

WORLD LABOUR

and the

JEWISH PEOPLE

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of the Labour Party.

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The Jewish Case before the
World Trade Union Conference

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FOREWORD

By GEORGE ISAACS, M.P.,

Chairman, British Trades Union Congress

I readily respond to the invitation to write a foreword to this pamphlet which describes the discussions on Palestine during the World Trade Union Conference. The case for the Jewish people had the support of the great majority of the Conference. A delegate from Latin-America put a concrete point when he said: "Anti-Semitism is a problem that concerns all the freedom-loving people of the world, because it breeds Fascism, and by the breeding of Fascism, not only Arabs, not only Jews, but the whole world is menaced." A Canadian delegate reminded the Conference that "English and French have resided side by side in the Dominion of Canada for nearly 200 years without friction of this kind."

Mr. Locker showed commendable restraint in his appeal to the Conference and gained support by the sheer merit of his case. In this pamphlet he does not hesitate to give in full not only the speeches made to the Conference by the Arab delegate, but also part of a speech that was not delivered on account of the time limit. The examples, not the arguments, of the Jewish delegates, convinced the Conference that it should support the declaration that "thorough-going remedies must be found through international action for the wrongs inflicted on Jewish people." The subsequent disclosures of the horrible brutality of the German camps at Buchenwald and Beljen amply justify the claim of the Conference that the protection of Jews against oppression, discrimination and spoliation in any country must be one of the responsibilities of any new international authority.

Finally, let me emphasise that although I bear a name closely associated with the Jewish race, I am not a Jew, but of British ancestry from Cornish forebears. I have had the opportunity to see for myself the amazing results of Jewish activity in Palestine; I have heard the voices of those who have found full freedom after a lifetime of vindictive oppression, and have examined the problem with which those responsible for the great undertaking were confronted. Because of that knowledge, and also as President of the World Conference that heard the case stated by supporters and opponents, I appreciate the moderation of those who spoke for people who have undergone such suffering.

The World Trade Union Conference has declared itself as striving for Freedom and Justice to all, irrespective of race or language, colour or creed, and in that spirit I commend this pamphlet.

NOTE

The delegation of the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine (*Histadruth*) to the World Trade Union Conference consisted of Berl Locker, Aharon Rabinovitch (delegates), Israel Idelson, Mordechai Oren (observers), Ephraim Broido, Isaac Nathani and Baruch Rosenthal (who acted as members of the delegation for internal consultation).

The delegation submitted to the Conference a pamphlet, "Histadruth—General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine: Facts and Figures," and a stencilled memorandum, entitled "A Survey of Arab Labour Organisation in Palestine."

The delegation was among the 14 national delegations invited to send a representative to the Committee on the Attitude to the Peate Settlement. Mr. Berl Locker was appointed.

Mr. Locker (Palestine) was elected member of the Conference Committee (consisting of 42 members), representing the Mediterranean zone of the British Commonwealth. His substitute is Mr. A. Ziartidas (Cyprus).

INTRODUCTION

It speaks for the high sense of justice and historical responsibility of the first World Trades Union Conference (London, February 6 to 17, 1945) that it dealt constructively with the Jewish question. The representatives of over 60 million workers in all parts of the globe, responding to the call of the General Federation of Jewish Labour (*Histadruth*) in Palestine, made the solution of the Jewish question, so horribly aggravated by the war, an integral part of the peace programme of the organised World Labour Movement. The Conference was evidently conscious that the position of the Jewish people was the concern not of Jews alone. Anti-Semitism, as the spokesman of the Latin American Trade Union Movement put it, breeds Fascism, and thus menaces not only the Jewish people, but the whole of humanity. This is why the Conference resolved that "after the war thorough-going remedies must be found through international action for the wrongs inflicted on the Jewish people." Moreover, the Conference was not content with vague generalities. If the remedies were to be "thorough-going," then even the international protection of Jews against oppression, discrimination and spoliation was not enough. "The Jewish people," the Conference declared, "must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their national home, so successfully begun by immigration, agricultural settlement and industrial development—respecting the legitimate interests of other national groups and giving equality of rights and opportunities to all its inhabitants."

The representative of the "Palestine Arab Workers' Society," Mr. J. Asfour, who opposed the resolution, was not quite wrong in stating that, with regard to Palestine, this statement goes even further than the Balfour Declaration. It is, at any rate, clearer in formulation and leaves no room for misinterpretation.

It is in the light of the proceedings in the public sessions of the Conference that the full significance of the resolution can be seen. Readers will find here a shorthand report of the Conference debate on the Jewish problem, as well as of contributions of *Histadruth* delegates to the discussion of other items on the agenda. It is reprinted, by kind permission of the Trades Union Congress, from the official record of the Conference.* A few explanatory notes have been added. Speeches in favour of the resolution as ultimately adopted are reproduced, as well as those against it. In the case of Mr. Asfour, we even give the part of his speech which he was prevented from delivering to the Conference because of the time limit. The Russian delegation heard the second part as well, as the speaker handed his script to the interpreter. Thus,

* Report of the World Trades Union Conference, February 6 to 17, 1945, County Hall, London. Reported verbatim by John McIntosh and S. Ireland, and published under the authority of the British Trades Union Congress, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

the full text is given below, as it seems of some importance to the understanding of Mr. Asfour's views and their implications.

This is not the place to deal with the character of the organisation represented by Mr. Asfour or with his own antecedents and rôle in Palestine's social and political life.* Nor is it necessary here to defend Zionism and the *Histadruth* against the imputation of a "reactionary" and "anti-Labour" character. The debate itself answers it conclusively, and its result indicates that Mr. Asfour has not improved his position by resorting to this sort of polemics. Mr. Asfour put before the Conference, in three speeches, as fully as possible, what he and his friends call the "Arab case." He did not even shrink from the threat that by not acceding to his view, the Conference may "kindle fires which were not extinguished but dormant"—an unmistakable hint at a repetition of the Axis-sponsored terroristic campaign of 1936-1939. Mr. George Nassar, the representative of the "Palestine Labour League," an Arab organisation co-operating with the General Federation of Jewish Labour and holding a different view, was admitted as observer only, and, therefore, had no opportunity of addressing the Conference.

It certainly enhances the value of World Labour's decision that it was arrived at after a fair and full hearing of the pros and cons. The Labour Movements of Great Britain, the U.S.A., and Latin America, and of many other countries, remained true to their traditional attitude of support for the Jewish demands. The Soviet and other delegations, who, for the first time, were confronted with the Jewish problem in an international assembly, clearly grasped its urgency and the unique position of Palestine, and drew the necessary conclusion.

