: זעב-
ען יאר כסדר פאר דעם האבען זיך די דעמאקראטען
געווארען דעמט און לינקס און נישט געקאנט אויסקליר
מען קיין פרעזידענט, ביז עס האט זיך געמאכט א
שפאליטעט אין דער דעפובליקאנער פארטיי, וואו דער
שפאליטער איז געווען אפאלערע און צערגרישע
פערזענליכקייט ווי סעדי ראוועלמאן און ווילסאן האט זיך
אריינגעמאכט אלס פרעזידענט, ווי א פילע פון א פאר-
טיי, וואס איז פאסטיש געווען א פילאריטעט.
עס צווישען סאל איז טיין ווילסאן אויסגעפליכען
געווארען נישט פון דער דעמאקראטישער פארטיי, נאך
פון א קאליציע, וואס די מלחמה אין אייראפע האט
ארויסגעוואונגען, א קאליציע מיט א טייל ראוועלמאן
דעפובליקאנער, ארבייטערעלעשטען, און פאצייפסטן,
ליבעראלען.

נאכ'ן קורצן האט די ווילסאן-דערווייניג פארראטען איה
ליבעראליזם מיט די פרעזידענט-באריסטע "פאלסער-
דעמט" אויב יעדען פראגרעסיזשן טענען, איינס פון
די שטערליכע סאפטיקען פון אבווער געשיכטע, ווען
שטארקס לואנס יוה, וואס איז געלאפען גענען וויל-
סאנ'ען מיט פיר יאר פריער און פון שטעטער געווארען
הויפט פון סופרים קאזירט, האט פארלאסט מיט די
שארפסטע פערסענען.

די דעמאקראטישע פארטיי האט מיט דעם צעשמערט
די קאליציע אין דעבייטע איז אפילו אפאלע רעפובליקא-
נער מינדערווייניגקייט ווי ווארען הארדינג, געווארען
פרעזידענט.

דער צווייטער דעמאקראטישער פרעזידענט אין די
לעצטע פופציג יאר, פרענקלין ראוועלמאן, איז דערווילעט
געווארען פון אפאליטישער קאטאסטראפע, ווען די

וואלאס

ג. פייזעס, קערט
זי נישט אנדערש, אז
ער פון דער דעמא-
אריסטאטעס טייר

זאלען טעלעגראפירן
זיין דער פרעזידענט-
ער נאכטיי, א סך
מען איבערצייגען די
מיט טרוסטליכען פאר-
וועלט ווי אויסוואג
פאר פרעזידענט.
ג. פייזעס אופן נישט.

זען געמאכט איינפא-
צו אפערט וועט איה
זען, אז וויסאלד טייר
אלאס נאך נישט-
טונט דוואן לואיס,
טער ווייט:
טרוסטליכע ארש

אפגעשריבען פון זיך
זי טאקט קיין קאמפ-
געלעדיגט פון טייער
פאמאליטעט מאכט

For the Healing of Nations...

In his introduction, Dr. Silver dwelt on the charge of the Egyptian delegate that the UN has not studied other solutions than partition. He spoke at length on the two solutions which were submitted by the UNSCOP majority and minority reports, adding that the delegates of all Arab states were given the fullest opportunity to advocate the proposals which they favored.

He also stated that the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine appointed a third committee—a conciliation subcommittee—which was given full powers to undertake efforts at conciliation between Jews and Arabs. According to the testimony of the chairman of this committee, Mr. Evatt of Australia, the ground was explored from every possible point of view "and we reached the conclusion that right up to the present time no more could be done. The Arab Higher Committee was approached by UNSCOP on more than one occasion and was invited to assist in the work of UNSCOP but it refused."

Thorough Study

Dr. Silver said:

In a similar vein, the representative of the United States, Ambassador Herchel Johnson, speaking at that same session declared: "This Palestine problem has been of concern to the world now for the past 30 years. It has been the subject of innumerable inquiries and commissions and all conceivable types of solution have been proposed. . . Since the conclusion of World War II, two renewed attempts have been made to solve the Palestine problem. The work of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of 1946 was followed by conferences in London in which the so-called Grady-Morrison proposals were evolved. There were further conferences in London last winter. Finally, in May of 1947, an inquiry was undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations. During all of these studies the various solutions of the Palestine problem have been given careful consideration. I know from my study of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine that it made every effort to arrive at a solution which would be acceptable to both the Jews and the Arabs. . ."

The failure to reach an agreed solution after 30 years of questing and searching for it, so eloquently attested by the events themselves and by the testimony of the distinguished representatives, both of Great Britain and of the United States, which were quoted by the spokesman of the Jewish Agency last week, leads us strongly to question the usefulness of that part of the proposal of the United States delegation which calls upon the Committee of the Security Council to be appointed "to consult with the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendation of 29, November, 1947."

Opportunity for Delay

This proposal, undoubtedly suggested by commendable motives, nay, we fear, cause long and disastrous delays and the stulti-

fication of the activities of the United Nations Commission. . . The United States proposal for new consultations introduces anew an element of uncertainty which invariably inhibits conclusive action. It will be seized upon by the opponents of the United Nations decision as another opportunity to re-open the whole question, to force through those solutions which were rejected by the United Nations or which failed of acceptance time and again on other occasions, or failing in all this, to attempt to entangle and prevent all action.

Dr. Silver then went on to recite the further discussions and thorough studies which led the UN General Assembly to adopt the majority report by more than a two-third majority vote. "The nations who voted for this plan," he said, "fully realized that they were not endorsing some abstract idea or making a recommendation which would then be left suspended in mid-air. They were deciding on a course of action as well as on a policy. They forthwith appointed a special commission of the UN authorized to implement their decision according to a carefully worked out plan of action."

Time Running Out

To raise at this late hour the prospect of new negotiations and consultations between Arabs and Jews on the nature and character of the future government of Palestine is, in our judgment, to endanger the very object which the United Nations, by its action last November, sought to achieve. In that direction lies neither hope nor promise. That road leads to a quagmire of indecision and inaction. There is but a brief time left, and time is fast running out to chaos and anarchy.

Dr. Silver then took up the statement made by the Egyptian delegate to the effect that the decision taken last November was a "mere recommendation to the British Government."

The action taken by the Assembly was action taken in response to the request of the Mandatory Power, the only state member of the United Nations having any authority to act in Palestine—a country placed under an international trust. The request was for the solution of the problem of the future government of Palestine. Before taking any action the General Assembly took note of the declaration by the Mandatory Power that it plans to complete the evacuation of Palestine by August 1, 1948. . .

