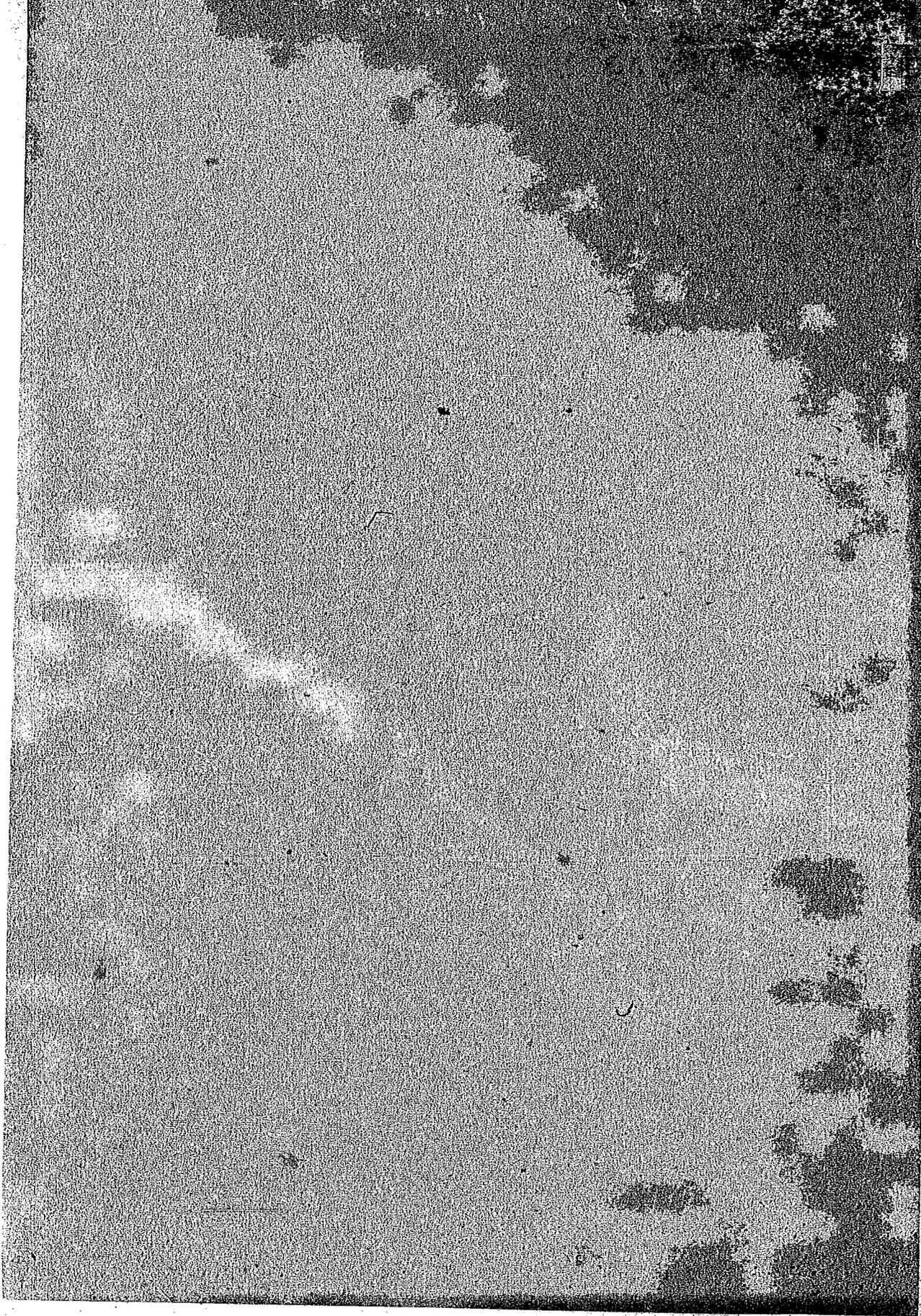


PALESTINE

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PALESTINE

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2. MATERIAL TAKEN FROM STATE DEPT. FILES



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DEPARTMENT
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ACTION - WRB
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Palestine
INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES

DIVISION OF
CENTRAL SERVICES
TELEGRAPH SECTION

DCG-268-SH 1945 AUG 3 1945 AUG 3 4 08 PM PLON

London

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Dated August 2, 1945

Rec'd 3:43 p.m.

*Marked by
O Semper*

Secretary of State,
Washington.

CONTROL COPY

7792, Second

Following are highlights of speech by Weizmann
opening World Zionist Conference here yesterday:

(BEGIN SUMMARY). Present meeting taking
place in shadow greatest Jewish catastrophe
since destruction of temple. Only
broken fragment remains of once great European Jewry.
Aside from this loss of six million Jewish lives Jews
have served in Allied armies and maintained underground
activity and in Middle East exists Yishuv stood out as
only prop on which Allies---if they wished--- could
place absolute reliance. Whole course of Middle East
campaigns might have been different if war had found
two million instead of half million Jews in Palestine.
At turning point of last war Balfour Declaration
released Jewish pentup energies and made possible
attaining position now held by Jews in Palestine but
on eve of present war under stress of impending conflict
and as part

000232

-2-#7792, Second, from London.

and as part of futile attempt to ward it off the then British Govt went back on promise and in 1939 White Paper set course diametrically opposed to Balfour Declaration. Tragic result of this policy was preventable loss of life. When it was issued Weizmann informed Prime Minister of uncompromising opposition and latter said he understood perfectly. However, when war came Weizmann wrote immediately to Prime Minister pledging wholehearted and unreserved cooperation in war effort and this pledge carried out in full chapter of wartime cooperation closed for all practical purposes with defeat of Germany and breach between Britain and Jews again threatens unless it can be healed in time. Jewish people will only achieve freedom from fear by the reestablishment of statehood in Palestine. A new Palestine policy is needed incorporating cardinal principles of acceptance of Jewish claim to statehood in only country which Jews can call their own recognition of Jewish right to free immigration and settlement in Palestine and adoption of practical, political and economic program designed to achieve speediest transformation of Palestine into Jewish State. Arabs would remain secure in their possessions. culture equality of rights and natural ties with

000833

-3-#7792, Second, from London.

ties with brethren in neighboring countries which incomparably larger and richer than Palestine and where Arab nationalism and statehood can find ample scope to be worked out. Arabs have vast empire to inherit but Jerusalem is to Jewry what Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo all rolled up in one are to Arabs. Arabs had registered great gains in terms of political emancipation and potential unity as result of last and this war. Their gains not begrudged them but must be admitted that they were utterly incommensurate with Arab sacrifices and contributions to common struggle. Were Arabs to have all hopes fulfilled and Jews none? Primary responsibility for new Palestine policy is Britain's but Jewish problem is international in scope. Declarations of two great parties in US and endorsement thereof by late President and his successor recalled with appreciation. Jewish appeal goes out to all United Nations but more especially to Britain's two major Allies US and USSR on whose harmonious collaboration hopes of whole world pinned. Delay means prolongation of agony of European survivors and increasing terrorism in Palestine. Chaos may ensue unless clear lead taken. Jews prepared to wait so long as reasonable certainty of relief but cannot be expected to look on with equanimity.

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-4-#7792, Second, from London.

equanimity while Jews in Europe going under and "in the Middle East new facts are being created which are calculated to prejudge the issue." These words spoken by man for whom cooperation with British Govt has been article of faith for past 28 years. Immigration is most urgent issue and proposals thereon had been submitted in October 1944 and May 1945. At same time British Govt had been asked for 100,000 immigration permits for immediate use as first installment on post-war immigration program. A speedy decision on this matter is required since present quotas fast running out and prohibition on immigration would create untenable situation. Thus asked that gates of Palestine be opened and that all countries give free right of exit to Jews desiring emigrate to Palestine. Regarding new British Govt Jews recall with gratification unequivocal support of labor leaders solid Labour vote against 1939 White Paper and recent resolutions of Labour Party conferences on Palestine. Morrison had stated on behalf of Labour Party that White Paper "would not be automatically binding" on Labour Party "whatever the circumstances of the time." Present circumstances give poignant force to this statement. Weizmann closed with exhortation to

Van Guard in

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-5-#7792, Second, from London.

Van Guard in Palestine not to lose heart, to stand fast and "set its face against any attempt by a handful of irresponsible persons to distort our political struggle by a suicidal resort to terrorism. Clear-headed determination must be our watchword." (END SUMMARY).

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN in editorial observes that Weizmann is statesman whose wisdom never limited by narrow confines of Jewish politics and that on this occasion his words rang with eloquence of old testament. Referring to Palestine statements by Labour Party and specifically to Morrison Declaration GUARDIAN says there now exists direct challenge which government must take up and that although Jewish claims cannot perhaps be met in full or at short notice it would be act of wisdom to open doors of Palestine at once while pondering whole question with USSR and US.

WINANT

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000236

Palentine

6 June 1945

To: The Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

From: Legislative Section, Office of the General Counsel.

The following item appeared on page 5690 of the
Congressional Record for 5 June is called to your attention
for appropriate action.

Bureau or Division Affected: Miss Hodel

Nature of Item:

Representative Bennet, of New York, introduced H.J.Res. 213, a
joint resolution declaring that it is the sense of Congress that the
United Nations assume responsibility for the repatriation of the
Hebrews in Europe; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

*See Congressional Rec.
June 5-1945*

EO' C:mj

000037

May 23, 1945

To: The Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

From: Legislative Section, Office of the General Counsel.

The following item appeared on page 5004 of the
Congressional Record for May 22 is called to your attention
for appropriate action.

Bureau or Division Affected: Miss Model

Nature of Item:

Representative Hollifield introduced H. Res. 286, resolution to establish
a free Palestine for homeless people of the Jewish race; to the Committee
on Foreign Affairs.

Representative Hall of New York had reprinted in the Record a speech
by the Attorney General of the State of New York on the subject of Palestine.
(A1625)

EO' C:mb

000238

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 265

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 18, 1945

Mr. HARTLEY submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the
Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

Whereas a singular omission exists in the councils of the United Nations concerned with the structure of an international organization and the establishment of permanent peace, as well as in the commissions, agencies, and other administrative bodies engaged in the consideration of war crimes, relief, rehabilitation, and reparations, by virtue of the exclusion from participation in these intergovernmental bodies of the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine whose vital contributions in the war against the Fascist Powers were made by Hebrew battalions in Allied Armies and by underground resistance groups in occupied countries, and whose casualties in this war exceed four million dead; and

Whereas the atrocities disclosed in the recent occupation of German concentration camps have proved to a horrified world that Fascist Powers, allowed to perpetrate their savage outrages against this homeless, dispersed, and unprotected

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people, will extend these acts to all peoples in their power; and

Whereas the plight of the Hebrews in Europe is desperate, the problem of their relief and rehabilitation being hedged by special difficulties affecting no other people, so that even in those liberated countries where the Hebrews have regained their legal rights they are dying by the thousands from starvation and disease because there has been no restitution of jobs, homes, or property; and

Whereas the retention of the status quo in regard to the Hebrew people is in itself a threat to world peace, for Fascist forces in all European countries will again utilize anti-Semitism as an instrument for their return to power and in the destruction of democratic governments, resulting in a threat to a peaceful world order; and

Whereas the vast majority of the survivors of the Hebrew people in Europe reject the possibility of returning to the lands of their recent martyrdom and of owing allegiance to the nations that have participated in their persecution, but, on the contrary, regard themselves as constituting with the Hebrews of Palestine a single national entity, intimately and inseparably welded by the sufferings they have endured in common: Therefore be it

1 *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate and the
2 House of Representatives of the United States that the
3 Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine be recognized as a
4 renascent Hebrew Nation, it being understood that this action
5 applies to all the Hebrews in Europe who voluntarily re-
6 nounce allegiance to all other nations and that it does not

1 affect the legal status, political allegiance, or civic rights
2 of Americans of Hebrew origin or Jewish faith, nor the
3 legal status, political allegiance, or civic rights of the nationals
4 of Hebrew origin or Jewish faith in any other country; be it
5 further

6 *Resolved*, That the Hebrew Nation shall be accorded
7 the same rights of self-determination within the general pro-
8 gram of international adjustment as may be freely granted
9 to other nations and shall be entitled to take its rightful place
10 among the free peoples of the earth as a member of the
11 United Nations and to be represented as such, in the coun-
12 cils, commissions, agencies, and other intergovernmental
13 bodies of the United Nations; be it further

14 *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate and the
15 House of Representatives that the rights previously granted
16 to the Jewish people and recognized in international law
17 by virtue of various treaties and covenants, including the
18 Balfour Declaration, the Mandate of the League of Nations,
19 the treaties and covenants of the subscribing members of the
20 League of Nations, as well as those treaties and conventions
21 subscribed to by the Government of the United States, shall
22 now be conveyed to the Hebrew Nation without prejudicing
23 the normal rights and prerogatives of the Hebrew Nation
24 by the limitations contained in these treaties and covenants;
25 be it further

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1 *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate and the
2 House of Representatives of the United States that the
3 United Nations assume responsibility for the repatriation of
4 the Hebrews in Europe, who desire to end their long exile
5 and their status of pariah in many nations and to return
6 to their national territory of Palestine, by establishing a
7 special intergovernmental agency to facilitate and effectuate
8 the process of repatriation; and be it further

9 *Resolved*, That in keeping with the resolutions adopted
10 by previous sessions of the United States Congress and the
11 declarations of sympathy and support issued on several occa-
12 sions by the Presidents of the United States, by both the
13 Democratic and Republican Parties, and by numerous na-
14 tional American organizations, the Government of the United
15 States lend its good offices to the end that the land of
16 Palestine shall be placed under an administration which, in
17 accordance with the expressed intentions of the League of
18 Nations Mandate, will offer the Hebrew Nation the fullest
19 opportunity to reconstitute this territory within its historic
20 boundaries as a free state, with the Arabs as equal members
21 in a democracy, guaranteeing to all its citizens full civic,
22 religious, and political rights and liberties, and dedicated to
23 the principles of freedom and justice and world peace.

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79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 186

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 10, 1945

Mr. LANE introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

That the United Nations establish procedure for repatriation of the Hebrews of Europe.

Whereas a singular omission exists in the councils of the United Nations concerned with the structure of an international organization and the establishment of permanent peace, as well as in the commissions, agencies, and other administrative bodies engaged in the consideration of war crimes, relief, rehabilitation, and reparations, by virtue of the exclusion from participation in these intergovernmental bodies of the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine whose vital contributions in the war against the Fascist Powers were made by Hebrew battalions in Allied armies and by underground resistance groups in occupied countries, and whose casualties in this war exceed four million dead; and

Whereas the atrocities disclosed in the recent occupation of German concentration camps have proved to a horrified

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world that Fascist Powers, allowed to perpetrate their savage outrages against this homeless, dispersed, and unprotected people, will extend these acts to all peoples in their power; and

Whereas the plight of the Hebrews in Europe is desperate, the problem of their relief and rehabilitation being hedged by special difficulties affecting no other people so that even in those liberated countries where the Hebrews have regained their legal rights, they are dying by the thousands from starvation and disease because there has been no restitution of jobs, homes, or property; and

Whereas the retention of the status quo in regard to the Hebrew people is in itself a threat to world peace, for Fascist forces in all European countries will again utilize anti-Semitism as an instrument for their return to power and in the destruction of democratic governments, resulting in a threat to a peaceful world order; and

Whereas the vast majority of the survivors of the Hebrew people in Europe reject the possibility of returning to the lands of their recent martyrdom and of owing allegiance to the nations that have participated in their persecution, but on the contrary, regard themselves as constituting with the Hebrews of Palestine a single national entity, intimately and inseparably welded by the sufferings they have endured in common: Therefore be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine be recog-
4 nized as a renascent Hebrew Nation, it being understood that

1 this action applies to all the Hebrews in Europe who volun-
2 tarily renounce allegiance to all other nations and that it
3 does not affect the legal status, political allegiance, or civic
4 rights of Americans of Hebrew origin or Jewish faith nor
5 the legal status, political allegiance, or civic rights of the
6 nationals of Hebrew origin or Jewish faith in any other
7 country; and be it further

8 *Resolved, That the Hebrew Nation shall be accorded the*
9 *same rights of self-determination within the general program*
10 *of international adjustment as may be freely granted to other*
11 *nations and shall be entitled to take its rightful place among*
12 *the free peoples of the earth as a member of the United*
13 *Nations and to be represented as such, in the councils, com-*
14 *missions, agencies, and other intergovernmental bodies of*
15 *the United Nations; and be it further*

16 *Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Repre-*
17 *sentatives that the rights previously granted to the Jewish*
18 *people and recognized in international law by virtue of*
19 *various treaties and covenants, including the Balfour Declara-*
20 *tion, the Mandate of the League of Nations, the treaties and*
21 *covenants of the subscribing members of the League of*
22 *Nations, as well as those treaties and conventions subscribed*
23 *to by the Government of the United States, shall now be*
24 *conveyed to the Hebrew Nation, without prejudicing the*
25 *normal rights and prerogatives of the Hebrew Nation by*

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1 the limitations contained in these treaties and covenants;
2 and be it further

3 *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Repre-
4 sentatives of the United States that the United Nations
5 assume responsibility for the repatriation of the Hebrews
6 in Europe, who desire to end their long exile and their status
7 of pariah in many nations and to return to their national
8 territory of Palestine, by establishing a special intergovern-
9 mental agency to facilitate and effectuate the process of
10 repatriation; and be it further

11 *Resolved*, That in keeping with the resolutions adopted
12 by previous sessions of the United States Congress and the
13 declarations of sympathy and support issued on several occa-
14 sions by the Presidents of the United States, by both the
15 Democratic and Republican Parties, and by numerous na-
16 tional American organizations, the Government of the United
17 States lend its good offices to the end that the land of
18 Palestine shall be placed under an administration which, in
19 accordance with the expressed intentions of the League of
20 Nations mandate, will offer the Hebrew Nation the fullest
21 opportunity to reconstitute this territory within its historic
22 boundaries as a free state, with the Arabs as equal members
23 in a democracy, guaranteeing to all its citizens full civic,
24 religious, and political rights and liberties, and dedicated
25 to the principles of freedom and justice and world peace.