The Jewish masses everywhere, and the Jewish Labour Movement in particular, may draw inspiration from the fact that organised world Labour has, on the eve of victory for the United Nations, declared the Jewish problem to be one for international concern and action, and has given its full support to the rebuilding of Palestine as the homeland of the Jewish people on the basis of justice and equality for all.

* Mr. Asfour informed the Conference that his own organisation had a membership of "some 50,000 organised labourers." It may be pertinent to confront his figure with the statement regarding organised Arab labour in the official report of the Palestine Government Labour Department at the end of 1943 that "trade union membership now exceeds 12,000, of which by far the greater part is comprised within the Palestine Arab Workers' Society."

FROM THE DISCUSSION ON THE ATTITUDE TO THE PEACE SETTLEMENT.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

Mr. B. Locker (General Federation of Jewish Labour, Palestine) : May I begin by reading an extract from a cable sent by my Federation to this Conference. The cable reads in part :—

“This Conference of the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine sends its warmest greetings and prayers for the success of the first war-time world Labour conference convened in London and representing the greater part of the International Labour Movement. May it succeed in preventing a repetition of the fatal error of the world Labour Movement at the close of the last war and lay foundations for the unity of the working class and the international Labour Movement.”

The cable then goes on to underline the necessity for speedy remedial action on behalf of the Jewish survivors of the present catastrophe. It asks that the voice of organised Jewish labour may be heard by the three great Statesmen who control the fate of the world and who are now at this very moment meeting somewhere in conference. My Federation goes on to entreat our comrades to hear our cry.

“If there be any truth in the covenant between them (the international Labour movement) and us ; if there be any truth in the things to which they have devoted their lives ; if there be any truth in their demand and hope for a new world of justice and freedom—and in all these there is truth—then they must hearken to our words. There can be no fine world, no just world, unless these rescued ones are permitted to leave and come to Palestine.

“We call upon this Conference to demand with all its might that every Jew, young and old, who may have survived may be given a chance of redemption and salvation by opening wide the gates of Palestine.”

May I, Mr. Chairman and comrades, take up a few moments in making clear to you what our cry is.

We, the Jewish Labour Movement in Palestine, feel ourselves responsible for the fate of a great people. We are citizens of the world exactly as every one of you, but the channel through which this citizenship flows is the Jewish people. I do not want to describe in detail what we have suffered during this war. The whole world has suffered. But I believe that relatively the Jewish people have

suffered at the hands of the Nazi and Fascist murder gangs more than any people in the world. Many millions have been killed, both in Europe outside Soviet Russia, and, by the Nazis, on Soviet territory too.

FREEDOM—AND THE JEWS

We are not satisfied, however, with the consolation that after Hitler has been defeated a new world of freedom and equality will be automatically created and that then the Jews will be happy again. We recognise what democratic States have done. We recognise that Jews in the great countries of the Western democracies enjoy a great measure of liberty and equality. We recognise very strongly what the Soviet Government has done. But still we are not satisfied with the situation in which we are placed. May I formulate our desire in one word only—the word “Freedom.” I believe we are all entitled to enjoy the four freedoms formulated in the Atlantic Charter, but there is one freedom which our people do not enjoy—namely, freedom from fear. We cannot be free from fear so long as we are in the situation in which we have found ourselves for so long a time. Hundreds of thousands of Jews feel themselves “Not at home.” The majority of Jews in Europe cannot go on living in the countries where they are at present. The world is not open to them, and we do not expect it to be opened very soon. You will excuse me for saying, because I feel this very strongly, that before this war we used to say that for the Jew the world consists of two kinds of countries, one kind of country which drives us out, and the other kind of country which does not let us in. During this war the Axis powers have killed us, but the United Nations have done very little to save us.

Now there is a remnant. This remnant has the right to live and to live in freedom and dignity exactly as other peoples. We have laid the foundations of a new home for the Jewish people in the last sixty years. We have on the basis of the Balfour declaration and the British mandate of Palestine enlarged our work during the last twenty-five years, and I think that under difficult circumstances we have achieved quite important results.

I speak here in the name of a Labour Movement consisting of 140,000 members in a small country out of a community of less than 600,000. If to that 140,000 be added the families it comes to more than 200,000, or over 40 per cent. of the total population. The Labour Movement, having regard to the circumstances in which we are placed, is very strong in my country. We have undertaken great social experiments. We have created collective and co-operative settlements. We know that there are great

countries which have much larger possibilities, but we have tried to make our contribution in our own small way to a new life and I think we have no reason to be ashamed of it.

May I say at this moment that our coming to that country has done no harm and could do no harm to the Arab population. Please compare the standard of life of Arab workers in Palestine with Arab workers in other countries. In Egypt the Prime Minister of the country said that they must achieve a situation in which the workers would get one shilling a day. Well, the worker in Palestine gets five shillings or more a day. There are Arab workers co-operating with us in the Palestine Labour League. But the appeal of my Federation to this Conference is that the Jewish problem is a world problem and that there will not be real peace or real progress so long as my people—many millions of them—are not free from fear.

ARAB DELEGATE'S OBJECTIONS

Mr. John Asfour (Arab Workers' Society, Palestine) : Mr. President, comrades and Trade Unionists : Before I address you on the subject now under discussion, let me bring to you the unanimous and heartfelt greetings of all the Arab workers and peasants in Palestine. Let me convey to you also their sincere and earnest wish for the success of this World Conference now assembled. I am sure you will all be interested, to a small extent at least, to know how our Trade Union Movement has developed, and although we have been under dual major difficulties in Palestine we have, thanks to the efforts of the Arab Trade Unions—the Arab workers alone—succeeded. We began our Movement, like every other in its infancy, with twenty or thirty members only, but now we have on our registrations some 50,000 organised labourers. I spoke of our difficulties and said they were dual. One of them is that we have been for the last 27 years, as you know, governed as a mandated territory, and you know what that means. We have also the difficulty, the immense difficulty, created by the anti-labour movement of Zionism in Palestine. Notwithstanding that, we have as I said, established ourselves and improved the condition of labour, and have come, not with little toil, to be represented at this World Conference for the first time.

We have always put it as our aim, in addition to the improvement of working conditions, that we will not be under the influence of any political leader in our country. We have it as our aim to organise and develop our Movement and to bring the workers up to that standard which they deserve and which they have earned rightly, honestly, and with the toil and the sweat of their brows.

Now, comrades, the rival imperial interests have always been a cause of trouble to the whole world ; they have been the cause of unrest and bloodshed all over the world and not least in the Arab countries in the Middle East. When the first war was imposed upon the freedom-loving peoples the Arabs took up the challenge. They fought, and fought to a successful conclusion, for their freedom, and they have in fact succeeded, but only for a short while—yes, for a very short while. Again those imperialist rival interests came in, and instead of the Arab country being liberated, being compensated for the blood it had shed and for the toil it had endured, it was—and this is no news to you, I am sure, but it is a matter of remarkable interest—the Arab state was mutilated ; it was divided into five different areas, states, countries, call them what you like, and the two principal Allied Powers at that time had them.