While the United Kingdom has refused to accept special responsibility for the implementation of the plan, it has not, as Mandatory, rejected the recommended plan. On the contrary, the United Kingdom has officially stated that it accepted the decision of the Assembly and announced its intention to terminate its Mandate on May 15 and has further announced its intention and readiness to turn over the administra-

tion of Palestine to the United Nations Commission, as envisaged in the recommended plan. The recommended plan is, therefore, no longer a mere recommendation. The Mandatory is in process of liquidating its Mandate. It has accepted the United Nations plan for Palestine in much the same manner as the states party to the Italian treaty accepted a United Nations plan for the Free Territory of Trieste. On May 15, the only Administration in Palestine having any international standing will be the United Nations Commission. If its authority fails, there will be no regime of law in Palestine and anarchy will prevail.

UN Fate

It is regrettable that the necessity exists to remind member nations that it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations for any member state to use force or the threat of force, or to encourage the use of force or the threat of force to obstruct the carrying out of the plan recommended by the Assembly and accepted by the Mandatory Power.



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver addressing the Security Council. Dr. Silver is flanked by Andrei Gromyko (left) and Karel Lisicky (right), Czech chairman of the Palestine Commission. Behind Dr. Silver are Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Moshe Shertok and Hayim Greenberg.

Unless the member states accept the overwhelming moral authority of a decision which derives from the collective judgment of the United Nations, the great hope which inspired its organization is tragically doomed. . . What is involved here is far more than a technical legal question. It is a question whether the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for world peace, and the salvation of mankind or whether it is to be but an impressive stage-setting for actors and supernumeraries busily engaged in a meaningless play of long-winded futility.

Those who would empty the concept of a United Nations resolution of all compelling moral authority are the enemies, not alone of this particular decision of the United Nations, but unconsciously, of the United Nations organization itself.

Dr. Silver then declared that it should not take long for members of the Security Council to determine the fact that a breach of peace exists in Palestine and that Arab acts of aggression have taken place. He further charged that the organization of the Jewish militia called for by the UN plan

has not been permitted by the British and that the request of the UN Commission to permit the preparatory work of the organization of this militia has likewise been denied. He also charged that not only in this most vital question of the militia but in other essential matters which would have facilitated the coming of the new regime in Palestine, the Mandatory Government has been uncooperative and obstructive. Dr. Silver then cited a long chain of obstructionism and sabotage committed by the British regime in Palestine against the Yishuv and the UN authority.

Lists British Failures

Thus, the Mandatory Government refused to open a port to Jewish immigration on February 1, as called for by the decision of the United Nations. It has refused to permit the United Nations Commission to come to Palestine in ample time properly to prepare for its immense duties. It has rejected the plan of a pro-

or disapprove of a political policy?

Militia Arming Urgent

The Jewish Agency appeals to the Security Council and to the members of the United Nations to make earnest representation to the present Mandatory Government of Palestine to permit the immediate organization of an adequate Jewish State militia and the preparation for its equipment to protect the lives of the inhabitants of the new Jewish State who are being threatened by forces inside and outside of Palestine. . .

It is likewise an elementary moral obligation on the part of those nations who have approved the plan to remove all embargoes on the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine who have loyally accepted the decision of the United Nations and to deny such arms to those who are violently resisting it. Surely this is not an unreasonable request. The organization, recognition and equipment of the Jewish militia is for us of greater urgency than the sending of a non-Palestinian armed force by the Security Council. The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves but their hands must not be tied. The quicker and the stronger the Jewish militia is permitted to become, the less sizeable need be the international force, which the Commission has requested.

We are still hoping that there may be no need for prolonged and serious conflict in Palestine. The Jews do not wish war with their neighbors, only peace and cooperation. Within the framework of the plan calling for two independent states joined in an economic union, there is definitely the possibility for such peace and cooperation. The national status and independence of each people is guaranteed and their economic cooperation for the good of both is provided for. Partition was not the Jewish solution. It fell far short of the just rights and aspirations of the Jewish people. It was a grievous abridgement of these rights. Nevertheless, reluctantly but loyally we accepted the decision which appeared fair and reasonable to the United Nations. We still hope that the Arabs of Palestine will likewise accept it and thereby put an end to the scourge of strife and bloodshed which can only do incalculable hurt to both peoples. But in the face of the mounting threats and the incursion of armed bands across the frontiers bent on war, the Jewish people of Palestine is compelled to make all necessary preparation for self-defense. We plead with the United Nations to remove all obstacles in the way. We are carrying out the purposes of the United Nations. We should not be paralyzed for doing so.

Question of Survival

We full respect the authority of the United Nations but if it is unable to carry out its own decisions and, as a consequence, the Jewish community of Palestine is confronted with the threat of annihilation, it will be compelled by the considerations of sheer survival, not to speak of the preservation of its rights, to

MORE

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CONTINUED

take all necessary measures which the situation will call for.

Dr. Silver then threw back the accusations made by the British representative against the Jewish Agency and in return cited at length the pro-Zionist statements and pledges made by the British Labor Party, by Creech-Jones himself and other members of the Labor Government before they took office. He quoted the resolution adopted by the Labor Party Conference in 1939 condemning the White Paper which the resolution termed "a surrender to aggression and a premium on violence and terror" and calling on the Government to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration. He then quoted the resolution of the British Labor Party adopted in 1943 and in December 1944 on the eve of its election to the government of Britain.

In December, 1944, the British Labor Party, on the eve of its election to the Government of Great Britain, declared: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land (Palestine) in such numbers as to become a majority. . ." This Resolution of the Labor Party went further, even beyond the program of the Zionist movement. I quote: "Here too in Palestine surely is a case on human grounds and to promote a stable settlement for transfers of population. Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed. The Arabs have many wide territories of

their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine less than the size of Wales. Indeed, we should re-examine also the possibility of extending the present Palestinian boundaries by agreement with Egypt, Syria and Trans-Jordan."

Pledges Broken

Those who solemnly and publicly made these declarations are today the rulers of Great Britain. But since coming into office, they have refused to honor a single one of these promises.

Dr. Silver then cited statements made by Creech-Jones himself in which the Colonial Secretary declared that in building up their national home, the Jews have inflicted no wrong on the inhabitants of Palestine and that "there has been no scheme of colonization in the whole history of mankind which has been carried through with such care, such scrupulous fairness and consideration for

the native population as has been displayed by the Jews."