000844

Palestine

79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 188

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 10, 1945

Mr. RAMEY introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

Declaring that it is the sense of Congress that the United Nations assume responsibility for the repatriation of the Hebrews in Europe.

Whereas a singular omission exists in the councils of the United Nations concerned with the structure of an international organization and the establishment of permanent peace, as well as in the commissions, agencies, and other administrative bodies engaged in the consideration of war crimes, relief, rehabilitation, and reparations, by virtue of the exclusion from participation in these intergovernmental bodies of the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine whose vital contributions in the war against the Fascist Powers were made by Hebrew battalions in Allied armies and by underground resistance groups in occupied countries, and whose casualties in this war exceed four million dead; and

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Whereas the atrocities disclosed in the recent occupation of German concentration camps have proved to a horrified world that Fascist Powers, allowed to perpetrate their savage outrages against this homeless, dispersed, and unprotected people, will extend these acts to all peoples in their power; and

Whereas the plight of the Hebrews in Europe is desperate, the problem of their relief and rehabilitation being hedged by special difficulties affecting no other people so that even in those liberated countries where the Hebrews have regained their legal rights, they are dying by the thousands from starvation and disease because there has been no restitution of jobs, homes, or property; and

Whereas the retention of the status quo in regard to the Hebrew people is in itself a threat to world peace, for Fascist forces in all European countries will again utilize anti-Semitism as an instrument for their return to power and in the destruction of democratic governments, resulting in a threat to a peaceful world order; and

Whereas the vast majority of the survivors of the Hebrew people in Europe reject the possibility of returning to the lands of their recent martyrdom and of owing allegiance to the nations that have participated in their persecution, but, on the contrary, regard themselves as constituting with the Hebrews of Palestine a single national entity, intimately and inseparably welded by the sufferings they have endured in common; Therefore be it

1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
3 That the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine be recog-

1 nized as a renascent Hebrew Nation, it being understood
2 that this action applies to all the Hebrews in Europe who
3 voluntarily renounce allegiance to all other nations and
4 that it does not affect the legal status, political allegiance,
5 or civic rights of Americans of Hebrew origin or Jewish
6 faith nor the legal status, political allegiance, or civic rights
7 of the nationals of Hebrew origin or Jewish faith in any
8 other country; and be it further

9 Resolved, That the Hebrew Nation shall be accorded
10 the same rights of self-determination within the general pro-
11 gram of international adjustment as may be freely granted
12 to other nations and shall be entitled to take its rightful place
13 among the free peoples of the earth as a member of the
14 United Nations and to be represented as such, in the councils,
15 commissions, agencies, and other intergovernmental bodies
16 of the United Nations; and be it further

17 Resolved, That it is the sense of the Congress of the
18 United States that the rights previously granted to the "Jew-
19 ish people" and recognized in international law by virtue of
20 various treaties and covenants, including the Balfour Dec-
21 laration, the Mandate of the League of Nations, the treaties
22 and covenants of the subscribing members of the League
23 of Nations, as well as those treaties and conventions sub-
24 scribed to by the Government of the United States, shall
25 now be conveyed to the Hebrew Nation without prejudicing

000246

1 the normal rights and prerogatives of the Hebrew Nation
 2 by the limitations contained in these treaties and covenants;
 3 and be it further

4 *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Congress of the
 5 United States that the United Nations assume responsi-
 6 bility for the repatriation of the Hebrews in Europe, who
 7 desire to end their long exile and their status of pariah
 8 in many nations and to return to their national territory
 9 of Palestine, by establishing a special intergovernmental
 10 agency to facilitate and effectuate the process of repatriation;
 11 and be it further

12 *Resolved*, That in keeping with the resolutions adopted
 13 by previous sessions of the United States Congress and the
 14 declarations of sympathy and support issued on several
 15 occasions by the Presidents of the United States, by both
 16 the Democratic and Republican Parties, and by numerous
 17 national American organizations, the Government of the
 18 United States lend its good offices to the end that the land
 19 of Palestine shall be placed under an administration which,
 20 in accordance with the expressed intentions of the League of
 21 Nations mandate, will offer the Hebrew Nation the fullest
 22 opportunity to reconstitute this territory within its historic
 23 boundaries as a free state, with the Arabs as equal members.

1 in a democracy, guaranteeing to all its citizens full civic,
 2 religious, and political rights and liberties, and dedicated to
 3 the principles of freedom and justice and world peace.

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79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 238

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 2, 1945

Mr. BARRY submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the
Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution: Therefore be it

- 1 *Resolved*, That the United States shall use its good offices
- 2 to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free

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1 entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full
2 opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may
3 ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic
4 commonwealth.

71st CONGRESS
1st Session
H. RES. 238

RESOLUTION

Relative to the Jewish National Home in
Palestine.

By Mr. BAKER

MAY 2, 1945
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

000849

79TH CONGRESS
1st Session

H. J. RES. 176

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 1, 1946

Mr. LANE introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the
Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

That the United Nations establish procedure for repatriation of
the Hebrews of Europe.

Whereas the recent occupation of the German extermination
camps have revealed to a horrified world what power-lusty
and power-drunken evil forces can be permitted to do to a
whole people—if that people is being dispersed, homeless,
and unprotected; and

Whereas these camps and other scenes of atrocities have equally
revealed that if a policy of extermination remains unchal-
lenged when applied to the Jews, it is inescapable that it
spread and encompass other people so that the safety of all
men is destroyed and the earth is transformed into an orgy
of blood and fire; and

Whereas all this horror happened in the framework of our Chris-

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tian civilization that was powerless to prevent the greatest crime in history from being committed but now having regained its strength feels duty-bound before God and humanity to rehabilitate its fair name and the authenticity of its moral foundations; and

Whereas it would be a disastrous omen for the future structure of world peace to continue to ignore the over-all decisive historic fact of the extermination of the major part of the Jews in Europe and not to draw the imperative conclusion that from this holocaust and this war definite reforms in the relationship of men must be introduced and the abnormalities of our universal society which were the causes of the conflagration and nourishing soil for nazi-ism be removed forever; and

Whereas to every man of vision it is clear beyond doubt that the blood of millions of Jewish dead in Europe and their mutilated corpses were more than fertilizing substance for the soil of Europe and acts of amusement to the German sadists, but that all that blood and all those sufferings become the cement which reunite the hungry and tormented survivors into a living single entity, into a renaescent Hebrew Nation; and

Whereas the survivors reject the brutal idea that they must return to the scene of their martyrdom or owe further allegiance to their tormentors: Therefore be it

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
- 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 *That to recognize the rights of the desolate Hebrews of*
- 4 *Europe and Palestine to reassemble as they choose in the*

- 1 renaescent Hebrew Nation, and to take their rightful place
- 2 among the free people of the earth as a full-fledged member
- 3 of the United Nations; and to permit Hebrew statesmen
- 4 to take their seats among the statesmen of the world in
- 5 their forthcoming councils and deliberations, in accordance
- 6 with the proposals of the Hebrew Committee of National
- 7 Liberation, the United Nations assume guardianship of the
- 8 process of repatriation of the Hebrews of Europe who desire
- 9 it, from exile to their national territory of Palestine, in the
- 10 true spirit of the League of Nations mandate and to place
- 11 that territory under a new, civilized, and humanitarian
- 12 administration, so that the Hebrews are given a chance to
- 13 rebuild that country in its historic boundaries with the Arab
- 14 population as equal partners in democracy—as a free state,
- 15 within the framework of a world order based on the prin-
- 16 ciples of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter.

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79th CONGRESS
1st Session

H. J. RES. 176

JOINT RESOLUTION

That the United Nations establish procedure
for repatriation of the Hebrews of Europe.

By Mr. LANE

MAY 1, 1945

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

000852

Palastine

December 1, 1944

To: The Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

From: Legislative Section, Office of the General Counsel.

The following item appeared on page 8773 of the Congressional Record for November 30 is called to your attention for appropriate action.

Bureau or Division Affected: Mr. Pehle

Nature of Item:

Representative Bloom, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, presented the committee report on H. Res. 418, a resolution relative to the the Jewish national home in Palestine; with amendment (Rept. No. 1997).

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DEPARTMENT
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DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

RECEIVED 9 40

*War Ref
Red (Mr
Rehly)*

EK-611

PLAIN

London

Dated November 18, 1944

Rec'd 11:26 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

CONTROL COPY

10155, Eighteenth.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, DAILY TELEGRAPH, NEWS
CHRONICLE and DAILY MAIL have editorials on Prime
Minister's statement in House of Commons yesterday
on assassination of Lord Moyne.

GUARDIAN declares: "If anyone else but Mr. Churchill
had made the statement on Jewish terrorism in Palestine,
it might have been resented as being both harsh and
threatening. Mr. Churchill, however, (as he said
himself) is known as 'a consistent friend of the Jews
and a constant architect of their future', and his
words will be taken as they were meant, as blunt but
sound advice. It is important, however, that this
plain speaking should not be taken as a signal for
a general campaign of abuse against Zionism. There
are many who regard Palestine as a 'nuisance' and
would be only too glad for an excuse to abandon the

JEWS

100254

-2-#10155, Eighteenth, from London.

Jews and our promises together. Let us at least remember that there is something to be said on the other side. The much more serious Arab terrorism and even rebellion in the years before the war was sternly and properly suppressed, but so far from 'reconsidering its position' to the detriment of the Arabs the British Government put a stop to Jewish immigration and proposed the partition of Palestine. The simple truth is that terrorism, whether Arab or Jewish, Irish or Indian, is always the symptom of some serious trouble. That the terrorists may be and often are politically in the wrong (they are always morally in the wrong) does not alter the duty of the responsible government to find a remedy".

DAILY TELEGRAPH recalls manner in which responsible Jewish leaders have condemned assassination of Lord Moyne, but says they will nevertheless do well to heed Mr. Churchill's warning that their responsibility does not end with words alone. Editorial states: "throughout, the Jewish police have cooperated wholeheartedly with the British, and indeed not a few of them have fallen victims of the assassins pistol. If only a similar zeal had been displayed by the ordinary citizen it is difficult to believe that the campaign of outrage would not already have been stamped out, and anything

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-3-#10155, Eighteenth, from London.

and anything less than full cooperation is tantamount to passive sympathy with the terrorists. Unless and until this conspiracy is destroyed root and branch the cause of Zionism must inevitable suffer, for any concession would be regarded as a justification of gangster methods. Mr. Churchill's warning of this danger should apply a healthy stimulus to action". Similar views are expressed by NEWS CHRONICLE. Speaking of injury to Zionist movement which may result if Jewish terrorist in Palestine is not exterminated, DAILY MAIL declares: It is a tribute to the high regard in which nation holds Dr. Weizmann and other leaders of that movement, as well as the executive of the Jewish agency in Palestine, that no anti-semitic feeling was shown in this country after the assassination of Lord Moyne. Such feeling would have been deplored by all thinking people, just as the occurrences themselves, who believe in the future of Zionism". Editorial refers to fact that Dr. Weizmann is now in Palestine, and taking energetic measure in this connection.

WINANT

JMS

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Palestine
DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

MRQ-217

DEPT. OF STATE
1944 NOV 17
PLAIN
EM 4 00
London

Dated November 17, 1944

Rpc'd 9:32 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

10104, Seventeenth

The following is statement made in the House of
Commons today on the Palestine outrages by Mr. Churchill:

"On Thursday last the Foreign Secretary gave the House a full account of the assassination of the late Lord Moyne. This shameful crime has shocked the world, It has affected none more strongly than those like myself who in the past have been consistent friends of the Jews and constant architects of their future. If our dreams of Zionism are to end in the smoke of assassins' pistols and the labors for its future to produce a new set of gangsters worthy of Nazi Germany, many like myself would have to reconsider the position we have maintained so consistently and so long in the past. If there is to be any hope of a peaceful and successful future for Zionism, all these wicked activities must cease and those responsible for them must be

2
W. A. R. B. J. M.
Feb 16
CONTROL COPY

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-2- #10104, Seventeenth, from London

must be destroyed root and branch. The primary responsibility must of course rest with the Palestine authorities under HM Government. Those authorities are already engaged in an active and thorough campaign against the stern gang and the hardly less dangerous Ircun Zvei Leumi. In particular the Palestine police have been loyally and effectively carrying out their duties in the midst of constant danger. A number of persons suspected of active complicity in terrorist activities have been arrested and on October 19, 251 were deported from the country where their presence with the possibility of a large scale attempt at rescue only led to increased insecurity. Since then numerous further arrests have been made including those of some wanted terrorists. I am satisfied that the Palestine authorities have all the powers which are necessary to deal with the situation. They will, with the help of the military and the close cooperation of the general officer C-in-C, intensify their activities. But it will be realized that although primary responsibility is that of the government full success depends on the wholehearted cooperation of the entire community.

This HM Government

000858

-3- #10104, Seventeenth, from London.

This HM Government are entitled to demand and receive. I have received a letter from Dr. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization a very old friend of mine who has arrived in Palestine, in which he assures me that Palestinian Jewry will go to the utmost limit of their powers to cut out this evil from their midst. In Palestine the executive of the Jewish agency have called upon the Jewish community -- and I quote the actual words -- to cast out the members of this destructive band to drive them out of all refuge and shelter to resist their threats and to render all necessary assistance to the authorities in the prevention of terrorist acts and the eradication of terrorist organizations. These are strong words but we must wait for these words to be translated into deeds. We must wait to see not only that the leaders but every man, woman and child of the Jewish community does his or her best to bring this terrorism to a speedy end".

Asked whether the two criminals would be tried by a military or civil court, Mr. Churchill said he would not like to answer the question offhand. The criminals were under Egyptian authority and the crime was committed

000259

-4- #10104, Seventeenth, from London

was committed in Egypt and he had no doubt that the trials would be conducted with all despatch and correctness. The question had been raised whether they are not deserters from the Palestinian armed forces in which case they would be handed over to the British military authorities and the trial would be by court martial.

HJF

GALLMAN

000260

Palentine 4* 174
4:35 PM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 7 1944
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

J. Wan
Ref Bd (Mr. R. H. L.)
Nov. 8, 1944

SECRET

AMERICAN CONSUL,
JERUSALEM (PALESTINE).

With reference to Department's telegram no. 8925 to London of October 26, 3 p.m., repeated to you as Department's 174, and your 165, October 30, noon, there follows for your information a paraphrase of London's reply (telegram no. 9498, November 2, 7 p.m.).

BEGIN PARAPHRASE Today we took occasion to discuss the situation in Palestine (reference Department's telegram no. 8925) at the Foreign Office. Although no policy change respecting the Palestine situation is anticipated by the Foreign Office, an official stated that QUOTE sooner or later UN UOTC - upon exhaustion of the immigration quotas - the Government of Great Britain would need to reach a new decision in the matter. This would not, he believed, be earlier than the beginning of the summer of 1945. This official added that it is obviously to the interest of the Allies to have a quiescent situation in the Middle East. No risks, he said, could be run that might result in major disorders on the part of the Arabs in that area.

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RECEIVED
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
NOV 15 1944

CONTROL COPY

000261

#A-1 74 to Jerusalem

- 2 -

Embassy is attempting to obtain confirmation of the statistics given in Department's telegram.

With reference to statements made on the Jewish question during the Presidential campaign in the United States, the same official was of the opinion that these pronouncements have not aroused as much reaction as had been expected, as far as the Arabs are concerned. END PARAPHRASE.

Acting

Stettinius
Acting
GPM

NE:EMW:MW 11/7/44 NEA BC ✓

000862

I was of El-Pan

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL, JERUSALEM
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATED: October 30, 1944
NUMBER: 165
X

CONTROL COPY

See ^{my} airmgram 51 of the thirteenth of October and message 174 from the Department dated the twenty sixth of October.

The data derived from Jewish sources concerning alleged new immigration policy was included in my airmgram under reference but as I was not able to secure official confirmation I did not telegraph it. As yet we have not been able to confirm reported distribution of quotas but officially the total quota is 10,300 and through December the rate of entry has been set at 1500 monthly with possible review on the first of January in view of the position at that date. Against the 10,300 commitments deriving from former allotments will be charged. It is said by the chief secretary that the situation now existing in Aden will likely be cleared up but indicated distribution of total quotas has not been ascertained. In addition, he said that decision resulted from discussions between Colonial Office and representatives of Jewish agency in London.

In Palestine the political significance attributed to JDC's decision is completely unknown and it was pointed out by the chief secretary that there are still sufficient white P vacancies to last entire year at the monthly rate of admissions proposed.

SEARCHED
State Dept. Letter 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date, SEP 8 1972

000863

-2- #165, October 30, noon, from Jerusalem.

proposed. The rate proposed is far greater than late entries which were for August 900 and for September 110. No indication has been given by British officers in Palestine that the current policy may be changed but they say they do not know what policy may be brought by Lord Gort.

PINKERTON

DCR:HLG (6)
11-1-44

000864

DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

Palestine

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

MF-987

PLAIN

Ankara

Dated October 28, 1944

Rec'd 11:31 p.m.

File 937

Secretary of State

Washington

2069, Twenty-eighth

Embassy 2041, Twenty-fifth Palestine.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
OCT 28 1944

YENISABAH editorial, twenty-seventh: Desire to give Jews independent homeland has lately grown stronger. Problem of Jewish state has since 1918 exercised considerable bearing on Arab-Jewish and Arab-British relations. In present life and death struggle British Government wishes sell all Arab lands attached more strongly than before to Great Britain's family of nations but Arab leaders and sovereigns don't seem inclined make slightest sacrifice on Palestinian question which in their eyes is exceedingly vital and delicate matter. Since Jews don't constitute majority in Palestine majority which can be created only artificially by immigration, certain Arab leaders have suggested idea of giving Jews land in America where there are vast uninhabited spaces.