In addition to this, there was imposed on Palestine the establishment of a Jewish National Home. The repercussions following this were naturally enormous and continuous, and the Arabs remained in the forefront, fighting for their freedom. Notwithstanding the great difference which existed between Great Britain and the Arabs in Palestine, however, the Arabs sank all those differences because they realised that freedom, not only their freedom but the freedom of the whole world, was threatened by Nazism and Fascism and by all the aims they had in the world. So they rallied to the call for freedom again. The sovereign States of the Arabs declared war on Germany, and we in Palestine placed all our resources and all our land at the disposal of the Allies for furthering the war effort. Are the Arabs, now that this war against tyranny and despotism is coming to an end, going to be treated in the same way as when the last war was won ? Are the Arab working class going to be deserted by their comrades, and the fight that they themselves abandoned, in the interests of the whole world, reimposed upon them ? Are the Arabs in Palestine going to be left under the serious threat of being ousted from their land, merely to satisfy the Zionist reactionary movement, based on fantastic ideas and false claims ? Now, comrades, leaders of the liberation movements and liberators of the oppressed nations, let us think as free people, as people of good will, as people who have set upon themselves the task of relieving all the nations of the world from oppression and despotism, as people struggling to remove all class, racial and colour discrimination—let us think and examine whether or not this movement threatening us is not only reactionary but also destructive of the fundamental ideas and principles for which we are struggling and which we are hoping to realise and secure for all mankind. The persecution of Jews in Europe the Arabs have always deplored. The working classes of the Arabs

have always condemned any discrimination between the different races. Indeed, even Arab politicians in their Alexandria Manifesto, which was proclaimed to the whole world only a few months ago, expressed deep sympathy with the families who have suffered at the hands of the Nazis. Comrade Locker's demands on the Conference and indeed on all the Allied Powers would have been well founded if they had been applied in the interest of those persons who fell victims to Nazi atrocities; but he does not apply them to those. He pleads for Zionism and, like his fellow Zionists, he endeavours, by making such appeals and by other means, to direct the Zionist Movement throughout the whole world. Now I have to cut my remarks short and tell you only the suggestions that the Arab Unionist—

The President : You have had ten minutes—every other delegate has observed the time-table and you must do so also.

Mr. John Asfour : I have cut it down very short. There are only these points. I am sorry I have not the time.

Below we are reprinting the second half of Mr. Asfour's speech, which has not been heard at the Conference, but has been handed to the translators.—[Ed., "World Labour and the Jewish People."]

If help is needed for those families, and indeed it is, that help must come from a United World and the small Arab Palestine territory, even if we were to treat the matter on a purely humanitarian basis, must not bear any more of the consequences of these persecutions and victimisations perpetrated by other nations. Palestine, comrades, has contributed its share and more. It has so far accommodated over 600 thousand Jews from Europe and it cannot do any more. On another occasion I shall inform you whether or not there is even room for those already living in Palestine. I now leave you with this.

The General Federation of Jewish Labourers in Palestine which is the dominating movement in the Zionist Camp have it as their sole aim to establish Jews in Palestine in such numbers so as to found a Zionist majority and eventually establish a Zionist State with a Zionist flag, etc., at the expense of displacing the Arab peasant and ousting the Arab worker. This is the sole aim of the Zionist Labour movement in Palestine and this is the goal towards which they are exerting all their efforts. It has no other aim except this. Is this a progressive movement which a World Conference of Trade Unionists can endorse? Can we, true to our cause and faithful to our ideals, say that we strive to feed and encourage such a reactionary movement which is fundamentally backed and supported by Imperialism? Are we here to help

create yet another hardship upon our nation which is bound to bring about endless troubles and shed rivers of blood ?

The anticipated Peace Settlement cannot be achieved and we would have struggled in vain unless all national grievances are removed and each nation given its natural right to live its own way in its own country, speaking its own language, worshipping in its own way and above all having its own sovereign Rule.

Germany and her Allies, also her Satellites, indeed must pay for the damage they have done and compensate in terms of money and in sacrifice of their liberties for the evil they have brought on the peoples of the world. But this alone will not solve the world problems. It will not ensure the appeasement of the world and maintain a durable peace in it.

If Jews in the past felt unsafe about their existence in certain parts of Europe and the calamities that befell them have created a Jewish World problem, Palestine and settlement in it cannot solve it. It can only be solved by a united action by building up a real democratic world and the World Trade Unionists can now say with pride that this happy event is rapidly coming now that the powers of tyranny and despotism are being methodically and severely liquidated.

You must not allow this Zionist Movement to flourish any longer. It has always been, and indeed still is, a cause of great alarm to the whole Arab world and a threat, a direct threat to annihilate the Arab workers and the Arab peasants in their homeland.

In addition to what the speakers have already stated as measures to establish world peace, the Arab Trade Unionists of Palestine suggest the following —

- (1) That freedom, which is the natural right of every man, woman and child, of all races, colour and creed, must be accorded to all.
- (2) That the subject nations be freed from any foreign rule, so that as free people do unite and work, in communion with all others, for the up-building and maintaining a new and real democratic world, and
- (3) That all reactionary movements, whether within the Labour ranks or outside it, be condemned and liquidated, and
- (4) That the Workers of the World do unite in one aim and singleness of purpose to create a world free from want and fear.

True to our cause and faithful to the real ideals for which the Arab working man has struggled and is still struggling, I announce from this platform that if the Jewish workers in Palestine condemn Zionism and all the ideas it stands for, the Arab worker is, as always, ready to stretch his hand to his Jewish comrade and both, shoulder the burden of building up a true free and democratic Palestine.

Finally, I wish to add one word. We must have as one of our aims as well, those moral virtues without which man is not worthy of his name. The love, honesty, unselfishness and peaceful home life should be our motto in all our dealings, because with such moral armament we can destroy evil and all wicked acts.

JEWISH DELEGATION SUBMITS RESOLUTION

A resolution on the Jewish position was submitted by Mr. Locker on behalf of the delegation of the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine to the Committee on the Attitude to the Peace Settlement. This resolution formed the basis for discussion in the Committee, as a result of which Article 26 of the Declaration on Attitude on the Peace Settlement was drafted. The *Histadruth* resolution reads :

The Conference records its horror at the unprecedented mass murder of millions of Jews in Europe by the Nazi criminals and their satellites who have singled out the Jewish people for complete extermination. It salutes the memory of those who took part in the revolts of the Ghettos and greets those who escaped the Nazi and Fascist gangsters, either with the assistance of the Resistance Movements or through the victorious advance of the Red Army in the East and the Anglo-American armies in the West.