Was there a single echo of all this in the declarations of the honorable spokesman of the United Kingdom delegation on Tuesday last or in any of the recent declarations of his Government? Who then should be charged with moral weakness and with subordinating moral considerations to political expediency?

The Jewish Agency has never condoned terrorism. It has deprecated it and denounced it time and again. The Jewish Agency, be it remembered, has no governmental or police authority. It could not reach the source of the evil which was feeding terrorism in Palestine. That source was the immoral and iniquitous policy of the White Paper, a self-willed and unlawful policy decreed by Great Britain.

Test Case

The Palestine issue which is before the United Nations is a

test case which the whole world is following with utmost concern, for much indeed depends upon its final outcome. Whether justice will finally be done to a sorely tried people whose monumental spiritual achievements made that little land of Palestine the Holy Land of mankind, whether solemn international pledges are truly to be redeemed and whether this international organization which has been built upon the ruins of another such peace organization, wrecked by the failure of the Great Powers to maintain its authority, will share a similar fate or whether it will in truth become the tree whose fruit will be for the healing of the nations, all this is involved in this issue which is now before you and quite discernible to all who can see beneath the surface of single events into the sweep of great historic processes.

We confidently await your action.

Declaration by Austin on Palestine Situation in the Security Council

Special to The New York Times.
LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 19.—Following are the texts of a statement on the Palestine question by Warren E. Austin in the United Nations Security Council today and of a report by Mr. Austin on behalf of the United States, the Soviet Union, China and France:

Mr. Austin's Statement

The resolution adopted by the Security Council on March 5, 1948, requested the permanent members of the Council, first, to consult and inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine and, second, to make, as a result of such consultations, recommendations to it regarding the guidance and instructions which the Council might usefully give to the Palestine Commission with a view of implementing the resolution of the General Assembly.

In support of the position agreed on by at least some of the permanent members, it might be helpful to the Council, Mr. President, for me to summarize briefly, as we understand them, the present positions of the Palestine Commission, the mandatory power and the Jews and Arabs of Palestine concerning implementation of the partition plan recommended by the General Assembly.

During the consultations of the past two weeks the Palestine Commission was asked whether it had found sufficient acceptance of the partition plan on the part of the Jews, the Arabs and the mandatory power to afford a basis for its peaceful implementation. The commission's answer was no. It observed, in this connection, that the Jews of Palestine generally accepted the plan, that the Arabs of Palestine generally opposed the plan and that the mandatory power had declined to take any action which might be interpreted as involving implementation of the plan.

Commission's Stand on Force

The commission has repeated its view that it could not discharge its responsibilities on the termination of the mandate without the assistance of an adequate non-Palestinian armed force for the preservation of law and order. The commission does not consider it possible to implement the plan by peaceful means either as a whole or in substantial part so long as the existing vigorous Arab resistance to partition persists.

The commission considered itself unable, within the terms of the resolution of the General Assembly, to consider whether any modification of the recommended plan might offer a basis for agreement among the people of Palestine.

With regard to the establishment of the provisional council of government in the proposed Jewish and Arab states by April 1, 1948, the commission has concluded:

(a) That the attitude of the Arab Higher Committee and Arab resistance in Palestine preclude any possibility of selecting a provisional council of government for the proposed Arab state by the first of April;

(b) That while the commission can take, and has in fact taken, some preliminary steps toward the selection of the provisional council of government for the Jewish state, the provisional council will not be able to carry out its functions, in the sense of the plan, prior to the termination of the mandate;

(c) The position of the mandatory power precludes any possibility of fulfilling by April 1 the provisions of the plan as regards either the Arab or the Jewish provisional council of government.

Remarks on Jerusalem

With regard to the City of Jerusalem, the commission's view is that the administration of the City of Jerusalem by the United Nations is possible if the plan of partition with economic union is generally accepted by the Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine and peacefully implemented.

The permanent members held two discussions with the representative of the mandatory power. One of these was devoted to security problems and the other to the implementation of the partition plan.

From the information supplied by the mandatory government, it appears that several thousand Arabs have entered Palestine, in bands of varying size, and have infiltrated the Palestinian population. The identification of these Arabs has not been firmly established but it appears to be common knowledge in Palestine that they include nationals of most of the neighboring Arab states and that they have entered from Lebanon, Syria, Trans-Jordan and Egypt. The United Kingdom reports that these bands are irregular formations and are not organized units of any national armed force.

The representative of the mandatory power was asked whether his government considers that there is a threat of force against Palestine which now constitutes a threat to international peace and also whether the existing situation in Palestine is a situation which constitutes a threat to the peace. He replied that his government would furnish all the facts available, but that the question of what constitutes a threat to the peace is for the Security Council to decide.

Britain's Position Stated

In response to questions concerning implementation of the General Assembly recommendation, the mandatory power stated that it has "accepted" the plan of partition with economic union recommended by the General Assembly but that it cannot participate in its implementation. While it wished to avoid any action which might be considered as obstructive, it could not itself be

instrumental in putting into effect a plan which is not accepted by both the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine.

The representative of the mandatory power informed the permanent members that his government considered that it would be very difficult to carry out the plan without the backing of force; that even if the Jewish militia were sufficiently armed to insure the organization and protection of the Jewish state such action would not be the equivalent of a settlement, that the United Kingdom did not believe that there were any modifications in detail which would make the plan acceptable both to the Jews and Arabs of Palestine and that no change in the timetable of British withdrawal from Palestine is contemplated by the United Kingdom. The representative of the United Kingdom further stated that his government had no suggestions to make with regard to means by which the Jews and Arabs of Palestine might be brought together, although successful efforts in this direction would be welcomed.

Budget is \$86,000,000

Representatives of the mandatory government further indicated that there would be a very substantial deficit in the Palestinian budget following British withdrawal and that, while the Palestinian Government has been financially self-sufficient, the cost of maintaining British forces in Palestine is considerably larger than the total Palestinian budget of \$86,000,000 annually.

Representatives of the Jewish Agency stated that the Jews of Palestine accept the partition plan. The Agency claimed that the plan represents, however, an irreducible minimum for the Jews of Palestine since it already involves a great reduction in what they consider their rightful claims; also, that, although there is no perfect or easy solution, the present plan is the only practical solution reached after many other plans had failed of acceptance. The Agency representatives stated that it should now be taken as a postulate that any plan whatever will require enforcement. No modifications in the plan would commend themselves to the Jews, and the Jewish Agency does not see any possibility of modifications which would make the plan acceptable to the Arabs.