Palestinian

CONTROL COPY

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-2- #2069, Twenty-eighth, from Ankara

Palestinian and Jewish problems have again been raised in connection with American Presidential election. President Roosevelt has declared himself as favoring idea of founding Jewish homeland in Palestine. Powerful Jewish groups in America and England are exerting great efforts in this direction and certain newspapers are strongly defending Jewish cause. However, when House of Representatives recently invited American Government to take frank and definite stand in this matter, statement was issued to effect that would be inadvisable discuss question at present time for military reasons. Thus it appears that American Government, no matter what its leanings and sentiments in this regard may be, was hesitating to accept as its program viewpoint of one side only in this most difficult problem. In this connection, it should be remembered that Americans too are becoming increasingly interested in all Arab lands, especially in oil matters and construction of pipelines, and consider it advisable act cautiously in order not offend Arab and Moslem elements.

Repeated by mail to Jerusalem and Beirut.

STEINHARDT

MJF

000866

Admission

2-War
File
Ref Bd

AIRGRAM

FROM AMERICAN CONSULATY GENERAL
Jerusalem

Dated October 13, 1944, 5 P.M.

Courier departure: October 14,
1944, 6 A.M.

Rec'd: October 26, 2:22

Secretary of State

Washington

A-51 October 13, 1944, 5 P.M.

Have received confidential information from competent Jewish source that Colonial Office has agreed to admit Jewish immigrants at the rate of 1,500 per month distributed as follows: Bulgaria and America, 5,000; Italy, 500; Spain, 1,000; France 2,000 children; Belgium 200 mostly children. Turkey, 200 mostly children; Switzerland 1,000 children.

Previous commitment to admit all escaping to Turkey has been approved and all other commitments, except those for Spain and Portugal are to be met from above allocation. Monthly rate of admissions is subject to revision in January. Remainder of white paper quota will be reallocated when present allocation nearly completed.

If immigrants are brought in from unincorporated countries or more than indicated from any included country, other will be decreased correspondingly.

Jewish Agency is pressing for increased monthly rate and for the eligibility of adults from France and Switzerland.

TERMINATION

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 8 1972

CONTROL COPY

000867

Collective

I was by R. H. Parks

PARAPHRASE OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM: American Consulate General, Jerusalem
TO: Secretary of State, Washington
DATED: August 31, 1944
NUMBER: 123

CONTROL COPY

With reference to cable No. 84 of June 26, for first seven months of 1944 the total Jewish immigration to Palestine was 9348. 5290 from Europe were included in this figure. As of July 31, state of white paper quota was as follows: Vacancies amounted to 18,000 against which there were approximately 12,000 commitments, leaving approximately 6000 actual vacancies. The 12,000 commitments consisted of approximately 5000 for unused past quotas (including 2000 reserved provisionally for wives of soldiers, deserters from armies REG), 2000 reserved for next sixty days for persons escaping from Rumania, and 5000 certificates allotted to protesting power for veteran Zionist party members. Individuals from liberated areas and safe countries, including North Africa, Portugal and Spain allowed to enter only in unusual separate instances approved in Jerusalem, although refugees continue to be allowed to enter without limitation as to numbers through Turkey. As Jewish Agency understands Aden Government may return Yeminite refugees to Yemen unless provision is made for their upkeep (which the Joint Distribution Committee has arranged for up to this time), the Jewish Agency continues to urge allotment covering such refugees now in Aden. The Jewish Agency has been advised by Joint

Distribution

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date **SEP** 8 1972

000868

No. 123 - #2

Distribution Committee that after September 3, it will be unable to continue.

20,000 illegal immigrants and 37,000 legal immigrants
were charged against quota of 75,000 to July 31.

FINKERTON

DCR:GPW 9-2-44

000269

Palestine

K/fb

Muse
June 6, 44.

24. Palestine project:

This is urgent and will require your immediate attention. There are 15 Palestine certificates available but the persons must arrive in Palestine by the 30th of June. You and Mr Heler (representing the Jewish agency) are empowered to select candidates. Heler is very anxious to send native Jews but I have made it clear to him that these certificates are intended for foreign refugees only. Talk to Mr Martin or Mr Whittington of the British Consulate re the standards of selection. Heler should be asked to handle the French formalities required. You will have to see ^{Col.} Major Crean regarding clearance of these individuals by Allied security officers. You will have to see Major Richards re the ship transportation for this group. Among the group to be considered are a few in Moe Beckelman's camp. There are also a few persons in North Africa who already possess certificates and they should be included in the transport.

Later Major Richards will be able to move this group about June 20. Push Heler to get the list of names together and then you take it personally to Col. Crean. In addition to clearing it himself, he must wire Middle East Command for permission for these immigrants to enter that area.

This whole thing will be a rush job.

Taken from Mr. Ackerman's files

000870

Palatine
DEPARTMENT
OF
STATE

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

LC - 458
This telegram must be
paraphrased before being
communicated to anyone
other than a Government
Agency.

Jerusalem
dated June 5, 1944
Rec'd 4:10 p.m.

CONTROL COPY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 7 1944
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS & RECORDS

Handwritten notes:
md
C. M.
Belle
File
JF

Secretary of State,
Washington.

77, June 5, noon.
X

Group of 769 Jewish immigrants arrived in Palestine
via Egypt on evening of June 2. 571 came from Italy
on Polish steamer BATORI and 198 came from Yemen.
Among those coming from Italy were 192 Czechoslovaks,
178 Yugoslavs, 113 Poles and 56 Austrians, largely
from Ferramonte, Santa Maria and Bari concentration
camps.

PINKERTON

JT-EJH

000871

APR 22 1944

Dear Mr. Leavitt:

The following message for you from Dr. Joseph Schwartz was received from Lisbon under date of April 20, 1944:

"Barlas supplies following figures concerning emigration services from Turkey to Palestine from December 1943 to March 31, 1944. Local Turkish residents 1084 of whom 194 required assistance. From Bulgaria 276 including 46 children who arrived in March. From Hungary 169, from Greece 176, from Rumania 285, which includes 239 SS MILCA passengers who arrived March. Financial statements not yet ready but will advise as soon as available. Thus far Turkish repatriates arriving from France No. 340 of whom 175 receiving assistance which over a period of 6 weeks amounted 14,000 Turkish pounds. Resnik advises passengers boarding both steamships MILCA and MARITZA at Constanza were required to pay fantastic sums."

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Peble

J. W. Peble
Executive Director

Mr. Moses A. Leavitt,
Secretary,
American Jewish Joint
Distribution Committee,
270 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

FH:lab 4/22/44

000872

AMT-558

CONTROL COPY

PLAIN

Lisbon

Dated April 20, 1944

Rec'd 3:50 p.m.

2 - War Refugee Bd (M. B. H.)

*4/21/44
Needs app sent
to Board
JBS 7*

Secretary of State,
Washington.

1176, Twentieth, 11 a.m.

Following message is from Joseph Schwartz for War Refugee Board and Leavitt, Joint Distribution Committee, New York.

"Barlas supplies following figures concerning emigration services from Turkey to Palestine from December 1943 to March 31, 1944. Local Turkish residents 1084 of whom 194 required assistance. From Bulgaria 276 including 46 children who arrived in March. From Hungary 169, from Greece 176, from Rumania 285, which includes 239 SS MILCA passengers who arrived March. Financial statements not yet ready but will advise as soon as available. Thus far Turkish repatriates arriving from France No. 340 of whom 175 receiving assistance which over a period of 6 weeks amounted 14,000 Turkish pounds. Resnik advises passengers boarding both steamships MILCA and MARITZA at Constanza were required to pay fantastic sums."

NORWEB

PP

000873

*5. War Refugee Bd
(Mr. Pehle)*

CONTROL COPY

AIRGRAM

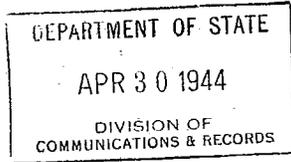
FROM AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL

Jerusalem

Dated April 18, 1944

Courier departure: April 22, 1944;
6 a.m.

Rec'd: Apr 29 5:30



Secretary of State
Washington

A-19 April 18, 1944; 3 p.m.

Yesterday, in a conversation with the Chief Secretary of the Government of Palestine, I referred to the talk which I had had with Dr. Bernard Joseph on April 7th concerning the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine in the immediate future. The Chief Secretary informed me that Dr. Joseph's statements with regard to the Government's policy were without foundation and that the admission of Jewish refugees from German-occupied Europe would continue without interruption until the maximum number (75,000) permitted by the 1939 White Paper had actually arrived in the country. He added that such questions as (a) the admission of additional persons and (b) the honoring of earmarked certificates after their use for the admission of persons other than the original beneficiaries, were matters of major policy which could only be settled by the British Government in London.

PIREKERTON

NYC, da

000874

In reply please
refer to: 415

APR 7 1944

Dear Rabbi Sherer:

Thank you for your letter of March 30,
1944, quoting, for our information, a telegram
sent by your organization to the British Ambassador
in Washington.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Pehle
Executive Director

Rabbi Morris Sherer,
Executive Director,
Agudath Israel Youth Council
of America, Inc.,
113 West 42nd Street,
Suite 600,
New York 18, New York.

EJW RBHutchinson:agr 4-4-44

000875

AGUDATH ISRAEL YOUTH COUNCIL OF AMERICA, Inc.

W. R. B.
Filing Authority

Executive Offices: London - Jerusalem - Zurich

To: Files
Ans.113 West 42nd Street,
Suite 500No. Ans. Reg. 18, N.Y.
Initial
Date 1/1/53

March 30, 1944

Mr. John W. Pehle, Director
War Refugee Board
U.S. Treasury Building
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The following telegram was sent by our organization to the British Ambassador in Washington, and we humbly ask you to exert your good offices with the British Government that the doors of Palestine remain open for Jewish refugees, independent of any political considerations effecting the future status of Palestine.

"ON THE EVE OF MARCH 31ST, WHEN THE PROVISIONS OF THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER BARRING FURTHER JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE ARE SCHEDULED TO GO INTO EFFECT AND THE JEWISH POPULATION OF PALESTINE WILL HAVE TO ENDURE DISCRIMINATIONS, 10,000 YOUNG AMERICANS OF THE TRADITIONAL JEWISH FAITH, RABBIS AND LAYMEN, REPRESENTED BY AGUDATH ISRAEL YOUTH COUNCIL OF AMERICA, CONSIDER IT THEIR HOLY DUTY TO CALL TO THE ATTENTION OF H.M. GOVERNMENT THE FACT THAT THE ENFORCEMENT OF SUCH A DISCRIMINATORY POLICY IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL BY DIVINE PROMISE, WILL HAVE A SHOCKING EFFECT AMONG THE MILLIONS OF JEWS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHO TRUST IN THE GOOD FAITH OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND WHO SUPPORT TO THEIR UTMOST THE CAUSE OF BRITAIN, WHICH IS THE CAUSE OF OUR AMERICA. WE REFUSE TO BELIEVE THAT AT A TIME WHEN THE DOORS OF PALESTINE ARE OPEN TO POLES, GREEKS, YUGOSLAVS AND OTHER REFUGEES ESCAPING NAZI TYRANNY, THE GATES OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL WILL BE CLOSED TO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL KNOCKING AT THE DOORS OF THE COUNTRY WHICH IS THEIR HAVEN BY THE WORD OF THE LORD. IN FOLLOWING TRULY THE MESSAGE OF THE PROPHET, WE "SHALL NOT REMAIN SILENT FOR THE SAKE OF ZION", WE APPEAL TO H.M. GOVERNMENT TO OPEN THE DOORS OF THE HOLY LAND INDEPENDENT OF ANY POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS AS TO THE FUTURE STATUS OF PALESTINE, TO JEWISH REFUGEES WHOSE VERY LIVES ARE THREATENED BY THE MOST GODLESS OF TYRANNIES. WE PRAY FOR A SPEEDY VICTORY OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED NATIONS,

000876

To Mr. John W. Pehle

AND WE ASK YOU TO PLEASE TRANSMIT OUR FEELINGS TO
H.M. GOVERNMENT. WE ANTICIPATE RESPECTFULLY TO HEAR
FROM YOU SOON ON THIS SUBJECT."

Respectfully yours,
AGUDATH ISRAEL YOUTH COUNCIL

Morris Sherer
Rabbi Morris Sherer
Executive Director

MS/es

000877



CONTROL COPY

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Cairo, April 4, 1944.

WT

*3 War Refugee Board Files
3 MR 13
1 War Refugee Board*

No. 1723.

Subject: Transmitting Memorandum from Representative of New Zionist Organization Regarding Opposition to Passage of Joint Resolution on Palestine.

War Refugee Board 5-11-44

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S=L
2 SP 7/13*

OK

The Honorable,
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

JWW

Referring to my despatch no. 1640 of March 6, 1944 transmitting a memorandum from the local representative of the New Zionist organization objecting to the protest to the Congressional Resolution on Palestine made by the Egyptian Government, I have the honor to transmit herewith another memorandum from the same source (Mr. Albert Staraselski, representative in Egypt of Dr. Altman, Director of the Political Bureau of the New Zionist Organization, World Presidency, in Palestine) protesting against the reported shelving of the Resolution on grounds of military expediency. In presenting the memorandum Mr. Staraselski observed that, although the wording was his, the arguments adduced were in accordance with directives received from Mr. Altman, who might also be taking action in the matter. The following is a summary of the memorandum:

The creation of the War Refugee Board was cited as indicating the intention of the President to place the rescue of victims of Nazi cruelty, particularly Jews, on the level of an Allied strategic objective and the formation of the Board in addition to the previously existing Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees was interpreted as meaning that the task of the Board was of an especially urgent nature which could not await the end of hostilities. The fact that the Secretaries of War and Navy had been included in the Board was taken as added proof of the military character of its mission. The New Zionist organization endorsed the Board in this capacity.

The

The memorandum then went on to argue that the Balkans were the only avenue of escape for persecuted European Jews and Palestine the only logical destination for most of them because of both the inadequacy of transport to carry them to more distant destinations and the lack of a large absorptive capacity in the Western Hemisphere. The use of Palestine for this purpose would of course necessitate the revision of the White Paper as called for by the Congressional Resolution which had been side-tracked on the excuse of military considerations. The cogency of arguing that military considerations should prevail was admitted but it was argued that logical deductions on that premise should have been in the contrary sense since "Arab opposition is of a civilian character and could always be dealt with on an administrative and police level." The United Nations have ample means at their disposal to handle the situation provided they really desire to do so and the precedents of the repression of the Iraqi revolution and of the military action in Iran were cited as examples of the use of force in this area which had been undertaken without prior consultation with Arab leaders but still had not provoked any serious opposition.

The question, therefore, says the memorandum, is to determine whether the rescue of the Jews, which is believed to be correctly defined as a war objective, is regarded as of sufficient importance not to be counterbalanced by the prospect of possible Arab reaction which could be taken care of on an administrative and police level. If so, there is every reason to believe that the competent authorities could handle the situation with a minimum of difficulty; if not, it can only be assumed that the United Nations are avoiding action on an urgent task of great strategic importance for local political reasons of a civilian nature.

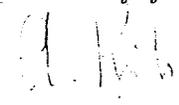
After inferentially comparing the service of Jews and Arabs in the Allied forces, the memorandum concludes with the hope (1) that President Roosevelt will maintain and reaffirm that the rescue of millions of Jews from Europe constitutes a high obligation of strategic importance to the United States, (2) that the United States General Staff should reconsider its attitude in the light of the foregoing, and (3) that the military measures necessary to achieve this end should be decided on and carried through regardless of any civilian obstacles, i.e.

Arab

Arab opposition, which may stand in the way. End summary.

In its frankly intransigent tone the memorandum merely constitutes a normal application to this specific problem of the conventional uncompromising New Zionist policy as enounced by Dr. Altman in his various past conversations with officers of this Legation in the course of which he has consistently maintained that he regarded any attempt by the Jews to come to an agreement with the Arabs as futile, that the only means of reaching a solution must be by crushing Arab opposition under threat or use of force, and that the most propitious time to take such action is during the war when the Allies have large military forces in the area available for the purpose. In this respect, Dr. Altman has on occasion been heard to speak disparagingly of other Zionist advocates, particularly the members of the Jewish Agency, as being insincere since, he maintains, they see the situation essentially as he does but do not deem it expedient to say so openly.

Respectfully yours,


Alexander Kirk

✓
Enclosure:

Memorandum dated March 31, 1944 from the Representative in Egypt of Dr. Altman, Director of the Political Bureau of the New Zionist Organization, World Presidency.

Copy to the American Consulate General at Jerusalem.

Sent to the Department in original.
file no. 800.
RAM/rq

Par la création du War Board for Refugees, le président Roosevelt a sans aucun doute tenu à placer la question du sauvetage des victimes de la barbarie nazie, plus spécialement celui des Juifs, sur son véritable plan, - à savoir qu'il s'agit d'un des points importants de la stratégie des Nations Unies, au même titre que, par exemple, la libération des territoires occupés par l'ennemi. Autrement, il n'y aurait point d'explication à la formation de ce nouvel organisme spécial, à son nom et à son mandat pas plus qu'à sa composition en dehors du Comité Intergouvernemental pour les Réfugiés qui existe depuis plusieurs années déjà et dont les Etats-Unis font partie. En effet, il est devenu apparent, même pour les profanes, que d'une part on ne saurait espérer arracher sa proie au bourreau raciste par les moyens ordinaires de l'appel à la conscience humaine et que, d'autre part, cette tâche ne peut attendre la fin des hostilités. Car, selon les paroles mêmes de M. Pehle, Directeur du War Board for Refugees, d'ici quelques mois il n'y aurait probablement plus personne à sauver, "no more job to do".

Une confirmation de cette manière de voir est fournie par le fait que le président Roosevelt a inclus, parmi les personnalités responsables de la réalisation du programme du War Board for Refugees, M. Henry Stimson, Secrétaire d'Etat à la Guerre, et le colonel Knox, Secrétaire d'Etat à la Marine. Leur nomination implique que l'oeuvre à accomplir comporte des initiatives et des obligations qui ressortissent à l'autorité de leurs deux Départements. Ainsi donc il a été établi, par la volonté expresse du président Roosevelt, que le sauvetage de millions de Juifs menacés d'être exterminés est considéré par les Etats-Unis comme un objectif de guerre. C'est dans ce sens que l'Organisation Sioniste Nouvelle, avec le judaïsme universel, a accueilli et salué cette décision, et l'adhésion que M. Eden, à la tribune de la Chambre des Communes, y a apportée au nom du Gouvernement du Royaume Uni n'a pu qu'en renforcer le caractère interallié.