Full reparation must be made by the enemy to the Jewish people and punishment meted out to all criminals, high and low. But this Conference is of the opinion that, after the war, when thorough-going solutions will have to be found for various complex issues, the Jewish people should be given international assistance to solve the problem of its homelessness, which has made it a perpetual target for discrimination and aggression. Whilst Jews must enjoy equal rights in all lands, the Jewish people must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine, so successfully begun, by mass immigration, agricultural settlement and industrial development, so that in the shortest possible time the country may become a Jewish Commonwealth, taking its rightful place in the family of democratic nations. This Commonwealth will be based on equality of rights and opportunities for all its inhabitants, Jews and Arabs alike, thus opening up prospects of fully developing the solidarity of the Jewish and Arab working masses; and offering an example of progress and co-operation to the whole Middle East.

COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON JEWISH PROBLEM DEBATED

The Conference Committee on the Trade Union Attitude to the Peace Settlement subsequently submitted to the Conference a Declaration in which the Jewish Problem was dealt with in paragraph 26. It reads as follows :—

This World Conference is of opinion too that after the war, thorough-going remedies must be found, through international action, for the wrongs inflicted on the Jewish people. Their protection against oppression, discrimination and spoliation in any country must be the responsibility of the new International Authority. The Jewish people must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their National Home, so successfully begun by immigration, agricultural resettlement and industrial development.*

The President : The Conference has now before it the report of the Committee. Are there any questions on the report ?

RESOLUTION OPPOSED

Mr. John Asfour (Arab Workers' Society, Palestine) : As the Conference is aware, the paragraph in the report which is the reason for my intervention is number 26. Before I come to that paragraph I want you to read with me certain previous paragraphs and to see how much or how little a compromise is possible between these paragraphs which occur in the same report. Everyone knows that Palestine is an Arab country, and as such, paragraphs 18, 20 and 25 refer to it just as fully and forcibly as to any other country. Paragraph 18 reads : " This World Conference rejoices in the declared purpose of the Allied Governments to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, by recognising and defending the right of all people to choose the form of Government under which they will live." Again, towards the middle of paragraph 20 we have the following : " In those historic meetings—the meetings of the leaders of the three great powers—the desire of the peoples of all countries, great or small, for collaboration and active participation on the part of their Governments in the sacred task of ridding the world of tyranny, slavery, oppression and racial and religious intolerance found expression ; and this World Conference is profoundly convinced that with the coming of Peace,

* The previous paragraph dealt with colonial territories and asked for " an end to the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation " and demanded free Trade Unions and gradual development towards self-government.

the freedom-loving peoples over all the earth will give their support and countenance only to those Governments that will co-operate in framing and maintaining the Charter.”

Again in paragraph 25 the following will be found : “ In the coming Peace, the foundations must be laid with all possible speed, and in accordance with Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, of a world order in which non-self-governing communities and nations can attain the status of free nations that will enable them to govern themselves and to develop their own institutions of free citizenship.” I have read these passages to the Conference in order that they may see to what extent we can make any compromise at all between them and more particularly the last part of paragraph 26 which reads : “ The Jewish people must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their National Home, so successfully begun by immigration, agricultural resettlement and industrial development.”

It was not our intention to involve this very important and historic Conference, dealing with the major topic before it, concerning the suffering of the whole world, in controversy ; but I must ask you to think for a moment about Palestine and its problem. It is in my view absolutely unfair, to say the least of it, that a decision of such far-reaching effect should be taken by a Conference convened for the one single purpose of combating Fascism and all that it stands for. What is the effect of this ? In my address earlier to the Conference I said that the Arabs were not the last in giving expression concerning the persecution of the Jews in Europe, but I also asked the Conference quite sincerely to resolve that we should not at this stage try to kindle fires which were not extinguished, but dormant.

We are out as workers to see that peace is established in Europe and is maintained ; we are out not only to speak about it, but to establish peace in all the world. I will not say that the first part of paragraph 26 is unnecessary or redundant. If we are going to get rid of tyranny, despotism, and Fascism which has created this racial discrimination and persecution, and Europe is to be freed—and freed it will be—from all such persecution, then the Conference can adopt only the first part of paragraph 26. There is here something very important, something that taxes the conscience of every one of us. But it will be very dangerous for you to involve yourselves in decisions on matters of which you have heard nothing, of which you have not been given full and accurate details. If we are going to adopt the first part of this paragraph, which reads : “ This World Conference is of opinion too that after the war thorough-going remedies must be found, through international action, for

the wrongs inflicted on the Jewish people," well and good. There is nothing wrong with that. It is the expression of the Committee concerning a certain state of affairs that has obtained. But what is their remedy? "Their protection against oppression, discrimination and spoliation in any country must be the responsibility of the new International Authority." They ask this Conference to declare that there has been oppression, discrimination and spoliation of Jewish people in Europe, that very thorough means must be adopted to remove such wrongs, and that this must be the responsibility of the new International Authority. In my submission to you I would say this, that the question of the oppression of the Jews in Europe and the question of establishing a Zionist State in Palestine are two different subjects, two points embodying a different and controversial idea. The Jews who have been persecuted in Europe must be helped, and the first aid that should be given them is the suppression of tyranny and despotism and the creation of a new world order, with an international authority to decide on that.

I ask the Conference to remove from this report paragraph 26, which is incompatible with the ideas of the whole of the working-class and also irreconcilable with several previous paragraphs in the report.

JEWISH RIGHT TO STATEHOOD

Mr. A. Carrillo (Confederation de Trabajadores de Mexico): Mr. President, and Comrades, I wish to refer to paragraph 26 of the Report. In the last sentence it reads as follows: "The Jewish people must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their National Home so successfully begun by immigration, agricultural resettlement and industrial development." First of all, I believe that it is just that the delegations here should rejoice in the fact that an absolute majority of the members of the Committee passed this report in the affirmative sense in which it is now presented to us. The Jewish problem is undoubtedly not a local problem dealing with a specific territory or even a regional problem—I am speaking of Europe where this is very well known—it has become a world problem of the most dramatic nature. As a result of that, we in Latin America, far away from Europe, far away from the suffering and the sacrifices of the Jewish people, at our last Latin American Congress of Labour, passed a unanimous resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish Home in Palestine, without interfering, of course, with the national rights of other groups. For that reason we come here to support this decision which has been taken also by most of the important Labour organisations of the whole world.