The Jewish Agency stated that the Jews of Palestine would be ready to undertake the responsibilities for government and for the maintenance of law and order within the proposed Jewish state. They expressed confidence that they could assert the authority of the Jewish state and maintain essential public services. This would presuppose the establishment and equipment of the militia contemplated in the plan and the removal of restrictions on the importation of arms. They believed that an international force would be necessary and that if no international force were provided much bloodshed would result.

Armed Intervention Noted

On the question of implementation by peaceful means, the Jewish Agency stated that it did not believe it would be possible to obtain a formal public agreement with the Arabs of Palestine in advance of implementation. They believed, however, that, if left alone, considerable sections of Palestinian Arabs would be willing to cooperate or acquiesce but that armed intervention by neighboring states completely changed that situation.

With respect to economic union, the Jewish Agency stated that they accepted economic union as a part of the plan although they themselves did not ask for it. The Agency does not consider the principles of the proposed economic union essential to the economic life of Palestine as a whole or to creation of the Jewish state. The Agency considers that economic union should not be an obstacle to the creation of the Jewish state.

The representatives of the Jewish Agency stated that the Jews would cooperate in the administration of Jerusalem by the United Nations, considered, however, as part of the partition plan. The United Nations administration of Jerusalem apart from the plan would create a serious obstacle to cooperation.

Asked Rule of Immigration

The Jews insist upon the control of immigration, said the Jewish Agency, because that was a question of sovereignty and was a most essential part of the whole scheme. The Jews, they said, must have the keys to their own homeland in their own hand. The exclusive control of immigration was the most powerful argument in persuading the Jews to accept the partition plan. They had in mind a rate of immigration of 80,000 to 100,000 a year (roughly 1,000,000 over a ten-year period) subject to changing conditions both inside the Jewish state and in areas outside. They pointed out that there no longer is a great reservoir of Jews in Europe and that Arab fears that Palestine would be inundated can no longer be considered as well grounded.

The assumption of administrative or governmental responsibility by the United Nations is another matter. If the United Nations is to act as a government, a large administrative task will become directly responsible for all phases of the life of the people over whom such powers are exercised. It is a formidable responsibility and a heavy financial commitment is incurred by all fifty-seven members of the organization.

The United Nations does not automatically fall heir to the responsibilities either of the League of Nations or of the mandatory power in respect of the Palestine mandate. The record seems to us entirely clear that the United

Dr. Silver's Statement

Special to The New York Times.
LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., March 19.—Following is the statement made today for the Jewish Agency for Palestine by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the United Nations Security Council:

The proposal of the United States Government to suspend all efforts to implement the partition plan approved by the United Nations General Assembly last November, under the leadership of the United States, and to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine is a shocking reversal of its position.

Up to the last few days the spokesman for the United States delegation has told the Security Council that the United States Government firmly stands by partition. Both the President of the United States and the Secretary of State have repeatedly within recent weeks maintained that the position of the United States on partition remained unaltered. We are at an utter loss to understand the reason for this amazing reversal, which will bring confusion, is likely to lead to increased violence in Palestine and will incalculably hurt the prestige and authority of the United Nations, the reversal of a plan whose effectiveness the President of the United States pleaded again as recently as Wednesday last.

It is clear from the statement of the United States delegation that the reason for scrapping a decision of the United Nations General Assembly, overwhelmingly approved by its members, was the threat on the part of some member states to alter that decision by violence. This will be a fateful capitulation on the part of the world organization to threats and intimidation, which will completely destroy all of its future effectiveness as an instrument of the settlement of international disputes and for the maintenance of world peace.

It should be clear to everyone that the establishment of a trusteeship by the United Nations in Palestine will not automatically insure peace in that country and that force will have to be used to maintain that arrangement, just as it would have been necessary to carry out the partition decision of the United Nations.

The statement that the plan proposed by the General Assembly is an integral plan which cannot succeed unless each of its parts can be carried out is incorrect. This conception was never part of the plan. Indeed, it is contrary to the statement made by the representative of the United States during the General Assembly.

Nations did not take over the League of Nations mandate system.

The League of Nations Assembly on April 15, 1947, adopted a resolution which included the following two paragraphs:

The Assembly . . .

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

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

At the first part of the first session of the United Nations General Assembly, on Feb. 12, 1946, the Assembly passed a resolution regarding the transfer of certain functions, activities, and assets of the League of Nations to the United Nations. No transfer of functions concerning mandates was mentioned. The resolution included the statement that:

The General Assembly will itself examine, or will submit to the appropriate organ of the United Nations, any request from the parties that the United Nations should assume the exercise of functions or powers entrusted to the League of Nations by treaties, international conventions, agreements and other instruments having a political character.

U. N. Trusteeship Framework

Provision was made in the United Nations Charter for the voluntary placing of mandates under a trusteeship system by means of trusteeship agreements between the General Assembly or the Security Council and the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power. By such an agreement, the United Nations itself, under Article 81 of the Charter, could become the administering authority for a trust territory. No such proposal has been made by the mandatory power with respect to Palestine and no action has been taken by the United Nations itself which would have that result.

A unilateral decision by the United Kingdom to terminate the Palestine mandate cannot automatically commit the United Nations to responsibility for governing that country. We think it clear that the United Nations does not succeed to administrative responsibility for Palestine merely because the latter is a mandate. Signing the Charter did not commit the signatories to a contingent liability for mandates, to become operative by the decisions of mandatory powers to

The setting up of one state was made conditional upon the setting up of the other state. Mr. Herschel Johnson, representing the United States delegation, speaking in a subcommittee of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question on 28 October 1947, stated, in discussing this very matter in connection with economic union:

"The element of mutuality would not necessarily be a factor, as the document might be signed by one party only."

It is clear that an attempt is being made to force a solution upon the Jewish people of Palestine which would diminish its sovereignty, territory and immigration, such as was provided for in the partition plan. Otherwise, no new proposals would now be made by the United States delegation looking toward a new solution. The United States knows full well that the Arabs have opposed and continue to oppose every solution which offers any satisfaction to the legitimate rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

The Jewish Agency has repeatedly been under the necessity of stating that the partition plan represented the maximum sacrifice on the part of the Jewish people beyond which it cannot go. Any proposals calling for further sacrifices will have to be imposed upon the Jewish community of Palestine by force. We hope that the United Nations will not knowingly assume the role of the British mandatory in an effort to carry out the kind of restrictive, crippling and discriminatory measures under which the country has been administered in recent years.