Or il est évident que les Juifs d'Europe, qui peuvent encore être sauvés - mais pour combien de temps? - ne sauraient l'être qu'à travers les Balkans et doivent donc être acheminés sur un pays à proximité. Par ailleurs, l'hypothèse de les évacuer sur des destinations transocéaniques doit être exclue, pour plusieurs raisons évidentes. D'abord, il y faudrait des moyens de transport maritime et d'escorte navale qui grèveraient la stratégie des Nations Unies dans une mesure sensible. Ensuite, il n'apparaît pas que l'on puisse raisonnablement excompter une large capacité d'absorption dans les régions de l'hémisphère occidental. A cet égard, nous nous permettons de citer la déclaration de M. Niddle, Attorney-General des Etats-Unis, qui a déclaré récemment qu'il n'y aurait pas d'inconvénient à laisser entrer en Amérique le même nombre de 28,000 Juifs qui, en moyenne, y pénétraient annuellement au cours de la dernière décennie. Il va de soi que les autres pays ne pourraient en recevoir que beaucoup moins encore. Ces chiffres suffisent à démontrer que pareille solution est tout à fait hors de proportion avec l'ampleur du problème à résoudre et qui porte sur des centaines de milliers d'immigrants éventuels.

D'autre part, aucune contrée du Moyen Orient, en dehors de la Palestine, n'est en état ni ne manifeste un désir quelconque de les

accueillir.

accueillir. Il reste donc que seule la Palestine est capable d'hospitaliser cette masse de réfugiés, dans les conditions actuelles. Mais il faudrait à cet effet révoquer les dispositions drastiquement restrictives édictées par le Livre Blanc de 1939 et telle était bien la portée de la résolution présentée devant le Sénat et la Chambre des Représentants. Toutefois, l'Etat-major américain, représenté par le général Marshall et soutenu par M. Stimson, a cru devoir s'opposer devant les Commissions des Relations Extérieures du Congrès, à ce que cette motion soit soumise à la discussion et au vote parlementaires. S'expliquant sur cette démarche, lors de sa dernière conférence de presse, le président Roosevelt a déclaré aux journalistes qu'il s'agissait d'une mesure dictée par des considérations militaires auxquelles les considérations civiles doivent être subordonnées pendant la durée des hostilités. Ce principe est tout à fait juste. Mais nous croyons que, précisément, il devrait militer en faveur des réfugiés et de l'adoption du projet de résolution ci-dessus évoqué.

Les réactions arabes, dont la prévision a induit l'Etat-major américain à se prononcer comme il l'a fait, sont de l'ordre civil et porteraient, si elles venaient effectivement à se produire, sur un domaine administratif et policier. Il est incontestable que les Nations Unies ont toutes les ressources utiles pour venir à bout des difficultés envisagées, pourvu qu'elles en aient la volonté. Des précédents éloquents ont été établis lorsqu'il s'est agi de réprimer la rébellion d'Irak et la conspiration axiste en Iran. Les diplomates alliés n'ont pas eu de peine à faire admettre par les leaders arabes que la stratégie des Nations Unies exigeait ces opérations, qui eurent lieu sans provoquer la moindre protestation sérieuse dans le Moyen Orient.

La question qui se pose est donc de savoir si, pour les Nations Unies, le sauvetage de millions de Juifs, en péril d'ansantissement, - que nous croyons avoir correctement défini comme un objectif de guerre, - est d'une importance suffisante pour ne pas être contre-balance par la nécessité de supposer les contre-coups possibles sur le plan administratif et policier. Dans l'affirmative, nous ne doutons pas que les autorités compétentes pourront prendre tous les aménagements utiles afin que cette oeuvre soit accomplie avec le minimum de heurts. Sinon, il faudra bien en déduire que, dans ce cas précis, les Nations Unies estiment devoir subordonner une tâche d'urgence et capitale stratégie à des raisons locales et politiques d'une nature essentiellement civile.

Au surplus, nous ne croyons pas pouvoir conclure sans évoquer, ne fût-ce que sommairement, la contribution militaire des Juifs à l'effort des Nations Unies du Moyen Orient. Dans cette zone, qui compte une population d'ensemble de 25 à 30 millions d'habitants, le seul apport effectif aux forces armées alliées est représenté par 30.000 engagés volontaires juifs dans les unités britanniques, sans compter 10.000 agents surnuméraires juifs de sécurité cantonnés en Palestine, même. Il convient d'y ajouter 20.000 soldats juifs dans le corps expéditionnaire de la Grande Bretagne dans le Moyen Orient (selon une déclaration du Ministre de la Guerre du Cabinet Churchill) et des dizaines de milliers de combattants juifs dans les différentes armées alliées: sud-africaine, française, polonaise, hellénique, yougoslave, ainsi que - last but not least - les soldats juifs qui font partie des effectifs américains. Si les sentiments des facteurs en présence sont à prendre en considération, ce sera là un aspect de la situation qu'on ne peut reconnaître en toute équité.

En

KEM-620

CONTROL COPY

PLAIN

Ankara

Dated March 30, 1944

Rec'd 10:50 a.m., 31st.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

APR 1 1944

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS & RECORDS

Secretary of State,
Washington.

574, Thirtieth.

Remark^ying that Britain and America are inclined to support Jewish cause in Palestine Ushakligil declares in SOF POSTA of twenty-eighth that politics and interests are nevertheless interfering with such tendencies. So far as England is concerned, he continues, American rivalry has already made itself manifest in Mediterranean and Russian rivalry may also make itself felt in same area tomorrow. Friendship with Arab world may therefore serve as effective insurance against such developments. As concerns America she now has petroleum problem in Mediterranean and making enemies of Arab countries would therefore be unwise. Postponement of distant future of discussions in United States of creation of a Jewish state in compliance with suggestion of American Chief of Staff has been prompted by foregoing considerations. Consequently Palestinian question can, editorial asserts, be viewed

as follows:

000883

-2- #574, March 30, from Ankara.

as follows: for England necessity of winning friendship of Arab world in face of possible rivalries, and for America policy of not irritation Mediterranean countries in view of new petroleum policy.

STEINHARDT

WSB

000884



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

*File
JMA*

March 21, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. PEHLE

I have received and I am placing in Mr. Stettinius' hands your memorandum of March 20 written for him at his suggestion for possible use in discussions with the British.

H. K. ...



000885

March 20, 1944.

FOR MR. STETTINIUS:

Pursuant to your suggestion, the following are my personal views on the position which this Administration should take in discussing with the British the problem of Palestine as a war-time refuge.

(1) Apparently this Administration has supported the British position against making a decision at this time in favor of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine. The War Department has expressed the view that the announcement of such a decision now might interfere with Allied military efforts.

The result has been the forestalling of passage by the Congress of a Resolution which tied up the question of the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine with the question of immigration into Palestine.

(2) There is every reason to believe, however, that a resolution will be introduced shortly dealing solely with the question of unlimited immigration of Jews into Palestine. Those backing this resolution will base their support on the grounds that the basic obstacle which has interfered with rescuing the Jews of Europe from death has been the simple fact that the United Nations have not been prepared to supply even temporary havens of refuge for substantial numbers of these persecuted people.

I should think it would be difficult to argue that the passage of such a resolution would interfere with Allied military efforts. And the resolution, having as its basis the saving of lives, should have little opposition in Congress.

(3) I suggest that in their own interests, as well as for humanitarian reasons, the British should immediately take the bull by the horns and announce that any Jews escaping from Hitler may be brought into Palestine on a temporary basis.

000886

It would be made clear that the Jews so brought in would be placed in camps in Palestine where they would remain until the termination of the war -- at which time they would be returned to their homelands.

The principal United Nations involved have already agreed that each of them will receive after the war its nationals who have fled for their lives and have been given asylum in other countries. These nations have also agreed that it is a part of their settled policy to assure such conditions in enemy and enemy occupied countries as will permit the return thereto of all persons displaced therefrom who have sought refuge elsewhere. This agreement, already concurred in by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Luxembourg, Yugoslavia, Norway, The French Committee, Greece, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Netherlands will help make clear to those concerned that such refugees as may be accepted in camps in Palestine will be returned to their homelands at the end of the war.

By taking such a step, the British will not only be able to meet most of the criticism which is being levied against them on the Palestine question, but of more importance will make a major contribution toward the success of our joint efforts to prevent the extermination of the Jewish people of Europe.

(Signed J. W. Pehle

3/21 - cc: Messrs. Pehle, Luxford, Friedman, Lesser and Miss Model.

no
JWP
JED:JWPehle:lhk 3/20/44

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2 - Wa - Refugee Bd
~~RESTRICTED~~
(Mrs Peble)

GHH - 692
This telegram must be
paraphrased before being
communicated to anyone
other than a Government
agency. (BR)

Cairo
Dated March 4, 1944
Rec'd 10:30 a.m., 6th

Secretary of State,
Washington.

502, March 4, p a.m.

Press continuing to report developments in connection with Congressional resolution on Palestine including reference to action in other Arab countries, reply to Senator Wagner to President of Iraqi Senate and praise of Egypt's action by Palestine Arabs. Only comments thus far have been in AL BALAGH which finds that Egyptian protest to American Government affords example of alertness of Nahas Pasha in matters concerning Arab world and of close collaboration of Arab countries as previously demonstrated in Lebanese crisis and in Alahram which yesterday prefaced news despatches on subject by observing that from opinion in American circles it would appear that such resolutions introduced on personal political basis by sponsors and not to be interpreted as expressions of official American Government policy.

KIRK

CSB

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Waghyfuzee
Bd (m)
(Beble)

GAR-698

This telegram must be paraphrased before being communicated to any one other than a Government Agency. (BR)

Cairo ✓

Dated March 4, 1944

Rec'd 10:42 a.m., 6th

Secretary of State

Washington

503, March 4, 11 a.m.

Following is essential part of communications left with me last night by El Sayyid Hussein El Kobsi representative of King Yemen in recent Arab Union discussions, regarding proposed congressional resolution on Palestine:

"His Majesty The King of Yemen and Commander of the Faithful, Yehya Ibn Mohamed Hamid El Dine and His Majesty's Government disapprove of the resolution submitted to the American Congress designed to remove restrictions imposed on the immigration of Jews into Palestine. His Majesty disapproves everything that causes trouble to the rightful owners of Palestine - Moslems, Christians and native Jews -- and although he condemns every cruelty to which Jews in Europe are subjected he does not consider that it justifies the oppression of the Arabs of Palestine in their own

legal

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-2- #503, March 4, 11 a.m. from Cairo

legal abode".

Text of communication was carried in this morning's
AL MISRI in verbatim form except for omission of phrase
"Moslems Christians and Jews"

REPEATED TO JERUSALEM, JIDDA, BAGHDAD AND BEIRUT

KIRK

MRM

000890

The Star 2/16/44

Jewish-Arab Issue Debated in House

By the Associated Press.

Congress was warned by one witness yesterday that creation of a Jewish state in Palestine would disrupt Allied relations with the Arabs, but another declared that the Jewish people had made a good contribution in this war, while the Arabs had "done next to nothing" for the United Nations.

The statements were made during a hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on a resolution urging continuation of Jewish immigration into Palestine so it may eventually be reconstituted as a Jewish commonwealth.

Dr. Phillip K. Hitti of Princeton University, a native of Lebanon, told the committee that the German propaganda machine would capitalize on the resolution as "another sample of Anglo-American diplomacy" threatening usurpation of the Arabs' rights. He added:

"Will the people of the United States be willing to send their Navy to protect a Jewish commonwealth if it is established?"

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, representing the Zionist Organization of America, said the Arabs had played an insignificant part in the liberation of Palestine from Turkish control during the World War and that "the Arabs have done next to nothing for the United Nations in this crisis."

"On the other hand," he continued, "we (the Jews) had to keep down the figures of our enlistment (30,000) in the British Army in order not to outnumber the Arabs."

000291

MEMORANDUM

February 16, 1944

Stettinius called me today at 2:55 and said that Sir Ronald Campbell was in his office discussing the certificate matter. Campbell said discussions had been had on this matter in the past with the State Department when those matters were being handled by Breckinridge Long and that he did not quite understand the gap between the previous discussions and the request now being made. According to Stettinius the British are not disinclined to accede to this request, but want to know whether that is all we want them to do. Stettinius suggested that we have George Warren dig into the background of this in the State Department with Keeley, etc., and get in touch with Hyster, the British Embassy man, and go into the matter thoroughly. I told Stettinius we could do this.



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C
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Y

*Legislation -
Refugee matters*

Date February 12, 1944

TO Mr. Luxford
FROM Mr. Marks

Re: Hearings on February 8 and 9, 1944 before the
Committee on Foreign Affairs concerning House
Resolutions Nos. 418 and 419--78th Congress,
Second Session, relating to the Establishment
of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The Resolution

House Resolution No. 418 introduced by Representative Wright
of Pennsylvania reads as follows:

"Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the
United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved
'that the United States of America favors the establish-
ment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish
people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall
be done which may prejudice the civil and religious
rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities
in Palestine and that the holy places and religious
buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately
protected'; and

"Whereas the ruthless persecution of the
Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated
the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the
large numbers who have become homeless as a result
of this persecution: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the United States shall use
its good offices and take appropriate measures to
the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened
for free entry of Jews into that country, and that
there shall be full opportunity for colonization,
so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute
Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

House Resolution No. 419, introduced by Representative Compton
of Connecticut, is an identical measure.

000893

Political and Historical Background^{1/}

October 24, 1915--Great Britain recognized and agreed to support the independence of the Arabs in certain specified areas. There is a dispute as to whether or not Palestine was included in this area.^{2/}

November 2, 1917--Mr. Balfour, Great Britain's principal Secretary of State on Foreign Affairs issued what has since come to be known as "The Balfour Declaration", promising to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.^{3/} Before being transmitted to Lord Rothschild the Balfour Declaration was submitted to and approved by the British Cabinet.^{4/}

March 3, 1919, President Wilson stated:

"I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."^{5/2}

June 3, 1922, a copy of the 1922 British Statement of Policy was sent by the British Colonial Office to the Zionist Organization with the request that the Zionist Organization accept the policy set forth therein. This Statement of Policy restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine to the limit of the economic absorptive capacity of the country.^{6/}

^{1/} The information contained herein was taken from a pamphlet entitled "The Jewish National Home in Palestine" which was prepared by Chairman Sol Bloom for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It should be pointed out that this pamphlet is extremely pro-Jewish in its treatment of the Palestinian question. All footnote references will be to page numbers in the above pamphlet.

^{2/} p. 3 of the pamphlet referred to supra, footnote 1.

^{3/} The Balfour Declaration reads as follows:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country."

^{4/} Id. at p. 5
^{5/} Id. at p. 42
^{5/} Id. at p. 43
^{6/} Id. at p. 98

June 18, 1922—the Zionist Organization accepted the restrictions set forth in the British Statement of Policy. ^{7/} Before confirmation by the League of Nations of the subsequent British Mandate over Palestine, the communications of June 3, 1922 and June 18, 1922 were sent to the League Council for its information.^{8/}

September 21, 1922—Congress passed a joint resolution, introduced by Senator Lodge and Representative Fish, reading as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected."^{9/}

September 29, 1923—Great Britain assumed the League of Nations' Mandate over Palestine. The preamble of this Mandate places upon the Mandatory responsibility for putting into effect the Balfour Declaration.^{10/}

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- ^{7/} Id. at p. 98
^{8/} Id. at p. 99
^{9/} Id. at p. 5

^{10/} The relative portions of the preamble to the British Mandate over Palestine read as follows:

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on the 2nd November, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

"Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; * * *."

Id. at pp. 10-11

December 3, 1925—a Convention between United States and Great Britain consented to Great Britain's administration of Palestine pursuant to the League of Nations' Mandate of September 29, 1923.^{11/} Article 7 of this Convention provides that the United States shall not recognize any modifications of the terms of the Mandate, unless such modification has been consented to by the United States.^{12/}

1935-1939—Arab terrorism was rampant in Palestine.^{13/}

May, 1939—the British Parliament approved the British White Paper on Palestine, declaring that it is not the policy of the British Government that Palestine should become a Jewish State, for such a policy would be contrary to the Mandatory's obligations to the Arabs under the League of Nations' Mandate.^{14/} The British White Paper provides specifically that:

"After the period of five years no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it."

The Paper provided further:

"His Majesty's Government are satisfied, that when the immigration over five years which is now contemplated has taken place, they will not be justified in facilitating, nor will they under any obligation to facilitate, the further development of the Jewish National Home by immigration regardless of the wishes of the Arab population."^{15/}

The five year period referred to in the White Paper expires in April, 1944. However, there are still approximately 30,000 Jews admissible into Palestine after that date, as the available quotas are not yet exhausted.

May, 1939—Winston Churchill,^{16/} Archibald Sinclair,^{17/}

^{11/} Article 1 of the above Convention, quoted on page 18 of the pamphlet referred to supra, footnote 1.

^{12/} Id. at p. 19

^{13/} Id. at p. 64

^{14/} Id. at p. 22

^{15/} Id. at p. 28

^{16/} Id. at pp. 78-85

^{17/} Id. at pp. 72-77

Herbert Morrison,^{18/} the Archbishop of Canterbury^{19/} and others in Parliament and the House of Lords expressed opposition to the British White Paper as a renunciation of international obligations and covenants solemnly assumed by Great Britain.

Hearings before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

February 8, 1944—Morning Session from 10.10 to 12.50.

Chairman Bloom of the House Foreign Affairs Committee announced that a similar measure which had been introduced before the Senate was approved by both the majority and minority leaders of the Senate.

Before any of the witnesses had an opportunity to testify, Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts, and another member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee inquired of Mr. Bloom whether the Chairman had requested the view of the Department of State concerning the resolution under consideration. Mr. Bloom replied that the Committee welcomes the view of all interested persons and departments. Upon further questioning, Mr. Bloom answered that he would have no objection to having a State Department representative testify before the Committee concerning the official views of that Department on the resolution under consideration.