Anti-Semitism is a problem that does not concern only the Arabs and the Jews, or any other single nationality. Anti-Semitism is a problem that concerns all the freedom-loving peoples of the world because it breeds Fascism, and by the breeding of Fascism not only the Arabs, not only the Jews and not only certain specific national groups are menaced, but, to a great extent, the whole world is menaced. Consequently we have come here to suggest that this proposition should be accepted because it offers a very fine way in which we can help to solve the Jewish problem and thereby avoid the possibility of racial doctrine and anti-Semitism becoming a breeder of Fascism in the future. The Jewish people are a people without a state, and we cannot possibly see why the Atlantic Charter should make an exception about them. The Atlantic Charter calls for all peoples to organise themselves politically as they think fit, and at their own interest. Are we not going to let the Jewish people organise themselves politically and have their own State? Will they be the only people in the world who will not be given the opportunity to organise themselves politically? I say that no Labour Movement anywhere in the world would be willing to answer this question in a negative sense. Our comrades representing the Arab Labour Movement cannot tell us that this is a problem in which we cannot very well take a decision. They have several States already organised. If the Arab world had no political rights and had no States which were organised, we from Latin America would come here to fight for the political rights and for the possibility of Arab States existing in the world. But there are Iraq, Syria, Lybia, Lebanon, and many other States in which the Arab world has had a chance of organising itself politically.

We are in favour of this resolution, but if there are any doubts about the good faith of the Labour Movement of the world represented here as to what we wish, I would suggest that we add to this report the following words: Where it says "National Home so successfully begun by immigration, agricultural resettlement and industrial development," we should add, "respecting the legitimate interests of other national groups and giving equality of rights and opportunities to all its inhabitants." In that way we would be undoubtedly safeguarding the genuine and legitimate rights of all peoples who live in Palestine. Now the nations in Europe that have suffered material losses in this way have been asking for reparations. I have not heard a single voice in this Conference raised against the legitimate desire of the European peoples to make the Nazis and their satellites pay for their war crimes. The Jewish people in Europe were 6,000,000 in number before the World War II. There are now only 2,000,000 people of that race in Europe.

They have been undoubtedly the race, as a race, that has suffered most. If we are not going to ask for reparations for the Jewish people—and they certainly have the right to them—then let us at least ask for justice, and one of the ways in which we can do justice to the Jewish people is by letting them have a National Home in Palestine so as to avoid anti-Semitism and to free the world from the Fascist danger of to-morrow.

The President : We must keep ourselves on straight lines. We do not want to wander all over the document, so from now onwards, until we settle this question, we shall deal only with paragraph number 26—the Palestine question. Let us deal with that first, clear that out of the way, and then deal with the other sections afterwards.

C.I.O. SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL HOME

Mr. Reid Robinson (Congress of Industrial Organisations, America) : Mr. President and Comrades, I wish to state that the Congress of Industrial Organisations of the United States of America cannot agree to the amendment that was called for by the delegation representing the Arabs in regard to this Palestine question on paragraph 26. The C.I.O. is on record unequivocally in support of a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people. We support that for many reasons. We have learned that anti-Semitism is the incubator of Fascism and that there has to be positive treatment given to the Jewish people throughout the world, or else anti-Semitism will be used again to create the basis for a Fascist Movement in any section of the world where a demagogue may again raise it, as Hitler raised it in Germany and as it has spread throughout the earth at the present time. Certainly we are not going to have this World Conference go on record as denying any relief or any refuge to a people who have suffered as the Jewish people have suffered. Certainly one of the worst things that this Conference could do would be to delete from this very adequate report dealing with this specific subject one of the most important clauses, stating very emphatically that we, the Labour Movement of the world, are going to give relief to a people who have suffered perhaps more than any other people as the result of the spread of Fascism throughout the world. Therefore we must include that clause. We of the C.I.O.—and I am sure that I speak for everyone here—do not want to create in the minds of any people that because we are going to come to the aid and assistance of one group of people, in so doing we are going to discriminate against another people. We want to have free and equal treatment for all the

people throughout the world, because only in that way can we have a real democracy, a democracy that will carry with it the fundamentals for an enduring peace. Therefore we of the United States agree with the amendment that has been suggested by Mr. Carrillo of the C.T.M. wherein we maintain within this report all of paragraph 26 and especially the last sentence, with the amendment that it means discrimination towards none. We therefore urge the support of the amendment by Mr. Carrillo.

WHAT THE JEWS HAVE DONE IN PALESTINE

Mr. J. Maguire (Canadian Congress of Labour): Mr. President and fellow delegates, I speak in support of the Committee's report and of the amendment suggested by Mr. Carrillo to paragraph 26. I do so because it is the policy of the organization I represent. At its last Convention, held in the City of Quebec, our Congress went on record as supporting the movement for the establishment and maintenance of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. We in the Dominion of Canada have two races; we have English and we have French. There are 3,500,000 French Canadian people residing in the Dominion of Canada. The English and the French have resided side by side in the Dominion of Canada, for nearly 200 years without any friction of this kind. We feel that there is plenty of room for the Jewish people and for the Arab people in the Middle East. The small section of the Middle East which has been set aside and is now known as Palestine can very readily accommodate about 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 people. What did we find at the time when it was decided to establish a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine? We found that Palestine itself had been allowed virtually to become desert again, and we have watched the development of that country since the Jewish people have been allowed to return to it. We have found cities established, industries brought into the country, orange groves and other fruit groves planted. We have found the Jewish people engaging in agriculture, and we have found a remarkable cultural development in Palestine, all of which was conspicuous largely by its absence up to that time. If there is a return of the Jewish people to Palestine—and I do not say that they are all going to return, by any means, but I do say that a large number of them will undoubtedly return—they should be permitted to return to Palestine as a homeland, and not be a nation without a country.

Since 1920 the Jewish population of Palestine has increased from 65,000 until to-day it numbers a little over 500,000. It is

returning to a land which, as I said before, could accommodate between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 people. You will readily see that approximately only 10 per cent. have been accommodated so far. During the same period, the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine has increased from 4,433 to 140,500. That is a remarkable development in the Labour Movement in that country in the short space of twenty-five years, and it has taken place notwithstanding all the obstacles that are placed in their way. We feel, in supporting the amendment offered by Brother Carrillo, that, like ourselves, these two races of people can live side by side in peace and harmony and can develop that part of the Middle East if they have the will to do so. In that connection I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the representatives from the Jewish Federation here for their remarkable achievements, established during the past fifteen years, in organising the workers in Palestine and their conditions of employment to a far greater extent than had even been the case in Palestine previous to that development, and also for the remarkable amount of work which they did during the years of business depression when Labour was adversely affected all over the world, during which time they not only looked after the members of their Movement who were out of employment but saw to it that they received proper medical care and hospitalisation. Therefore, Mr. President, I have pleasure in supporting the amendment proposed by Brother Carrillo, and I do that in all due deference to the interests of the members of the Labour Movement who are represented by our Arab confreres at this Conference.