We are under the obligation at this time to repeat what we stated at a meeting of the Security Council last week: The decision of the General Assembly remains valid for the Jewish people. We have accepted it and we are prepared to abide by it. If the United Nations Commission is unable to carry out the mandates which were assigned to it by the General Assembly, the Jewish people of Palestine will move forward in the spirit of that resolution and will do everything which is dictated by considerations of national survival and by considerations of justice and historic rights.

It is with deep sorrow that we state that the world will not profit by the lesson which is now being read to it by the United States: that a revision of an international judgment, maturely arrived at after prolonged and objective investigation and discussion, can be extorted by threats and armed defiance.

abandon their mandates. On the facts reported by the permanent members, Palestine is a land calling under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter, a non-self-governing territory.

Does the General Assembly recommendation of Nov. 29, 1947, constitute an acceptance by the United Nations of governmental responsibility for Palestine?

On April 2, 1947, the United Kingdom directed a request to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the first part of which states:

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom request the Secretary General of the United Nations to place the question of Palestine on the agenda of the General Assembly at its next regular annual session. They will submit to the Assembly an account of their administration of the League of Nations mandate and will ask the Assembly to make recommendations, under Article 10 of the Charter, concerning the future government of Palestine.

Thus the question of Palestine came before the General Assembly only as a request for a recommendation. No proposal was made by the United Kingdom to the General Assembly that the United Nations itself undertake responsibility for the government of Palestine.

Resolution Quoted

Following consideration of the question of Palestine in a special session, in a special committee (the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine), and at its second regular session, the General Assembly passed a resolution which recommended "to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory power for Palestine, and to all other members of the United Nations, the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the plan of partition with economic union" set forth in the resolution.

Under the plan, the United Nations agreed, as a part of the recommended general settlement, to undertake administrative responsibilities for the City of Jerusalem. Further, the General Assembly agreed that a commission elected by it would perform certain functions to effect the transfer of responsibility from the mandatory power to the successor governments in Palestine. The limited responsibilities of the United Nations set forth in the plan as a whole and are dependent upon the adoption and implementation of the entire plan. This essential unity of the General Assembly recommendation was emphasized by the chairman of the Palestine Commission in his statement to the Security Council on Feb. 24:

I have put some stress upon the words "plan of partition" as it has been envisaged by the General Assembly" since it is with the implementation of such plan that our commission has been entrusted. It is quite natural—and legitimate—for interested parties to concentrate their

efforts preponderantly — if not exclusively — on such parts of the plan as are intended more especially for their sake. The commission is not in such a position; its duty, according to its terms of reference, is to provide for the implementation of the whole plan which has been conceived by the General Assembly as a whole. . . .

Since the plan has been envisaged as a whole, the realization and sound functioning of one part of the plan has been made, in a substantial degree, dependent upon the establishment and functioning of its other parts.

Political Vacuum Foreseen

The limited functions which the General Assembly offered to undertake in connection with its Palestine recommendation stand or fall with that resolution. If it proves impossible to give effect to that resolution, the United Nations will have, on May 15, 1948, no administrative and governmental responsibilities for Palestine, unless further action is taken by the Assembly.

The plan proposed by the General Assembly was an integral plan which would not succeed unless each of its parts could be carried out. There seems to be general agreement that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means. From what has been said in the Security Council and in consultations among the permanent members of the Council, it is clear that the Security Council is not prepared to go ahead with efforts to implement this plan in the existing situation.

The Security Council now has before it clear evidence that the Jews and Arabs of Palestine and the mandatory power cannot agree to implement the General Assembly plan of partition through peaceful means. The announced determination of the mandatory power to terminate the mandate on May 15, 1948, if carried out by the United Kingdom, would result, in the light of information now available, in chaos and heavy fighting in Palestine. The United Nations cannot permit such a result. The loss of life in the Holy Land must be brought to an immediate end. The maintenance of international peace is at stake.

The United States fully subscribes to the conclusion reached by the permanent members that the Security Council should make it clear to the parties and governments concerned that the Security Council is determined not to permit the situation in Palestine to threaten international peace and, further, that the Security Council should take further action by all means available to it to bring about the immediate cessation of violence and the restoration of peace and order in Palestine.

Under the Charter, the Security Council has both an inescapable responsibility as well as full authority to take the steps necessary to bring about a cease-fire in Palestine and a halt to the incursions being made into that country. The powers of Articles 39, 40, 41 and 42 are very great and the Council should not hesitate to use them—all of them—if necessary, to stop the fighting.

Move Called Temporary

In addition, my government believes that a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations to maintain the peace and to afford the Jews and Arabs of Palestine further opportunity to reach an agreement regarding the future government of that country. Such a United Nations trusteeship would, of course, be without prejudice to the character of the eventual political settlement, which we hope can be achieved without long delay. In our opinion, the Security Council should recommend the establishment of such a trusteeship to the General Assembly and to the mandatory power. This would require an immediate special session of the General Assembly, which the Security Council might call under the terms of the Charter.

Pending the meeting of the special session of the General Assembly, we believe that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its effort to implement the proposed partition plan.

I shall now read three propositions which are being submitted by the United States. I am not making any representation for any other one of the permanent members. The United States propositions are contained in a paper entitled "Additional Conclusions and Recommendations Concerning Palestine," which has been circulated to the members. It reads as follows:

1. The plan proposed by the General Assembly is an integral plan which cannot succeed unless each of its parts can be carried out. There seems to be general agreement that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means.

2. We believe that further steps must be taken immediately not only to maintain the peace but also to afford a further opportunity to reach an agreement between the interested parties regarding the future government of Palestine. To this end we believe that a temporary trusteeship for Palestine should be established under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Such a United Nations trusteeship would be without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned or to the character of the eventual political settlement, which we hope can be achieved without long delay. In our opinion, the Security Council should recommend the establishment of such a trusteeship to the General Assembly and to the mandatory power. This would require an immediate special session of the General Assembly, which the Security Council should request the Secretary General to convene under Article 20 of the Charter.

3. Pending the meeting of the

proposed special session of the General Assembly, we believe that the Security Council should instruct the Palestine Commission to suspend its efforts to implement the proposed partition plan.

Draft resolutions which would give effect to the above suggestions will be circulated shortly for the consideration of the Security Council.

Big Powers' Report

I shall make a brief report on the consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council up to date relating to the first operative part of the resolution of 5 March, 1948, which reads as follows:

RESOLVES:

1. To call on permanent members of the Council to consult and to inform the Security Council regarding the situation with respect to Palestine. . . .