Representative Eaton of New Jersey stated that a number of his constituents were interested in knowing the name of the author of the resolution under consideration. Mr. Bloom did not know, but promised to obtain this information. Subsequently, while testifying during the afternoon session, Representative Herter of Massachusetts stated that he had drafted a similar resolution in September 1943 which, however, had not been introduced. Representative Herter expressed the belief that the present resolution was based on his earlier draft.

Representative McCormack of Massachusetts, majority leader of the House, Representative Martin of Massachusetts, minority leader of the House, and Representatives Rolph of California, Talbot of Connecticut and Eberharter of Pennsylvania, all testified in favor of the resolution.

Representative Celler of New York testified at some length. He asserted that passage of the resolution under consideration would be completely in accord with the spirit of the Presidential directive creating a War Refugee Board. In effect, this resolution, according to Mr. Celler, would be a request to the British Government to abrogate the MacDonald White Paper restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine. In 1937, Representative Celler pointed out, the United States Ambassador to Great Britain asserted that under the terms of the 1924 Convention between the United States and Great Britain no change in the status of

^{18/} Id. at pp. 67-71

^{19/} Id. at pp. 34-67

Palestine could take place without the consent of the United States. Inasmuch as the White Paper had never been approved by the United States Government, it violated the terms of the Convention of 1924, according to Representative Celler. Representative Celler added further that when the White Paper was subsequently submitted by the British Government to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, it was formally rejected. The British Government was prevented by the outbreak of the war from submitting the Paper to the higher authority of the League Council. Thus concluded Representative Celler, the White Paper is illegal and a violation of Great Britain's international obligations. Mr. Celler ended with a paraphrase of Cato's Cathargo delenda est, stating: "The White Paper must be destroyed."

Representative Hamilton Fish affirmed his support for the resolution under consideration by the Foreign Affairs Committee. During his statement Representative Fish caused much mirth by repeatedly expressing his dissatisfaction with the pamphlet referred to supra because of its omission to mention that Mr. Fish was co-sponsor of the Congressional Resolution of 1922. Mr. Fish registered his disagreement with Zionists who believe that Palestine is the only possible future haven for the Jews. Mr. Fish adverted to his discussions with Viscount Halifax and the French Foreign Minister in 1939 concerning the possibility of establishing a Jewish homeland in sparsely inhabited parts of French or British territory. At this juncture, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee pointed out that the Presidential directive establishing the War Refugee Board provides that "havens", not a "haven", shall be established for the Jews.

Mr. Fish, on questioning by Mrs. Rogers, stated that he could see no objection to asking for the State Department's views concerning the resolution under consideration. One member of the Committee asserted that he had been advised that Secretary of State Hull had filed a protest with the British Government in 1939 at the time of the issuance of the British White Paper.

Representative Eaton of New Jersey asked Representative Celler of New York what the latter had in mind when he referred to the "right" of the Jews to Palestine. Representative Celler replied that this "right" was based on the Balfour Declaration, which had been approved by the British Cabinet, and later by Congress in its Joint Resolution of 1922. The "right" was further premised on the American-British Convention of 1924 and also on the British Mandate over Palestine which had been approved by 52 member nations of the League of Nations. Mr. Celler pointed out further that the British White Paper was a violation of Article 15 of the British Mandate over Palestine which provides:

"No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole grounds of his religious belief".

Representative Celler asserted his agreement with Prime Minister Churchill's understanding of the British commitment in Palestine that the only restriction on Jewish immigration into the Holy Land was the economic capacity of Palestine to absorb them.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, testified before the Committee for approximately an hour concerning the history of the century old movement to restore the Jews to Palestine. Dr. Silver expressed disagreement with Representative Fish's statement that there are other havens for the Jews in addition to Palestine. He stated that there has been much talk about such havens, but nothing has ever been accomplished to establish them. Palestine, Dr. Silver pointed out, has been prepared for that very purpose for the past 20 years and is ready now to absorb many homeless Jews.

February 8, 1944--Afternoon Session from 2.30 to 5

Representative Wright of Pennsylvania, co-sponsor of the resolution stated briefly that the White Paper would freeze the Jews into a minority status in a country set aside as their homeland. Representatives Klein and Barry of New York also testified in favor of the resolution.

Dr. Karl Friedrich, a professor at Harvard University, who, though not a Jew, is an expert on the Palestinian question, testified at some length. According to Dr. Friedrich, there are at present approximately 550,000 Jews and 1,100,000 Arabs in Palestine. The Arab population 25 years ago apparently amounted to 60,000.

Dr. Friedrich asserted that too often in the past nothing had been done to implement policies such as that expressed in the resolution under consideration, and that facts, not words, were important. Mrs. Bolton of Ohio inquired whether by implementing action Dr. Friedrich referred to military action. The witness replied in the negative, and suggested the following specific lines of action which this Government ought to take in support of the policy expressed in the resolution under consideration: diplomatic pressure directed toward the abolition of present restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine and on the purchase of land in Palestine by Jews and directed also toward removal of all restrictions on the movement of goods in and out of Palestine. Dr. Friedrich suggested further that the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine would be much expanded if the Jews were given a freer opportunity to undertake the political and economic development of the Holy Land. The confusion implicit in the British Palestinian policy, British vacillation, etc. is hampering the economic development of the country, according to Dr. Friedrich. Finally Dr. Friedrich suggested that the Palestinian Mandate be enforced, if necessary, by an international police force acting under international authority. The above, according to Dr. Friedrich, would be "appropriate measures" to carry out the policy set forth in the proposed House Resolution.

Representative Vorys of Ohio inquired whether it would be possible to favor the passing of the proposed resolution without agreeing to all of Dr. Friedrich's points. The latter replied in the affirmative, asserting that the proposed resolution was an "opening wedge". Mrs. Bolton of Ohio asked Dr. Friedrich what he meant by an "opening wedge". He replied that he was referring to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Both Mrs. Bolton and Mr. Vorys appeared satisfied with this answer.*

Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America, stated that the immigration of two million Jews into Palestine would help considerably to alleviate the Jewish problem all over Europe, as two million Jews would amount to more than 40 per cent of those now remaining in Europe.^{20/} He urged further that the economic expansion of Palestine would be aided considerably if the administration of UNRRA adopted the policy of placing orders for manufactured articles in Palestine instead of importing such articles from abroad.

Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, President of the American Council for Judaism, expressed the agreement of his organization with the first part of the proposed House Resolution, but its disagreement with the part of the Resolution reading as follows:

"so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

The term "Jewish", according to Mr. Rosenwald, has a religious, not a national connotation, and the Jews have no desire whatsoever to be a political unit. The creation of a national Jewish State in Palestine, stated Mr. Rosenwald, would be an admission of a philosophy of defeatism. Mr. Rosenwald suggested specifically that the word "Jewish" be omitted from the quoted part of the resolution or alternatively that the second part be deleted altogether. Mr. Rosenwald's testimony obviously aroused much annoyance in the audience, which appeared to be made up in great part of Jews in sympathy with the statements of Drs. Goldstein and Silver.

February 9, 1944-Morning Session, from 10.40 to 12.30

A representative of the American Federation of Labor, Representative Dickstein of New York and Mrs. Epstein, the President of Hadassah, all testified in favor of the resolution.

^{20/} The Palestinian experts who testified appeared to be in agreement that Palestine could absorb two million more immigrants.

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It was obvious from the questions and remarks of the members of the Committee that many of them were sympathetic with the views of Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, who had testified the prior day. This was particularly true of Congressmen Vorys of Ohio, McMurray of Wisconsin, Eaton of New York, Bergin of North Carolina, Mundt of South Dakota and Congresswoman Bolton of Ohio. This sympathy was aroused somewhat by the aggressive attitude of Rabbis Silver and Goldstein in their rebuttal of Mr. Rosenwald's testimony in favor of either striking altogether or modifying the second half of the resolution. Rabbi Goldstein hinted that Mr. Rosenwald, a mere layman, had temerity to testify before a Congressional Committee on technical questions of Jewish theology. One of the members of the Committee (I believe it was Representative Mundt) remarked that the resolution under consideration related to a political rather than a theological question. He added that most Methodists like himself would not suffer ministers of their church to formulate the political opinions of the members of the church. Mrs. Bolton referred to the antithesis between a democratic state and a theocratic state such as that which seemed to be projected for Palestine by those having the views of Rabbis Goldstein and Silver. She pointed out that the form of government in the United States is premised on the cleavage between church and state. She indicated that before action is taken on the resolution under consideration, further consideration would have to be given by the Committee to this aspect of the question at hand, as minority groups in the United States ought not to demand or receive the support of the Government of the United States in problems affecting these minorities rather than the Government as a whole. Representative Vorys remarked, apparently for the edification of Rabbis Goldstein and Silver, that in the United States one is an American and nothing else. When Dr. Silver in replying to Mr. Rosenwald referred to Mrs. Bolgon's "view", she cut him short rather caustically by requesting him not to attribute to her a view which she had not expressed. Representative Eaton asked Dr. Silver with some irony whether he would favor the establishment of a Jewish state in New York City. The Chairman ruled this question out as "dirty".

February 9, 1944--Afternoon Session--2.05 to 5.30

Representatives Scardoff of Wisconsin and Meyers and Weiss of Pennsylvania, Rabbi Gold, representing an orthodox religious branch of the Zionist movement, and the President of the Christian Council on Palestine all testified in favor of the resolution under consideration.

Dr. Walter Lautermilk, an expert for 30 years in the Department of Agriculture who has had an opportunity to study the problem of erosion in the Near East and many other parts of the world, warmly praised the Jewish agricultural accomplishments on the arid soil of Palestine. Representative Mundt asked Dr. Lautermilk a number of questions concerning the meaning of the term "economic absorptive capacity".

Dr. Lautermilk did not restrict the definition of this term to the number of people that a given area of land has the agricultural capacity to feed. In defining the term Dr. Lautermilk also took into consideration the possibility of industrial and other types of expansion in the area, other than agricultural. With the foreign exchange earned in other than agricultural pursuits, he pointed out, the area will be able to import food for its inhabitants, and thus support many more persons than it is agriculturally capable of feeding. Representative Mundt termed Dr. Lautermilk's definition of the term "absorptive capacity" meaningless. Representative Mundt pointed out that under Dr. Lautermilk's definition Manhattan Island would have an absorptive capacity of perhaps ten million. In other words, the "absorptive capacity" of an area is, under Dr. Lautermilk's definition, related not only to the soil, but also to the imagination and creative capacity of its inhabitants. Dr. Lautermilk pointed out that under Representative Mundt's restricted definition, England has the capacity to absorb only two-thirds of its present population.

Rabbi Wolsey of the American Council of Judaism endorsed the view of Mr. Rosenwald that Judaism is a religion and nothing more. The Rabbi recommended the striking out of the second part of the resolution under consideration, reading:

"so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

The members of the Committee manifested interest in Dr. Wolsey's statement. Representative Chipperfield of Illinois seemed to join the ranks of the members of the Committee who in the morning session had appeared to sympathize with Mr. Rosenwald. Chairman Bloom, who obviously favored the Goldstein, Silver viewpoint, pointed out, in order to highlight the minority view represented by Mr. Rosenwald and Dr. Wolsey, that out of the thousands of letters which the Committee had received from Jews and Jewish organizations concerning the resolution under consideration, only two had expressed opposition. Representative Vorys asked whether it was more important for Congress in its legislation to be influenced by the views of the American people as a whole, or by the views of one minority segment of the American people. In reply to questioning by Representative Mundt, Dr. Wolsey stated categorically that the language of the Balfour Declaration was not intended to include the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

Rabbi James G. Heller, a son of the American Revolution and a representative of the reformed group of Rabbis, disagreed with Dr. Wolsey's interpretation of the Balfour Declaration. He pointed out that although the Declaration uses the language "national home", persons such

as Lord Cecil, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill construed this to mean a Jewish State. Dr. Heller's extremely convincing testimony appeared to mean the support of the Committee away from the views of Mr. Rosenwald and Dr. Wolsey. Rabbi Heller pointed out that only an extreme minority of the organized Jewish community has adopted the views expressed by Dr. Wolsey and Mr. Rosenwald. He emphasized further that the question whether Judaism is a race, religion or nationality is an ideological question which has caused much difference among Jewish scholars. Such a theoretical question, Dr. Heller emphasized, has nothing whatsoever to do with the resolution under consideration, which is an attempt to deal with a tragic fact, not a theory--the preservation of the Jews from the appalling fate confronting them. According to Dr. Heller, the setting up of a Jewish State in Palestine does not mean in any way that Jews in other parts of the world will be citizens of, or owe fealty to, this Jewish State.

Representative Mundt asked Dr. Heller what in his opinion was the meaning of the term "appropriate measures" as used in the resolution. Dr. Heller replied that it certainly did not refer to the protection of a Palestinian State after its creation by a police force. Representative Wright, the co-author of the resolution under consideration, Representative Mundt and Dr. Heller all agreed that the term "appropriate measures" was redundant and should therefore be stricken from the resolution.

Dr. Heller closed with the thought that many of the Jews rescued in Europe by the War Refugee Board will be transferred to Palestine, and that to this extent the Executive Order establishing the War Refugee Board and the resolution presently under consideration were related.

Conclusion

The hearings were generally attended by approximately half of the Committee membership, many of whom, as has been seen, showed keen interest in the testimony. It was my impression that the Committee members present would probably strike the words "and take appropriate measures" from the proposed resolution, but other than this slight modification, they would report the resolution out favorably.

(Init.) M.J.M.

~~OFFICIALLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 10, 1944

In discussing another matter with Mr. Bundy of the War Department today he said he hoped the War Refugee Board was going to stay entirely away from the Palestine issue. I told Bundy that Secretary Hull had raised the matter at the second meeting of the War Refugee Board saying that the State Department and the Administration would soon be called upon to take a position on the resolution pending in Congress on this matter. The Board seemed to agree that it should not get involved in the controversy over Palestine as a home for the Jews and I advised Mr. Bundy that I was following such a policy. Bundy said that the War Department and the State Department were going to appear before Congressional committees (which may be in secret session) in opposition to the pending resolution on the ground that it will stir up a revolt among the Arabs. He said Stimson was very concerned lest action be taken which would cause the Moslem world to start in the line behind our line.

I reported to Bundy that the War Refugee Board was still in doubt on the resolution pending before Congress although naturally if the doors of Palestine were opened for at least temporary refuge it would ease the work of the War Refugee Board enormously.



DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date SEP 8 1972

000904

February 9, 1944

To: The Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

From: Legislative Section, Office of the General Counsel.

The following item appeared on pages A689-690 of the
Congressional Record for February 3 is called to your attention
for appropriate action.

Bureau or Division Affected: Mr. Pehle

Nature of Item:

In an extension of his remarks in the Appendix, Representative
Cotton discussed Jewish colonization of Palestine.

000905

February 9, 1944

To: The Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.

From: Legislative Section, Office of the General Counsel.

The following item appeared on page 1421, 1440 of the
Congressional Record for February 8 ¹⁴⁴² is called to your attention
for appropriate action.

Bureau or Division Affected: Mr. Pehle

Nature of Item:

Senator Davis briefly addressed the Senate with reference to the
National Plan for Palestine for the Jewish people. (1421)

During the debate on the Treasury Post Office appropriation bill,
1944, Representative Hiram Boren criticized the British policy in Palestine and
insisted that it be approved by the Senate.

000906

File

Comments

Lessing Rosenwald, of Philadelphia, President of the American Council for Judaism, cautioned against the creation of a purely Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, recommending instead the institution there of a democracy.

His warning came as the House Foreign Affairs Committee considered identical resolutions calling for the U. S. to "use its good offices and take appropriate measures" to assure Jewry of full opportunities for developing a national home in Palestine.

Rosenwald declared that Palestine should be a haven for all, regardless of race or creed, and should afford all equal rights as in the U. S.

"We are nationals of the nations in which we live," he said. "Establishment of a Jewish commonwealth could be detrimental to Jews everywhere. At best it would be only a partial solution of the present postwar Jewish problem."

Rosenwald's stand was in contrast to that of Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America, who held that adoption of the resolution "would be in the best American tradition coupling Bible prophecy with humanitarian, realistic statesmanship."

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

February 9, 1944

11:10 a.m.

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APR 1944

The advisability of the U.S. recommending that Great Britain set up a state in Palestine "based on a religion" was questioned by Rep. Bolton.

A rift among witnesses on whether Jews are a nation or a religious group paved the way for Mrs. Bolton's question.

"In this country we have based our government on a cleavage between church and state," Mrs. Bolton said. "I question whether we could ask Britain to set up a state based on a religion."

Leasing Rosenwald, of Philadelphia, President of the American Council of Judaism, explained that one Jewish group in the U. S. holds to the religious theory, while the other supports the nationality contention.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America, said "A very small minority" interpreted Jewry as a purely religious group. He maintained Jews have never abandoned hope of a homeland.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council's Executive Committee, declared Rosenwald was back with the group which in 1917 opposed issue of the Balfour Declaration assuring Jews a homeland in Palestine.

"We want Palestine to be as Jewish as England is English, as France is French," Silver said.

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE
February 3, 1944
1:55 p.m.

000908

Miss Hodel

February 7, 1944

To: Mr. *Collado*
From: Mr. White

Will you kindly send the following message by cable for the Secretary of the Treasury from the Secretary of State to the American Legation in Cairo for Mikesell:

Reference your 217, February 1, 1944, concerning trip to Palestine and Syria. Please bear in mind the problems mentioned in my cable relating to War Refugee Board while on this trip and send report to me upon your return to Cairo. Repeat to Mikesell if he has already left Cairo.

~~FILE COPY~~

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Mr. Peltier 74

[Handwritten signature]

February 7, 1944

To: Mr. Collado
From: Mr. White

Will you kindly send the following message by cable for the Secretary of the Treasury from the Secretary of State to the American Legation in Cairo for Hilsall.

Reference your 217, February 1, 1944, concerning trip to Palestine and Syria. Please bear in mind the problems mentioned in my cable relating to War Refugee Board while on this trip and send report to me upon your return to Cairo. Report to Hilsall if he has already left Cairo.