The President : There is only one other speaker on the list for paragraph 26, and I suggest we close the debate on that. The one speaker is Mr. Pillai of India.

A PLEA FOR DELAY

Mr. A. K. Pillai (Indian Federation of Labour) : Mr. President and fellow delegates. The Jews are a most ancient people with a rich heritage of civilisation. They have also been the most unhappy victims of tremendous oppression, and that aspect of their history has been accentuated in recent years. Therefore all our sympathy is with them. I have among them several personal friends, but that would not prevent my taking a view on this issue, influenced entirely by the merits of the case. The comrades from Canada, Latin-America and the U.S.A. have had the advantage of discussing this question in their own national organisations. I come from an organisation in India, and we have had no opportunity of discussing the merits of this question. All our sympathy in this matter should not be allowed to stam pede us

into taking a decision when the facts have not been investigated by us as a body and when we have no sufficient data on which to decide, one way or the other. Therefore it is my submission that the last clause, which definitely commits this Conference to the advocacy of Palestine as a National Home for the Jews, must be deleted. By so doing we are not opposing a National Home being so established but we are not supporting it ; we are only saying we have not sufficient data before us.

Yesterday, when Mr. Dange from India suggested an amendment in respect of India, it was quite rightly pointed out that it was not within the terms of reference, although the Chairman of the Committee concerned sympathised with the view. We may leave the matter in the hands of those who are concerned with this question. There have been a series of declarations from the Balfour Declaration onwards. It is said that this Committee has come to a decision by a majority and therefore we must pass it. But after all, we are the Conference ; we are here to adopt or not to adopt the report, and the fact that the Committee came to a decision by a majority, or even unanimously, would not preclude us from taking a different view. Even a majority on a Committee can go wrong. In this matter it is not a question of going wrong or going right, but of taking a decision without facts. They have had no facts before them and they have not heard the populations concerned. If it were merely a matter of colonising vacant land it would be different, but it is not so. Palestine is already inhabited, and the Arabs claim that they represent two-thirds of the population and that the Jews, with all the immigrants, are only one-third. If Palestine is to become the National Home of the Jews, what about the other population ? Are they going to be transplanted or exterminated ? We do not know. Let us not be stamped into a decision for which we have not sufficient facts ; and in our anxiety to show sympathy with the Jewish people let us not do something which, after all, will not turn out to be a Peace Settlement but perhaps may be the beginning of a new war. This war was not started on the Palestine issue, although in the war the Jews have been largely the sufferers and the victims of Hitlerite Germany. But Palestine is in British hands and they can deal with it. So far as British Statesmen are concerned, they have always shown a great deal of sympathy towards this question and, therefore ; there is no reason why we should think they would not do justice. By deleting this sentence we are not deciding against a National Home for the Jews in Palestine but suspending our judgment, not because we have not sympathy with the Jews but because we have not the data before us on which to decide this particular question.

The President : As there is no other speaker, I will now proceed to take a vote on the matter.

Mr. John Asfour (Arab Workers' Society, Palestine) : On a point of order. I opened this debate on the amendment. The Conference has heard several speakers, and I think under the Standing Orders I am entitled to reply.

The President : The Standing Orders say that a delegate shall speak only once upon any one subject except with the express permission of the Conference.

Mr. Asfour : I am appealing to you and all the Conference that I should be given an opportunity to reply.

The President : You have no right to a reply. You are moving an amendment. However, if this Conference agrees to give you permission to speak a second time you may do so, but you cannot claim a reply.

Mr. Asfour : That is my point.

The President : Then leave it at that. The delegate is asking special permission to speak a second time on this issue. I would like to obtain the view of the Conference, and to know if there is an agreement to our colleague speaking a second time. (Agreed.) Very good. Now, Mr. Asfour, you have the opportunity.

FINAL APPEAL TO REJECT RESOLUTION

Mr. Asfour : Mr. President and Comrades, I thought I told you at the outset that this subject, which has not been discussed in full Conference and taken as a special subject on the agenda, was going to involve you in endless debate. I thought that would be the result, and here we are. First of all, I want to make it very clear to all the comrades here that when you speak about anti-Semitism you mean persecution of the Jews and Arabs alike, because we are Semites just as much. Therefore, if you want to relieve the world from anti-Semitism which has grown up and flourished, not in Arab countries if you please but in Europe, you are not really going to solve the problem or to change the attitude by bringing Jews who have been persecuted because of anti-Semitism to Palestine. It is most astounding, if I may say so—and I say it with the utmost respect—that you should have bodies so internationally known and with such responsibilities upon their shoulders as the C.I.O. and the Canadian Congress of Labour, adopting a resolution, if you please, and urging that it should be carried at this Conference, without previous notice, and saying that they are in favour and support with their utmost vigour, of the establishment of a Nation]

Home in Palestine for the Jews. Now I ask those gentlemen, real and honestly, had you heard the Arab side before you adopted that resolution? Have you set yourselves in judgment merely upon representations made by one party, without either hearing or bothering yourselves to inquire about the story from the other side? Can we, as real Socialists, as people who are trying with this progressive movement of ours to establish order and peace, forget this most elementary principle of passing resolutions and making judgment? Can you, from the point of view of world order, give a decision against anyone without first, not only hearing the other side but demanding evidence of such fantastic claims as that Palestine would contain 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 more people? Have you got the evidence and have you heard the other side? Why, in the name of everybody on earth, do you put yourselves in judgment? I do not appreciate it; I am sorry, but I cannot understand why some other national group should constitute themselves in judgment and power over another national group. It is something which is entirely unknown in any movement in the world.