The permanent members of the Security Council have met several times. In fact, they have met as often as circumstances have permitted. The Secretary General has attended all of these meetings. The mandatory power has attended two of the meetings in its official capacity of administering authority and has furnished information.

What I am about to read to the representatives on the Security Council will be well documented by the Secretary General, and each representative will have papers that contain questions, answers and reports of the United Nations Palestine Commission upon which is based the paper I am about to read. The matter stated in this paper has the agreement of three of the permanent members of the Security Council, China, France and the United States. To what extent it has the agreement of the Soviet Union will probably be stated by the representative of the Soviet Union.

Powers to Continue Meeting

I shall now proceed with this very brief document which contains Part 1 and Part 2. I should like to have the representatives on the Security Council understand that this is only the beginning; this relates only to the first operative part of the resolution, and the permanent members intend to continue their consultations as soon as possible, perhaps today if the time is afforded, in order to carry on with the consultations relating to the second operative part of the resolution, and then report to the Security Council as soon as possible in an attempt to meet the timetable that is set forth in the General Assembly resolution.

The consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council and informal communications with the Palestine Commission, the mandatory power, the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee, held since 5 March 1948, have developed the following facts regarding the situation with respect to Palestine:

1. The Jewish Agency accepts the partition plan, considers it to be the irreducible minimum acceptable to the Jews and insists upon the implementation of the plan without modification.

2. The Arab Higher Committee rejects any solution based on partition in any form and considers that the only acceptable solution is the formation of one independent state for the whole of Palestine, whose constitution would be based on democratic principles and which would include adequate safeguards for minorities and the safety of the holy places.

3. No modifications in the essentials of the partition plan are acceptable to the Jewish Agency, and no modifications would make the plan acceptable to the Arab Higher Committee.

Peaceful Action Doubtful

4. The Palestine Commission, the mandatory power, the Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee have indicated that the partition plan cannot be implemented by peaceful means under present conditions.

5. The mandatory power has confirmed that a considerable number of incursions of illegal arms and armed elements into Palestine have occurred by land and sea.

6. The gradual withdrawal of the military forces of the mandatory will, in the absence of agreement, result in increasing violence and disorder in Palestine. Warfare of a guerrilla type grows more violent constantly.

7. If the mandate is terminated prior to a peaceful solution of the problem, large-scale fighting between the two communities can be expected.

Part 2 of this paper reads as follows:

1. As a result of the consultations of the permanent members regarding the situation with respect to Palestine, they find and report that a continuation of the infiltration into Palestine, by land and by sea, of groups and persons with the purpose of taking part in violence would aggravate still further the situation, and recommend:

(a) That the Security Council should make it clear to the parties and governments concerned that the Security Council is determined not to permit the existence of a threat to international peace in Palestine, and

(b) That the Security Council should take further action by all means available to it to bring about the immediate cessation of violence and the restoration of peace and order in Palestine.

At a time that appears suitable to the permanent members who may be in agreement regarding the remainder of the findings, either today or soon thereafter, a resolution or resolutions will be offered to the Security Council.

HPM

SILVER EXHORTS US TO BACK PARTITION

Holds Truce, Trustee Moves
for Palestine Futile—
Presses Defense Rights

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declared yesterday that the latest United States proposals for a truce in the Holy Land and further consideration by the United Nations of the future government there are wholly unsatisfactory and futile.

What is needed, he said, is adherence to the partition plan sanctioned by the General Assembly of the United Nations last November, and the organization and equipment of a Jewish militia to support the provisional government scheduled to be set up in Palestine not later than May 15. To this end he urged the removal of all embargoes in the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine.

The statement was delivered over a network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, which announced that Ambassador Warren R. Austin, representing the United States in the United Nations discussions, has been invited to reply on April 7.

TEXT OF STATEMENT

Last November the United Nations Assembly, under the leadership of our Government, overwhelmingly approved the recommendation of its special committee to solve the Palestine problem by the setting up of two independent states in Palestine, one Arab and one Jewish, within an economic union, and the internationalizing of the Jerusalem area.

This action came in reply to a request which was made in April of last year by Great Britain, the mandatory for Palestine, asking for a Special Assembly of the United Nations to make recommendations for the future government of Palestine.

The recommendations made by the United Nations in November, 1947, were accepted by Great Britain which later announced its intention to relinquish the mandate on May 15 next and to complete the withdrawal of its troops from Palestine by Aug. 1.

In the meantime the United Nations appointed a commission to implement the plan. This commission has already done an enormous amount of work in connection with the execution of the plan. A committee of experts is already at work in Jerusalem. Were it not for the refusal of the mandatory government to permit it to come any earlier than May 1, the commission would now be in Palestine completing the arrangements for taking over all governmental and administrative functions.

April 1 was the last day set for the announcement by the commission of the Provisional Council of Government for the new states. The Jewish Community of Palestine has already informed the commission of its suggestions for the composition of the Provisional Council of Government for the Jewish State.

It was on the eve of the consummation of this plan that the United States Government, on March 19, requested that the Palestine Commission should suspend its work and that a Special Assembly of the United Nations be called to establish a temporary trusteeship for Palestine pending an eventual political settlement. The explanation given for this sudden reversal is that the plan cannot now be implemented by peaceful means and that a further opportunity should be given the interested parties to reach an agreement regarding the future government of Palestine.

It was, of course, never anticipated that the partition plan or, for that matter, any plan for the settlement of the Palestine problem, could be carried out entirely by peaceful means, and that no force whatsoever would be required to back up a settlement. In fact, it was the United States delegation itself, last November, which first spoke of the need for an international constabulary made up of volunteers to enforce a United Nations decision.

Throughout the long discussions which preceded the vote at

the Assembly, the representatives of the Arab States and of the Arabs of Palestine made it unmistakably clear that they intended to resist by force any decision of which they did not approve. It was in the full knowledge of this resolve of the Arabs to resort to violence that the Assembly of the United Nations, inclusive of our own Government, nevertheless took the step which it did.

Militias Provided For

State militias were provided for in the plan to preserve law and order, and the Security Council, it was understood, would step in if a breach of peace developed, exercising all the power assigned to it under the Charter.