PH:WHT:Dr1 -2/7/44

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February 3, 1944

To: The Administrative Assistant to the Secretary.
From: Legislative Section, Office of the General Counsel.

The following item appeared on page 1135 of the
Congressional Record for February 2 is called to your attention
for appropriate action.

Bureau or Division Affected: Mr. Pehle

Nature of Item:

Representative Lane introduced H. Res. 428, resolution favoring
action by the United States looking into the restoration of Palestine
as a homeland for the Jewish people, which was referred to the Committee
on Foreign Affairs.

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Adkins

ST...
Mr. Joseph W. Gehle
PLAIN

FEB 4 1944

No. A 146
Time 12:10 p.m.

Feb. 1, 1944

EMBASSY,
LONDON.

The Department wishes to direct your attention to the following news article which appeared in the Washington Post on January 20, 1944:

"371 Jewish Refugees Leave Nazi Domain"

Barcelona, Jan. 19 (AP)--A special train carrying 371 Jewish refugees from northern France, Germany and other countries under Nazi occupation left today en route for Cadiz, where the refugees will board a Portuguese-chartered ship for Palestine.

The refugees were supported by the American Jewish Refugee organization while in Barcelona awaiting arrangements to go to Palestine as settlers."

In a telephone conversation with Mr. Leavitt of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee concerning this article he stated that it gave the impression that the Germans were now permitting Jewish persons to leave France which is untrue. He informed the Department that

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#146 to London

the JDC had purchased for \$420,000 the passenger-carrying capacity (800) of the Portuguese steamship KYASSA to transport between 500 and 600 Jewish refugees who had escaped into Spain where they have been taken care of by the JDC for some time. About 125 refugees will be transported from Portugal. All of the persons in question will be taken to Haifa and according to Mr. Leavitt all of them have visas for Palestine.

Please bring this matter to the attention of the director of the IGC as it was originally planned that most of these persons would be transferred to the refugee center in French North Africa.

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7 H
TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTER OFFICE COMMUNICATION

DATE
February 1, 1944

TO Mr. Pehle
FROM Mr. Friedman

Mr. Travers states that this Government has been officially advised by the British that the White Book deadline date for entry into Palestine has been indefinitely suspended so that permits within the quota of 30,000 may continue to be granted even after March. Incidentally, Travers indicated that he has never been able to learn the exact procedure by which such entry permits are obtained.

JBF Friedman

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February 22, 1944

MEMORANDUM

Palestine as a possible temporary place of refuge for European refugees. (Material obtained from file in Visa Division, State Department)

1. The British statement of policy relating to Palestine, which was issued as a White Paper in May 1939, provided for the admission of 75,000 Jews during the five years ending March 31, 1944 subject to the criterion of the economic absorptive capacity of the country. It was contemplated that there should be an annual quota of 10,000 and, in addition, 25,000 Jewish refugees would be admitted as soon as adequate provision for their maintenance was assured. The war prevented the fulfillment of that program. The number of Jews who entered Palestine legally or illegally up to September 30, 1943 against the total of 75,000 to be admitted under the plan was 47,977. There are thus 27,023 who could have reached Palestine by March 31, 1944, but for the circumstances of war. Hence, the British Government has announced that it would be impracticable to close the doors to Palestine because of the time factor. (The foregoing is the substance of the statement made by Col. Stanley, Secretary of State for Colonies, in Parliament on November 10, 1943.)

2. On January 23, 1944, Inkertan in Jerusalem wired the State Department that an order of the Palestine Government, dated January 22, prescribes a quota of 1,300 principal immigrants during the quarter ending March 31, with additional certificates for wives and children under 18 of these and previously arrived principals. An explanatory note appended to the order states that provision is being made for granting 1,300 certificates for principal immigrants, 900 being for Jews and 400 for others; and that the remaining 1,900 will be used for deduction in respect of 3,352 illegal Jewish immigrants admitted since April 1939 and not already deducted from quotas.

3. Alling wrote a memorandum, dated April 14, 1943, addressed to the State Department, relating to Palestine as a possible temporary place of refuge for European refugees. (A copy of this memorandum is attached hereto.) In substance, the memorandum states that economic conditions are difficult, but that political factors far outweigh economic considerations since Palestine is the scene of two rival nationalistic

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movements, the Arab and the Zionist. If Palestine were opened to larger numbers of refugees than have been agreed upon (29,000 European Jews), serious disaffection in the Arab and Moslem world would result.

4. On October 27, 1943, Alling wrote a lengthy memorandum to Pettinius reviewing the entire Palestine question. (Copy of this memorandum is attached hereto.)

F. S. Hartwig

Attachments.

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ATTACHMENTS FOR February 17, 1944
MEMORANDUM:

"Palestine as a possible temporary
place of refuge for European
refugees..."

000918

(COPI)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
Washington, D. C.

COUNTRY	Palestine	Dissemination No.	A-16542
SUBJECT	Shertok Protests to MacMichael Report No. More on Suspension of Jewish Papers	RB	6540
SOURCE		No. of pages	1
SUB SOURCE	Reliable Jew to US Officer	OSS Evaluation	B-2
DATE OF ORIGIN	December 4, 1943	Distributed	12/7/43
PLACE OF ORIGIN	Cairo	/ Supplementary to) Dissemination No. A-16420, A16421, A-16431	

1. Having sent a letter of protest in connection with the arms search in Ramat Hakovesh to the High Commissioner, MacMichael, Shertok later conferred with him personally. Shertok conceded the fact that the Zionists had a supply of arms which they were carefully concealing, but stated that they were intended for defensive purposes. He also warned MacMichael that any additional searches for arms would result in resistance and bloodshed.

2. According to a different source, all the editors of Jewish papers conferred with Zionist leaders prior to printing the offending article of November 18. It was agreed to publish the article and flout censorship even though it would doubtless provoke official disapproval.

During the staggered suspension for one week, all the newspapers involved closed shop as a voluntary sign of protest.

These two cases of deliberate challenge to the Palestine Government on the part of the Zionists indicate a hardened Zionist policy, from which further serious repercussions may be expected.

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By Authority of _____

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By SR Date MAR 3 1975

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October 27, 1943.

U - Mr. Stettinius:

PALESTINE QUESTION

In response to your oral request, there is given below a summary account of the Palestine problem.

Palestine was conquered by the British from the Turks in 1917. Prior to that time, and subsequently, the British made a number of commitments relating to the future disposition of the Arab countries. These engagements were made to the Arabs, to the Jews, and to Britain's allies, and are fairly complex. As regards Palestine, they were to an important degree self-contradictory, and in any case they have proved to be so in practice. They have been the subject of conflicting interpretations and endless dispute ever since.

One of these commitments, the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, is so frequently cited that it is here quoted in full:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Palestine, like Syria and Iraq, was constituted an "A" Mandate under the League of Nations. Great Britain was named the Mandatory for Palestine and Iraq, France for Syria. The general principles for the operation of these mandates were laid down in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

"To

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"To those colonies and territories, which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

"The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

.....

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

The British Mandate over Iraq was terminated in 1932, when Iraq became an independent country and a member of the League of Nations. The French Mandate over the Levant States (Syria and Lebanon) is now in an equivocal status, but considerable progress toward independence has taken place. The British Mandate over Palestine continues in effect. The independence of Palestine, in fact, seems far more remote today than it did twenty-five years ago.

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Since the United States did not become a member of the League of Nations, a convention setting forth this Government's relationship to Palestine was signed with the British Government on December 3, 1924. This Convention recites, in the preamble, the whole text of the Palestine Mandate, a fact which is frequently mentioned by Zionists to support their contention that the United States shares responsibility for the Mandate. Such a contention is erroneous. We claimed that our military operations in France contributed substantially, even though indirectly, to the conquest of Turkish territory, and that we were therefore entitled to pass upon the terms of the various Mandates. Our position was accepted by the British and the other Mandatory governments. At the same time, we made it clear that our interest in the Mandates was limited to securing most-favored-nation treatment for our nationals, maintenance of American property rights, and freedom to establish and to maintain educational, philanthropic and religious institutions. The Convention provides that nothing therein may be affected by any modification in the terms of the Mandate, as recited in the preamble, without the consent of the United States.

It will thus be seen that the recitation of the terms of the Mandate in the preamble of the Convention was for the purpose of exact reference. The same procedure was adopted in the conventions which we concluded with the respective Mandatory Powers as regards Syria and the Lebanon, East Africa, the Cameroons, Togoland, and islands in the Pacific Ocean, there being nine such conventions in all.

The Congress of the United States adopted a joint resolution regarding Palestine on June 30, 1922. It is modeled on the Balfour Declaration, but the first part of the resolution says much less than the corresponding part of the Declaration, through the omission of language to the effect that we will use our best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of a National Home for the Jews. The exact wording is:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine

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P. 200

of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected."

In view of contentions which have been made that this resolution constitutes a commitment of real substance, the following passages from the Congressional Record of June 30, 1922, are of interest:

"Mr. Fish The passage of this resolution does not commit us to an entangling alliance or to any obligation to use military or naval force or the expenditure of any money. It is merely an expression of our sympathy and favorable attitude in establishing in Palestine a refuge for the persecuted Jews of the World where they can develop their own culture, laws and ideals in the ancient land their fathers, given by Jehovah to Abraham and consecrated in the hearts of the Jewish people as the birth-place of their traditions"

"Mr. Ansoerge It will be seen, therefore that the Senate and the House by expressing their approval of a national Jewish home in Palestine fully protect the civil rights and religious liberty of all other communities in Palestine. The resolutions commit us to no foreign obligations or entanglements, but express our moral interest and favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jewish people along the lines laid down in the now famous Balfour declaration on November 2, 1917."

"Mr. Kelly of Pa. . . . Were the United States called upon to initiate such a movement there might be some force to an objection that it is an interference with affairs of foreign nations but the Balfour declaration, issued November 2, 1917, at the height of the war

firmly

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firmly established this as a policy of the British Government. This has been still more firmly established by having been incorporated in the mandate under which Great Britain exercises authority over Palestine and the mandate has been ratified by various other Governments.

"The effect of the present resolution therefore is largely moral and constitutes merely an expression of good will and sympathy of American for the aims and aspirations of the Jews. The resolution before the House commits us to no foreign obligations and constitutes no entangling alliance."

Passing to what has actually occurred in Palestine under the Mandate, it should be said at the outset that "a national home" was a new concept and thus open to interpretation. That the Jews (particularly the Zionists) and the Arabs should interpret it differently is not surprising. As a matter of fact, the British Government has interpreted it in various ways at different times. It was necessary to hammer the concept into form by experience and the force of events, and the shaping process is still going on. At the outset, the Arabs showed little disposition to worry over the Balfour Declaration. Jewish settlers in Palestine in the years prior to 1914 (mostly with the support of the Rothschilds) had been unaggressive and had worked themselves into the Palestinian scene with slight friction. Emir Feisal, who later became King of Iraq and was at the time the leading spokesman of the Arabs, even entered into an agreement with Dr. Weizmann, the Zionist leader, on January 3, 1919, in which Arab sympathy for and hospitality toward further Jewish settlement is apparent. However, Feisal was careful to add in his own handwriting the following proviso, which is usually deliberately omitted by Zionists when citing this agreement as proof that the Arabs are not opposed to Jewish settlement in Palestine. The proviso was as follows:

"Provided the Arabs obtain their independence as demanded in my memorandum dated January 4, 1919, to the Foreign Office of the Government of Great Britain, I shall concur in the above articles, But if the slightest modification of

departure

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departure were to be made in relation to the demands in my memorandum, I shall not then be bound by a single word of the present agreement. It shall be deemed void and of no account whatsoever and I shall not be answerable in any way whatsoever."

The Arabs did not obtain their demands, and so the agreement fell to the ground.

During the Peace Conference, President Wilson, acting on the principle of the self-determination of peoples, endeavored to have the Conference send a mixed commission to the Near East to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants regarding the choice of a mandatory power. The Conference would not agree to send a mixed commission, consequently President Wilson sent an all-American commission. The Commission's report (known as the King-Crane Report) was and remains a notable document. As regards Palestine, it gave a carefully considered account of the situation there and accurately predicted the difficulties which would arise if the Zionist program were to be carried out to any substantial extent. The following passages are pertinent here, and every word is as valid today as when written:

"The Commission recognized . . . that definite encouragement had been given to the Zionists by the Allies in Mr. Balfour's often quoted statement, in its approval by other representatives of the Allies. If, however, the strict terms of the Balfour Statement are adhered to - favoring 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people,' 'it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious right existing in non-Jewish communities in Palestine' - it can hardly be doubted that the extreme Zionist Program must be greatly modified.

"For 'a national home for the Jewish people' is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish State; nor can the erection of such a Jewish State be accomplished without the gravest trespass upon the 'civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.'

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The fact came out repeatedly in the Commission's conference with Jewish representatives, that the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, by various forms of purchase.

"In his address of July 4, 1918, President Wilson laid down the following principles as one of the four great 'ends for which the associated peoples of the world were fighting;' 'The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.' If that principle is to rule, and so the wishes of the Palestine's population are to be decisive as to what is to be done with Palestine, then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine - nearly nine-tenths of the whole - are emphatically against the entire Zionist program. The tables show that there was now one thing upon which the population of Palestine were more agreed than upon this. To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted, and of the people's rights, though it kept within the forms of law.

.....

"In view of all these considerations, and with a deep sense of sympathy for the Jewish cause, the Commissioners feel bound to recommend that only a greatly reduced Zionist program be attempted by the Peace Conference, and even that, only very gradually initiated. This would ~~definitely limit~~ have to mean that Jewish immigration should be definitely limited, and that the project for making Palestine distinctly a Jewish commonwealth should be given up."

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The Peace Conference was under no obligation to consider the report submitted by a Commission acting solely for the American Delegation, and did not do so. In fact, the King-Crane Report was not published until December, 1922.

In 1918, there were in Palestine approximately 55,000 Jews and 500,000 Arabs. By 1940, there were 504,000 Jews and 1,053,000 Arabs. The increase in the ratio of Jews to Arabs from 1 - 9 to 1 - 2 within a short span of twenty-two years has naturally produced severe strains. The 2 to 1 numerical superiority of Arabs as compared with Jews is the approximate present position.

The growth of the Arab population was almost entirely due to natural increase; that of the Jewish population to immigration.

As predicted by the King-Crane Commission, Jewish immigration alarmed the Arabs. As time went on, the purpose of the Zionists to achieve, by immigration, a numerical majority in Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state became increasingly clear. Most of the land acquired from the Arabs by the Jewish National Fund became the inalienable property of the latter.

As the result of Jewish immigration and land purchases, and of Zionist political ambitions, outbreaks occurred in 1920, 1921, 1929, 1933, and 1936, each more destructive than the last. The disturbances of 1920, 1921, and 1929 were aimed by the Arabs at the Jews, but those of 1933 and 1936 were aimed at both the Jews and the Government of Palestine. The British Government sent commissions to Palestine to inquire into causes and to make recommendations, as follows: Haycraft Commission, 1921; Shaw Commission, 1930; Hope Simpson Mission, 1930; Palestine Royal Commission (Peel Commission), 1936 and 1937; Palestine Partition Commission, 1938. Finally, in 1939, the British Government brought leaders of the interested Arabs and Jews to London for consultation, but it proved impossible to get them to sit around the same table.

To state the main trends in Palestine between the two World Wars as concisely as possible, it may be said that from the commencement of the Mandate to 1938, the policy

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of the British Government in Palestine tended upon the whole to favor the Jews. The Peel Commission recommended partition, i. e., "a plague on both your houses." But with the shadow of the Second World War approaching, it was clear that from the standpoint of British interests, as considered in the broadest light, the Arab and other Moslem world would have to be appeased. That world lay across vital imperial communications and furnished essential raw materials for war, notably oil. Most of the Indian Army was and is recruited from among the Indian Moslem population of 80 millions.

Britain, therefore, in 1939, after the London consultation above-mentioned with the Arabs and Jews, jettisoned the idea of partition and laid down a policy known as the "1939 White Paper" or the "MacDonald White Paper," which was designed to placate the Arabs. The Jews did not have to be appeased, for Hitler had already made them his enemies. The White Paper policy is still in effect. It contains the following main provisions:

1. Immigration. The sole limit to Jewish immigration into Palestine has been economic absorptive capacity. But when immigration causes repeated and widespread resistance, it is clear that political absorptive capacity must be recognized. For each of the next five years (from May, 1939) 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed. Also, as a contribution toward the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25,000 will be admitted as soon as possible. After the period of five years no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine agree to it. (Underlining is supplied because the Zionists are making every effort to have this provision annulled prior to the cut-off date: May, 1944).

2. Land. Announcement was made that the Palestine Government would be given power to regulate land transfers in order to permit the Arab farmers to maintain their existing standard of living and to prevent the formation of a considerable body of landless Arabs. Regulations were subsequently issued dividing land into three categories: (a) Areas in which transfers are forbidden; (b) Areas in which transfers are subject to governmental permit; (c) Areas in which transfers may take place without restriction.

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3. The Future. The British Government promises to do everything possible to create conditions which will enable Palestine to become an independent State within 10 years (from 1939). If postponement is unavoidable, the British will invite the Arabs and the Jews to assist in framing plans for the future with a view to independence at the earliest possible date.

Neither Jews nor Arabs gave their adherence to the White Paper policy. To the Jews, particularly the Zionists, it was and is a bitter pill. The Arabs felt acceptance on their part alone would impair their tactical position. Nevertheless, the Arabs viewed the policy with favor, with the result that Palestine and the rest of the Arab and Moslem world have been quiet during the war except for one flare-up in Iraq. Thus, if the White Paper policy constituted appeasement, it was appeasement that worked.

The British, however, have not been able to control Zionist agitation in the United States, which has been seized upon by the Azis propagandists and used with telling effect in the Near East. It has even been used against us by the British and the French, to weaken our position in the Near East and to build up their own. For these reasons, but primarily because we had good reason to believe that Palestine might boil over as the result of Zionist agitation here, a few months ago we proposed to the British a joint statement on Palestine for the purpose of discouraging agitation by anyone, relative to Palestine of a nature harmful to the war effort. At the same time, the Arabs and Jews were to be encouraged to come to a settlement by their own efforts. The British warmly welcomed the proposal, and the text and date of issuance were agreed upon. But there was a leak to American Zionists who brought strong pressure to bear to prevent the issuance of the statement, and they were successful. Nevertheless, it was agreed between us and the British at Quebec, to keep the matter pending and a statement on Palestine may yet be issued if the situation requires.

