

should be given, among other factors, to any evidence of genuine apprehension and concern felt, *inter alia*, by the indigenous population of non-self-governing countries.

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

(a) That it was not exercised within the scope and for the purposes contemplated by Article 22 of the Covenant ;

(b) That it was not exercised for the benefit of the original inhabitants of the country ;

(c) That its further continuation is creating a situation which is affecting the peace and good order in Palestine and threatening peace and security in the Middle East.

That inquiry would show, moreover, how the Arabs have lost their civil and political rights which they enjoyed prior to the mandate ; how the immigration initiated and facilitated under the mandate is threatening the very existence of the Arab Nation. It will show how this immigration has led to troubles and bloodshed which have soiled the Holy Land. It will show how the British Government is giving administrative advice and assistance to another British Government calling itself the Palestine Government. It will show how no trace can be found of self-governing institutions and much less of any trace of the development of such institutions. It will show how many lives were lost as a result of the policy of enforcing the mandate and how much money has been spent on police posts and fortresses as compared with schools and hospitals.

Another aspect of the practical application of the mandate will show how during the last twenty-five years more than half a million Jews were allowed to immigrate into the country against the wishes of its inhabitants, and how the British Government not only used its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of the Balfour Declaration, but fully and completely achieved it at the expense of many lives and suffering.

Further, in formulating the terms of reference of the proposed Special Committee of Inquiry, it is not sufficient to point out what the problem is. It is equally important to invite attention to what the problem is not, so as to avoid confusion of issues.

In the first place, the problem is not an Arab-Jewish problem. The Arab opposition to immigration and to the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine is not based on any racial prejudice against Jews as Jews, but would be equally strong whatever the race or religion of any group which might attempt to wrest the country from its Arab inhabitants or to force immigrants into against the will of the Arabs.

In the second place, the problem is not economic. It is often contended that the Jews of Europe can develop the country by colonizing it better than its inhabitants could. Even if the premises on which this argument rests were true, it would still be worthless because it is an unacceptable and immoral argument. Such reasoning, if accepted, could justify any aggression by the more advanced against the less advanced nations of the world.

In the third place, the problem is not connected with the refugee problem. The problem of the refugees and of displaced persons is not limited to any special religion or race. It is a humanitarian problem, and it is the duty and concern of the civilized world to treat it as such. Indeed, this has been done, as is evidenced by the establishment of the