Equally misleading is the other reason given for suspending work on the partition plan and the calling of a Special Assembly, namely to afford another opportunity to Jews and Arabs to reach an agreement regarding the future government of Palestine. In this connection it would be well to recall what the representative of the United States, Ambassador Herschel Johnson, said last November when this subject was being discussed in the Assembly:

"Much has been said during the course of these debates on the desirability and necessity of presenting to the General Assembly a plan which would command the agreement of both the principal protagonists in this situation. I think there is no delegation here which does not know that no plan has ever been presented either to the Assembly or to the mandatory Government during its long years of tenure or in any other place which would meet with the acceptance of both the Arabs and the Jews. No such plan has ever been presented and I do not believe that any such plan will ever be presented."

At the General Assembly last November, the British representative, Sir Alexander Cadogan, stated: "After years of strenuous but unavailing effort, His Majesty's Government have reached the conclusion that they are not able to bring about a settlement in Palestine based upon the consent of both Arabs and Jews, and that the mandate is no longer workable."

As far back as ten years ago the Royal Commission on Palestine, which made a thorough study of the situation and recommended partition as the only practical solution, declared:

"Neither Arab nor Jew has any sense of service to a single state . . . The conflict will go on. The gulf between Arabs and Jews will widen . . . The hope of harmony between the races has proved unobtainable. We would suggest that there is little moral value in maintaining the political unity of Palestine at the cost of perpetual hatred."

When in the face of this overwhelming testimony, the United States Government now requests the abandonment of a plan which has been approved by the United Nations and which is in process of implementation, in favor of renewed consultations in order to reach an agreed solution between Jews and Arabs, it is not making a serious contribution to the subject. It is, in fact, engaged in an act of inept political improvisation which is dictated by no responsible statesmanship and by concern neither for basic national interests nor for the larger interest of the world community.

Sumner Welles is Quoted

No one can help but agree with the sentiments expressed on Monday last by Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, who stated:

"There is no shadow of justification for this reversal; and the position which the United States now occupies is profoundly humiliating. . . . The United States was chiefly responsible for the adoption by the Assembly of the partition resolution four months ago."

"Since that time the President, the Secretary of State and the American delegate to the United Nations have given repeated assurances that the American Government stood foursquare behind that decision. . . . This reversal by the United States will increase and not diminish the danger of a major war in the Near East. It deals what may well be a death blow to the United Nations, and to our hope for collective security. It shakes confidence in the United States throughout the world."

The United States Government has requested a Special Assembly of the United Nations to reconsider the Palestine problem.

To what end? What can another Assembly do that the last Assembly failed to do? What new facts are available now that were not previously known? This problem and this little country of Palestine have been investigated by more commissions in recent years than any other problem or any other spot on the face of the globe.

What new solutions can be pulled out of the bag? There are none, and the Palestine problem cannot be solved by postponements and procrastinations. That way lies continued strife and growing chaos.

The United States has proposed a temporary trusteeship for Palestine, although in its formal resolutions introduced yesterday in the Security Council it made no reference to trusteeship. It avows that this is no substitution for partition. The President still maintains that he is for partition, and so does the Secretary of State.

The United States feels that emergency action is needed inasmuch as there will be no public authority in Palestine after May 15, and that large-scale fighting among the people of that country will be the inevitable result of the vacuum thus created.

But if the plan of the United Nations is carried out faithfully in letter and spirit, there will be a public authority in Palestine on May 15. There will be a commission of the United Nations to take over. There will be an organized Jewish militia in the Jewish State to maintain law and order, provided the mandatory regime fulfills its obligations loyally and permits this militia to be organized and adequately equipped in time.

Government Set-Up Ready

The Jewish Provisional Government on May 15 will be prepared to take over all the responsibilities of administration of the proposed Jewish State under the guidance of the United Nations Commission. There is no need for a temporary trusteeship to fill any vacuum.

An international trusteeship will require as much force, if not more, to maintain itself as would the partition plan. Where is this force to come from? Is the United States prepared to send troops into Palestine to impose a trusteeship upon that country when it is unwilling to send troops to back up the United Nations decision on partition? If so, why? Why is it willing to send in troops to back up what is clearly a temporary arrangement which leaves the basic solution still unsettled, and why is it unwilling to make such a contribution in troops toward a final and permanent settlement? Palestine has lived under a trusteeship (the British mandate) for twenty-five years. If, through this long period, a trusteeship has not been productive of any agreed solution for Palestine, why are we now to expect a solution to result from another and temporary trusteeship?

It is clear that no trusteeship is contemplated without British participation. Great Britain would not permit any other power to come to Palestine before May 1. It has denied that right to the United Nations Commission. How then will a trustee power, other than Great Britain, be able to take over in time and fill the so-called vacuum? For all practical purposes it is to be either a new British trusteeship supported by the United States or a direct Anglo-American trusteeship with or without France.

In any such event the trusteeship will be drafted on British terms. British policy in the Middle East is firmly wedded to the sponsorship of the Arab League. Consultation with "states directly concerned" called for under the trusteeship rules of the Charter would be interpreted by Great Britain as consultation with the Arab states.

An unfriendly mandatory power and hostile Arab states would thus, in the main, determine the terms of the agreement upon which the new trusteeship is to be based. Is it not clear that this new trusteeship would be directed against those fundamental Jewish rights in Palestine which the United Nations, under American leadership, has but recently approved. The task of suppressing a disillusioned and resentful Jewish population which has been prepared for independence and statehood would inevitably involve the individual or collective trustee in heavy military liabilities.

The American Government is

proposing a trusteeship without any assurance that a trustee is available, that the special General Assembly to be convoked will approve of such an arrangement, that any section of the population will cooperate, or that adequate means of enforcement can be secured. The partition plan admittedly involves difficulties, but these can hardly compare with the accumulation of hazards and difficulties involved in its abandonment.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine feels that the cause of justice and the cause of Palestine will best be served by carrying out the decision taken by the United Nations last November. That decision represented a major compromise. Partition was never the Jewish solution. It represents a grievous abridgement of Jewish rights. Nevertheless, the Jewish people reluctantly but loyally accepted that decision because it appeared reasonable to the United Nations.

Acting on U. N. Decision

Relying upon the collective judgment and authority of the United Nations, the Jewish people of Palestine has been moving forward in the spirit of that decision. It has notified the Security Council that it must oppose any proposal designed to prevent or postpone the establishment of the Jewish State, and that it rejects any plan to set up a new trusteeship regime.

It informed the Security Council that upon the termination of the mandatory administration, and not later than May 15 next, a Provisional Jewish Government will commence to function in Palestine. This decision of the organized Jewish Community of Palestine was taken after the most searching and serious deliberation. It may involve a measure of conflict after May 15. It still hopes that there may be no need for prolonged conflict in Palestine.