By way of conclusion, it appears necessary to answer three questions: (1) Where do American interests lie in reference to Palestine? (2) What is the domestic political situation with reference to this question? (3) What, if anything, should we do about Palestine?

1. It

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1. It has been already explained that, legally and strictly speaking, our interest in the Palestine Mandate is limited to the safeguarding of our economic, religious, and cultural rights as laid down by treaty. However, great quantities of American money and effort have gone into the building of the Jewish national home. Moreover, without American assistance in the war effort by means of Lend-Lease and actual combat operations, it is exceedingly probable that Palestine would have been lost by the Mandatory Power to the Axis. Thus, on a broad view, it can be held that we are justified in having something to say about the future of Palestine.

In deciding on what we have to say, we shall have to recognize that our national interests in this matter, like those of the British, are mixed, and that we, no less than they, are obliged to take the Arab and other Moslem world into account. Our trade with that world is important; we have vested interests in the petroleum of Bahrein, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Palestine, Oman, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia. Possibilities exist for the acquisition of American petroleum rights in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Iran, and Libya. Our cultural interests are far more important than those of the British. It is necessary only to mention the American University of Beirut, Robert College (Istanbul), the American University of Cairo, and International College (Beirut), which head the long list of American institutions working for and with the native Near Eastern peoples, predominantly Moslems. Egypt, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia have all, at various times in recent years, manifested officially their opposition to an apparent tendency of the United States to support the Jewish side to the Palestine controversy. All of these interests and activities rest, in the last analysis, upon the good-will of the Moslems of the Near East.

If the United States Government were to take direct action, or indirect action through pressure on the British, to force a settlement favoring the Jews on any of the three sore points at issue; immigration, land sales or a Jewish state, we should most certainly incur the enmity of the Arab and Moslem world. Since the Arabs of Palestine outnumber the Jews two to one, such action on our part would also violate the principle of self-determination laid down by President Wilson, and the Atlantic Charter

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It may as well be accepted as basic that a Jewish state in Palestine cannot be created or maintained except by the use or threat of force. If, therefore, the United States were to incur any responsibility, direct or indirect, for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, the result would be one more tragedy for the Jews unless the Congress were prepared to carry out our responsibility by authorizing the use of our armed forces in Palestine for many years to come.

2. The number of Jews in the United States is commonly put at around 5,000,000. Of these, about 50,000 in recent years have constituted the paid-up membership (one "ahak-1", about 25 cents) of the Zionist organization. The number is doubtless somewhat greater at present. Zionists say that all American Jews, with very few exceptions, are Zionists; and in the sense that American Jews would like to see European Jews go to Palestine for safety, the Zionists are doubtless right. But a sharp distinction must be made between those who favor a Jewish national life for the Jewish people, and those who do not. The Zionists are well-organized, militant, and highly vocal. The non-Zionists are relatively poorly organized. They desire to be let alone and not singled out or set apart from their fellow-Americans. Some of the non-Zionist Leaders have become greatly worried over the Jewish nationalistic movement, which manifests itself principally with respect to Palestine, on the ground that the position of the Jews in the United States is being undermined. On the other hand the Zionists, well aware of the political guns which can be brought to bear if they can say that they are speaking for 5,000,000 American Jews, have made strenuous efforts to round them up. The latest such effort was the recent holding in New York of the "American Jewish Conference", which passed a resolution supporting a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. But a number of Jewish organizations were not represented, and the American Jewish Committee, which probably represents the opinion of most conservative, well-established American Jews, has just withdrawn, due to the Palestine issue, from the continuing committee set up by the Conference and from the Conference itself. The American Jewish Committee's statement of its position, dated October 25, 1943, is a notable document, as it furnished a rallying-ground for American Jews whose allegiance to the United

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States is undiluted by Jewish nationalism. The principal points made by the Committee are these:

" 'The present demand for the eventual establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, made by the American Jewish Conference, and constituting one of its major decisions, as well as the subordination of other Jewish issues to the problem of the political structure of Palestine, are in such essential disagreement with the fundamental views of the American Jewish Committee that in the best interests of Jews in this and other countries, including Palestine, the Committee feels impelled to withdraw from the American Jewish Conference.'

"The Committee 'will apply its most diligent efforts to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper which closes the doors of Palestine to further Jewish immigration and restricts Jewish land purchase.' At the same time it expresses the conviction that the problems of world Jewry cannot be solved by a single political panacea and that 'the salvation and rehabilitation of the stricken Jews of Europe cannot be achieved through Palestine alone and certainly not through overemphasis on the political constitution of Palestine. It can be achieved only by considering Palestine a part of the larger program which looks to the rehabilitation and resettlement of Jews throughout the world and the restoration of their equal rights.'

"The statement emphasizes that regarding Palestine the Committee approves for the present 'an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations, for the following purposes: to safeguard the Jewish settlement in, and Jewish immigration into Palestine and to guarantee adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country; to safeguard and protect

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the fundamental rights of all inhabitants... and to prepare the country to become, within a reasonable period of years, a self-governing commonwealth under a constitution and a Bill of Rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all.'

"The Committee goes on to say in its statement that 'much more than Palestine must occupy the attention of any responsible body which is vitally concerned with the total welfare of Jewry. Through the marshalling of public opinion, through representations to our governments and through proper diplomatic channels, we shall continue to seek to achieve the quickest possible rescue of the Jews persecuted in Europe today and to attain for the millions who will be there tomorrow a normal life on a basis of equality with their fellow-citizens. We reject any thesis which surrenders the right of the Jews to live as equal citizens in Europe or anywhere.'"

It may be that the foregoing attitude will be found in fact to represent the views of most American Jews. In any case, the Department is obliged to bear in mind that in the Palestine question, as in all other questions, it must promote the best interests not of 50,000 Americans, or even 5,000,000, but of 132,000,000.

3. At the present time, there is reason to expect that the Zionists and other aggressive groups will make every effort to break the White Paper policy. If persuasion and political pressure fail to achieve this object, there is danger that the Zionists in Palestine will resort to force at the time which is most favorable to them. It is well-known that the Zionists in Palestine have acquired and hidden substantial quantities of arms, and are being disciplined and trained to use them.

At this late hour, a mere palliative statement may not suffice, and we and the British may have the choice of either riding out the storm, or, in the absence of Arab-Jewish agreement, of constructing a long-range though not

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final solution which will be acquiesced in, probably with some degree of unwillingness, by all interested parties.

If the latter alternative is adopted, it would appear in order to ask the British whether it would not be advisable to invite the Arabs and Jews to come to an agreement and to make definite arrangements for the discussions. Since such an effort would be almost certain to result in failure, immediate steps would have to be taken to formulate a new arrangement in the light of the experience gained during the past two decades.

Paul H. Alling

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October 27, 1943.

U - Mr. Stettinius:

PALESTINE QUESTION

In response to your oral request, there is given below a summary account of the Palestine problem.

Palestine was conquered by the British from the Turks in 1917. Prior to that time, and subsequently, the British made a number of commitments relating to the future disposition of the Arab countries. These engagements were made to the Arabs, to the Jews, and to Britain's allies, and are fairly complex. As regards Palestine, they were to an important degree self-contradictory, and in any case they have proved to be so in practice. They have been the subject of conflicting interpretations and endless dispute ever since.

One of these commitments, the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, is so frequently cited that it is here quoted in full:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Palestine, like Syria and Iraq, was constituted an "A" Mandate under the League of Nations. Great Britain was named the Mandatory for Palestine and Iraq, France for Syria. The general principles for the operation of these mandates were laid down in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

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"To those colonies and territories, which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

"The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

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"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

The British Mandate over Iraq was terminated in 1932, when Iraq became an independent country and a member of the League of Nations. The French Mandate over the Levant States (Syria and Lebanon) is now in an equivocal status, but considerable progress toward independence has taken place. The British Mandate over Palestine continues in effect. The independence of Palestine, in fact, seems far more remote today than it did twenty-five years ago.

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Since the United States did not become a member of the League of Nations, a convention setting forth this Government's relationship to Palestine was signed with the British Government on December 3, 1924. This Convention recites, in the preamble, the whole text of the Palestine Mandate, a fact which is frequently mentioned by Zionists to support their contention that the United States shares responsibility for the Mandate. Such a contention is erroneous. We claimed that our military operations in France contributed substantially, even though indirectly, to the conquest of Turkish territory, and that we were therefore entitled to pass upon the terms of the various Mandates. Our position was accepted by the British and the other Mandatory governments. At the same time, we made it clear that our interest in the Mandates was limited to securing most-favored-nation treatment for our nationals, maintenance of American property rights, and freedom to establish and to maintain educational, philanthropic and religious institutions. The Convention provides that nothing therein may be affected by any modification in the terms of the Mandate, as recited in the preamble, without the consent of the United States.

It will thus be seen that the recitation of the terms of the Mandate in the preamble of the Convention was for the purpose of exact reference. The same procedure was adopted in the conventions which we concluded with the respective Mandatory Powers as regards Syria and the Lebanon, East Africa, the Cameroons, Togoland, and islands in the Pacific Ocean, there being nine such conventions in all.

The Congress of the United States adopted a joint resolution regarding Palestine on June 30, 1922. It is modeled on the Balfour Declaration, but the first part of the resolution says much less than the corresponding part of the Declaration, through the omission of language to the effect that we will use our best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of a National Home for the Jews. The exact wording is:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine

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of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected."

In view of contentions which have been made that this resolution constitutes a commitment of real substance, the following passages from the Congressional Record of June 30, 1922, are of interest:

"Mr. Fish . . . The passage of this resolution does not commit us to an entangling alliance or to any obligation to use military or naval force or the expenditure of any money. It is merely an expression of our sympathy and favorable attitude in establishing in Palestine a refuge for the persecuted Jews of the World where they can develop their own culture, laws and ideals in the ancient land their fathers, given by Jehovah to Abraham and consecrated in the hearts of the Jewish people as the birth-place of their traditions . . ."

"Mr. Ansorge . . . It will be seen, therefore that the Senate and the House by expressing their approval of a national Jewish home in Palestine fully protect the civil rights and religious liberty of all other communities in Palestine. The resolutions commit us to no foreign obligations or entanglements, but express our moral interest and favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jewish people along the lines laid down in the now famous Balfour declaration on November 2, 1917."

"Mr. Kelly of Pa. . . . Were the United States called upon to initiate such a movement there might be some force to an objection that it is an interference with affairs of foreign nations but the Balfour declaration, issued November 2, 1917, at the height of the war

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firmly established this as a policy of the British Government. This has been still more firmly established by having been incorporated in the mandate under which Great Britain exercises authority over Palestine and the mandate has been ratified by various other Governments.

"The effect of the present resolution therefore is largely moral and constitutes merely an expression of good will and sympathy of American for the aims and aspirations of the Jews. The resolution before the House commits us to no foreign obligations and constitutes no entangling alliance."

Passing to what has actually occurred in Palestine under the Mandate, it should be said at the outset that "a national home" was a new concept and thus open to interpretation. That the Jews (particularly the Zionists) and the Arabs should interpret it differently is not surprising. As a matter of fact, the British Government has interpreted it in various ways at different times. It was necessary to hammer the concept into form by experience and the force of events, and the shaping process is still going on. At the outset, the Arabs showed little disposition to worry over the Balfour Declaration. Jewish settlers in Palestine in the years prior to 1914 (mostly with the support of the Rothschilds) had been unaggressive and had worked themselves into the Palestinian scene with slight friction. Emir Feisal, who later became King of Iraq and was at the time the leading spokesman of the Arabs, even entered into an agreement with Dr. Weizmann, the Zionist leader, on January 3, 1919, in which Arab sympathy for and hospitality toward further Jewish settlement is apparent. However, Feisal was careful to add in his own handwriting the following proviso, which is usually deliberately omitted by Zionists when citing this agreement as proof that the Arabs are not opposed to Jewish settlement in Palestine. The proviso was as follows:

"Provided the Arabs obtain their independence as demanded in my memorandum dated January 4, 1919, to the Foreign Office of the Government of Great Britain, I shall concur in the above articles. But if the slightest modification of

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departure were to be made in relation to the demands in my memorandum, I shall not then be bound by a single word of the present agreement. It shall be deemed void and of no account whatsoever and I shall not be answerable in any way whatsoever."

The Arabs did not obtain their demands, and so the agreement fell to the ground.

During the Peace Conference, President Wilson, acting on the principle of the self-determination of peoples, endeavored to have the Conference send a mixed commission to the Near East to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants regarding the choice of a mandatory power. The Conference would not agree to send a mixed commission, consequently President Wilson sent an all-American commission. The Commission's report (known as the King-Crane Report) was and remains a notable document. As regards Palestine, it gave a carefully considered account of the situation there and accurately predicted the difficulties which would arise if the Zionist program were to be carried out to any substantial extent. The following passages are pertinent here, and every word is as valid today as when written:

"The Commission recognized . . . that definite encouragement had been given to the Zionists by the Allies in Mr. Balfour's often quoted statement, in its approval by other representatives of the Allies. If, however, the strict terms of the Balfour Statement are adhered to - favoring 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people,' 'it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious right existing in non-Jewish communities in Palestine' - it can hardly be doubted that the extreme Zionist Program must be greatly modified.

"For 'a national home for the Jewish people' is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish State; nor can the erection of such a Jewish State be accomplished without the gravest trespass upon the 'civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.'

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The fact came out repeatedly in the Commission's conference with Jewish representatives, that the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, by various forms of purchase.

"In his address of July 4, 1918, President Wilson laid down the following principles as one of the four great 'ends for which the associated peoples of the world were fighting;' 'The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.' If that principle is to rule, and so the wishes of the Palestine's population are to be decisive as to what is to be done with Palestine, then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine - nearly nine-tenths of the whole - are emphatically against the entire Zionist program. The tables show that there was now one thing upon which the population of Palestine were more agreed than upon this. To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted, and of the people's rights, though it kept within the forms of law.

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"In view of all these considerations, and with a deep sense of sympathy for the Jewish cause, the Commissioners feel bound to recommend that only a greatly reduced Zionist program be attempted by the Peace Conference, and even that, only very gradually initiated. This would ~~definitely limit~~ have to mean that Jewish immigration should be definitely limited, and that the project for making Palestine distinctly a Jewish commonwealth should be given up."

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The Peace Conference was under no obligation to consider the report submitted by a Commission acting solely for the American Delegation, and did not do so. In fact, the King-Crane Report was not published until December, 1922.

In 1918, there were in Palestine approximately 55,000 Jews and 500,000 Arabs. By 1940, there were 504,000 Jews and 1,053,000 Arabs. The increase in the ratio of Jews to Arabs from 1 - 9 to 1 - 2 within a short span of twenty-two years has naturally produced severe strains. The 2 to 1 numerical superiority of Arabs as compared with Jews is the approximate present position.

The growth of the Arab population was almost entirely due to natural increase; that of the Jewish population to immigration.

As predicted by the King-Crane Commission, Jewish immigration alarmed the Arabs. As time went on, the purpose of the Zionists to achieve, by immigration, a numerical majority in Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state became increasingly clear. Most of the land acquired from the Arabs by the Jewish National Fund became the inalienable property of the latter.

As the result of Jewish immigration and land purchases, and of Zionist political ambitions, outbreaks occurred in 1920, 1921, 1929, 1933, and 1936, each more destructive than the last. The disturbances of 1920, 1921, and 1929 were aimed by the Arabs at the Jews, but those of 1933 and 1936 were aimed at both the Jews and the Government of Palestine. The British Government sent commissions to Palestine to inquire into causes and to make recommendations, as follows: Haycraft Commission, 1921; Shaw Commission, 1930; Hope Simpson Mission, 1930; Palestine Royal Commission (Peel Commission), 1936 and 1937; Palestine Partition Commission, 1938. Finally, in 1939, the British Government brought leaders of the interested Arabs and Jews to London for consultation, but it proved impossible to get them to sit around the same table.

To state the main trends in Palestine between the two World Wars as concisely as possible, it may be said that from the commencement of the Mandate to 1938, the policy

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of the British Government in Palestine tended upon the whole to favor the Jews. The Peel Commission recommended partition, i.e., "a plague on both your houses." But with the shadow of the Second World War approaching, it was clear that from the standpoint of British interests, as considered in the broadest light, the Arab and other Moslem world would have to be appeased. That world lay across vital imperial communications and furnished essential raw materials for war, notably oil. Most of the Indian Army was and is recruited from among the Indian Moslem population of 80 millions.

Britain, therefore, in 1939, after the London consultation above-mentioned with the Arabs and Jews, jettisoned the idea of partition and laid down a policy known as the "1939 White Paper" or the "MacDonald White Paper," which was designed to placate the Arabs. The Jews did not have to be appeased, for Hitler had already made them his enemies. The White Paper policy is still in effect. It contains the following main provisions:

1. Immigration. The sole limit to Jewish immigration into Palestine has been economic absorptive capacity. But when immigration causes repeated and widespread resistance, it is clear that political absorptive capacity must be recognized. For each of the next five years (from May, 1939) 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed. Also, as a contribution toward the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25,000 will be admitted as soon as possible. After the period of five years no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine agree to it. (Underlining is supplied because the Zionists are making every effort to have this provision annulled prior to the cut-off date: May, 1944).

2. Land. Announcement was made that the Palestine Government would be given power to regulate land transfers in order to permit the Arab farmers to maintain their existing standard of living and to prevent the formation of a considerable body of landless Arabs. Regulations were subsequently issued dividing land into three categories: (a) Areas in which transfers are forbidden; (b) Areas in which transfers are subject to governmental permit; (c) Areas in which transfers may take place without restriction.

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3. The Future. The British Government promises to do everything possible to create conditions which will enable Palestine to become an independent State within 10 years (from 1939). If postponement is unavoidable, the British will invite the Arabs and the Jews to assist in framing plans for the future with a view to independence at the earliest possible date.