Now I wish to deal with the flowery words with which Comrade Carrillo tried to influence support for his amendment by getting certain things inserted respecting the preservation of the legitimate and national claims of other groups. This might be a new thing to you, but we have been suffering from exactly identical terms to those contained in the amendment to my amendment. It was contained in the Balfour Declaration itself. By the way, the Balfour Declaration does not say "the people of Palestine and their National Home," the Balfour Declaration said: "to establish in Palestine a National Home for the Jews"—not making of Palestine their National Home. But that is only a side-show. In that Declaration, itself, however, there was this identical, what is termed in political language, reservation. We have suffered from that reservation. I will give you just one or two instances, because they will enlighten you as to how much effect reservations have on the minds of the people. First of all, the Arabs who have lived in the country do not require any such reservation. They live there as a matter of right and are going to continue to live there. But in Haifa, which is the Port of Palestine, there was always an Arab Mayor—always. After the Jewish immigration into Palestine the Jews demanded and succeeded in getting a Jewish Mayor in Haifa—and I must tell you that the Mayor is appointed by the Government. There is no question of a difference between the Arab and the Jew, but I want to tell you what the idea of reservation of the rights of other groups meant. The same trouble is going on now in Jerusalem and it has not yet been solved. There can be no doubt

at all that by your committing yourselves to such a resolution as this, which has never been put before Conference, and on which you have had no evidence or data, neither as to the area of the land nor as to the reports previously made by commissions appointed not by the Arabs but by the British Imperial Government, nor as to the capacity of the land, nor as to the troubles which have obtained ever since the inception of the Balfour Declaration up to 1939—you are without all those,—that you should come and commit yourselves to such a resolution would be a cause of serious criticism not only by other groups of Labour but by the whole world. You would be giving yourselves exactly the same power as the C.I.O. and the Canadian Congress of Labour have done—namely, of giving judgment on a certain case without ever hearing the other side in evidence.

As regards the matter of accommodation for 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 people, I can quote to you one point which will interest you very much. In the years 1931 and 1932, this claim that Palestine has a capacity to take many millions of the persecuted Jews was made, and the British Government sent someone to Palestine to inquire into the matter of land and land settlement. He has it in his report—it is a public report here, that of Sir John Hope Simpson—that in 1931 the land which was then left to the Arabs was not sufficient for the existing population, without having regard to any natural increase in that population. Gentlemen, I appeal to you not to commit yourselves on this amendment at all, and by so doing I am not afraid of facing an international organisation which you yourselves have recommended. You have recommended that this matter be solved by an international authority in order to settle what appears to be a very important question. Finally, I repeat that the last sentence of paragraph 26 should be *in toto* repealed, without the amendment suggested by Mr. Carrillo.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED

The President: Now we have to get a decision on this matter, and in view of the time and the other work we have before us I hope we can proceed without having to go through the long and wearisome method of a roll call vote. This is a proposal to reject a part of the report, and the Standing Orders provide that no proposition shall be rejected unless the dissentients represent at least one-third of the national delegations and comprise at least one-third of the total membership of the national organisations represented. Therefore I ask those national delegations who support the rejection

of this part of the report to indicate to that effect. I hope that is clear. Those national delegations who support the proposal to delete that sentence of the report will please show. One vote for each national delegation. There are Palestine Arab, the Indian Federation of Labour, the All-India Trade Union Congress, South Africa, Nigeria, and Gambia—six national delegations support the rejection of the paragraph. There is no need to take a vote against the rejection because the movers have not secured the one-third vote which is required. Therefore that sentence remains in. Mr. Carrillo has moved to add the words “ respecting the legitimate interests of other national groups and giving equality of rights and opportunities to all its inhabitants.”*

Mr. B. Farah (Arab Federation of Trade Unions, Palestine) : We can preserve ourselves without the rights suggested by Mr. Carrillo.

The President : The Committee accept the proposal of Mr. Carrillo—the Committee which drafted this report. Those in favour of the acceptance of that amendment? Is there any objection to the amendment? There is no objection ; by common consent the paragraph is amended and the Committee will be instructed accordingly.

RESOLUTION

The resolution as finally adopted reads :—

This World Conference is of the opinion too, that after the war thorough-going remedies must be found, through international action, for the wrongs inflicted on the Jewish people. Their protection against oppression, discrimination, and spoliation in any country must be the responsibility of the new International Authority. The Jewish people must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their National Home, so successfully begun, by immigration, agricultural settlement and industrial development, respecting the legitimate interests of other national groups and giving equality of rights and opportunities to all its inhabitants.

* * Thus only six out of 63 delegations present (11 delegates out of 164) voted against the Resolution. The South African delegation was subsequently reprimanded by its parent body, which has now endorsed the World Trade Union resolution on the Jewish problem.

FROM THE DISCUSSION ON THE BASIS FOR WORLD TRADE UNION FEDERATION

WORLD TRADE UNIONISM AND THE BACKWARD COUNTRIES -

Mr. A. Rabinovitch (General Federation of Jewish Labour, Palestine) : Mr. President, Comrades : The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine has instructed its delegates to this Conference to give every support to the re-establishment of full Labour unity in the world. The people to which we belong have had the sad privilege of being the first, and probably the foremost, victim of Nazism. We know only too well that the internal strife between workers in the years between the two wars was the most important single factor in helping Hitler to power. This is why we are emphatically and whole-heartedly in favour of Labour unity, unity within each nation and each country, and unity on a world-wide scale. The development of the world Trade Union Movement in the last few decades makes this unity more important than ever before. Practically in every country where Trade Unions exist in some strength, they play their part in the general political life, in one form or another. The unity of the Labour Movement is not only a vital instrument in the struggle of the working class for better standards of wages and labour conditions, which is in itself of enormous value for the workers ; unity is also a necessary condition for the fullest possible expression of the political strength of the working class. This is why our Federation, which has always been a loyal member of the organised international Trade Union Movement, and has worked hard for the international solidarity of the workers in its own country, attach so much importance to this item on the agenda. We sincerely hope that this Conference will discover the greatest possible amount of goodwill and determination to achieve real and lasting unity, the case for which was so eloquently put by Mr. Sidney Hillman in his opening speech.

Now I should like to refer to a matter, which seems to me to be of great importance-to the proper functioning of a world Labour organisation. It is a vital necessity that the international Trade Union Movement should become an active source of help and advice for the working classes of the so-called backward countries. The process of industrialisation, which began there some years ago, has gained in strength and tempo during the war. Many colonial countries, as well as some independent States with patriarchial or feudal systems of society, are now facing all the

complex questions of the modern industrial age. As far as the Middle East is concerned, there was nothing to prepare their people for this change and for the burdens which it involves. There is no Liberal middle-class ; there is no Radical professional class, and the general level of the working masses themselves cannot be compared with the level, for example, of the British workers at the time of the industrial revolution. The feudal classes have adjusted themselves fairly quickly to the new circumstances, and in most cases they are the leaders of the various new industries. At the same time, they are doing their best to preserve their traditional hold over the body and soul of their countrymen, some of whom are developing into industrial workers.