The Jews of Palestine hope that the Arabs of Palestine will come to accept the United Nations decision and thereby put an end to the scourge of strife and bloodshed which can only do incalculable hurt to both peoples. But in the face of the mounting threats and the incursion of armed bands across the frontiers from neighboring Arab States bent on war, the Jewish people of Palestine is compelled to make all necessary preparations for self-defense.

It asks that it be permitted to organize and equip its own militia. This is an elementary moral obligation of the United Nations in view of the decision which it took. It is likewise an elementary moral obligation on the part of those nations who have approved the plan, to remove all embargoes on the shipment of arms to the Jewish people of Palestine who have accepted the decision, and to deny such arms to those who are violently resisting it.

The Jews of Palestine wish first and foremost to defend themselves, but their hands must not be tied. They plead with the United Nations to remove all obstacles in the way of their self-defense. They are carrying out the purposes of the United Nations. They should not be penalized for doing so.

They appeal to the United States, the greatest democracy on earth, whose people have, through the years, manifested deep understanding and sympathy for the historic right of the Jewish people to rebuild its national life in its ancient homeland, to desist from a course of action which is calculated to do them grievous wrong, prolong strife in the Holy Land and discredit the United Nations as an instrumentality for solving grave international problems and making its decision stick. They appeal to the people and the Government of the United States to help them in their desperate struggle toward freedom and independence.

Rabbi Silver's Presentation in the U. N. of the Zionist Case for Palestine

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

LAKE SUCCESS, L. I., May 8.—Following is the complete text of the remarks made today before the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine:

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

Permit me to thank the Assembly of the United Nations for granting the Jewish Agency for Palestine a hearing on the question which is before this committee. We are grateful for the opportunity to take counsel with you in the matter of constituting and instructing a special committee of this body, which is to study the problem of Palestine and to bring in recommendations for the future government of that country.

We trust that our participation in these deliberations will be helpful and will prove to be a contribution to the just solution of this grave international problem which this international community is now earnestly seeking. Such a successful solution will prove a blessing not only to Palestine and to all its inhabitants, to the Jewish people, to the cause of world peace, but it will also enhance the moral authority and prestige of this great organization for world justice and peace upon which so many high hopes of mankind now rest.

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

Scope of Mandate

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

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

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

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

Role of the Agency

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

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

ing a haven for a certain number of refugees and displaced persons, would only contribute to confusion.

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

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

Mandate Is Quoted

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

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

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

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

Perspective Stressed

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

A generation ago, the international community of the world, of which the United Nations today is the political and spiritual heir, decreed that the Jewish people should be given the right, long denied, and the opportunity to reconstitute their national home in Palestine.

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

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

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

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

President Wilson Quoted

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

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

That the government of the United States does not consider the Jewish national home as already established is clearly stated

in the letter of President Truman to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia dated Oct. 29, 1946. He wrote: "The government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of the Jewish national home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first world war, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations."

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

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

No Racial State

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

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

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

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

Visit Is Urged

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

Polish Delegate to U.N. Likes Night Sessions

From the Herald Tribune Bureau
LAKE SUCCESS, L. I., May 8.—Dr. Julius Katz-Suchy, acting Polish representative to the United Nations Security Council during illness of Ambassador Oscar Lange, readily accepted today the idea of a Monday night session on Balkan problems.

Dr. Katz-Suchy jocularly told a reporter that humanity had developed "a very bad habit of sleeping at night." Centuries of conditioning, he explained, have led to this habit, with all its waste of time, and he admitted that human beings now do get wearier and wearier until 11 p. m. daily. But by midnight that fatigue is shaken off, he said, and "after midnight you can get your best work done."

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

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

Mid-East Living Standard

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

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

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

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

They will also investigate, I hope, how the Mandatory government is carrying out another of its obligations which was to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land; when, in actual practice, it is today severely restricting free Jewish settlement to an area less than 5 per cent of that tiny country, and is enforcing today in the Jewish national home discriminatory racial laws which the mandate, as well as the Charter of the United Nations, severely condemns.

British People Praised

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

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

While committees of investigation and study are reporting on their sad plight, and while inter-governmental discussions and negotiations are going on, these war-ravaged men and women are languishing in their misery, still waiting for salvation. They ask for the bread of escape and hope; they are given the stone of inquiries and investigations. Their morale is slumping terribly. A spiritual deterioration, I am afraid, is setting in among them. It is only the hope that tomorrow—perhaps tomorrow—refugees may come that keeps their spirits

from breaking utterly. They are desperately eager to the Jewish national home, to hope that the committee of inquiry, will make it possible for these weary men and women to find peace at last and have the land of their fond dreams and that their liberation will be delayed until the committee is finally formed and the action of the committee is finally taken, but the ultimate decisions, the implementations, these war-ravaged people will be able to carry forthwith to migrate in substantial numbers to Palestine.

Urgency of Problem

There is a desperate urgency about this tragic problem, my friends, which calls for delay. An immediate relief of the restrictive measures on immigration into Palestine and a return to the status which prevailed before the White Paper policy of 1939 was imposed, will not only be a boon to these suffering humans, but will greatly relieve the present menacing tensions in Palestine, will wash out much of the bitterness and will enable the deliberations of your committee of inquiry and of the next Assembly to be carried on in a calmer spirit, in an atmosphere of moderation and good will. We are all eager for peace. We must all make a contribution to achieve it. Every decisive contribution can be made by the mandatory government.

I hope I have a sufficient patience, Mr. Chairman, to have the patience of the United Nations assembled. Permit me with this observation to the Jewish people, I have a great hope upon the deliberations of your committee of inquiry. It has faith in the sense of justice and in the high idealism of the Jewish people, and though we often, on the long hard journey which we have traveled, disillusioned, we have never lost faith in the sovereignty and the ultimate triumph of great moral principles. In these last tragic years, when the whole household of Israel became one great hostelry of pain, we could not have built what we did build had we not preserved our unshakable trust in the victory of truth. It is in that strong faith and hope that we wish to cooperate with you in this task which you have undertaken.

The Jewish people belongs in this society of nations. Surely the Jewish people, no less deserving than any other people whose national freedom and independence have been established and whose lives are now saved by your allies, Jewish people were their sacrifices to yours to achieve a common victory. The people of Palestine should share in the midst of the people and of a spirit which gave to mankind human and ethical values in sacred man personalities and treasured texts which are your hat that possessions—we hope again its people, now rebuilding an ancient national life in its new homeland, will be welcomed by you to this fellowship of United Nations.

Muhammad Ali