Neither Jews nor Arabs gave their adherence to the White Paper policy. To the Jews, particularly the Zionists, it was and is a bitter pill. The Arabs felt acceptance on their part alone would impair their tactical position. Nevertheless, the Arabs viewed the policy with favor, with the result that Palestine and the rest of the Arab and Moslem world have been quiet during the war except for one flare-up in Iraq. Thus, if the White Paper policy constituted appeasement, it was appeasement that worked.

The British, however, have not been able to control Zionist agitation in the United States, which has been seized upon by the Azis propagandists and used with telling effect in the Near East. It has even been used against us by the British and the French, to weaken our position in the Near East and to build up their own. For these reasons, but primarily because we had good reason to believe that Palestine might boil over as the result of Zionist agitation here, a few months ago we proposed to the British a joint statement on Palestine for the purpose of discouraging agitation by anyone, relative to Palestine of a nature harmful to the war effort. At the same time, the Arabs and Jews were to be encouraged to come to a settlement by their own efforts. The British warmly welcomed the proposal, and the text and date of issuance were agreed upon. But there was a leak to American Zionists who brought strong pressure to bear to prevent the issuance of the statement, and they were successful. Nevertheless, it was agreed between us and the British at Quebec, to keep the matter pending and a statement on Palestine may yet be issued if the situation requires.

By way of conclusion, it appears necessary to answer three questions: (1) Where do American interests lie in reference to Palestine? (2) What is the domestic political situation with reference to this question? (3) What, if anything, should we do about Palestine?

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1. It has been already explained that, legally and strictly speaking, our interest in the Palestine Mandate is limited to the safeguarding of our economic, religious, and cultural rights as laid down by treaty. However, great quantities of American money and effort have gone into the building of the Jewish national home. Moreover, without American assistance in the war effort by means of Lend-Lease and actual combat operations, it is exceedingly probable that Palestine would have been lost by the Mandatory Power to the Axis. Thus, on a broad view, it can be held that we are justified in having something to say about the future of Palestine.

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If the United States Government were to take direct action, or indirect action through pressure on the British, to force a settlement favoring the Jews on any of the three sore points at issue; immigration, land sales or a Jewish state, we should most certainly incur the enmity of the Arab and Moslem world. Since the Arabs of Palestine outnumber the Jews two to one, such action on our part would also violate the principle of self-determination laid down by President Wilson, and the Atlantic Character

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Paul H. Alling

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Department of State

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

April 14, 1943

Eu - Mr. Reams:

PALESTINE AS A POSSIBLE TEMPORARY PLACE OF REFUGE
FOR EUROPEAN REFUGEES

In connection with the forthcoming Refugee Conference in Bermuda, our delegates may find of some interest the following discussion of Palestine as a possible temporary place of refuge for European refugees.

Economic conditions in Palestine are difficult. Building materials and foodstuffs are in short supply and the country is well along in an inflationary cycle.

Political factors, however, far outweigh economic factors. Palestine is the scene of two rival nationalistic movements: the Arab and the Zionist. In 1917, the British Government issued a statement, known as the Balfour Declaration, to the effect that the British would facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Home, to the extent that such development would not impair the rights or interests of the non-Jewish residents. At that time there were in Palestine 55,000 Jews and 650,000 Arabs. Jewish immigration into Palestine was facilitated with the result that at the present time the Jewish population of Palestine is approximately 500,000, the Arab population being approximately 1,000,000.

This considerable Jewish influx, taken together with the announced program of the Zionist leaders to bring about a Jewish majority in Palestine, whereupon Palestine would become a Jewish state, alarmed the Arabs in and outside of Palestine, with the result that repeated disorders took place, aimed first at the Jews, but later at both Jews and the Mandatory Power. The British Government has never subscribed to the Zionist program. For a number of years it regulated immigration on the basis of economic absorptive capacity; but shortly before the war the British Government, in view of the Arab attitude of bitter opposition, decided that Jewish immigration should also be limited by political absorptive capacity. Its policy, still in effect, was laid down in the so-called 1939 White

Paper

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Paper, by virtue of which Jewish immigration was limited to a total figure of 75,000 over five years. Immigration was to take place at the rate of 10,000 a year during that period, the remaining group of 25,000 Jewish immigrants to constitute a contribution toward a solution of the European refugee question. After 1944, no further Jewish immigration is to take place without Arab acquiescence.

Although the White Paper policy was not approved by the Arabs, who desired all Jewish immigration to cease forthwith, it served to calm them down, with the result that Palestine, which had been a trouble spot for two decades, has been quiet during the war. The policy has been an anathema to the Zionists.

Immigration into Palestine has not taken place even at the reduced rate permitted by the White Paper, due to various difficulties inherent in the position of the Jews in Europe. The British Prime Minister and other authorized British officials have recently announced that Palestine will be thrown open to 29,000 European Jewish refugees, i. e. up to the total limit permitted under the White Paper policy, but that no greater contribution to this problem can be made by Palestine.

In making this announcement, the British doubtless consider that the Arabs will not boil over if the restrictions of the White Paper policy, to which they are by now fairly well adjusted, are not exceeded. The British also doubtless have in mind the fact that the Arabs would be bitterly opposed to the use of Palestine as a place of temporary refuge for large numbers of Jews, on the ground that once the latter reached Palestine it would never be possible to get them out. As a matter of fact, substantial numbers of Jews who have entered Palestine illegally in the past have been permitted by the British to remain as permanent residents. Consequently, the Arabs would be, and in fact are, convinced, that an influx of Jews into Palestine would be utilized by the Zionists to strengthen their position in the country and to further their political ambitions. The Arabs of Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon, and Iraq, also the Egyptians, are resolutely been made crystal-clear by official communications on the subject to the United States Government. Their views on the matter have the sympathy of moslems throughout the world.

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To open up Palestine to larger quantities of refugees than have been agreed to by the Mandatory Power would create serious risk of disaffection, perhaps accompanied by outbreaks, in the Arab and Moslem world, in which important combat operations are taking place, where important bases for future operations are now established, and which contain vital avenues of supply for Turkey, Russia, and China. Accordingly, it is our view that the British should not be asked to enlarge their commitments respecting refugees in so far as Palestine is concerned.

Paul H. Alling

NE:GPMerriam:DF

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Department of State

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

April 14, 1943

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Su - Mr. Reams:

PALESTINE AS A POSSIBLE TEMPORARY PLACE OF REFUGE
FOR EUROPEAN REFUGEES

In connection with the forthcoming Refugee Conference in Bermuda, our delegates may find of some interest the following discussion of Palestine as a possible temporary place of refuge for European refugees.

Economic conditions in Palestine are difficult. Building materials and foodstuffs are in short supply and the country is well along in an inflationary cycle.

Political factors, however, far outweigh economic factors. Palestine is the scene of two rival nationalistic movements: the Arab and the Zionist. In 1917, the British Government issued a statement, known as the Balfour Declaration, to the effect that the British would facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Home, to the extent that such development would not impair the rights or interests of the non-Jewish residents. At that time there were in Palestine 55,000 Jews and 650,000 Arabs. Jewish immigration into Palestine was facilitated with the result that at the present time the Jewish population of Palestine is approximately 500,000, the Arab population being approximately 1,000,000.

This considerable Jewish influx, taken together with the announced program of the Zionist leaders to bring about a Jewish majority in Palestine, whereupon Palestine would become a Jewish state, alarmed the Arabs in and outside of Palestine, with the result that repeated disorders took place, aimed first at the Jews, but later at both Jews and the Mandatory Power. The British Government has never subscribed to the Zionist program. For a number of years it regulated immigration on the basis of economic absorptive capacity; but shortly before the war the British Government, in view of the Arab attitude of bitter opposition, decided that Jewish immigration should also be limited by political absorptive capacity. Its policy, still in effect, was laid down in the so-called 1939 White

Paper

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Paper, by virtue of which Jewish immigration was limited to a total figure of 75,000 over five years. Immigration was to take place at the rate of 10,000 a year during that period, the remaining group of 25,000 Jewish immigrants to constitute a contribution toward a solution of the European refugees question. After 1944, no further Jewish immigration is to take place without Arab acquiescence.

Although the White Paper policy was not approved by the Arabs, who desired all Jewish immigration to cease forthwith, it served to calm them down, with the result that Palestine, which had been a trouble spot for two decades, has been quiet during the war. The policy has been an anathema to the Zionists.

Immigration into Palestine has not taken place even at the reduced rate permitted by the White Paper, due to various difficulties inherent in the position of the Jews in Europe. The British Prime Minister and other authorized British officials have recently announced that Palestine will be thrown open to 29,000 European Jewish refugees, i. e. up to the total limit permitted under the White Paper policy, but that no greater contribution to this problem can be made by Palestine.

In making this announcement, the British doubtless consider that the Arabs will not boil over if the restrictions of the White Paper policy, to which they are by now fairly well adjusted, are not exceeded. The British also doubtless have in mind the fact that the Arabs would be bitterly opposed to the use of Palestine as a place of temporary refuge for large numbers of Jews, on the ground that once the latter reached Palestine it would never be possible to get them out. As a matter of fact, substantial numbers of Jews who have entered Palestine illegally in the past have been permitted by the British to remain as permanent residents. Consequently, the Arabs would be, and in fact are, convinced, that an influx of Jews into Palestine would be utilized by the Zionists to strengthen their position in the country and to further their political ambitions. The Arabs of Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon, and Iraq, also the Egyptians, are resolutely on the subject to the United States Government. Their views on the matter have the sympathy of moslems throughout the world.

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To open up Palestine to larger quantities of refugees than have been agreed to by the Mandatory Power would create serious risk of disaffection, perhaps accompanied by outbreaks, in the Arab and Moslem world, in which important combat operations are taking place, where important bases for future operations are now established, and which contain vital avenues of supply for Turkey, Russia, and China. Accordingly, it is our view that the British should not be asked to enlarge their commitments respecting refugees in so far as Palestine is concerned.

Paul H. Alling

NE:GPMerriam:DF

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Department of State

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

April 14, 1943

Eu - Mr. Reams:

PALESTINE AS A POSSIBLE TEMPORARY PLACE OF REFUGE
FOR EUROPEAN REFUGEES

In connection with the forthcoming Refugee Conference in Bermuda, our delegates may find of some interest the following discussion of Palestine as a possible temporary place of refuge for European refugees.

Economic conditions in Palestine are difficult. Building materials and foodstuffs are in short supply and the country is well along in an inflationary cycle.

Political factors, however, far outweigh economic factors. Palestine is the scene of two rival nationalistic movements: the Arab and the Zionist. In 1917, the British Government issued a statement, known as the Balfour Declaration, to the effect that the British would facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Home, to the extent that such development would not impair the rights or interests of the non-Jewish residents. At that time there were in Palestine 58,000 Jews and 880,000 Arabs. Jewish immigration into Palestine was facilitated with the result that at the present time the Jewish population of Palestine is approximately 500,000, the Arab population being approximately 1,000,000.

This considerable Jewish influx, taken together with the announced program of the Zionist leaders to bring about a Jewish majority in Palestine, whereupon Palestine would become a Jewish state, alarmed the Arabs in and outside of Palestine, with the result that repeated disorders took place, aimed first at the Jews, but later at both Jews and the Mandatory Power. The British Government has never subscribed to the Zionist program. For a number of years it regulated immigration on the basis of economic absorptive capacity; but shortly before the war the British Government, in view of the Arab attitude of bitter opposition, decided that Jewish immigration should also be limited by political absorptive capacity. Its policy, still in effect, was laid down in the so-called 1939 White

Paper

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Paper, by virtue of which Jewish immigration was limited to a total figure of 75,000 over five years. Immigration was to take place at the rate of 10,000 a year during that period, the remaining group of 25,000 Jewish immigrants to constitute a contribution toward a solution of the European refugee question. After 1944, no further Jewish immigration is to take place without Arab acquiescence.

Although the White Paper policy was not approved by the Arabs, who desired all Jewish immigration to cease forthwith, it served to calm them down, with the result that Palestine, which had been a trouble spot for two decades, has been quiet during the war. The policy has been an anathema to the Zionists.

Immigration into Palestine has not taken place even at the reduced rate permitted by the White Paper, due to various difficulties inherent in the position of the Jews in Europe. The British Prime Minister and other authorized British officials have recently announced that Palestine will be thrown open to 29,000 European Jewish refugees, i. e. up to the total limit permitted under the White Paper policy, but that no greater contribution to this problem can be made by Palestine.

In making this announcement, the British doubtless consider that the Arabs will not boil over if the restrictions of the White Paper policy, to which they are by now fairly well adjusted, are not exceeded. The British also doubtless have in mind the fact that the Arabs would be bitterly opposed to the use of Palestine as a place of temporary refuge for large numbers of Jews, on the ground that once the latter reached Palestine it would never be possible to get them out. As a matter of fact, substantial numbers of Jews who have entered Palestine illegally in the past have been permitted by the British to remain as permanent residents. Consequently, the Arabs would be, and in fact are, convinced, that an influx of Jews into Palestine would be utilized by the Zionists to strengthen their position in the country and to further their political ambitions. The Arabs of Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon, and Iraq, also the Egyptians, are resolutely been made crystal-clear by official communications on the subject to the United States Government. Their views on the matter have the sympathy of moslems throughout the world.

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To open up Palestine to larger quantities of refugees than have been agreed to by the Mandatory Power would create serious risk of disaffection, perhaps accompanied by outbreaks, in the Arab and Moslem world, in which important combat operations are taking place, where important bases for future operations are now established, and which contain vital avenues of supply for Turkey, Russia, and China. Accordingly, it is our view that the British should not be asked to enlarge their commitments respecting refugees in so far as Palestine is concerned.

Paul H. Alling

NE:GPMerriam:DF

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Department of State

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

April 14, 1943

Eu - Mr. Reams:

PALESTINE AS A POSSIBLE TEMPORARY PLACE OF REFUGE
FOR EUROPEAN REFUGEES

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This considerable Jewish influx, taken together with the announced program of the Zionist leaders to bring about a Jewish majority in Palestine, whereupon Palestine would become a Jewish state, alarmed the Arabs in and outside of Palestine, with the result that repeated disorders took place, aimed first at the Jews, but later at both Jews and the Mandatory Power. The British Government has never subscribed to the Zionist program. For a number of years it regulated immigration on the basis of economic absorptive capacity; but shortly before the war the British Government, in view of the Arab attitude of bitter opposition, decided that Jewish immigration should also be limited by political absorptive capacity. Its policy, still in effect, was laid down in the so-called 1939 White

Paper

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Paper, by virtue of which Jewish immigration was limited to a total figure of 75,000 over five years. Immigration was to take place at the rate of 15,000 a year during that period, the remaining group of 25,000 Jewish immigrants to constitute a contribution toward a solution of the European refugee question. After 1944, no further Jewish immigration is to take place without Arab acquiescence.

Although the White Paper policy was not approved by the Arabs, who desired all Jewish immigration to cease forthwith, it served to calm them down, with the result that Palestine, which had been a trouble spot for two decades, has been quiet during the war. The policy has been an anathema to the Zionists.

Immigration into Palestine has not taken place even at the reduced rate permitted by the White Paper, due to various difficulties inherent in the position of the Jews in Europe. The British Prime Minister and other authorized British officials have recently announced that Palestine will be thrown open to 25,000 European Jewish refugees, i. e. up to the total limit permitted under the White Paper policy, but that no greater contribution to this problem can be made by Palestine.

In making this announcement, the British doubtless consider that the Arabs will not boil over if the restrictions of the White Paper policy, to which they are by now fairly well adjusted, are not exceeded. The British also doubtless have in mind the fact that the Arabs would be bitterly opposed to the use of Palestine as a place of temporary refuge for large numbers of Jews, on the ground that once the latter reached Palestine it would never be possible to get them out. As a matter of fact, substantial numbers of Jews who have entered Palestine illegally in the past have been permitted by the British to remain as permanent residents. Consequently, the Arabs would be, and in fact are, convinced, that an influx of Jews into Palestine would be utilized by the Zionists to strengthen their position in the country and to further their political ambitions. The Arabs of Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon, and Iraq, also the Egyptians, are resolutely been made crystal-clear by official communications on the subject to the United States Government. Their views on the matter have the sympathy of moslems throughout the world.

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To open up Palestine to larger quantities of refugees than have been agreed to by the Mandatory Power would create serious risk of disaffection, perhaps accompanied by outbreaks, in the Arab and Moslem world, in which important combat operations are taking place, where important bases for future operations are now established, and which contain vital avenues of supply for Turkey, Russia, and China. Accordingly, it is our view that the British should not be asked to enlarge their commitments respecting refugees in so far as Palestine is concerned.

Paul H. Alling

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Balfour Declaration

(1) The Balfour Declaration, which was issued on November 2, 1917, is in the form of a letter addressed by Mr. Balfour, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Lord Rothschild and reads as follows:

"I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of his Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet.

'His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

"I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation."

(2) The Balfour Declaration was considered by the 67th Congress (2nd Session) under HJ-322, which was approved September 21, 1922 and became Public Resolution No. 73 (42 U.S. Stat. 1012).

John F. M. ...

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25, D. C.

In reply refer to
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My dear Mr. LeFevre:

Your secretary asked me to furnish some information concerning the Balfour Declaration for your use during the approaching holidays. The Balfour Declaration, which was issued on November 2, 1917, is in the form of a letter addressed by Mr. Balfour, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Lord Rothschild and reads as follows:

"I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of his Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet.

'His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

"I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation."

As you

The Honorable
Jay LeFevre,
House of Representatives.

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As you probably know, the Balfour Declaration was considered by the Sixty-seventh Congress (Second Session) under HJ-322, approved September 21, 1922 and became public resolution no. 73. This is found in the United States Statutes at Large, Volume 42, Page 1012.

On the twenty-fifty anniversary of the publication of the Balfour Declaration, the Secretary of State made a statement which you may find of interest. This was released on October 30, 1942 and a copy is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Howard K. Travers
Chief, Visa Division.

Enclosure

Press Release
October 30, 1942.

000964