PALESTINE : EXAMPLE TO THE MIDDLE EAST

My own country, Palestine, has some peculiar features, due to Jewish immigration. We have, as some of you know, a well developed Jewish Trade Union and Co-operative Movement, which has not only succeeded in introducing a high standard of labour conditions without parallel in that part of the world, but also maintains a wide system of mutual-aid institutions, and has established a co-operative agriculture and industry of its own. About 20 per cent. of our male membership have volunteered for the armed forces. There are in Palestine also beginnings of an Arab Trade Unionism, inspired by the example of, and aided by, their Jewish fellow workers. These beginnings are still small. The Palestine Government estimates the total number of Arab workers belonging to all the various organisations as 12,000, but we believe it will grow. One of these organisations, the Palestine Labour League, closely co-operates with our Federation. Their representative is attending this Conference. This special feature does not radically change the general picture of the Middle East. There is really little chance of a gradual evolutionary development of workers' organisations in each of these countries out of their own means and resources. A slow process of this kind would, incidentally, spell danger for the achievements of workers in other, more developed countries. Moreover, the concentration of great numbers of industrial workers in certain areas offers a strong temptation for various factions of the ruling classes to exploit these masses for political ends. It is for this reason that some Governments in these countries are taking good care to assure themselves of the control over the Trade Unions. It is for this reason that you often find in control of workers' organisations such people as wealthy lawyers and landowners, or offsprings of wealthy landowners, and even princes who are not suffering from a surplus of social conscience.

And you must not forget, comrades, that the countries to which I am referring are far from real democracy, even though their Constitutions provide for elections and parliaments. Some of them were under strong Nazi influence until the turn given to the war by El Alamein and Stalingrad. Since then there has been a change of front, but no change took place in the social background or in internal politics. In one of these countries which I had occasion to visit, I was deprived, on crossing the border, of a truly dangerous book; it was "One World," by Wendell Willkie. I visited another country which is, at least theoretically, at war with Germany, but victims of Nazi Germany are not allowed to cross that country if they happen to be Jews. So you can well imagine what Government control over Trade Unions in such countries may mean.

But even in colonial countries there is, it seems, a good case against Government control or sponsorship in relation to Trade Unions. We all know how strongly British trade unionists are opposed to any Government interference with their internal affairs. How much stronger must the case against such interference be in the Colonies, where Governments are in all social matters lagging at least 50 years behind the mother country.

We very much appreciate the creation of Labour Departments in the administrations of most of the British Colonies. This was done, I believe, in response to the demands of the British Trade Unions, which also provided some of their men to staff these departments, and they are doing useful work. But, comrades, the presence of a trade unionist in the service of a Colonial Administration cannot really change the general character of this administration. I could see in my own country that it did not prevent the Government from lending its support to organisations which are passionately opposed to every form of co-operation between Arab and Jewish workers, and sometimes even take the side of the employers against their fellow workers. As for conclusions, it seems to me that a world Trade Union organisation could not rest content and confine its activities in this respect to careful examination of the bona fides of Trade Union organisations which apply for affiliation. I feel quite certain that we shall have a great many mock Trade Unions in the new industrial countries, unless the International Trade Union Movement will shoulder the burden of guiding and advising the awakening working people. This is a task of tremendous importance, and I would strongly urge this Conference to adopt it as part of the policy to be pursued by the World Trade Union organisation. We must all work for the day when new millions of fellow workers will join us as equals in the world family of organised workers.

APPENDIX A.

From the Discussion of Post-War Reconstruction and Trade Union Demands.

Mr. A. Rabinovitz (General Federation of Jewish Labour, Palestine) : Mr. President, I would like to propose an amendment, which I believe the Committee will accept, to paragraph 4 of the Declaration. The first three lines read as follows : " This World Trade Union Conference therefore calls upon the Governments of the United Nations to do all within their power to provide relief on an increasing scale to the liberated countries," and then I propose to make a comma instead of a full stop, and to add, " as well as to the sections of population of other countries which have been direct victims of Nazi persecution," which means, first of all, the trade unionists, Socialists, Communists, and Jews who have been detained in concentration camps in Italy, Germany and Austria, and who will have been fortunate enough to survive until liberation. I do not believe the Conference will leave all these people without international relief, and I hope it will adopt my proposal.

Mr. C. N. Gallie (Reporter, Committee on Post-War Reconstruction and Immediate Trade Union Demands) : Mr. President, we recommend that you accept that addendum to the first sentence of paragraph 4, and we do that in order to avoid unnecessary discussion and to help you to come to a conclusion at once.

APPENDIX B.

From the Discussion of the Report of the Credentials Committee.

Mr. A. Carrillo (Reporter of the Credentials Committee) : The Committee report a perplexing situation in regard to the Palestine Arab Delegations. The Committee received a request for the disqualification of the representation from one of these bodies.

The information at the disposal of the T.U.C. was put in our hands, and after consideration of same, we have accepted the allocations suggested by the T.U.C. as follows :—

Palestine Labour League (an Arab body co-operating with the General Federation of Jewish Labour)—one observer.

The Arab Workers' Society (the larger of the two Arab bodies independent of the Federation of Jewish Labour)—one delegate and one observer.

Federation of Arab Trade Unions and Labour Societies (the smaller of the two Arab bodies independent of the General Federation of Jewish Labour)—one observer.

Mr. B. Locker (General Federation of Jewish Labour, Palestine) : I do not want to take up the time of the Conference and I am not going to raise any discussion. It was the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine which proposed that one of the delegations should not be admitted. We will not vote against the report, but what I am saying is without prejudice to our later steps to make certain that only *bona-fide* Trade Union organisations are connected with the World Trade Union Movement.

The Second Report of the Credentials Committee was adopted.

APPENDIX C.

LABOUR PARTY POLICY ON PALESTINE, 1944.

The last Labour Party statement on "The International Post-War Settlement" includes the section on Palestine, given below. Since its adoption by the Party Conference in December, 1944, it has become official Labour Party policy.

PALESTINE.

Here we have halted half-way, irresolute between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a "Jewish National Home," unless we are prepared to let 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. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe. Here, too, in Palestine surely is a case, on human grounds and to promote a stable settlement, for transfer 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 organised 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 or Transjordan. Moreover, we should seek to win the full sympathy and support both of the American and Russian Governments for the execution of this Palestinian policy.

APPENDIX D.

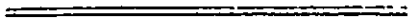
DECLARATION OF EUROPEAN SOCIALIST PARTIES, MARCH, 1945

In March, 1945, representatives of Socialist Parties in most countries in Europe assembled in London for a conference at the invitation of the British Labour Party. One of its resolutions, given below, dealt with the Jewish position.

"The International Labour Movement has never accepted any discrimination between the populations of different races or creeds in any country in which they have been settled. It has always put forward the useful principle of the equality of rights, and steadily opposed anti-Semitism.

“ This Conference of Socialist Parties demands full reparation for the crimes which Germany has committed: . . .

“ The time has come, moreover, when the civilised world must recognise the existence of Palestine as a fact and must guarantee to the Jewish people the full opportunity for achievement of their National home.”



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